

The University of Manitoba

**“HOW THE VOTE WAS WON”¹: ADULT EDUCATION AND THE MANITOBA
WOMAN SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT, 1912-1916**

BY

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**"How the Vote Was Won"¹: Adult Education and the Manitoba
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BY

Lynette Sarah Plett

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree**

of

Master of Education

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ABSTRACT

This study examined the Manitoba woman suffrage movement, 1912 - 1916, within an adult education framework. The study sought to determine whether (and if so, to what extent) the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was adult education. The following questions shaped and directed the research:

- 1) Was there a deliberate effort made by suffragist activists to educate the people of Manitoba about suffrage?
- 2) If so, at whom was the education aimed?
- 3) What were the methods used to educate the people of Manitoba about suffrage?
and
- 4) What was the content of these educational methods?

The primary research sources used for the study were the minutes from the Political Equality League of Manitoba, newspaper records of its activities, and two woman's pages -- "Home Loving Hearts" and "The Country Homemaker" -- which promoted woman suffrage during that time. A model for the historical enquiry into adult education in women's organizations and a definition and criteria of adult education were developed and used for the data analysis.

This study revealed the suffrage organization, the Political Equality League of Manitoba, and the two woman's page editors, Lillian Beynon Thomas and Francis Marion Beynon, to have consciously educated adults, women and men in Manitoba about woman suffrage, using a variety of adult education methods. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement was an adult education endeavor and the two leaders examined in this study were adult educators.

While the results of this study are important, further research of historical events and organizations such as the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike, Grain Growers' Associations, Women Grain Growers' Associations, and the Manitoba Agricultural College within an adult education framework will add to the fund of knowledge in adult education.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Study

Beginning around 1910 many individuals and organizations joined forces in a campaign for overall social reform in Manitoba. Female members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Canadian Women's Press Club collaborated with male members of the Direct Legislation League and the Grain Growers' Associations. Woman suffrage became the primary aim of these groups, and the Political Equality League of Manitoba was formed in 1912. Its goal was to inform Manitoba men and women about suffrage in order to bring about a change in public sentiment. This newly informed public would in turn pressure the government to support woman suffrage and consequently bring about other reforms.

This thesis will examine the Manitoba woman suffrage movement from an adult education perspective. Preliminary research indicated that one of the objects of the Political Equality League of Manitoba was "to disseminate knowledge with regard to the legal status of women under present conditions" (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Political Equality League Constitution-1912, p. 1). Since one of the League's primary objectives was to "disseminate knowledge", we might safely assume that the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba involved the education of adults. The purpose of this thesis is to determine the extent to which the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba, 1912-1916, involved adult education. For such an exploration to take place, it is essential to establish a working definition and criteria for the concept 'adult education'.

It is also necessary to develop a model that can be used to analyze the data obtained in historical research.

In this chapter, I will examine several definitions of adult education and establish a definition and criteria for the concept 'adult education' which will be used throughout this study. I will also explore models for historical enquiry into adult education in Canada and present a new model with which to analyze the data obtained in this study. In Chapter Two, I will outline the purposes, methods, and content of the Political Equality League activities from 1912 to 1915, the years during which the League was the primary organization for Manitoba woman suffrage advocates. In Chapter Three, to elaborate on the data obtained from the Political Equality League's records, I will examine the suffrage content from the women's pages of two prominent weekly Manitoba newspapers. In Chapter Four, I will analyze the data collected, applying the definition and criteria for 'adult education' and the model for historical enquiry which will be developed in Chapter 1. I will also discuss the findings in relation to the broader contexts of a) adult education in Canada during this time period, and b) adult education as an agent for social change. Finally, in Chapter 5, I will provide a conclusion of the study and discuss the significance of this thesis for the field of adult education and for the study of the history of adult education in Canada and Manitoba.

Adult Education—Definitions

At a 1957 meeting of the American Commission of Professors of Adult Education, the question for discussion was: "What is the content, the essential ingredient of adult education, that marks it off from other fields or disciplines?" (Welton, 1995, p.

127). Twenty years later, Rockhill (1976) stated that "adult education is certainly not an area of educational practice in which there has been clear agreement as to its meanings, purposes, functions, or forms" (p. 197). Another twenty years have passed and adult educators still refer to the "disparate nature of this field" (Poonwassie and Poonwassie, 1997, p. 5). Elias and Merriam (1980) argued that although the concept of education had been explored in philosophical literature, the concept of adult education had not yet been clearly delineated. Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) suggested that no universally acceptable definition of adult education is possible, because all definitions are based on assumptions and values which will not be acceptable to everyone.

The concept 'adult education' is ambiguous and vague. Each term, separately is not clearly understood; nor is the concept defined any better when the two terms are combined. Yet 'adult education' is used unabashedly in the literature as an all inclusive term. Frequently it is used interchangeably with concepts such as 'the education of adults', 'adult learning', 'lifelong learning', and 'formal, informal and non-formal adult education'. As a result of such ambiguity, when making enquiries into the history of adult education in Canada, it is possible to present a wide variety of events, activities, and agencies as adult education. In the historical enquiry into adult education in Canada there is no consensus, and very little discussion, of how adult education is defined so that it is able to embrace such a wide range of activities under one category.

In an attempt to name the adult education enterprise, Selman, Dampier, Selman and Cooke (1998) referred to the lack of agreement on adult education terminology as a standing joke. However, several attempts have been made to define the concept of adult

education and its companion terms. Selman et al. differentiated between the terms **adult education** and **the education of adults**. The latter term is more inclusive and refers to “all purposeful efforts by which adults seek to learn, or are assisted to learn” (p. 16). The term adult education generally refers to “a narrower spectrum of such activities” (Ibid.). The authors also differentiated between the terms adult education and **adult learning**, arguing that learning is the outcome of education. Furthermore, most adult learning occurs outside of educational institutions and programs. Selman et al. presented several terms used interchangeably with adult education, including: andragogy, continuing education, extension, and community education. Other related terms include lifelong education and community development.

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) argued that “the family, the church, the work place, the mass media, the library, and many other institutions play important roles in the education of people, both young and old” (p. 2). Therefore, an understanding of education must consider all of these institutions and interactions. Stating that adult education is concerned with helping people live more successfully, they defined the concept as “a process whereby persons whose major social roles are characteristic of adult status undertake systematic and sustained learning activities for the purpose of bringing about changes in knowledge, attitudes, values, or skills” (p. 9). In this definition of adult education the concept is defined from the learner’s perspective and does not consider the kinds of content or processes involved in adult education.

The official world definition of adult education was adopted by UNESCO in 1976. It is more encompassing, denoting adult education as:

...the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise, whether they prolong or replace initial education in schools, colleges, and universities as well as in apprenticeship, whereby persons regarded as adult by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, improve their technical or professional qualifications, or turn them in a new direction and bring about changes in their attitudes or behavior in the two-fold perspective of full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development... (cited in Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982, p. 9)

Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) pointed out that this definition “minimizes long-standing controversies regarding goals, content, and objectives as well as the matter of who is an adult” (p. 10). The UNESCO definition implies a moral aspect to the concept ‘adult education’ although it is not made explicit: adult education activities lead to “full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development”. According to Darkenwald and Merriam, this definition does not, however, clearly distinguish adult education from indoctrination which the Concise Oxford Dictionary (1990) defines as teaching a person or a group over a long period of time for the purpose of accepting ideas uncritically.

These types of adult education definitions are typical of the field. It is generally agreed upon that adult education activities are purposeful, systematic, and sustained. It is also widely agreed that adult education learning activities may be initiated by either the adult learners themselves or by others, and that these activities often take place outside of

educational institutions and programs.

Developing a Definition of Adult Education

Definitions of adult education generally do not delineate the types of processes and content that are acceptable to the organizations and educators delivering adult education. What distinguishes adult education from indoctrination or propaganda? How is adult education content determined, and by whom? Current definitions of adult education do not include criteria of a moral dimension. To explore the moral criteria for adult education it is useful to look to the philosophical writings of R. S. Peters (1966) on criteria for education and to Paulo Freire (1970 and 1973) for adult education criteria. Peters' work is foundational in the philosophy of moral education, while Freire's pedagogy is particularly relevant to the education of adults for social change.

R. S. Peters' Criteria for Education

R. S. Peters (1966) described three criteria for education:

- (i) that 'education' implies the transmission of what is worth-while to those who become committed to it;
- (ii) that 'education' must involve knowledge and understanding and some kind of cognitive perspective, which are not inert;
- (iii) that 'education' at least rules out some procedures of transmission, on the grounds that they lack wittingness and voluntariness on the part of the learner (p. 45).

These criteria fall into three general categories: the normative aspect of 'education', the cognitive aspects of 'education', and criteria of educational processes.

Education is normative in that it is consciously designed for ourselves or others. The concept implies an achievement of something worthwhile. Education is both the trying and the success of passing on what is considered worthwhile. Peters summarized the normative aspect of 'education' as "the intentional bringing about of a desirable state of mind in a morally unobjectionable manner" (p. 27). The cognitive aspects of 'education' include the gaining or transmission of a body of knowledge along with a conceptual scheme to unite this knowledge beyond disjointed facts. Education must include "some understanding of principles for the organization of facts" (p. 30). Furthermore, education involves understanding and caring about a body of knowledge; knowledge characterizes the way in which an individual looks at the world. Education must also provide a linkage between one's body of knowledge and a wider system of beliefs.

Teaching is an educational process in which teachers reveal to their students the reasons for their beliefs, thus submitting these reasons to students' evaluation and criticism. Doctrines must be understood and assented to for indoctrination to take place, and therefore, it may involve conscious and voluntary participation. If, however, indoctrination involves lack of respect for the learner, or if it is intended to produce a state of mind in which individuals do not grasp the rationale for their beliefs, or if it includes a foundation which does not encourage criticism or evaluation of beliefs, then, according to Peters, indoctrination is not an educative process, and it is morally unacceptable.

For Peters, a morally acceptable education must include voluntary and conscious

participation in the transmission of a body of knowledge. This transmission must include both an organizational framework for uniting the facts into a whole as well as a framework for placing the body of knowledge into larger systems of belief. Finally, education processes must reveal to students reasons for beliefs and be open to, and invite, students' evaluation and criticism.

Paulo Freire's Pedagogy

For Paulo Freire (1973), the purpose of education is to facilitate the passage of a people from naive to critical consciousness. Through this process, people change from adapted, dehumanized objects of their reality to integrated, human subjects of their reality. People who are objects are subjected to the choices of others. Their decisions emerge from external prescription. This results in dehumanization which is characterized by an authoritarian and an acritical frame of mind. Conversely, people who are the subjects of their own reality are able to adapt to reality. They have the critical capacity to make choices and to transform that reality. It is their capacity to transform reality which humanizes them.

Freire described the process of becoming human as a change from semi-intransitive consciousness to transitive consciousness. In a semi-intransitive state, one is primarily interested in survival—biological necessities. In a transitive state, one's interests extend beyond basic survival. Freire delineated two stages of transitive consciousness: naive transitivity and critical transitivity. Naive transitivity is characterized:

[by] an over-simplification of problems; by nostalgia for the past; by

underestimation of the common man; by a strong tendency to gregariousness; by a lack of interest in investigation, accompanied by an accentuated taste for fanciful explanations; by fragility of argument; by a strongly emotional style; by the practice of polemics rather than dialogue; by magical explanation. (p. 18)

Critical education uses a dialectical method. Through dialogue, people are encouraged to “reevaluate constantly, to ‘analyze findings’, to adopt scientific methods and processes, and to perceive themselves in dialectical relationship with their social reality” (pp. 33-34). Using dialogue, people gain an increasingly critical attitude toward the world in order to transform it.

Freire (1970) described the existing educational process as a narrative whereby teachers are depositing content into their students. Knowledge is a gift bestowed on students by teachers. He named this process “the banking concept of education”. Freire contrasted this process with libertarian education where knowledge is invented and reinvented: through “the restless, impatient, hopeful inquiry men pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other” (p. 58). Libertarian education strives for reconciliation between teachers and students so that they both become simultaneously teachers and students.

Freire outlined several differences between the banking concept of education and libertarian education. The banking concept, through deposit making, communiqués, and transferring information anesthetizes students and inhibits their creative power. The banking concept of education results in the submergence of the consciousness. In libertarian education, problem-posing, communication, and cognition result in the

constant unveiling of reality. This results in the emergence of consciousness.

Summary

Educational Goals

The goal of adult education, according to Darkenwald and Merriam (1982), is to help people live more successfully. The UNESCO definition indicates that the purpose of adult education is for “full personal development and participation in balanced and independent social, economic, and cultural development”. These definitions imply a moral dimension but do not delineate what a moral dimension to adult education would entail. Peters stated that the goal of education involves the transmission of something worthwhile, while Freire defined what is worthwhile as that which liberates, humanizes and transforms reality.

Educational Processes

The processes of adult education are purposeful activities which are systematic and sustained, initiated either by the adults themselves or by others, within or outside of educational institutions and programs (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982; Selman et al., 1998). Encompassing an even greater scope, the UNESCO definition includes the “entire body of educational processes”, “whatever the method”. Both Peters and Freire limited the types of processes acceptable to education.

Peters contended that learners must be both “willing” and “witting” participants. They must have an organizational scheme with which to unite disjointed facts into a body of knowledge and to place that body of knowledge within a wider system of beliefs. For Peters, teaching involves revealing reasons underlying one’s beliefs to students for their

evaluation and criticism. Freire outlined the methods required for such an educational process to take place: dialogue, communication, and problem-posing which result in praxis (critical reflection and transformational action). Educators, in Freire's pedagogy, co-determine, co-create and re-create knowledge with students. The teacher and student roles are reconciled so that they are both simultaneously students and teachers.

Educational Content

Adult education content, according to the definitions most widely used in the field, are those activities which result in a change of knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills. Peters' criteria for content is that it must be worthwhile. Freire stated that what is worthwhile is developed by the learners.

Definition of Adult Education

For the purpose of this thesis, a definition based on existing definitions of adult education as well as on the criteria for education suggested by Peters and Freire has been developed:

Adult education is the purposeful acquisition by adults and/or transference of knowledge and values to adults in a manner that will take into account the following criteria:

- (1) That the learners are willing participants,
- (2) That the learners are aware of and understand the adult education process(es) undertaken,
- (3) That the educators reveal reasons for beliefs to learners,
- (4) That educators are open to and invite evaluation and criticism of beliefs by learners,
- (5) That educators employ methods such as dialogue, communication, and problem-posing rather than monologues, slogans, and communiques, and
- (6) That educators and learners co-determine the educational content and process(es).

Adult Education—Historical Research

History of adult education as a specialization within the field has an ambiguous status. Stubblefield (1991), describing the situation in the United States, stated that the “history of adult education as a subject of inquiry lacks a clear definition and is not recognized as a specialization” (p. 323). Similarly, in Canada, adult education and adult learning have not been addressed by historians. Welton (1987) stated that the field is seriously underdeveloped. Furthermore, what has been written about the history of adult education in Canada has been told primarily from a male vantage point about male endeavors.

Cervero (1991), grappling with the relationship between theory and practice in adult education, discussed the nature of adult education before it became a field of university study. Cervero contended that the central idea of adult education without theory:

is that adult education has been carried out throughout history, including the present, without reference to what is commonly considered a body of knowledge. Nor is there for them a practice of adult education because the term practice implies being a member of an occupational group that has developed a set of traditions about how to carry out its work. Instead these educators base their work on a set of ideals and practical knowledge that they have developed through direct experience. (p. 21)

Quoting Houle (1964), Cervero then asked whether this “great lore of the creative but untrained pioneers of adult education [could] be studied so that it [could] be passed on in

a more systematic fashion" (p. 23). Cervero speculated whether there is a relationship between the pioneers of adult education and people who are presently engaged in the educational efforts of civil rights, women's liberation, and environmental movements. Many of these people are unaware or skeptical of a body of adult education knowledge and "do not consider their work in terms of being part of a larger field of adult education" (p. 22).

Stubblefield (1991) stated that "the questions necessary to guide and order the development of adult education history are still to be formulated" (p. 334). Poonwassie and Poonwassie (1997) questioned what constitutes the proper subject matter for study in the history of adult education. They recommended taking events, institutions, and biographies and analyzing them from an adult education perspective. The authors suggested that this approach could be productive and helpful in defining the field of adult education: "as more historical data are gathered in adult education and as analysis and interpretation progress, our present search for a defined field of study...will become clearer" (p. 9).

The degree to which analysis and interpretation occur in Canadian adult education historical studies, using definitions, principles, and models of adult education, varies greatly depending on the study. Recently, Draper and Carere (1998) provided a "selected chronology of adult education in Canada". Circulating libraries, Mechanics Institutes, cooperatives, agricultural schools, Women's Institutes, Khaki College, the Antigonish movement, and the Canadian Radio League were only a few of the events and organizations included in the chronology. K. H. Lawson (cited in Elias and Merriam,

1980) asked what criteria allowed such a wide array of agencies and activities to be brought under one portmanteau category: "What is it about them which makes them examples of 'the education of adults'?" (p. 6).

History of adult education has marginalized women: "Adult education historians...have consistently and increasingly marginalized women's historical roles in American adult education. Like other historians, they made choices when they selected, constructed, distributed, and legitimized knowledge about people, events, and times" (Hugo, 1990, p. 2). This marginalization is especially evident when examining the development of informal adult education. Although women participated in informal education, "their contribution is not recognized in historical accounts of the roots of adult education in Canada" (Smith, 1992, p. 53). Burstow (1990) concluded that educational movements like the feminist movement are not considered adult education. Hugo stated that women's work in voluntary associations is considered as adding to the range and bulk of adult history without increasing its depth.

In Educating for a Brighter New Day: Women's Organizations as Learning Sites, Welton (1992) introduced a variety of women's organizations—which traditionally have not been considered adult education endeavors—to the Canadian field of adult education. Some of the authors assumed the adult education nature of the organization and its activities; others focused more closely on the educative aspects of the organization, although the goals and activities were not clearly delineated and analyzed for their adult education qualities.

There are virtually no models for the historical enquiry into adult education in Canada. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, I will develop a model based on the writings of J. Roby Kidd and Gordon Selman, two noted leaders in the field of Canadian adult education. In addition, I will review several essays from Educating for a Brighter New Day: Women's Organizations as Learning Sites. These essays will be examined using the framework of enquiry proposed by Kidd (1979) with additional insight provided by Selman (1988).

Kidd's Model for Historical Enquiry

J. Roby Kidd (1979) created a model to assist with the enquiry into the heritage of Canadian adult education. He delineated three axes or chief factors for understanding the components of a learning society. Depicted as a cube, this model included: significant time periods, influences, and activities. In the **Significant Time Periods** axis, the first time period, from confederation in 1867 to 1913, was significant because the national government and provincial and local infrastructures were still being developed. There were "fascinating adult education experiences" (p. 6); most of them were local or provincial in nature. The second period, 1914-1945, was dominated by a world war at either end. National consciousness was growing for Canadians. Kidd characterized the third period, 1946 to 1970, as a time when adult education rose from the periphery to an accepted field of education. These time periods are admittedly arbitrary and Kidd did not defend them to any length.

Kidd subdivided the **Influences** axis into six categories: People, Events, External (to Canada) Influences, Ideas/Concepts, Communications Technology, and Disciplines.

The **Activities** Axis was also subdivided. It included: Institutions, Programs, Methods, Publics, and Needs. Table 1 is an adaptation of Kidd's model.

Table 1: Model of Enquiry into the History of Adult Education in Canada

Significant Time Periods	Influences	Activities
1867-1913	People	Institutions
1914-1945	Economic, Social, Political, Cultural Events	Programs
1946-1970	Ideas and Concepts	Methods
	Outside Canada Influences	Publics
	Communications Technology	Needs
	Disciplines Affecting Learning Theory and Practice	

Several of the terms used by Kidd require further explanation. Kidd defined "publics" as "distinct groups of people who have special learning interests, styles and needs that affect or should affect the kinds of activities provided" (p. 16). Kidd argued that "programs" have been confused with "functions" of adult education. He believed that programs and methods of delivery changed with the times, but that the function of adult education, "educating the public about social issues" (p. 20) should not change.

Selman's History of Adult Education in British Columbia

Gordon Selman (1988) described the adult education enterprise in British Columbia as an "invisible giant". He estimated that as many as 21% of British Columbia adults participated in organized adult education. Although the adult education enterprise was gigantic, it remained largely invisible. Selman attributed the invisibility of adult education in the province to four characteristics of adult education. First, "adult education is so widely dispersed in our communities that it is not apparent--even to

someone who is actively engaged in one segment of it--just how far flung the whole field is" (p. 1). Second, adult education is usually the secondary endeavour of many organizations, "a means to achieve the primary goals of the organization, rather than as ends in themselves" (Ibid.). Third, adult education is generally a part-time activity in people's lives; their main preoccupations lie elsewhere. Therefore, "there is little consciousness of adult education as a separate entity" (Ibid.). Finally, because of its invisibility, information about adult education is difficult to gather. Selman's historical overview of adult education in British Columbia concentrated on "those activities...which are purposefully planned to assist persons of adult years to learn the things which the [sic] need and wish to know" (Ibid., p. 2). He divided the overview into three time periods: before 1914; 1914-1954; and after 1954.

Prior to 1914, adult education activities were most often sponsored by the private sector: churches, community and voluntary organizations, unions, and private business. Selman listed five examples of adult education in community and voluntary organizations. Mechanics Institutes, founded in the mid 1860s, sponsored a library, interest groups, lectures and classes, debating societies, an orchestra, and the occasional exhibition. The YM and YWCAs, founded in the 1880s, offered social, recreational, and educational programs using reading rooms, interest and cultural groups, debating societies, mock parliaments, and discussion groups as delivery techniques. Private or Proprietary Schools were founded as early as the 1850s. Farmers Institutes, founded in 1897, and Women's Institutes, founded in 1909, received government support through small grants and access to resources. The provincial Department of Agriculture had

experts available to teach courses and address meetings and literature was made available for distribution to these organizations.

After 1914, institutions took on greater responsibility for the delivery of adult education in the province. The University of British Columbia, founded in 1915, offered programs for the rehabilitation of veterans. Churches, too, played a major role in the reconstruction of society after the wars. Local school boards offered evening classes with a vocational emphasis. Provincial government departments used adult education to implement policies which increasingly emphasized vocational training and apprenticeship programs.

Selman stated that many of the adult education activities during the early years of settlement were related to "living a life"; the activities displayed a concern for the amenities of life. To that end, organizations sponsored reading rooms, lectures, debates, study groups, dramatics clubs, and literary and music societies. Another purpose of these early adult education activities was to "mould a world". Preparing individuals for responsible citizenship involved improving their basic education (English and literacy), improving their knowledge of current events (study clubs and debating societies), and improving their ability to participate in a democracy (mock parliaments and parliamentary procedures). Selman concluded that "adult education was seen by many of its pioneers as a means of enabling the democratic system to function more effectively or to bring about a fairer distribution of the benefits of our society" (Ibid., p. 33).

Selman's historical overview of adult education activities in British Columbia offers useful insight for the development of a model with which to examine women's

organizations as adult education sites. Adult education's characteristic invisibility is due to a) its disparate nature, b) its secondary status as a means to an end--not an end in itself, and c) the part-time nature of the participants whose complex lives make it difficult to differentiate the adult education goals from the other goals and objectives of the participants and the organization. However, some general trends can be gleaned from Selman's study. In the early years of settlement in Canada, because institutions did not yet exist in great numbers, voluntary organizations took on the responsibility of offering adult education activities. These activities were concerned primarily with "living a life" and "moulding a world". (See Table 2.)

Table 2: Purpose and Activities of Adult Education in British Columbia Before 1914

Purposes	"Living a Life"	"Moulding a World"
Activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reading rooms • lectures • debates • study groups • dramatics clubs • literary societies • music societies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • basic education (ESL and Literacy) • current events, study clubs and debating societies • participation in democracy: mock parliaments and parliamentary procedures

Adult Education in Women's Organizations

Michael Welton (1992) in his introduction to Educating for a Brighter New Day: Women's Organizations as Learning Sites offered the essays as a contribution to the reconstruction of Canadian adult education history. The essays, he wrote, were about "women's organizations and female adult educators who learned, taught and struggled" (p. i) in the beginning of the twentieth century. Welton argued that the voluntary

organizations were “transformational learning site[s]” (Ibid.). The particular essays reviewed for this study were chosen because the time periods and type of participation by the women in the organizations closely paralleled the situation of the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba. The data gathered from these essays will be analyzed using the model for historical enquiry suggested by Kidd and Selman for the purpose of developing a model appropriate for use in this study.

Women's Institutes

Adelaide Hoodless founded the first Women's Institute in Ontario in 1897. Crowley (1992) outlined the purposes and activities of the Women's Institutes in Ontario. The purpose of the Women's Institutes was to improve “life of rural women through study, discussion, and social activities on a regular basis” (p. 1). Women's Institutes were organized in response to changes in the nature of farming with the application of scientific methods to agriculture. Another concern for the Women's Institutes was the rapid urbanization of central Canada and the resultant depopulation of rural areas. Farming was unpopular; it was not seen as profitable and farmers had to work too hard. Women were moving away from rural areas and taking work other than domestic service in factories and offices. They were increasingly gaining access to higher education and family life was thought to be threatened. Women's Institutes could help bring about the “educational changes [which] were required to bolster women's traditional roles by providing more practical training geared to women's work in the home” (p. 3).

Women's Institutes grew rapidly in Ontario between 1903 and 1910. In 1935 there were 42,000 women involved in Women's Institutes in Ontario. Crowley explained that the Women's Institutes fulfilled a need: they allowed "women to come together for mutual edification and social activities outside traditional religious barriers" (p. 65). Through the organization of the Women's Institutes, women were able to share their experiences and provide mutual support for each other. Branches were organized as a result of local initiatives and each branch decided on the type of program and social activities needed in the area. The organization rested on democratic procedures.

During the first decade the Women's Institutes in Ontario focused on domestic science. Topics of food preparation, nutrition, women's economic contributions, and health and hygiene were addressed through lecture, question and answer sessions, and the distribution of literature. Members of the Women's Institutes learned about democratic organization, constitution making, and how to run a meeting. Crowley (1992) stated that although the Women's Institutes faced apathy and hostility, they were supported by the Ontario government through subsidies, speakers and the sponsorship of annual conventions. During the second decade Women's Institutes focused on children and school. They dealt with issues concerning the medical and physical health of children. The emphasis was on the education of women in their responsibilities as citizens. They trained women at local levels for public affairs.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was founded in The Hague by a large international gathering of suffragists in 1915. A Toronto branch was

formed but disbanded shortly thereafter and then re-established in 1919 by labour and suffrage activists. Branches were formed in Vancouver in 1921 and in Winnipeg in 1925. Boutilier (1992) outlined the educational strategies of the league in Canada during the 1920s. The goal of the league "was the education of public opinion about issues of peace and freedom" (p. 89). Boutilier argued that the goals and strategies of the league reflected "a strong faith in the powers of education to change society" (Ibid.). It needed to eradicate the spirit of militarism through the education of children, but the public needed to be convinced of the problem first.

The adult education activities of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom fell into three categories: public education, personal study, and political activism. The public education methods involved the development and distribution of pamphlets and other literature, newspaper coverage, conferences with round table discussions and exhibits, public meetings with guest speakers, and lending libraries. Members taking part in personal study learned about the cause and prevention of war. Political activism included the organization of children's peace pageants and Goodwill Days. The league criticized the glorification of war in school texts, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire gifts of war pictures to the schools and the school's cadet movement. The adult education nature of the league's activities was summarized by Boutilier:

Through the round table format of the conference the group also hoped to effect a free exchange of ideas, be exposed to the viewpoint of other groups and educate themselves, as well as the public, about the issues surrounding the peaceful

settlement of international disputes. (p. 97)

Through these educational methods and activities, the league hoped to transform society and abolish the need for nations to resort to conflict.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire

Nancy Sheehan (1992) traced the activities of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) from 1900 when it was founded to 1940. The purpose of the organization was to “enhance Canada’s links to the Empire” (p. 47) through educational activities. This policy emerged with Canada’s maturation as a nation; gradually the IODE promoted knowledge of Canada and Canadian communities. IODE members had to be British subjects and were largely from the upper or upper middle class. The members were strongly affiliated with the Anglican and Presbyterian religions.

The IODE covered a variety of topics in its educational activities. Education, immigration, child and family welfare, and health were all issues tackled by the organization. Educational activities were conducted through campaigns, the production of fact books, the provision of welcoming committees to war brides, the donation of flags and lists of citizenship duties to new citizens, the contribution of pictures and libraries to rural immigrant schools, and the arrangement of scholarships and bursaries for children of veterans. Sheehan explained that to the IODE “the education of outsiders was crucial if the aims and objects of the Order were to be fulfilled” (p. 54). The outsider included the general public as well as the immigrant. Outreach to the general public was done through public addresses, the encouragement of British film, the donation of materials to libraries, and the promotion of national Canadian broadcasting as a public service.

Education aimed at immigrants focused on English language, cooking, sewing, and citizenship classes.

While its efforts were to educate Canadians, the education of its membership was also an important goal and "every effort was made to provide opportunities to be well-informed about civic and imperial issues" (p. 50). Being involved in IODE committees was an informal learning experience in the building and running of an organization. The primary order (a local chapter of the organization) sent representatives to the municipal or provincial chapter which in turn was represented at the National Executive level. Through participation in the organization, members learned about parliamentary procedures, public speaking, secretarial functions, public relations, the editing, publication, and distribution of a magazine, the organization of libraries, and fund-raising. Sheehan concluded that while the educational strategies employed by the IODE indicate the members' expertise, many of their strategies were informal: "perhaps an indication of how they, as women in the home, acquired knowledge" (p. 58).

Home and School Associations

Kari Dehli (1992) provided an overview of the Association's role in the education of women in Toronto from 1916 to 1940. Home and School Associations were initiated in the 1890s as Art Leagues or Mothers' Clubs by women from the emerging middle class. In 1916, in Toronto, nine local Home and School Associations organizations formed a joint council. Dehli estimated that by 1950 there were 2,000 local groups with 133,000 members in total (p. 79). According to Dehli many of the adult education opportunities were unplanned. Women learned through participation in

the parliamentary procedures of the organization, lobbying, and public meetings. The Association's planned educational initiatives included citizenship education, home science, parent education, and child study programs. The Home and School Associations provided educational opportunities for both its members and other women. The philosophy of the Home and School Associations was that the home and school were at the foundation of both individual and national character. The object of the Association was to cultivate and elevate home life in order to make the nation strong and secure.

Public meetings, literature distribution, citizenship education, and home science and home education were major educational activities of the Home and School Associations in Toronto. Speakers at public meetings addressed issues of child welfare, education reform, public health, motion pictures, horticulture, and immigration. Meetings were advertised and reported on in daily newspapers. Public meetings usually had a formal business component. Questions and discussion followed presentations. Citizenship education was geared to the new Canadian, the non-English mother. The Home and School Associations provided evening classes and candidate forums for school board elections. The methods for home science and home education involved courses, study groups, and the distribution of pamphlets on a wide variety of topics.

One of the pamphlets distributed by the Home and School Associations in Toronto was a guide for approaching and recruiting women to the organization. It outlined the benefits of belonging to the Home and School Associations and suggested ways of organizing an association with tips on how to conduct a meeting. It included a model constitution and provided a list of speakers and topics.

The Local Council of Women

The Local Council of Women (LCW) was introduced to Canada at a national level by Lady Aberdeen in 1893. The Halifax council was formed in 1894 and served as an umbrella organization for women's groups in the Halifax area. By 1917, forty-one societies including Women's Christian Temperance Union, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, Victorian Order of Nurses, and Young Women's Christian Association, were affiliated with the Halifax Local Council of Women. Rebecca Veinott (1992) stated that "through the Local Council of Women, women would bring their interest and expertise in education and child welfare and in cultural and moral issues to bear on their community, as women, as mothers, and, with their vision of the community as an extension of the home, ultimately as citizens" (p. 17). As in other women's organizations, the members believed that "home" extended beyond the boundaries of the four walls of a house--it was the school; the community with its factories, bakeries, and stores; the legislative halls where laws were made; the churches; and the streets.

Veinott summarized the activities of the Halifax LCW between the years 1910 and 1921. She described five key program areas: women's domestic role, moral reform, war work, women on school boards, and citizenship rights of women. The Halifax LCW used a wide variety of formal and informal methods in their educational endeavors. The LCW's purpose in addressing women's domestic role was to help women become better mothers, better workers (where necessary), and better consumers. The LCW organized a conference on child welfare, offered courses in domestic science and evening classes for

working women. They sponsored booths at exhibits educating mothers on the care of their children.

The LCW's moral reform programs concentrated on offsetting the effects of a poor family life by advocating for children's playgrounds. The Halifax Council advocated for female patrol officers because they believed "women were more sensitive than men to issues such as prostitution, family disputes, and juvenile delinquency" (p. 22). The LCW's war work included the production of clothes for the Red Cross. It assisted in the work of the Canadian Patriotic Fund and set up an employment registry. The LCW also educated women about the conservation of food and other materials.

The LCW advocated for the right of women to be appointed to school boards. It began a publicity campaign for this change in legislation in 1896. The Halifax LCW was neutral regarding the citizenship rights of women until 1910. Then it encouraged women with the right to vote to do so and increased women's awareness of the candidates' political platforms. In 1910 when the National Council of Women voted in favor of woman suffrage, the Halifax council began educating both women and the general public of the need for woman suffrage. Its attempts at a mock parliament and a course of lectures on the political economy failed, but the LCW continued to educate and to encourage women with the right to vote to do so. It used newspaper articles, formed its own platform, raised public awareness, visited women, and sponsored public lectures.

Table 3: Historical Enquiry into Adult Education in Five Women's Organizations, 1900 - 1940

Organizations	Purpose	Influences	Activities
Women's Institutes (1906-1946) Ontario	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To bring women together for individual, family, and community betterment To improve the lives of rural women through study, discussion, and social activities To elevate the role of rural women 	People Adelaide Hoodless Events Urbanization, changing role of women, application of science to farming and the farm household Ideas/Concepts family the central unit in society, mother's importance in raising children, political action the extension of housewife role Communication Technology radio, written materials Disciplines Science, Education	Institutions Universities, Provincial Department of Agriculture Methods local organizations, democratic principles, lecture, question and answer, distribution of literature, training in public affairs and citizenships, demonstrations, community improvement Public rural women, members Need rural women's isolation and lack of education → shared experience, mutual support, personal growth, increased self-esteem and social activities
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (1920s) •Toronto •Winnipeg •Vancouver	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To eradicate the spirit of militarism through the education of children To educate public about issues of peace and freedom 	People Violet McNaughton, Agnes Macphail, Laura Jamieson Events WWI, Immigration Ideas/Concepts Feminism, militarism the ultimate male manifestation of masculinity, Socialism—the indictment of national war and economic systems External Influences International Suffrage convention in The Hague, 1915 Communication Technology Newspapers Disciplines Education	Institutions Schools Programs The Cause and Prevention of War, Goodwill Day, Peace Pageants Methods <u>Public Education</u> : open letter (pamphlets form), literature distribution, newspaper coverage, conferences—round table discussions and exhibits, public meetings, lending library <u>Personal Study</u> : history and policies of the League, international relations, reading and discussion programs <u>Political Activism</u> : criticism of glorification of war in textbooks, IODE gifts of war pictures to schools, school cadet movement Public women of Canada, members Need moral reconstruction of society, educational reform, social, economic, and political equality for women

Table 3 Continued

Home and School Associations (1916 - 1940) •Toronto	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To cultivate and elevate home life to make nation strong and secure • To make girls capable masters of their own problems, able to see importance of scientific homemaking in relation to Canadian ideals 	People Ada Mary Brown Courtice Events WWI, Immigration Ideas/Concepts home and school the foundation of individual and national character Communication Technology Newspapers Disciplines Education, Science, Child Psychology	Institutions Schools Programs Home Science, Citizenship Education, Parent Education, Child Study Methods <u>Public Education</u> : public meetings, study groups, literature distribution, speakers, question and answer, home visits Personal Study : committee work, parliamentary procedures Political Activism : lobbying school boards Public mothers, members Need elevate home life, educate immigrants, educate public
Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (1900 - 1940) •national	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To enhance Canada's links with the Empire • To support activities and ideas synonymous with its views of Britain and British institutions and social systems • To promote Canada and Canadian communities 	People Mrs. Colin Campbell, Lady Kingsmill Events WWI, Immigration Ideas/Concepts nationalism External Influences Britain Communication Technology Film, radio, written materials Disciplines Education	Institutions Schools Programs Empire Study, Citizenship Methods member information, building and running an organization, campaigns, literature distribution, welcoming committees for war brides, newspaper production, public meetings Public female British subjects
Local Council of Women (1910 - 1921) •Halifax	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To bring women's interest and expertise on education and child welfare to cultural and moral issues in the community • To involve and educate women in a variety of community roles 	People Lady Aberdeen Events WWI, Immigration Ideas/Concepts community is the extension of the home Communication Technology Newspapers Disciplines Education	Institutions Schools Programs Domestic Role, Moral Reform, War Work, School Boards, Citizenship Methods conferences, courses, exhibits, evening classes, advocacy, newspaper articles, public meetings and lectures, visiting campaigns Public women, members, public Need better mothers, workers, consumers and citizens

Summary

In Table 3, the time periods, purposes, influences, and activities of the five women's organizations reviewed were placed on Kidd's Model for Enquiry into the History of Adult Education in Canada. Although the organizations existed for various purposes and addressed the needs of different publics using a variety of methods, common themes emerged (see Table 4).

Educational purposes of women's organizations.

A close examination of these five organizations, although in some cases at cross-purposes with each other (The goal of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was to promote British institutions which included supporting military endeavors. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom sought to eradicate all signs of militarism in society) reveals a general common purpose. These organizations all worked to bring women's unique experiences as wives, mothers, and homemakers from the private sphere into effect in the public sphere. The goal of these organizations was for women to use their experiences in the public sphere for the betterment of women, their families, their communities, and ultimately thereby, the nation.

Influences on women's organizations.

Women's organizations were greatly influenced by the events of the first world war. There was a desire, within these organizations as within Canada, to build a strong national identity and unity in the face of rapid immigration and urbanization. Another major influence on the women of these organizations was the changing concept of the home and family. Industrialization, scientific technology, and the politicization of

education and health care meant that women's private sphere had been invaded by the outside world. As a result women were beginning to embrace the concept that the home and the family unit were the foundation of the nation and conversely, that political activism was an extension of their private sphere.

Table 4: Adult Education in Women's Organizations, 1900-1940

Purpose	Influences	Activities
<p>To bring women's unique experiences in the private sphere to bear on the public sphere for the betterment of the community and the nation.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eradicate war and the spirit of war • elevate women's role • cultivate home life 	<p>Events WWI and the inter-related effects of immigration and urbanization on the overall call for Canadian unity and nationalism; the changing role of women</p> <p>Ideas/Concepts the home and family unit are the foundation of the community and the nation; political activism is an extension of women's private role</p> <p>Comm. Tech. Written materials, Newspapers, Film and Radio</p> <p>Disciplines Education, Science</p>	<p>Institutions Schools</p> <p>Programs/Methods</p> <p><u>Public Education:</u> public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, question and answer sessions, literature distribution, newspaper coverage of events and ideas, exhibits, lending libraries</p> <p><u>Private Study and Member Education:</u> study groups; courses; training in public affairs, parliamentary procedures, citizenship; committee work; local organization; organization's history and purpose</p> <p><u>Political Activism:</u> lobbying, campaigning, criticism</p> <p>Public women, members, public-general education to bring about change</p> <p>Need moral reform; better women as mothers, workers, and citizens would help to improve society at the community and national level</p>

Educational activities of women's organizations.

These women's organizations all engaged in similar educational activities.

Although the programs were specific to the organization, the methods employed fall into three categories: public education, private study and member education, and political activism. Public education was necessary to bring women's previously private or unvoiced concerns into the public domain. Among the strategies used were public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, and literature distribution.

Private study and member education for most women's organizations included training in public affairs, parliamentary procedures, current events, and citizenship responsibilities. These activities were aimed at preparing women to participate in the

public and political sphere. Political activism involved lobbying, campaigning, and public criticism. The need addressed by these educational activities was the moral reform of society. Educating women to be better mothers, workers, and citizens would result in an improved society at the community and national level.

Methodology

For the purpose of this thesis, a definition based on existing definitions of adult education as well as on the criteria for education suggested by R. S. Peters (1966) and the criteria for social change suggested by Paulo Freire (1970) was developed:

Adult education is the purposeful acquisition and/or transference of knowledge and values in a manner that will take into account the following criteria:

1. That the learners are willing participants,
2. That the learners are aware of and understand the adult education process(es) undertaken,
3. That the educators reveal reasons for beliefs to learners,
4. That educators are open to and invite evaluation and criticism of beliefs by learners,
5. That educators employ methods such as dialogue, communication, and problem-posing rather than monologues, slogans, and communiques, and
6. That educators and learners co-determine the educational content and process(es).

In addition to developing a definition of adult education, I developed a model for the historical enquiry into aspects of adult education in women's organizations (see Table 5).

Table 5: Model for the Historical Enquiry into Adult Education in Women's Organizations, 1900 - 1940

Purpose	Influences	Activities
<p>To bring women's unique experiences in the private sphere to bear on the public sphere for the betterment of the community and the nation.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eradicate war and the spirit of war • elevate women's role • cultivate home life 	<p>Events WWI and the inter-related effects of immigration and urbanization on the overall call for Canadian unity and nationalism; the changing role of women</p> <p>Ideas/Concepts the home and family unit are the foundation of the community and the nation; political activism is an extension of women's private role</p> <p>Comm. Tech. Written materials, Newspapers, Film and Radio</p> <p>Disciplines Education, Science</p>	<p>Institutions Schools</p> <p>Programs/Methods</p> <p><u>Public Education:</u> public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, question and answer sessions, literature distribution, newspaper coverage of events and ideas, exhibits, lending libraries</p> <p><u>Private Study and Member Education:</u> study groups; courses; training in public affairs, parliamentary procedures, citizenship; committee work; local organization; organization's history and purpose</p> <p><u>Political Activism:</u> lobbying, campaigning, criticism</p> <p>Public women, members, public-general education to bring about change</p> <p>Need moral reform; better women as mothers, workers, and citizens would help to improve society at the community and national level</p>

This model as well as the definition of adult education guided the data collection and was used for data analysis.

Data Collection

A literature review was conducted to provide the political and social context of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The Canadian national and provincial suffrage campaigns were investigated to determine their influence on the Manitoba campaign. Topics such as the legal status of women, campaign leaders, and organizational strategies were explored. The social context, specifically the general reform sentiment in Manitoba during this period, was also examined. The study examined primary sources which related to the suffrage movement. These sources included archival documents for the Political Equality League and the woman's pages from the Grain Growers' Guide and the Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer.

I combined a selection of historical and qualitative research methodologies for

data collection and analysis. Beginning with orientation reading, I identified themes, formulated research questions, and adopted tentative hypotheses. The following questions shaped and directed the research:

- 1) Was there a deliberate effort made by suffragist activists to educate the people of Manitoba about suffrage?
- 2) If so, at whom was the education aimed?
- 3) What were the methods used to educate the people of Manitoba about suffrage?
and
- 4) What was the content of these educational methods?

With additional information, these questions were continuously rephrased. Through the interconnected phases of analysis and synthesis, patterns were identified, various themes were connected, and hypotheses formed.

Significance of the Study

The study of the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba is significant to adult education generally, and specifically to the study of Canadian and Manitoban adult education history. When Poonwassie and Poonwassie (1997) published a series of historical essays on adult education in Manitoba, the book was heralded as a model for adult educators in other provinces to follow: "every Canadian province needs a book like this one" (Thomas, 1996). Thomas argued that "a history of adult education is a history of culture" and "that regional reflections of our history...has become imperative" (Ibid.). Selman (1996) stated that although this publication "advanced our knowledge of adult education" (p. 63) in Manitoba, more leaders in the adult education enterprises needed

to be honored.

Welton (1993) listed three purposes for the research and writing of adult education history: "...the past provides a critical vantage point on the present....[for] the retrieval and construction of a liberatory tradition of Canadian (and international) adult education....[for] generating 'critical theorems' about the many themes and issues having to do with how and where and why adults learn" (p. 143-144). This study will contribute significantly to the field of adult education by:

- (1) examining people and events from the Manitoba woman suffrage movement to provide a critical perspective on adult education and adult learning in the present,
- (2) contributing to the reconstruction of Canadian adult education history, and add to the range, bulk and depth of the field, and
- (3) generating a definition and criteria for adult education and a model for historical enquiry of adult education in women's organizations which will provide further information on how, where, and why adults, specifically women, learn.

CHAPTER 2

THE POLITICAL EQUALITY LEAGUE OF MANITOBA

The activities of the Political Equality League of Manitoba took place during a time of enormous social and political change. "Societywide" changes, brought on by rapid immigration, the first world war, and the 'first wave' of the women's movement are examples of what Thomas (1991) referred to as a learning occasion. "Learning occasions", Thomas explained, are events which arise in the life of a society, "in which learning becomes likely, indeed is almost required" (p. 60). The Political Equality League of Manitoba was formed at just such a time to encourage and accommodate the learning of Manitoba women and men about woman suffrage.

In this chapter I will examine the Political Equality League of Manitoba (PEL) from its inception in 1912 until 1916 when Manitoba women achieved the right to vote. The primary source of data for this chapter is the PEL minutes from 1912 to 1914. Data from women's page editorials from the Grain Growers' Guide and the Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer supplement the information from these minutes and are the main source from 1914 after which PEL minutes are no longer available. Additional sources include Nellie McClung's autobiography The Stream Runs Fast (1945) and Catherine Cleverdon's (1974) comprehensive research on the Canadian woman suffrage movement. In this chapter, the educational goals, methods, and content of the PEL's activities will be outlined and compared with the criteria for adult education as delineated in Chapter 1. First, however, the social and political context for the PEL's

activities, as well as a brief overview of suffrage activities prior to 1912, will be provided.

The Manitoba Social and Political Context

Manitoba in the early 1900s was characterized by a rapid growth in population largely through immigration and an accompanying frenzied growth in the demand for services to meet the needs of the population. The population of the province more than doubled from 150,000 in 1891 to 365,000 in 1906 (Morton, 1967). During these years, land prices doubled and agricultural production increased and improved. Steam and combustion engines were quickly replacing horse teams. There was a proliferation of railways and grain elevators. Grain Growers' Associations were formed and pressured the government to place both the railways and grain elevators under public control to avoid a monopoly by local grain buyers.

This was also a time of rapid urban growth. The population of Winnipeg more than tripled from 42,000 in 1901 to 142,000 in 1911. The suburbs began to develop. Railways expanded and water transportation diminished. With the expansion of business and labor in the city, there was substantial growth in industrial labor. Accompanying the enormous rural and urban growth of the province was a demand for new and improved services: telephones, roads, health care and education, and new public buildings. Morton (1967) explained that "the province and Winnipeg, inspired by the long succession of years each more prosperous than its predecessor, were on the point of over-reaching themselves" (p. 315).

Along with demanding material changes, Manitobans increasingly called for ideological changes as well. Orlikow (1970) summarized the period as "a reaction to the influence of big business, a demand to make government more responsive to the people, and a desire for more government intervention for general welfare" (p. 215).

Temperance groups were dissatisfied with the Roblin government's repeated deflection of their arguments. Presbyterian and Methodist churches, in their support for temperance and other reforms, were becoming increasingly hostile to the Conservative government. Women were pressuring the government for social, economic, and political equality.

The Direct Legislation League was formed in "the belief that the government apparatus had grown too distant from the people and, in so doing, had become unresponsive to their wishes" (p. 220). The League, under the strong leadership of F. J. Dixon, advocated for (1) the initiative--the authority for the people to originate bills, (2) the referendum--public decision on any measure, and (3) the recall--the right to recall any official if he did not follow the wishes of the people. The Manitoba Labor Party which was formed in 1910 was also dissatisfied with the Conservative government and critical of the lax enforcement of the few acts regulating conditions at work, safety at work, hours of labour, and compensation for injury.

Ramsay Cook (1976) characterized Winnipeg at that time as "an intensely political city and much of its intellectual life focused on public questions, whether in books, in newspaper articles or Sunday sermons, speeches at the respectable Canadian Club meetings or at the more plebeian and reformist People's Forums" (p. 189).

However, the Conservative government was not open to making any ideological changes,

and as a result "the demands for prohibition and for the extension of the franchise to women were now combining with the determination to assimilate the foreign immigrant to native ways, to become a confused but explosive movement" (Morton, p. 316). As early as 1910 the Liberal party began to incorporate these reform elements into its platform.

Following the years of the "great boom" came a depression marked by falling land prices, widespread unemployment, and mounting racial and class tension: "The beginning of unemployment in Winnipeg aggravated all the social evils, poverty, bad housing, juvenile delinquency and the strains on family ties" (Ibid., p. 333). Rapid industrial growth had resulted in sweatshops, long work hours for laborers, and insanitary factory conditions. The Roblin administration had been re-elected in 1907 because it had come to power during the great boom period and had responded to the material interests of the population. But during the years of depression, the Roblin government was unable to respond. "Success", stated Morton, "had made them arrogant" (p. 335). Morton depicted the Roblin administration as "hard-headed, practical men who took life as they found it, were skeptical of reform and ... indifferent to idealism" (Ibid.). The Roblin government could not, or would not, adjust to the changing times.

In preparation for the 1914 election the Liberal party adopted a reform platform. During the provincial election campaign the Grain Growers' Associations, temperance organizations, the Orange Order, and the Political Equality League endorsed and supported the Liberal party. Morton described that election as "the hardest fought and most evenly contested in the history of Manitoba. No political trick was left unused, no

ruse untried by either side. It was a contest between the past and the future, and the past was strong and deeply entrenched" (p. 337). Although the Liberal party won the popular vote, it lost the election. The Liberals and their supporters were bitterly disappointed.

With the outbreak of war in the fall of 1914, Manitobans' preoccupation with provincial politics was interrupted until the spring and summer of 1915 when the Liberal party revealed the Legislative Building scandal. The legislature was informed that the construction was faulty and that it lacked supervision by government inspectors. The original cost of construction had been budgeted at \$2,859,750. The expenditures were revealed to be \$4,500,000. During the first session of the 1915 legislature, the Liberals pushed for a complete investigation. When the Public Accounts Committee approved of the expenditures and supervision, the Liberals called for a Royal Commission.

At first Premier Roblin refused to cooperate with such an investigation, but the Liberals had also approached the lieutenant-governor. The following day, Roblin announced that a Royal Commission would be granted. Within a few weeks the Liberal charges had been substantiated and Premier Roblin submitted the resignation of his administration. T. C. Norris formed the new government on May 13, 1915, dissolved the legislature, and called for an election. The polls gave the Liberals a landslide victory. The new government was immediately pressured to carry out its reform platform. In January of 1916, the Liberal government of Manitoba was the first in Canada to grant women equal political rights, including both the right to vote and the right to hold a seat in the legislature.

Suffrage Activities in Manitoba Prior to 1912

In Canada the issue of full woman suffrage began soon after confederation. Sir John A. Macdonald, during his second term in office, attempted to establish a "uniform dominion franchise" (Cleverdon, 1974, p. 105) and included limited woman franchise in the suffrage bills he introduced to parliament in 1883, 1884, and 1885. However, woman suffrage was not included in the Franchise Act of 1885. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier became prime minister, control of the federal franchise was returned to the provinces in the Franchise Act of 1898. As a result, women's efforts to achieve the franchise federally or provincially had to be concentrated entirely at a provincial level. In 1916 Manitoba women were the first in Canada to be granted full suffrage rights. At the federal level, Canadian women were not given the right to vote until 1918.

The Women's Christian Temperance Union

Advocacy for woman suffrage in Manitoba began in an organized way as early as 1893 at the provincial convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) where the members declared "that we will never cease our efforts until women stand on an equality with men, and have a right to help in forming the laws which govern them both" (Gutkin and Gutkin, 1996, p. 15). The WCTU responded to a variety of issues dealing with motherhood and the home and embraced social reform in many related areas: child welfare, moral education, prison welfare, peace, and world community (Ibid.). The first priority of the WCTU was to bring prohibition to the province. When their petitions for prohibition fell on deaf ears, they began to advocate for women to get

the vote. Women would then be able to use their political power to bring about prohibition.

In 1893 the WCTU sponsored a mock parliament at the Bijou Theatre in Winnipeg. The profits of the play, \$108.20, were dedicated to further educational activities (Gutkin and Gutkin, 1996). A few days later the WCTU circulated a suffrage petition which resulted in an estimated 5,000 signatures. In April of 1893, the petition was presented to the legislature and a woman suffrage bill was proposed, but when it reached the floor of the legislature, it was defeated. In February of 1894 the petition was brought to the legislature again with an additional 2,000 women's signatures. The first woman suffrage bill in Manitoba was introduced by Member of the Legislative Assembly, Robert Ironside, and received first reading. However, when Ironside withdrew his support, this attempt at passing a suffrage bill ended.

After a WCTU meeting later that same year, several members formed the Equal Suffrage Club, an organization devoted to "the study of the social and political economy in the light of Christian ethics and to develop and distribute suffrage material" (Gutkin and Gutkin, 1996, p. 17). Dr. Amelia Yeomans, president of the WCTU, was also elected president of this newly formed organization. The by-laws of the Equal Suffrage Club stipulated that only women could hold executive positions. In 1903, Dr. Mary Crawford arrived in Winnipeg and set up medical practice. She succeeded Dr. Amelia Yeomans as president of the WCTU and also became involved in the campaign for suffrage, but the activities of both the WCTU and the Equal Suffrage Club slowly decreased over the next few years.

Icelandic Suffrage Activities

The first Icelandic people settled in Manitoba in the 1870s. The women soon organized Women's Societies and Ladies' Aid groups. Through these groups the Icelandic women debated woman suffrage. As early as 1890, at a meeting in Argyle, Manitoba, three women argued for the extension of the franchise to women. A debate which involved the entire audience followed. By 1908 the Icelandic communities had organized several suffrage groups, including one in Argyle called "*Sigurvon*" or "Hope of Glory" (Gutkin and Gutkin, 1996).

Margret Benedictsson was instrumental in the Icelandic women's campaign for suffrage. Benedictsson founded the Icelandic Suffrage Association in 1908 and was its first leader. The association was affiliated with national and international woman suffrage associations. With the help of her husband, Benedictsson edited and published *Freyja*, a solely Icelandic language newspaper. The primary goal of *Freyja* was to discuss women's rights. Benedictsson published letters which she exchanged with Lucy Stone, Elizabeth Stanton, and Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen.² Benedictsson began a speaking tour of Manitoba's Icelandic communities, discussing women's rights, suffrage and advocating *Freyja*. *Freyja* was published until 1910 when Benedictsson left her husband and moved to the state of Washington.

Prairie Presswomen

The Canadian Women's Press Club (CWPC) was formed in 1904. Between 1906 and 1909 the national executive operated out of Winnipeg. The aims of the CWPC were both social and professional. Jackel (1987) suggested that because the presswomen had

access to free travel, and the hospitality and support of their colleagues from coast to coast, the members were “increasingly well-positioned to develop and promulgate views on national issues, and with remarkable frequency those views bore on ‘the uplift of the sex’” (p. 161).

The prairie presswomen connected with women in communities around them through membership in voluntary organizations: WCTU, Women’s Institutes, Women’s Grain Growers’ Associations, University Women’s Club, and the Local and National Council of Women. Jackel concluded that “in their pooling of information, support and tactical expertise, Winnipeg women were clearly laying the necessary foundations for effective political action” (p. 66). In the fall of 1911, the Winnipeg branch of the CWPC sponsored a visit and lecture by Emmeline Pankhurst, a prominent suffrage leader in Britain. It was at a meeting of the press club that the idea for a suffrage association was formed.

Summary

Many social and political factors combined in 1912 for the timely formation of a woman suffrage organization. Morton (1967) described this as a “confused but explosive movement” (p. 316). Members of labour, temperance, women’s rights, and political groups, as well as the press, joined forces to bring about political and social change.

The Political Equality League of Manitoba

The impetus for a suffrage association, according to Nellie McClung in her 1945 autobiography, came about through weekly meetings of the Canadian Women’s Press Club where “great problems were discussed” (McClung, 1945, p. 101). The visit to

Winnipeg by Emmeline Pankhurst and Barbara Wiley, both militant British suffragettes, in December 1911 had "created a profound impression" (Ibid.) on the reform minded women of the Press Club. Working with the Local Council of Women, they focused on the condition of women workers in factories.

McClung related that while the women discovered "a few things about how the 'other half' lived" (p. 106), they also realized that the Local Council of Women did not meet their needs: "There were too many women in it who were afraid to be associated with any controversial subject" (Ibid.). As a result, the Political Equality League (PEL) was formed. The initial membership started with fifteen people. McClung concluded that "fifteen good people who were not afraid to challenge public opinion could lay the foundations better than a thousand" (Ibid.).

Nellie McClung described a three-fold purpose of the Political Equality League. It was to 1) "get first-hand information on the status of women in Manitoba", 2) "train public speakers", and 3) "proceed to arouse public sentiment" (p. 106). Thus the inexperienced, youthful members of the newly organized league began the four year task of bringing the issue of woman suffrage into the Manitoba public's awareness. The ultimate goal of the PEL was to bring about woman suffrage for the province of Manitoba. In the four years from its inception in 1912 until suffrage was achieved in 1916, the League focused on a variety of objectives, methods, and activities all aimed at achieving that goal.

Establishing the Organization - 1912

During its first year, the PEL's goal was primarily to establish itself as an

organization--a "woman suffrage headquarters" (Grain Growers' Guide (GGG), May 22, 1912, p. 23). A strong organization was necessary to "educate", "rouse", and to overcome the "indifference" (Ibid.) of Manitobans about woman suffrage. Therefore, the PEL concentrated both on creating an internal organizational structure as well as on laying the groundwork for organizing Manitobans external to the PEL who were sympathetic to their cause. The methods used to create an internal organizational structure included framing a constitution, electing officers, holding meetings, forming committees, and affiliating with local organizations in favor of woman suffrage.

The first recorded meeting was at the home of Mrs. A. G. Hample at 808 Wolseley Avenue where the group framed a constitution (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Political Equality League Minutes, March 29, 1912. All further references to these minutes will be cited as PEL followed by the date). At the next meeting the members resolved that the group would be a provincial organization; branches could be formed if there were enough local members (Ibid.). A lifetime membership fee was set at \$15 (PEL, April 13, 1912). After these details had been discussed, officers were elected: Lillian Beynon Thomas, President and Dr. Mary Crawford, Vice-President. The League's executive was to meet bi-weekly with monthly members' meetings (GGG, May 22, 1912, p. 23). The PEL members formed several committees during the first year. The Publicity Committee, formed in the spring, was the first to be established. The Membership, Finance, and Literature Committees were formed in the fall.

The PEL sought advice on the "best plan to follow in the work of the organization" (PEL, May 21, 1912) from several organizations sympathetic to their goals.

Representatives from the WCTU, the Grain Growers' Association, the Direct Legislation League, and the Royal Templars addressed the general membership at the June 27th meeting. At the close of the meeting the members decided to approach several organizations and secure letters of endorsement from them. After a summer break, the executive followed up on this decision. They would ask for letters of endorsement from various organizations including the Grain Growers' Associations, the Direct Legislation League, the National Council of Women, the Trades and Labour Council, and the Women's Press Club, and arrange for PEL representatives to speak at their meetings (PEL, September 7, 1912).

Although the PEL sought advice from other provincial organizations, when it was invited by the national Canadian Suffrage Association to affiliate with them, the PEL members decided that the league should "become strongly organized and work up a provincial league before affiliating" (PEL, June 27, 1912). The issue of affiliation came up again in the fall of 1913 and again in 1914. Dr. Crawford, PEL President and a member of the Canadian Suffrage Association executive, was a proponent of affiliation (PEL, October 9, 1913), but a resolution was passed in 1914, moved by Nellie McClung and seconded by Lillian Beynon Thomas, "to organize and strengthen the Provincial body before going farther afield" (PEL, February 14, 1914). Dr. Crawford was asked to continue as 3rd Vice President of the Canadian Suffrage Association as an individual and not as a PEL representative (PEL, May 11, 1914).

The PEL concentrated on external organization soon after its inception. The PEL's campaign would be educational in nature and directed at both the women and the

men in the province: "In the education campaign our aim would be to reach and rouse women as well as men. Our chief obstacle at present is the indifference, or perhaps I should say, the lack of proper organization" (GGG, May 22, 1912). A newspaper account of the League's first public meeting reported Lillian Beynon Thomas as saying that

wider organization and the admission of men to membership was rendered necessary, first because popular demand for information was very insistent and very general and, secondly, because the powerful wielders of the ballot were good backing for the movement. (Ibid., p. 27)

Near the end of the year, reporting on the League's October 31st meeting, Francis Marion Beynon stated that the PEL, "realizing that a great many men and women are not yet in favor of woman's enfranchisement, is entirely educational in its aim" (GGG, The Country Homemaker (CHM), November 13, 1912). (All future references to the Country Homemaker page in the Grain Growers' Guide will be cited as CHM followed by the date).

Immediately after its formation, the Publicity Committee worked on planning a public meeting (PEL, April 26, 1912). They planned to invite Nellie McClung and Reverend J. S. Gordon to speak on laws relating to women. Several women would be asked to sing and other societies would be invited to attend. At the April 30, 1912 meeting, the date for the public meeting was set for May 14, 1912 and the program was completed. It included a speech by the Chair, Lillian Beynon Thomas, music, an address by Nellie McClung followed by a song, and then an address by Reverend Gordon. The meeting was to be advertised with streamers on streetcars.

The Grain Growers' Guide (May 22, 1912, p. 27) reported that 800 people attended the public meeting held at the Industrial Bureau, and that 100 people joined the League's membership after the meeting. However, it was not until a meeting at the Industrial Bureau in the fall of 1912 that a Membership Committee was formed (PEL, September 26, 1912). Finance and Literature Committees were also struck at that time. The Literature Committee, with Winona Flett as the Chair, sought permission from the members to place books, papers, and literature in libraries (PEL, October 31, 1912). At the end of its first year, the PEL's organizational structure was firmly established and an educational campaign aimed at Manitobans was also well under way.

Summary

The objectives of the PEL during its first year were to establish itself as an organization and, using education aimed at women and men of Manitoba, to organize Manitobans in order to achieve suffrage. The methods used to create an internal organizational structure were framing a constitution, electing officers, holding regular executive and members' meetings, forming committees, and affiliating with local organizations. The PEL's educational methods included public meetings and the beginning of its literature distribution campaign.

Information about the exact content of the PEL's education campaign is limited. Presentations in favor of suffrage were made at public meetings. Speakers presented on such topics as laws as they related to women. Reverend Gordon, in his speech at the first public meeting, stated that "fifty percent of the problems on which men are legislating today are problems on which a woman's voice ought to be heard" (GGG, May 22, 1912,

p. 27). Music, songs, and addresses by popular Manitobans were used to advertise the new organization and its concerns. Another attempt to publicize the PEL's goal was through the distribution of literature by placing books, papers, and other suffrage literature in libraries. Affiliation with other provincial organizations favoring suffrage was instrumental to the PEL's campaign. The PEL's secretary wrote letters to a large number of organizations seeking their endorsement and volunteering PEL speakers for their functions. These organizations included: The Grain Growers' Associations, The Direct Legislation League, the Women's Canadian Club, the Nurses' Association, the Provincial Teachers' Association, the Ministerial Association, the University Women's Club, and the Trades and Labor Council (PEL, September 7, 1912).

Raising Public Awareness - 1913

Beginning with its first meeting in 1913, the Political Equality League's objective changed focus from establishing itself as an organization to that of raising the Manitoba public's awareness of woman suffrage. Methods for raising awareness included literature distribution, public speaking, and direct political action. The first method used to raise public awareness was to purchase, print, publish, and distribute literature. The Literature Committee was energetic and active throughout 1913. At the January 7 meeting, the committee suggested that current events papers be prepared, a speakers' class be organized, debates be planned, and that reference books, literature, and music be purchased. They also suggested that the League pursue advertising and set up booths at church bazaars. The membership resolved that Mrs. Perry would prepare a current

events paper and that the League would make \$15 available for the Literature Committee to use at its discretion.

A few months later at a business meeting, Winona Flett returned to the members with the following suggestions:

- (1) A rubber be secured to stamp all outgoing literature with the name of the league and all free literature be stamped in addition with the words:
Please pass this on.
- (2) To secure words and music of popular suffrage songs to be learned and sung when occasion offers.
- (3) To publish monthly "The Torch" to throw light in dark places: record the process of the suffrage movement; to give personal items regarding the great leaders; to show up cases happening in the city. (PEL, May 5, 1913)

In September the Literature Committee was given the go ahead to publish a pamphlet on "The Legal Status of Manitoba Women" (PEL, September 23, 1913). Winona Flett, on behalf of the committee, submitted a report to the PEL membership on October 9, 1913, stating that 1,000 booklets had been printed at a cost of \$110. The committee suggested that "a volunteer corps of our own younger members follow the different Suffrage meetings around with a supply" (PEL, November 12, 1913) to increase sales of the booklet. They also requested that Lillian Beynon Thomas prepare a pamphlet: "Why Manitoba Women Want the Ballot".

The PEL's most ambitious literature distribution effort involved a plan to set up information booths at the Industrial Exhibition and Manitoba Stampede. A PEL

delegation approached the Industrial Exhibition Board in June and was refused permission to set up a booth. Several women met with the Exhibition Board to ask the members for their reasons, but they could not sway the Board's decision (CHM, July 16, 1913). The mayor of Winnipeg got involved as well, asking that the PEL's request be granted as a special favor to him (Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer, Home Loving Hearts (HLH), August 27, 1913). (All future references to the Home Loving Hearts page will be cited as HLH followed by the date). The Exhibition Board refused his request as well. However, the Stampede management readily granted the PEL's request for a tent at the Stampede grounds.

This was the first time that the PEL presented its cause to the general public. Lillian Beynon Thomas, writing as Lillian Laurie for the Home Loving Hearts page, described the difficulty the PEL women experienced. Lillian Laurie acknowledged that distributing literature to a "great indifferent crowd of men and women and children" (Ibid.) had not been easy. Although discouraged and disappointed by the public's indifference, Francis Marion Beynon concluded that "quite a number of women and a great many men expressed themselves as being cordially in favor of our propaganda" (CHM, August 27, 1913). Lillian Beynon Thomas concluded that "the women of our province need a lot of educating—not only to teach them the value of the franchise, but to lead them to a broader outlook on life so that they will take some interest in public questions" (HLH, August 27, 1913).

The second method used by the PEL to raise public awareness about woman suffrage issues was through public speaking. Francis Marion Beynon announced to her

readers that funds were needed by the PEL because speakers were being trained to address public meetings and that a paid organizer was to be hired (CHM, January 8, 1913). Lillian Laurie announced to her readers that a lady organizer was to be sent by the PEL throughout the province "to give lectures and bind all those interested in this work into one great band" (HLH, January 15, 1913). The PEL minutes indicate that a resolution was passed that the League focus on securing funds to hire a permanent organizer, (PEL, February 8, 1913), and in March the members decided to raise \$1500 for the organizer and to have her in place by November (PEL, March (not dated), 1913). However, the PEL minutes do not indicate whether an organizer was appointed.³

During 1913, the PEL sent speakers to conventions, annual meetings, and public meetings throughout Winnipeg. The PEL members agreed to approach the Teachers' Board and the Agricultural College to have speakers at their annual meetings (PEL, January 7, 1913). At that same meeting, the members gave their approval for PEL speakers to be at the Forum and at the Elite Theatre (Ibid.). Elbert Hubbard was invited to speak at the PEL monster summer picnic (PEL, April 26, 1913). Late in the year, speakers representing the PEL were scheduled to lecture in a variety of Winnipeg churches, at the Nurses' Association and at the YMCA (PEL, November 12, 1913). Eight speakers, all members of the League, addressed the League's membership in December. Each speaker "took up a distinct phase of woman suffrage taking as [a] theme any objections which might be made by anti suffragists and answering it" (PEL, December 1913).

The third method used by the PEL to raise public awareness in 1913 was through direct political action. At a members' meeting early in that year, the members suggested that the executive secretary write a letter to Mr. Harvey Simpson, a member of the legislative assembly for Virden, asking him to "bring in a resolution favoring Women's Suffrage" (PEL, January 7, 1913). The secretary, Mrs. Skinner, was instructed to do so at the April 12, 1913 Executive Committee meeting. Mr. Simpson's reply was read at the May 5, 1913 business meeting. He requested a meeting with the League's president and corresponding secretary before committing himself to any action. The members agreed to his request.

During a meeting in March, the members resolved to draw up and circulate a petition in favor of woman suffrage. They would develop one list for voters, and one for non-voters. An educational and publicity campaign would be carried out prior to circulating the petition. At the April 12 Executive Committee meeting, Mr. A. V. Thomas was appointed convener of the committee preparing petition blanks. At the May 5 business meeting, Mr. Dixon⁴, Mrs. Perry, Lillian Beynon Thomas, and Mr. Johnston joined Mr. Thomas on the Petition Committee. In October, it was reported that petitions had been sent out to the Grain Growers' Associations and that the Trades and Labour Councils had requested petitions. Fifteen to twenty forms had been filled previously at the Stampede (PEL, October 9, 1913).

In September the PEL formed a Civic Committee. The purpose of the committee was to gather and organize women who were eligible to vote in municipal elections. PEL representatives would address the women "on all affairs of the moment" (PEL,

September 23, 1913). The PEL Executive Committee decided that the Civic Committee would continue to be a part of the League, but it could ask for the cooperation of other women's organizations in Winnipeg to form a Woman's Civic League (PEL, October 30, 1913). The task of the Woman's Civic League was to revise a list of women voters and to advocate for better inspection of dairy farms, the construction of hospitals for the insane, the building of playgrounds, and for the admission of women into the police force (CHM, November 19, 1913).

Summary

The objective of the PEL for 1913 was to raise the Manitoba public's awareness about woman suffrage. The methods used by the PEL can be grouped into three categories: literature distribution, public speaking, and political action. Generally, the content of the literature campaign was suffrage. Specifically, the PEL commissioned two of its members to write pamphlets: Dr. Crawford wrote a pamphlet discussing laws as they pertained to Manitoba women, and Lillian Beynon Thomas wrote a pamphlet outlining reasons why Manitoba women wanted the vote. These pamphlets were published and distributed by the PEL. Other writing projects of the PEL featured progress reports about the suffrage movement and its leaders, as well as current events papers. The PEL advertised at church bazaars as well as at the Stampede. At these venues, PEL members handed out suffrage buttons and literature.

Public speaking was a popular method used by the PEL in 1913. Speakers were trained and then sent out to represent the PEL at public meetings throughout Winnipeg. Organizations such as the Teachers' Board, the Agricultural College, churches, the

Nurses' Association, and the YMCA had PEL speakers at their conferences and annual meetings. The PEL also sponsored its own meetings which featured well known speakers, suffrage debates, and suffrage songs. One public speaking technique used by the PEL speakers was to outline an anti suffrage argument and then refute it.

The PEL used political action strategies in 1913. These methods included writing to a member of the Manitoba legislature requesting that he put forward a woman suffrage bill. The PEL agreed to meet with him in person to discuss its reasons for wanting suffrage. The PEL circulated petitions for suffrage. One petition was for voters to sign, the other petition was for Manitoba women to sign. At the end of the year, the PEL formed a Civic Committee for the purpose of updating a municipal women voters list. This committee would also advocate health, workplace, and social change.

Directing Political Action - 1914

During 1914, the PEL's primary objective was to direct political action at the government. While these activities created a great deal of publicity and excitement, the League continued raising public awareness. The PEL experienced success with its public awareness campaign and it became necessary to expand the organization to include branches outside the city of Winnipeg.

Although the formation of branch organizations had been anticipated since its inception, the PEL did not pursue this development until an Executive Committee meeting in early 1914 (PEL, February 9, 1914). At a business meeting a few weeks later, Mrs. Kelly of the WCTU addressed the PEL members on methods used by them to form branch organizations (PEL, February 27, 1914). The districts of Elmwood, West End,

and South End were being considered as suitable for branches. Further discussions involving details of the Winnipeg group as a branch of the PEL took place on March 21, 1914. A new constitution was adopted and three branch organizations indicated that they endorsed the League's resolutions: Weston Branch, Laura Secord Branch, and Elmwood Branch (PEL, not dated).

After two years of raising public awareness about woman suffrage, the League was ready to direct political action at the government to obtain equal suffrage for women. Three methods of political action were used by the PEL: it organized a delegation to the premier, staged a successful play--a political commentary--to a full house at the Walker Theatre, and finally, its members canvassed for various political candidates in the provincial election campaign in the summer of 1914.

It was the PEL's Executive Committee that organized the 1914 delegation to Premier Rodmond Roblin. Dr. Mary Crawford, Nellie McClung and Mrs. Kelly would address the legislature (PEL, January 12, 1914). Lillian Laurie reported to the readers of the Home Loving Hearts page that members of the delegation made many fine speeches, but Nellie McClung "made one of the best speeches that has ever been made in the legislative halls" (HLH, February 18, 1914).

However, the premier's response, reported Francis Marion Beynon, "converted more people to the cause than the eloquent pleadings of the suffragists" (CHM, February 11, 1914). Lillian Beynon Thomas described the premier as being tied up in a knot by Nellie McClung's speech: "He did not know what to say, and stumbled around telling what his mother had taught him" (HLH, February 18, 1914). The premier did not grant

the delegation's request for woman suffrage.

A committee had been formed to organize a play at the Walker Theatre (PEL, January 12, 1914). The day following the delegation's presentation to the premier, the PEL put on "The Woman's Parliament". The program included a suffrage song sung by a male quartet and a suffrage playlet "How the Vote was Won". Francis Marion Beynon described the playlet as:

built up around the supposition that the women had struck and had one and all gone home to live on their nearest male relative until such time as the men were willing to bury in forgetfulness that antiquated old platitude that woman's place is in the home and grant them the vote. (CHM, February 11, 1914)

The playlet was followed by "The Woman's Parliament" as the grand finale. The play tried "to show how it would look if things were turned around, and men had no more rights than we have" (HLH, February 18, 1914). In the play, the women's parliament voted on a bill of property rights for men, and a legislative member pleaded for fathers' claim on children. When a delegation of men arrived with a wheelbarrow full of petitions asking for the franchise, Nellie McClung, playing the role of the premier, and closely basing her speech and mannerisms on the premier's from the day before, answered the petitioners:

[She] gave the same argument as Premier Roblin gave the day before as to why men should not vote. They sounded just as unreasonable when applied to men as they did when applied to women. She showed that if men voted they would not have time to attend to their business—and the family would suffer. She pointed

out that all legislation should be for the better protection of the home—and the men who were evidently intended by the Creator to do the rough work of the world could not be expected to understand the needs of the children and the home as the mother would. (HLH, February 18, 1914)

McClung (1945) attributed the play's success to the audience's familiarity with the political situation in Manitoba and more importantly, the audience was "well acquainted with Sir Rodmond's type of oratory" (p. 117).

The PEL decided to perform "The Woman's Parliament" at any favorable opportunity (PEL, March 7, 1914). Lillian Laurie reported that both "How the Vote Was Won" and "The Woman's Parliament" were performed later in the year with an additional, surprising scene. The leader of an anti suffrage movement was playing cards with other women when a deputation of men arrived at her door with flowers. The men thanked her for her anti suffrage work. They were wearing banners: "the liquor interest", "the child labor exploiter", "the white slave dealer", and "graft". The women, seeing who they were representing by their anti suffrage work, threw the flowers at the men and prepared to attend a suffragist meeting, stating, "If these are the interests we have been serving, henceforth 'Votes for Women!'" (HLH, April 29, 1914). Proceeds from these performances were to finance the PEL's provincial educational campaign.

Shortly after the delegation to the premier and the initial performance of "The Woman's Parliament" a bill was introduced in the legislature by G. H. J. Malcolm asking for the extension of the franchise to women. The Free Press reported that there was a straight party vote. The premier, it was alleged, would consider the adoption of such a

resolution a vote of non-confidence (The Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer, February 25, p. 3). The bill was defeated.

These events were an auspicious beginning to a sensational year for the PEL. However, the PEL minutes do not mention any of the excitement and activities related to its involvement in the 1914 provincial election campaign. The Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer provided extensive coverage of the campaign, which included involvement of PEL members. The PEL's involvement began with an invitation to attend the Liberal party's convention on the 26th and 27th of March. Nellie McClung and Lillian Beynon Thomas were invited to address the Resolutions Committee, and the general meeting in the evening. Thomas traced the progress of the suffrage movement in Manitoba for the Liberal audience. She admitted an association of militancy with the suffrage cause, but stated that the PEL objected to all militant activities and assured the audience that the platform of the PEL was entirely educational in nature. The Free Press report stated that although Thomas "could mention many reasons why women should have a vote...only one would suffice, that of democracy" (April 1, 1914, p. 12). The PEL, Thomas continued, "want[s] to stand shoulder to shoulder with you, and we realize, as you do, that the time has come for a change" (Ibid.). Thomas urged the audience to support the suffrage movement and "resumed her seat amid a storm of applause" (Ibid.).

McClung's speech caused great amusement. She equated women's political status with that of "the idiot, the lunatic and the Indian" (Ibid.), although, she argued, the condition of women was worse:

In the case of the convict, the lunatic, and the idiot, the franchise was returned when they were brought back to society, and it was usual to let them out just before an election....An idiot in the first place must be very bad before the vote was taken away from him. (Ibid.)

McClung discussed some typical arguments why women shouldn't vote. To the argument that women voting would make trouble in the home at election time, McClung responded that if a husband and wife "agreed right along all the time, I think a little dispute once every four years..." (Ibid.). To the argument that women shouldn't vote because they couldn't participate in war, she responded that the time for brute force had passed. She wondered how the delegates would like physical force to be the only prerequisite for giving "Jack Johnson seven or eight votes" (Ibid.). McClung concluded her speech by contending that suffragettes did not like the term 'women's rights', because "the struggle was between men and women ruled by sense and reason against those ruled by prejudice" (Ibid.).

The PEL representatives "were received with extraordinary enthusiasm, the whole convention rising to its feet and cheering" (Free Press, April 1, p. 9). Their speeches "were listened to with rapt attention", and upon conclusion of their presentations, "amidst a storm of cheers", the Liberal party passed a resolution in favor of woman suffrage:

The Liberal party, believing that there are no just grounds for debarring women from the right to vote, will enact a measure providing for equal suffrage, upon it being established by petition that this is desired by adult women to a number

equivalent to 15 per cent. of the vote cast at the preceding general election in the province. (Ibid., p. 12)

Mr. Norris, the leader, was quoted as saying that he did not hesitate to endorse the resolution, and that he was honored to be the first leader of a political party in Canada to "have the ladies wait upon it in this manner" (Ibid.).

Backed by this resounding endorsement, members of the PEL actively canvassed for Liberal party candidates during the provincial election campaign. The election would be held on July 10. Nellie McClung addressed crowds all over the province. She was in Brandon on July 2nd, in Gladstone on July 3rd, and then back in Winnipeg (Free Press, July 8, 1914, p. 8). Lynne Flett spoke brilliantly on woman suffrage at a meeting in Ashern on July 2nd:

Miss Flett brought home so vividly the justice of woman suffrage that even E. L. Taylor said with a smile, 'We are all in favor of woman suffrage'. Miss Flett scored a great hit when she reminded Mr. Taylor that Sir Rodmond wouldn't even let individual supporters of the government vote as they wanted to on this question, but called on all to vote against woman suffrage...when a resolution on woman suffrage was proposed last February. So every vote for the Roblin government, said Miss Flett, means a mark against womanhood and its highest development. (Ibid.)

On July 15th, 1914, the front page of the Free Press carried a photograph of Nellie McClung with the caption "Heroine in the Campaign". That same issue announced a Conservative government "Bare Majority" win with Roblin having a "Precarious Lead".

Although the Liberal loss was a disappointing blow to the PEL, it considered the election of F. J. Dixon, an independent candidate for Winnipeg Centre and an active member of the PEL, a great success. Francis Marion Beynon maintained that his win was “a victory for popular and honest government” because Dixon was a man of moderate financial means and was able to win his seat with the help of his supporters (CHM, July 22, 1914). Dixon’s supporters included Nellie McClung and Lillian Beynon Thomas who both campaigned on his behalf, and Winona⁵ and Lynne Flett who “provided tireless assistance” (Gutkin and Gutkin, 1996, p. 20) to the campaign.

When Lillian Laurie announced in her editorial that the Roblin government had been sustained, she predicted that in the “next session Liberals will be much stronger and will make their influence felt. I think the next session will be the most interesting in the history of Manitoba...” (HLH, August 12, 1914). She encouraged her readers not to give up hope. This was a deeply disappointing time for the Manitoba suffragists. They had lost their first major political contest. With the election barely over, Canada entered the war and the suffragists shifted their focus from Manitoba politics to Canada’s involvement in the war. One of the hopes raised by suffragists was that with women’s participation in the political arena, war would become unnecessary. Now Manitoba suffragists were forced to grapple with issues of pacifism and patriotism.

Summary

The primary objective of the PEL during 1914 was to direct political action at the government to bring about woman suffrage. It concentrated on three areas: sending a delegation to the premier, presenting political plays to the public, and canvassing for

Liberal party candidates during the provincial election campaign.

Representatives from the PEL and organizations sympathetic to the cause of woman suffrage—the WCTU, the Grain Growers' Association, the Icelandic community, and organized labour—asked the premier “to grant women the parliamentary franchise on the same basis as men” (HLH, February 18, 1914). Nellie McClung's speech to the premier was described by Lillian Beynon Thomas as “logical, kindly, and earnest” (Ibid.). Premier Roblin's reply to the delegation was “sneering at the women of the US who have the franchise, saying divorce has increased, that they voted for liquor, and that they spent their time in clubs, playing bridge” (Ibid.). The premier's statements, concluded Thomas, were “absolutely false” (Ibid.).

After the delegation to the premier which had been widely reported in the daily papers, the PEL staged a political play at the Walker Theatre. Using humour and taking advantage of the well publicized reports about the previous day's delegation to the premier, “The Woman's Parliament” reenacted the suffrage issue in Manitoba, reversing men's and women's roles. Francis Marion Beynon described the play as a “brilliant satire on the system of government and the existing condition of our laws” (CHM, February 11, 1914). The audience responded overwhelmingly with laughter.

At the Liberal party convention in March, after listening to speeches by Lillian Beynon Thomas and Nellie McClung, the party endorsed woman suffrage and put it on its political platform. Therefore, when the provincial election was called, members of the PEL actively campaigned for Liberal candidates. The suffrage activists were deeply disappointed when Roblin's Conservative government was returned to office with a slim

majority. With Canada's entrance into the war, the suffragists shifted their focus from Manitoba politics to Canada's involvement in the war effort.

Applying Political Pressure - 1915-1916

Although Manitobans were preoccupied with the war, the PEL continued its campaign to gain political equality for women. Following its near success the year before, the PEL continued to apply political pressure. The League sponsored a provincial suffrage convention, organized a second delegation to the premier and, to finally achieve political equality, circulated a petition to the women of the province. When it reached its ultimate goal—woman suffrage—the League reorganized to become the Political Educational League.

On February 18, 1915, the PEL sponsored the first provincial woman suffrage convention at the Industrial Bureau in Winnipeg. Streetcars decorated with yellow banners carried the delegates to the convention site. The purpose of the convention was to "extend the organization of the PEL to cover the whole province of Manitoba and to elect an executive to carry on the provincial work of the association" (GGG, February 24, 1914). An executive was elected: Dr. Mary Crawford, President; Mrs. Gertrude Richardson⁶, 1st Vice-President; Lillian Beynon Thomas, 2nd Vice-President; May Clendenan, Recording Secretary; Winona Flett Dixon, Corresponding Secretary; and Edwin Brown, Treasurer.

On the day following the convention, a delegation of 150 people met with Premier Roblin. Speakers included Dr. Mary Crawford of the PEL, Mrs. Duff Smith of the WCTU, Gertrude Richardson of the Roaring River Suffrage Association, J. T. Horson

of the Icelandic Equality League, and Alderman Rigg for organized labour. Premier Roblin still refused to grant women the franchise, "but his refusal was couched in much more courteous and gentle language, and he admitted that after the women had struggled for it for an indefinite number of years longer they might have it granted to them" (Ibid., p. 22). Roblin stated that his reason for refusing the delegation's request was his loyalty to Britain and British ideals.

The spring of 1915, with the resignation of the Roblin government due to the Legislative Building scandal, brought a renewed flurry of activity for the PEL. When the Liberal party took office, suffrage was assured for the women of Manitoba. All that needed to be done was to obtain as many signatures as fifteen percent of the voters who had cast a ballot in the previous provincial election. Francis Marion Beynon announced a "Call to Arms":

A brand new suffrage campaign for the Province of Manitoba is underway. The Political Equality League is going to send out petitions all over the province thru the Grain Growers' Associations and the WCTU, but there will be some districts which are not covered by either of these societies and this is where you can help us. (CHM, June 9, 1915)

Beynon requested that her readers help circulate the petitions and carefully instructed them how to do so.

In her next editorial, Beynon stated that "it is generally conceded that the women of Manitoba are on the eve of winning the right to citizenship" (CHM, September 1, 1915). She reported that the provincial officers of the GGA and the WCTU were

assisting the PEL in sending out petition forms and that 2,000 forms had been sent out to individual workers. Each petition form had room for thirty names. They hoped to "present the largest petition ever brought to the government of Manitoba" (Ibid.). On December 23, 1915, a delegation of sixty PEL members presented the petition to the Liberal government. Beynon, in a bitter-sweet editorial, described the event:

No blare of trumpets announced to the world at large the presentation to the Manitoba cabinet on December 23, of a petition asking for the franchise for women on the same terms as men and signed by nearly forty thousand adult women of the province of Manitoba. Since the presentation of the petition was a mere formality to be complied with before the bill should finally be sent to the printers, it was accomplished very quietly. (CHM, January 5, 1916)

One woman, Mrs. Amelia Burritt of Sturgeon Creek at the age of 94, collected 4,250 names by herself. This petition was submitted separately from the main petition form. Burritt expressed gratitude for having been permitted to see woman suffrage become a fact.

A last minute hitch to the proceedings was not recorded by the press. Lillian Beynon Thomas was allowed to see the draft of the proposed bill the day before it was presented to the legislature. Although it granted women the franchise, it did not include provisions for women to be elected to the legislature. When Thomas' protests did not result in a change to the bill, she telephoned her sister, Francis Marion Beynon, who was attending a Grain Growers' convention in Brandon. When Beynon threatened to bring the problem to the attention of the convention, the bill was changed (Cleverdon, 1974).

While the world at large was not aware of this important event, the PEL was present to commemorate the occasion and the time and effort required on the part of many people to get to this point. Dr. Mary Crawford made a brief statement. Winona Flett Dixon told of "the human history behind the work" and "paid high tribute to the unselfish devotion of country women to the cause of woman suffrage" (CHM, January 5, 1916). Lillian Beynon Thomas gave tribute to the efforts of those who had "paved the way". She acknowledged the Icelandic Woman Suffrage Association and the association of the English speaking women, both of which had been organized twenty years earlier. She also recognized the efforts of the WCTU and the Grain Growers' organizations "in bringing about this reform" (Ibid.).

Francis Marion Beynon, in her editorial "The Conclusion of a Big Struggle" remarked that "by strange coincidence it was two years, to a day, from the performance of a Woman's Parliament to the last act in the suffrage drama in the province of Manitoba" (CHM, February 9, 1916). To those who might have viewed this as an easy victory, Beynon argued "they have no conception of the drudgery that has been undergone by the members of the PEL of Manitoba during the four years of its life" (Ibid.). She described the first two years of the League as "hard sledding while the machinery of the organization was being perfected" (Ibid.). The suffrage booth at the Stampede in 1913, Beynon stated, "marked the change of woman suffrage from a mere academic question to a live issue in Manitoba" (Ibid.). According to Beynon, "The Woman's Parliament" in January of 1914 was a "tremendous success...partly because it was presented at the psychological moment [following the delegation's presentation to

the Premier the day before], and partly thru the novelty of putting men, for one night, under the disabilities to which women were constantly subjected" (Ibid.). Beynon concluded that this event had "added measurably to the prestige of the movement" (Ibid.).

At the conclusion of the struggle, the Political Equality League was reorganized as an educational league "to interest and instruct both men and women in the issues likely to come before them at election times" (CHM, February 23, 1916). The League would devote itself to bringing about constructive reforms—minimum wage, laws relating to women and children, compulsory education, and prison reform. At its convention on February 16 and 17, 1916, officers were elected. With that, the Political Equality League of Manitoba concluded its work for women's political equality in Manitoba.

Summary

The primary objective of the PEL during 1915 to 1916 was to apply political pressure on the government to achieve woman suffrage. The PEL sponsored a provincial convention in February of 1915. Expanding the organization to include the entire province sent a clear message to the government that all women throughout Manitoba favored suffrage. The delegation of 150 people to Premier Roblin on the day following the convention also relayed the message to the premier that the people of Manitoba wanted woman suffrage.

When the Liberal party took office after Premier Roblin's resignation, the PEL organized the circulation of a provincial petition. The PEL needed to obtain 17,000 signatures from Manitoba women which equaled fifteen percent of the number of voters

who had cast a ballot in the previous provincial election (GGG, October 6, 1915). The goal of the PEL was to collect 20,000 signatures (CHM, July 28, 1915). It hoped to present the largest petition ever brought before the Manitoba government (CHM, September 1, 1915). On December 23, 1915, sixty members of the PEL presented a petition of nearly 40,000 signatures (CHM, January 5, 1916). On January 28, 1916, the women of Manitoba were the first in Canada to be granted the right to vote in provincial elections. Upon achieving its goal of woman suffrage, the PEL reorganized to become an educational league preparing both men and women on issues they would be asked to vote on in future elections (CHM, February 23, 1916).

Conclusion

The goal of the Political Equality League was to gain political equality for the women of Manitoba. The League set several objectives to meet this goal. During the first year, the PEL's primary objective was to establish an organization. This involved both designing an internal organizational structure as well as developing the groundwork for organizing those Manitobans sympathetic to its cause. In 1913, its objective changed to raising public awareness of woman suffrage. Manitobans were uninformed about, and indifferent to, the issue of women's political status in the province. Starting in 1914, the PEL became involved with political action. This type of involvement continued in 1915 and 1916 with the PEL pressuring the government for political change.

The PEL used a variety of methods to meet its goal and objectives. To establish the organization, it developed a political organizational structure. The committees then planned public meetings and literature distribution campaigns in order to inform people

about their cause. When the PEL's objective changed focus to raising public awareness, the methods used were literature distribution, public speaking, and political action. The methods used for political action included sending a delegation to the premier, staging a political satire, attending a political convention, and canvassing for candidates in the provincial election campaign. In the final year before suffrage was obtained, the PEL's methods once again included a woman suffrage convention, a delegation to the premier, and the circulation of a petition.

It is difficult to ascertain the exact content of the PEL's activities merely based on data from its own records. Apparently, speeches, music, songs, pamphlets, and debates all pertained to suffrage. Many presentations were made about the laws as they related to women. Debates and speeches were used to outline anti suffrage arguments and then were carefully refuted. Papers and pamphlets were published about the current legal status of women and why Manitoba women wanted to vote. Humour played an important role in the PEL's activities. Premier Roblin was caricatured and the roles of men and women were reversed to the audience's delight in the popular "The Woman's Parliament". In the play "How the Vote was Won", as well as in Nellie McClung's speeches, anti suffrage arguments were taken to their literal, humourous conclusion. Generally, the content of the PEL's activities appears to have been logical presentations about the status of women in Manitoba and the need for democracy-political equality for women.

This data indicates that the PEL's objectives, the methods it used, and the content of their activities may have been educational in nature. Its campaign was aimed at both

the men and women of the province. Imperative to the success of the PEL's campaign was that it overcome the public's lack of awareness and indifference about woman suffrage. This was done by raising the public awareness through an educational campaign.

The Political Equality League of Manitoba used a variety of adult education methods to inform Manitoba women and men about women's legal and political status in Manitoba. Corresponding with adult education programs and methods used in Table 5, these methods include: 1) Internal Organization through participation in democratic procedures—establishing a provincial organization, framing a constitution, electing officers, and forming committees, 2) External Organization through public meetings, lectures, debates, a conference, and literature publication and distribution, and 3) Political Action through petitions, delegations to the premier, and canvassing in provincial election campaigns. In Chapter 4, I will provide a more detailed analysis of the adult education methods used in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. In the following chapter, I will examine the adult education methods used in the woman suffrage content of two woman's pages.

CHAPTER 3

THE WOMAN'S PAGE

In the previous chapter, the data obtained from the Political Equality League minutes illustrates the League's objectives and the methods they used to meet these objectives, but it is difficult to ascertain the exact content of the League's activities from this source alone. In this chapter, I will examine the woman's pages from two prominent weekly newspapers to determine whether the editors used their pages to educate the readers about suffrage. The primary source of data for this chapter is the suffrage content in the editorials, the letters to the editor, and additional features and reports from "The Country Homemaker" in the Grain Growers' Guide, edited by Francis Marion Beynon, and "Home Loving Hearts" in The Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer, edited by Lillian Beynon Thomas. The data from these woman's pages was collected from the years 1912 to 1916 to coincide with the duration of the Political Equality League. I will begin by introducing the two woman's page editors with a short biography of each woman. An overview of "the woman's page"—the similarities and differences between the two pages follows the biographies. Finally, a description of the suffrage content of the main features: the editorials, the letters to the editor, and additional features and reports concludes this chapter.

Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas were two of the most influential leaders in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The sisters, both educated as teachers, both well known and respected journalists, both active members of the Political Equality League of Manitoba, each edited a woman's page for a prominent

weekly newspaper geared towards prairie farmers. Both editors invited women from across the prairies to alleviate their isolation and loneliness by corresponding with the editors and other readers on topics ranging from shared recipes and health remedies to discussing temperance and woman suffrage. Usually using pen-names to ensure their anonymity, women used the woman's page as a social and intellectual outlet.

Lillian Beynon Thomas

Lillian Beynon was born on September 4, 1874 in Ontario (Provincial Archives of Manitoba, Lillian Beynon Thomas Collection). She moved to the Hartney area of Manitoba with her family in 1899 when she was fifteen years old. Lillian attended Normal School in Winnipeg and in 1896 received her Non-professional Second Class Teaching Certificate. In 1905 she graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree from Wesley College and obtained her Professional Second Class Teaching Certificate. She taught high school in Morden, Manitoba.

In 1906 Lillian Beynon began writing for The Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer. She edited for the woman's page "Home Loving Hearts" under the pseudonym "Lillian Laurie". Lillian Beynon joined several social and professional clubs. She was a founding member of The Quill Club which first met in November of 1908. The purpose of the club was to "talk shop" (Provincial Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Quill Club Minutes, November 14, 1908). George Chipman, editor of the Grain Growers' Guide, was the club's president. The club met bi-weekly for almost a year. The first meeting was held in Lillian's home at 709 Portage Avenue. At a meeting several months later, the group predicted that with Lillian Beynon "leading the woman

suffrage host the country will be in good hands" (Minutes of Meetings, Quill Club, March 20, 1909).

Lillian Beynon was instrumental in founding several Homemaker Clubs in Saskatchewan in the fall of 1910 (Cleverdon, 1974). The clubs were a project of the Extension Service of the University of Saskatchewan and were "destined to become hives of suffrage activity" (Cleverdon, p. 75). Lillian Beynon was also an active member of the Canadian Women's Press Club and the University Women's Club. In the fall of 1911, Lillian married A. V. Thomas, a journalist with The Free Press who also became an active member of the Political Equality League.

Lillian Beynon Thomas continued to write the "Home Loving Hearts" page until September 1914. A year later, she was appointed to the advisory board of the Manitoba Agricultural College. It was the first time a woman had been appointed to such a board in all of Canada (Grain Growers' Guide, September 22, 1915, p. 10). Lillian and her husband left Winnipeg abruptly in 1917 when A. V. Thomas was fired from The Free Press. He had crossed the floor of the legislature to congratulate F. J. Dixon on his anti-conscription speech. The Thomases lived in New York for several years, returning to Winnipeg in 1922 where they both continued their writing careers. Lillian Beynon Thomas wrote and published several plays over the years. A. V. Thomas died in 1950, and Lillian Beynon Thomas died in Winnipeg in 1961.

Francis Marion Beynon

Francis Marion Beynon was born on May 21, 1884 near Streetville, Ontario. She was the sixth of seven children born to Rebecca and James Beynon. In 1889, when

Francis was five years old, the Beynons left Ontario to try homesteading near Hartney, in the southwest corner of Manitoba. When Francis' mother died of cancer in 1898, her oldest brother Manning took over the family farm. Hicks (1988) described the three years that followed as "restless and confused" (p. ix). Manning tried various money-making schemes; Lillian, Francis' older sister, taught primary school in nearby districts; Francis, then fourteen, and her sister Maude, aged sixteen, cared for their younger brother Rueben while finishing senior school. Rueben died tragically at the age of fifteen. The Beynon children left the "small, isolated community" (Ibid.) in 1902 and moved to Winnipeg without their father who died four years later in Estevan, Saskatchewan.

Francis Marion Beynon trained to become a school teacher and taught primary school in various districts near Carman, Manitoba (Hicks, 1987). In 1908 Francis joined her family in Winnipeg where she worked in the advertising division of the T. Eaton department store. She became involved in the literary community, attending Quill Club meetings. In 1912, Francis was hired as the first full-time woman's page editor of the Grain Growers' Guide. Francis also wrote occasional feature articles for the Grain Growers' Guide. Hicks (1987) argued that Francis Marion Beynon wrote the bi-weekly column "Country Girl's Ideas" which was signed anonymously as "a country girl", and that she conducted the children's page under the pen name of "Dixie Patton". Francis continued writing for the Grain Growers' Guide until 1917 when she had a "falling out with George Chipman over the war" (Hicks, 1987, p. 48). Beynon was forced to resign as editor of "The Country Homemaker" because she publicly opposed male conscription (Hicks, 1988).

Not much is known of Francis Marion Beynon after she left Winnipeg in 1917. Francis joined her sister Lillian and husband Vernon Thomas in Brooklyn, New York. She wrote her novel Aleta Day which was published in 1919. In the early 1920s she worked at the Seamen's Church Institute in New York. Hicks (1987) speculates that thereafter she may have tried to make her living as a freelance writer. When Francis Marion Beynon returned to Winnipeg years later, she was ill with cancer.⁷ She died in October of 1951 (Winnipeg Tribune, October 8, 1951).

The Woman's Page

The woman's page was not a new feature in the weekly prairie newspapers, but when the Beynon sisters were hired as editors the purpose, content, and style of the woman's page changed. Lillian Beynon's introduction to readers of The Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer as Lillian Laurie occurred well before 1912, the point at which this study begins, but in a 1913 editorial, Lillian Laurie reflected on the page's history. Prior to her editorials, the page contained hints on beauty, dress, and how to win and keep a man's heart (The Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer, "Home Loving Hearts", October 22, 1913). (All further references to this column will be cited as HLH followed by the date).

When "Home Loving Hearts" was created in the fall of 1909, Lillian Laurie thought women "had too much sense, on the whole, to be wholly interested in such matters. At least I gave the country women credit for having too much sense to want a weekly diet of such reading matter" (HLH, October 22, 1913). Lillian Laurie believed women should be given the opportunity, via "Home Loving Hearts" to "come out and say

what they really wanted" (Ibid.). Her vision for the upcoming year was that the page would benefit many people, and that it would "reflect the mental life of our women as it has never done before; and I hope the mental life of our women is on such a high plane that it will be an inspiration to all" (Ibid.).

In her first editorial, on June 12, 1912, Francis Marion Beynon served notice to her readers that this page would be a serious feature in the Grain Growers' Guide. She introduced herself, the page's new name, its new location in the paper, and the new heading "free from all the fussy little curly wurlies with which it is commonly deemed necessary to ornament the heading of a woman's page" (Grain Growers' Guide, "The Country Homemaker", June 12, 1912). (All further references to this column will be cited as CHM followed by the date). At the end of her first year as editor of "The Country Homemaker", Francis Marion Beynon wrote about her vision for "The Woman's Page": "yesterday it was occupied with furniture, beauty hints and etiquette. Today it deals with domestic relations and domestic science; tomorrow it will be about the life of the larger family—the nation" (CHM, December 25, 1912).

When the Beynon sisters took over the woman's page for their respective newspapers, the purpose of both woman's pages—"The Country Homemaker" and "Home Loving Hearts"—changed from providing beauty hints and discussing dress and etiquette to a serious page that would reflect women's thoughts on issues outside the home. The readers would share their views on topics such as suffrage and temperance and inspire each other. Both woman's pages contained the same main features: editorials, letters to the editor, and additional features and reports.

Both woman's page editors wrote deliberately about woman suffrage. In "Home Loving Hearts", during the 32 months examined in this study, at least 42 editorials were devoted to this topic. This is comparable with the 69 editorials on woman suffrage in the 55 months examined in "The Country Homemaker". Lillian Laurie published 258 letters that were related to woman suffrage, while Francis Marion Beynon published 164 letters. This difference is likely due to the format of each page. "Home Loving Hearts" was often spread over several pages of the newspaper. The typeface was small and the letters to the editor were crowded together in narrow columns. "The Country Homemaker" was usually contained on one page of the paper. It used large type and more white space. The number of additional articles and reports on woman suffrage was similar in both pages: "Home Loving Hearts" printed 19, and "The Country Homemaker" printed 13.

While both journalists demonstrated a commitment to increasing and reflecting their reader's knowledge base about woman suffrage, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas exemplified very different approaches in their columns. Francis Marion Beynon demonstrated a democratic, reader-centred approach within an environment safe for discussing opposing views. Lillian Beynon Thomas demonstrated a more didactic, authoritarian approach with an evangelical fervor to persuade women to join the cause.

The Country Homemaker

Francis Marion Beynon offered the woman's page in the Grain Growers' Guide as a site for readers of "The Country Homemaker" to learn about woman suffrage. Beynon presented herself as an equal with her readers. One reader, Mrs. M. E. Graham, characterized Francis Marion Beynon as "the most sensible, know-how-it-feels-myself

editor" (CHM, January 1, 1913). Beynon valued her readers' knowledge base, and described them as "veritable seers in the knowledge of ways and means and in knowledge of other kinds acquired only through an intimate acquaintance with Nature and Necessity" (CHM, June 12, 1912). Beynon sought out differing opinions and asked for readers' input on the page's format. She told her readers that their input was the focal point of the page.

Readers of "The Country Homemaker" responded positively to this reader-centred learning environment. One reader commented: "every topic sets us women thinking" (CHM, June 18, 1913). Another reader valued a letter from an anti suffragist because such letters "bring out arguments for the suffrage movement for women which we otherwise would not know" (CHM, November 12, 1913). A third reader stated that reading other women's letters was an inspiration (CHM, June 25, 1913). Several readers commented on the freedom of expression afforded them on "The Country Homemaker" page: "matters of all kinds can be discussed impersonally" (Ibid.); "I am always interested in The Homemakers page, there is always so much freedom of expression" (CHM, July 21, 1915); and a male contributor to the page admired its "aggressive democratic spirit" (CHM, June 10, 1914).

Francis Marion Beynon ensured that this democratic spirit prospered. She invited differing points of view and printed them. When a reader criticized her for printing a letter in support of socialism, Francis Marion Beynon replied: "The opinions expressed in the letters on the Homemakers page are not necessarily the opinions of the editor, but it is our intention to give the opportunity in this page for a frank discussion of social

problems" (CHM, October 28, 1914). She added, in a lighter tone, that as the editor, she reserved "the right to discontinue the discussion when it becomes tiresome or the writers grow personally abusive" (Ibid). After several letters criticized a series of cartoons published on the page, one angry reader defended the cartoons saying: "If women showed no better judgement in voting than they have in grasping the idea the pictures were meant to convey, they could not be relied on to vote intelligently" (CHM, January 6, 1915). Francis Marion Beynon replied that she did not feel the same indignation; the "criticism was offered in the kindest spirit and courteous manner" (Ibid.). Again the editor reiterated, "All such criticism is welcome" (Ibid.).

Readers were quick to either defend Francis Marion Beynon's responses to letters or judge her for being too harsh. Beynon printed letters expressing either sentiment. When a male reader relegated Francis Marion Beynon and Mrs. Pankhurst to St. Helena, accusing them of being unbalanced (CHM, October 1, 1913), Francis Marion Beynon's readers came to her defense. One response to this letter stated that Francis Marion Beynon had been generous to print the letter, but that her disagreement with an argument from Wolf Willow, a frequent writer to the page, that women's votes would be as bad as men's had not been so generous (CHM, November 5, 1913). Another letter defended Francis Marion Beynon's response to Wolf Willow (CHM, January 21, 1913). Francis Marion Beynon stated: "I never cease to wonder at the fervor with which the readers take up the cudgels in my behalf" (CHM, January 9, 1915).

There are several indications that both Francis Marion Beynon and her readers considered "The Country Homemaker" an opportunity for education about suffrage. A

letter written to the editor on May 21, 1913 suggested that readers' enthusiasm about suffrage in these open, and sometimes heated, discussions on the page was similar to what teachers looked for from their students in the classroom:

Did you ever, when teaching, wish that your children would grow so enthusiastic about a subject you were explaining that they would ask all sorts of questions about it, and that their ideas would fairly crowd over one another for expression? Well, now, it may be that's what's happening to you in some of these discussions with the women. (CHM, May 21, 1913)

Francis Marion Beynon's approach to education and learning were made very clear in an editorial comparing educators to socialists:

The true educationalist is not a belligerent person. His real business in life is not imparting knowledge, but stimulating an interest in and a desire for information on the part of the student. To be really fruitful, education must come in response to a spontaneous wish to learn upon the part of the person who is educated. To create this desire requires tact and a profound understanding of human nature....His should be the attitude of the expert, salesman, genial, sympathetic, quick to see the other man's point of view, clever at dropping just the right word in season and an interested listener. (CHM, November 17, 1915)

Summary

Francis Marion Beynon provided a safe environment for the readers of "The Country Homemaker" to learn about and discuss woman suffrage. She presented herself as an equal with her readers, truly valuing their knowledge and experience. Beynon

created a woman's page which placed readers at its centre. They were given a venue for expressing their views and outlining their arguments even when they differed from that of each other and the editor. Criticism was not only valued, but sought after. Francis Marion Beynon believed that the role of an educator was to stimulate interest and a desire for learning, and not merely to impart knowledge. She put her beliefs into practice in "The Country Homemaker".

Home Loving Hearts

Through her "Home Loving Hearts" editorials, Lillian Laurie provided readers of The Manitoba Weekly Free Press and Prairie Farmer with an opportunity to learn about woman suffrage. On August 6, 1913 she wrote: "It has given me great pleasure the last few weeks to note the broader outlook of many of our members when discussing the vote and other questions". She repeated that sentiment a year later: "It is interesting to note that more and more of our members are becoming interested in public questions" (HLH, April 22, 1914).

Lillian Laurie expected criticism of her views and methods. She told her readers that if they disagreed with her, they could argue the other side: "We can bear criticism" (HLH, May 13, 1912). In another editorial she stated: "If this page did not cause adverse criticism, I would consider it a failure. If we are going to get ahead, we will at times trample on the pet theories of someone" (HLH, December 4, 1912). However, her approach to criticism was quite different from that of Francis Marion Beynon. When women wrote to "Home Loving Hearts" disagreeing with woman suffrage, they too had to bear criticism. Lillian Laurie's response to them was harsh: "I was sorry to think

there are such selfish women in this west land. One thing I feel sure of—they do not belong to our circle [MBA]" (HLH, June 18, 1913). To another woman who wrote that she did not need suffrage because she had a good husband, Lillian Laurie responded in a similar vein: "I feel that she is absolutely selfish and has no conception of her responsibility as a woman and as a citizen" (HLH, August 6, 1913). When the women in Saskatchewan were not signing petitions circulated by the Grain Growers' Association, Lillian Laurie stated that they did not deserve the franchise "for they were too indolent and selfish to care for the welfare of those who cannot care for themselves" (HLH, November 12, 1913).

Lillian Laurie argued relentlessly that to support woman suffrage was a woman's duty—to other women and children, to her own children, and ultimately to the nation (HLH, January 8, 1913 and January 15, 1913). Describing a difficult day at the Manitoba Stampede where members of the Political Equality League put on a public awareness event about woman suffrage, Lillian Laurie wrote of her own sense of duty:

You may think it an easy thing to put a great yellow sash with "Votes for Women" on it across your shoulders, and take banners with "Votes for Women" in big letters, and distribute literature to a great indifferent crowd of men and women and children, but it isn't easy. It was one of the hardest things I ever did and only a sense of duty to women made me do it. A sense of duty to the women who cannot take their own part. (HLH, August 7, 1913)

"Home Loving Hearts" readers responded positively to Lillian Laurie's strong leadership. Two weeks after reading an editorial on "votes for women", Pinch Me wrote "I think our

editor deserves much credit for the part she takes so strongly" (HLH, April 9, 1913).

NEA wrote that Lillian Laurie's stance "makes us all feel a lot braver" (HLH, October 15, 1913).

Lillian Beynon Thomas was devoted to working for "the betterment of women" (HLH, May 13, 1912), and if she was able to help only one woman, the criticism she faced would be worth it. Lillian Laurie valued her readers' support:

Do you know that this page would have been out of existence long ago if you had not stood back of all my efforts, a steadfast band on whose sympathy I know I could rely on at all times....I can feel that you are all there, ready to put you [sic] shoulders to the wheel of progress and push with all your might. (Ibid.)

Ultimately, for progress to take place, education was necessary. Lillian Laurie's commitment to education as a tool in the woman suffrage movement is apparent from her page. When she wrote about the activities of the Political Equality League of Manitoba, she emphasized its educational purpose (HLH, October 23, 1912). Women, she argued, needed to become educated about suffrage:

The women of our province need a lot of educating--not only to teach them the value of the franchise, but to lead them to a broader outlook on life so that they will take some interest in public questions. (HLH, August 27, 1913)

One "Home Loving Hearts" reader expressed her appreciation of the column's methods. She was able to gain knowledge in a "nutshell" which suited her because "few of us have time to follow debates and discussions from year to year, and if we are to have equal franchise (which we will) then we must have knowledge to vote intelligently"

(HLH, February 18, 1914).

Summary

Lillian Beynon Thomas used her editorials to impart knowledge about woman suffrage to "Home Loving Hearts" readers. She expected criticism for her beliefs, and she did not refrain from criticising her readers for their narrow views. Lillian Beynon Thomas used her prominent role as a leader in the suffrage movement to inspire devotion to the cause; it was a woman's duty, she argued, to support woman suffrage.

Editorials

The Country Homemaker

Francis Marion Beynon's editorials were seldom the primary focus of the page, either in tone or in volume. She often used her editorials as short introductions to topics that might engage her readers in further discussion. An editorial entitled "Men Invading Women's Sphere" reported on nine men who had enrolled in a domestic science course at Cornell University. Francis Marion Beynon wondered whether men were trying to prove their superiority in all fields. Why, she wondered, did women not seem to mind "men entering their sphere and men protest women entering theirs" (CHM, August 29, 1913). In another editorial she asked her readers what they thought of the slogan "Ask Your Husband", which was being used to advertise a Canadian household appliance. Francis Marion Beynon concluded that the manufacturer would "have to address a more intelligent appeal to the women of today if he would touch their hearts and open their purses" (CHM, September 22, 1915).

At other times, Francis Marion Beynon used her editorials to contextualize the

prairie woman suffrage movement within the world-wide women's movement. In July of 1912, she presented three short discussions on women's changing role in society based on Olive Schreiner's Women and Labour.⁸ On August 13, 1913, Beynon discussed two arguments used against reform citing Mary Wollenstonecroft.⁹ Francis Marion Beynon conveyed her excitement about this auspicious time for women:

I am thankful we are living in the fighting days where there are so many things waiting to be done that we have no time to sit down and feel sorry for ourselves; when humanity is seething and boiling and stirring with a thousand conflicting interests which in the end will work themselves out to the final good of the race. And we women have just begun to dabble with our fingertips in this eddying stream of life. (CHM, January 1, 1913)

From the beginning of her employment with the Grain Growers' Guide, Francis Marion Beynon wrote about women and war: "When women have a voice in public affairs...war will die a natural death and be supplanted by a more humane and civilized method of settling international disputes--arbitration" (CHM, July 31, 1912). When the war broke out in Europe in 1914, an incredulous Francis Marion Beynon wrote:

it is unbelievable that a great European war can happen in this, the twentieth century. It is so illogical, so barbarous....when [women] become legislators, they will find a saner method of settling differences of opinion than by sending their sons to rot on the battlefield. (CHM, August 12, 1914)

A month later, when training camps were first being set up in Manitoba, Francis concluded: "It is no use, one cannot go on writing of ordinary humdrum things of life

while the school yard over the way is dotted with little white tents and splashes of red and khaki" (CHM, September 9, 1914). This pre-occupation with pacifism and war continued in Francis Marion Beynon's editorials until she left the Grain Growers' Guide in 1917.

Francis Marion Beynon cared deeply about the legal, financial, and emotional well-being of farm women. In an April 1913 editorial she described Manitoba's property laws, telling her readers that a man could sell property without his wife's permission. If this happened, it was the woman who had to prove cruelty to the courts. This was a lengthy process which took more money than most women had (CHM, April 16, 1913).

Beynon urged her readers to join women's clubs for their emotional well-being: If one wants to live more completely every year it is necessary to do and think and take an interest in things outside the daily routine of one's work. It was the realization of this necessity that led to the formation of women's clubs in the cities first, and later in rural communities. (CHM, October 15, 1913)

She also encouraged farm women to take holidays: "Having only one life to live we cannot afford to spend it all in drab days of drudgery unbroken by any relaxation" (Ibid.). Francis Marion Beynon cautioned her readers that if they did not take holidays like city women, their mental health was at stake: "Our insane asylums are regularly recruited from the ranks of farm women" (CHM, July 14, 1915). Beynon discussed women's unnecessary martyrdom. She thought women should take responsibility for inventing time saving devices and habits as men did (CHM, July 30, 1913).

Francis Marion Beynon used her editorials to inform readers about suffrage

activities in Manitoba and to describe to them how they could join the campaign. On November 13, 1912 she reported on a public meeting of the Political Equality League. She informed her readers that they could help the cause by making a financial contribution to the League. She assured her male readers that both their moral and financial support was welcome (CHM, January 8, 1913). In February of 1914, Francis Marion Beynon reported that the suffrage movement in Manitoba was "moving ahead so rapidly...that we have to do a quick step to keep pace with it" (CHM, February 11, 1914). She reported on the Political Equality League sponsored deputation to the premier on January 27 and on the program at the Walker Theatre that followed the next day.

In the summer of that year, Francis Marion Beynon announced "Suffrage Week in Manitoba", asking readers who believed in democracy to "spread the gospel" by distributing literature and arranging public meetings. The Political Equality League would provide both the literature and the speakers. The Political Equality League had written to ministers in the province asking them to preach a sermon on suffrage on June 28 (CHM, July 1, 1914).

Francis Marion Beynon also used her editorials to advise woman suffrage supporters on effective techniques for persuading people to join the cause. She suggested that speakers should be moderate in their promises, and that there was "nothing to be gained by railing at men" (CHM, January 29, 1913). Beynon outlined a series of arguments for and against woman suffrage that could be used in debates (CHM, December 24, 1913). As the province of Manitoba drew closer to suffrage legislation, Beynon reminded readers once again about arguments for suffrage. She also gave her

readers very clear instructions on how to obtain and circulate petition forms:

Please remember: To state how many blanks you are likely to need. There is room for thirty names on each. That only women may sign this petition. That an adult woman is one who is twenty-one years of age. Being married and a mother does not make a woman an adult in the eyes of the law. That failure to comply with these rules makes your petition useless. (CHM, September 8, 1915)

During the legislative scandal in the spring of 1915, suffrage once again became a "live issue" in Manitoba. Francis Marion Beynon wrote: "These are such stirring times" (CHM, May 26, 1915). A few weeks later she called her readers "to arms", asking for their help in circulating petitions for the Political Equality League (CHM, June 9 and July 28, 1915). In September Francis Marion Beynon reported "it is generally conceded that the women of Manitoba are on the eve of winning the right to citizenship" (CHM, September 1, 1915). She repeated the request to help with circulating petitions. In January 1916 Francis Marion Beynon reported "no blare of trumpets announced to the world at large" (CHM, January 5, 1916) the Manitoba women's presentation of petitions to the legislature.

Home Loving Hearts

An examination of Lillian Laurie's editorials over the three year period, from 1912 to 1914, indicates that as editor, she facilitated women's learning about suffrage in several ways. First, Lillian Laurie used her editorials to disseminate information about suffrage activities. Second, she discussed women's changing role in society, and third, she outlined a course of action for her readers.

Lillian Laurie informed her readers about the Manitoba political situation. She reported the Roblin government's strong opposition to woman suffrage and outlined several reasons for their stance:

One is that the leaders of the government are autocratic and really feel that they are more capable of managing the affairs than the women could possibly be.

Mixed up with this is no doubt the feeling that the politics here are such a filthy mess they do not wish to see women contaminated. (HLH, January 15, 1913)

While the government in power was strongly opposed to woman suffrage, the opposition party, Lillian Laurie reported, had not declared in its favor. The suffrage advocates in Manitoba were planning to force debate on the issue during the next election campaign.

A year later, Lillian Laurie reported on the political progress being made in Manitoba. A deputation of members from the Political Equality League and supporting organizations was received by Premier Roblin. Lillian Laurie reported that Nellie McClung "made one of the best speeches that has ever been made in the legislative halls" (HLH, February 18, 1914). In the months that followed, woman suffrage and many other reforms were adopted by the Liberal party in its platform. The Liberals promised to enfranchise Manitoba women upon being presented with a petition of signatures representing 15% of the number of men that had voted in the previous election. Upon this promise, both Nellie McClung and Lillian Beynon Thomas actively campaigned for Liberal candidates.

Keeping readers abreast of the 1914 provincial election results and of the implications for woman suffrage, Lillian Laurie informed them that in the event of a

Liberal party win, a petition would be circulated immediately. If the Conservatives were returned to power, the readers would be informed of a campaign as soon as one was organized (HLH, July 15, 1914). In her editorial the following month, Lillian Laurie announced that the Roblin government had been sustained, but she predicted that in the upcoming session of the legislature "the Liberals will be much stronger and will make their influence felt. I think the next session will be the most interesting in the history of Manitoba..." (HLH, August 12, 1914). The suffrage leaders had been so busy with the election campaign, and so confident of a Liberal win, that they did not plan any events beyond the election. Lillian Laurie encouraged her readers not to give up hope.

Lillian Laurie used her editorials to spur readers into action. Throughout 1913 she directed her readers to agitate for woman suffrage by writing letters and circulating petitions. Manitoba suffrage activists were drawing up a petition form, and Lillian Laurie invited Manitoba readers to write in and request one: "we need all the help we can get. Or rather we must all join if we are going to be as effective as we should be" (HLH, May 7, 1913). In May 1913 Lillian Laurie reported that the petition forms were ready for circulation. In Manitoba, since the legislature had not passed a resolution for woman suffrage, two petitions were being circulated--one for men and one for women. Lillian assured her readers that the petition forms were "simple and merely state their purpose without any arguments" (HLH, May 21, 1913). She published the address where they could send for petition forms.

When the Saskatchewan government passed a resolution favoring woman suffrage but would not enfranchise women until more women had expressed a desire for

it, Lillian Laurie encouraged women to inundate the Saskatchewan legislature with petitions (HLH, December 24, 1913). However, the newspaper accounts about the Saskatchewan proceedings had been misleading. Lillian Laurie reported that Miss Beynon of the Grain Growers' Guide had written to Premier Scott to obtain the exact number of signatures needed for women to secure the vote. His reply to Francis Beynon outraged suffrage leaders in both provinces. The premier had clarified his position in the letter to Beynon: even "if every woman in the province expressed a wish for it, he would not feel justified in giving it to them, because an election had not been fought on that question" (HLH, January 21, 1914). Lillian Laurie reprinted the letter in her column.

After this setback, and when the letter writing and petition circulation strategy did not result in legislative change, Lillian Laurie directed her readers to change their strategy. Lillian Laurie rallied her readers to organize and join forces in a renewed effort to obtain suffrage. In a February 1914 editorial, Lillian Laurie replied to women in Saskatchewan and Manitoba asking what they should do to obtain the vote. She called for women to organize every constituency in their province with suffrage societies. She urged them to canvass their communities and to get every woman working for the cause.

Lillian Laurie gave step-by-step instruction for the organization of suffrage societies. First, she suggested, call a meeting in your own home. At that meeting, after appointing officers, "decide what you are going to work for, then plan a method of work, and send for literature" (HLH, February 25, 1914). At the next meeting, in a different home, having obtained suffrage literature "talk about what has been done, where they have the vote, point out the great need for the sake of the children, that women should

help form the laws. Let everyone discuss it" (Ibid.). Lillian Laurie suggested that these societies should appoint one woman to obtain literature, and another to visit every woman in the community, getting her to read the literature and join the society.

In addition to organizing suffrage societies and gaining support from all women in the community, Lillian Laurie instructed these newly formed societies to raise public awareness of woman suffrage by holding public meetings, debates, socials, and putting on the play "How the Vote Was Won". She implored her readers to "get everyone talking about it" (Ibid.). They should get ministers and teachers to support and help in the cause. If their legislative member favored woman suffrage, he should be asked to state his view publicly. Lillian Laurie concluded her editorial advice with one last rallying call:

If three women in one district--yes if only one woman makes up her mind that she will stir that district up, nothing can stop her. It is earnestness we need. Be sure you are right, and then go ahead, though everyone protest, you will win success and respect. (Ibid.)

Lillian Laurie wrote frequently about women's present inferior legal, financial, and social status. Although women had to abide by the same laws as men, they had no voice in the making of laws. Lillian Laurie made an appealing argument on this issue by quoting a statement of defense given by British suffragist, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, on her recent arrest:

...where it is a question of rights and privileges a woman is not a person, but where it is a question of pains and penalties woman is a person. So, gentlemen,

in this court, Mrs. Pethick Laurence and I are persons to be punished, but we are not persons to have a voice in making the laws which we may break and which we may be punished for breaking. We must pay our taxes, we must obey laws; but when it comes to choosing the men who impose taxes and make the laws, we have no legal existence. (HLH, July 17, 1912)

Lillian Laurie believed that women's input was imperative in all legal matters pertaining to women and girls: "women should help to frame the laws governing the employment of girls. Women, and not men, should be in charge of our police courts where unfortunate girls and women are taken" (HLH, January 15, 1913).

Lillian Laurie envisioned a world where women's poverty would be eradicated: "A world where a woman will be paid the same wages as a man for the same work...a world where there are no slums, no hopeless women, starving children. A world where justice reigns" (HLH, May 13, 1912). She believed that the vote would ensure women's financial equality with men, and women would no longer be financially enslaved to their husbands (HLH, November 26, 1913).

Lillian Laurie argued that voting would "raise woman to a position, where she will have greater respect for herself; where men will respect her more and where she will be more worthy of respect" (HLH, May 13, 1912). However, she prefaced her optimism in all these matters: "if women get the vote, it will not right all these wrongs at once" (HLH, January 8, 1913), and "none of us believe that the millennium will come when women get the vote" (HLH, July 9, 1913). However, Lillian Laurie remained unswayed in her belief that the vote meant improved conditions for women and children. She

concluded that if conditions for women improved, "than the whole nation will be benefitted" (Ibid.).

Summary

Both woman's page editors used their editorials to inform readers about the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba. They reported regularly on Political Equality League meetings, events, and campaigns. They used their columns to encourage readers to participate in the provincial campaign. The editors suggested specific ways to participate. Both Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Laurie urged readers to sign and circulate petition forms. Francis Marion Beynon outlined pro suffrage arguments and effective discussion techniques. Lillian Laurie outlined how women could start suffrage societies in their own communities.

These editorials offered similar content about suffrage, but they differed in tone. Francis Marion Beynon's editorials generated discussion and debate among her readers. Lillian Beynon's editorials appealed for readers to join the suffrage cause—it was their duty. Readers' responses to these editorials, in the letters to the editor feature, reflected this difference in tone.

Letters to the Editor

The Country Homemaker

From June 1912 to December 1915 approximately 164 letters were written to the editor of "The Country Homemaker" on topics related to woman suffrage. In these letters, 81 people stated their pro suffrage stance. In 31 letters, readers gave reasons for their views, listing among them the belief that women would vote more responsibly than

men, and that women's influence on law making would improve their legal status.

Several letters stated women's concerns about their present property rights and lack of financial equality with their husbands.

What is noteworthy about the letters written to "The Country Homemaker" editor about woman suffrage is that at least a quarter of them were a response to another letter, to the editor, or to an article appearing on the page. In these letters people agreed or disagreed with each other. They challenged each other's views. They criticized the editor's position. As both "for's" and "anti's" were given voice in the letters to the editor, this feature was a safe forum for discussions about suffrage.

Home Loving Hearts

Letters to the editor were a main feature of the "Home Loving Hearts" column. Every week Lillian Laurie published as many letters as she could squeeze onto the woman's page. From January 1912 to August of 1914, 258 letters to the editor related to woman suffrage. Of these letters, 194 clearly indicated the reader's personal support for "the vote". Only 39 women stated their support for the cause without giving a reason. The majority of women used their letters to state their opinion about voting and woman suffrage.

The women listed many reasons why they supported suffrage. The reason stated most frequently was so that they could vote for temperance. Other women stated that woman suffrage was a woman's right; that they were entitled to equal rights with men. Many women responded to criticisms that women were not capable or informed enough to vote intelligently. They argued that their intelligence was not an issue, and that they

would vote conscientiously. Women writing to Lillian Laurie and "Home Loving Hearts" expressed concern that they did not have a voice in making laws. They had no protection when it came to property rights, taxes, and equal pay for equal work. Still other women argued that votes for women were necessary because women had a duty to women and children less fortunate than themselves, to their own children, and ultimately to their country. Some women expressed concern about the white slave traffic and stated that they would use their vote to stop this evil. Finally, several readers expressed a desire to improve conditions in the world by improving the lives of women and children and by helping to clean up politics.

Summary

The "Letters to the Editor" feature of these woman's pages illustrates the difference in approaches between Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas. Francis Marion Beynon's approach was collaborative, inviting input and criticism from her readers. Her readers used this setting to discuss, in a safe environment, their personal views on woman suffrage. Lillian Beynon Thomas' approach certainly encouraged her readers to give voice to their view. This is indicated by the vast number of letters written to the editor. These letter writers, however, did not engage each other in discussion, nor did they offer criticism about the page to the same degree as in "The Country Homemaker".

Additional Features and Reports

In addition to the editorials and letters to the editor, the woman's pages occasionally offered additional features and reports. Both woman's pages ran a series

during the time period examined in this study. "The Country Homemaker" series ran from October to November of 1914, and the "Home Loving Hearts" series ran from May to July of 1914. These two series were very different in nature and exemplify the different approaches of each editor.

The Country Homemaker

Francis Marion Beynon ran a series of controversial cartoons in five weekly installments from October 14 to November 11, 1914. The cartoons depicted a woman's marriage from the proposal to her husband's desertion. In the first installment, "The Courtship", John Tightwad, a bachelor from Saskatchewan traveled east and persuaded Jennie Armstrong to marry him and return to the west. He proposed, saying: "with all my worldly goods I thee endow" (CHM, October 14, 1914). His worldly goods included one shack, a yoke of oxen, a waggon, a plow and a ball and chain representing chattel mortgages.

In the second installment, "Getting Down to Realities", the first year of marriage had Jennie working in the field. She saved her husband \$245 in hired help. However, she was not offered any of the returns, nor was she consulted about how they were spent (CHM, October 21, 1914). "Contributes the Keep of the House", the third installment, depicted Jennie milking a cow with one hand while holding onto a baby's hand with the other. Jennie's outdoor activities were curtailed with the arrival of son, Bob, but she "added to the potential earning power of the family...and still did not handle any of the money nor was she consulted" (CHM, October 28, 1914).

The fourth installment, "Just a Domestic", depicted an angry, clenched fist

John, standing over Jennie who was sitting and rocking a baby. Fifteen years had passed. The couple had six children, two sections of land, many head of stock, a barn, and a house. All that Jennie owned was a dowdy wardrobe. She had to beg for money: "He made it very clear to her that the money and the house and the family were all his" (CHM, November 4, 1914). When Jennie consulted a lawyer, she found that her husband was within the law—her position was that of an unpaid domestic. In the final installment, "Destitution", another three years had passed. John sold everything and disappeared with a pretty widow. Jennie was left destitute. She got a little house in town and began to take in washing to make a living.

These cartoons brought an onslaught of criticism. One reader wrote that although she knew the "pictures were meant to show women why they need the vote", she thought such extreme depictions would "soon lose women a vote" (CHM, December 9, 1914). The cartoons were considered in bad taste and offensive to Saskatchewan men (January 6, 1915). Francis Marion Beynon defended the series explaining that the story was meant to illustrate a law:

All I am working for is to get things adjusted so that when they come to blows the man won't have the infantry, cavalry and artillery of the law at his back, and the woman be left with only the rolling pin to defend herself. (CHM, December 9, 1914)

Although the cartoons generated criticism, several readers responded that they did not feel offended by the cartoons (CHM, January 6, 1916, January 27, 1916, and February 3, 1916).

Home Loving Hearts

Lillian Laurie wrote a series of political articles in response to readers' requests. The articles had been promised for some time, and Lillian Laurie hoped that they would be nonpartisan, interesting, and readable. She would start with Canadian history "in order to explain the way the country has been built up and the way the constitution has grown" (HLH, January 14, 1914). However, when she printed the first article, she still expressed uncertainty about how to present them:

This will no doubt, seem very childish to some, but I am bearing in mind the fact that many people living in the west, come from other countries, where the laws and conditions are different, and am also bearing in mind the fact that many women are beginning, for the first time to take an interest in public questions.

Such need a simple beginning, so that they may grasp the reason back of so many problems that face us at the present time. (HLH, May 13, 1914)

Lillian Laurie's political articles were printed over a nine week period. As promised she started at the beginning. In "Canada a British Colony" she discussed Columbus' arrival in North America with subsequent settlements by England and France. "The whole history of the time was one of war" (HLH, May 13, 1914), explained Lillian Laurie. In "The Loss of Thirteen States", Lillian Laurie discussed the French population in Canada, its laws, language, and religion (HLH, May 20, 1914). In the third article, "The Struggle for Representative Government", Lillian Laurie wrote about the struggle of the people and the war of 1812 (HLH, May 27, 1914). She continued a description of the people's struggle in the fourth article (HLH, June 3, 1914). Lillian Laurie maintained

the same writing style for the next two articles: "The Dominion of Canada-1867" (HLH, June 10, 1914) and "The Northwest and the Fur Trade" (HLH, June 17, 1914).

On June 24, 1914, in "The Situation in the West", Lillian Laurie began a discussion on the present political situation, and on July 8, 1914 she finally presented "The Political Situation and Woman's Suffrage". Other articles included one on the topic of temperance by Nellie McClung (HLH, July 1, 1914), and an article written by Dr. Mary Crawford on "The Chivalry and The Law" (HLH, July 29, 1914). Lillian Laurie wrote two further articles on topics germane to the day: "Education-A Vital Question Before the Country" (HLH, July 15, 1914) and an article on women's property and guardianship rights (HLH, July 22, 1914).

Summary

Both of these series were purposefully chosen as teaching tools by their editors. In the cartoon series, Francis Marion Beynon chose to teach women about their legal status using pictures and storytelling. This teaching method, perhaps because it was a subjective format for illustrating a legal fact, was open to a great deal of criticism and discussion from her readers. The political articles compiled by Lillian Beynon Thomas, illustrated 'historical truths' in the time-honored format of presenting facts. This presentation was not as open a forum for discussion and criticism.

Conclusion

As evidenced by the number of people corresponding with these two woman's page editors, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas were influential leaders in the Manitoba suffrage movement. They consciously chose to present and discuss

woman suffrage issues on the woman's page they edited. Although neither woman referred directly to her page as an educational tool, both women displayed a strong commitment to the education of their readers about woman suffrage. The readers, mostly prairie women, learned about suffrage through various methods.

In "The Country Homemaker", Francis Marion Beynon introduced topics in her editorials which would generate discussion among her readers. She encouraged prairie women to participate in the suffrage movement and outlined possible arguments and presentation techniques for them to use. She explained how they could obtain petition forms and how to sign them so the forms would be valid. Beynon used stories and pictures to illustrate their legal status to prairie women. She encouraged discussion and criticism among her readers, trusting that these educational methods would convince women of the need to support woman suffrage.

In "Home Loving Hearts", Lillian Laurie used her editorials to disseminate facts and information about the Manitoba suffrage movement. Her editorials appealed to women's sense of duty to their own children, to other women and their children, and ultimately to the nation. Lillian Laurie asked women to support the woman suffrage movement by signing and circulating petition forms. Later in the campaign, she urged her readers to organize suffrage societies and outlined a clear course of action for such organization. Lillian Laurie appealed to women's emotions and principles to sway their support for woman suffrage.

The woman's page was instrumental to the success of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The two woman's page editors, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian

Beynon Thomas, used the adult education method of Public Education, one of the methods listed in Table 4 (see page 31) Adult Education in Women's Organizations. The rural women of Manitoba, isolated from the suffrage activities centred in Winnipeg, were provided with newspaper coverage of suffrage events and ideas through the woman's page. As well as informing rural women about suffrage activities, suffrage arguments, and providing procedures for the circulation of petitions and organizing societies, the woman's page contributed to the education of rural women through content about women's changing role in society, women's duty to themselves, their children, and their communities, and women's legal and social status in the province. In Chapter 4, I will provide further analysis of the adult education methods used in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to determine the extent to which the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba was adult education. In the first chapter, I provided a definition and criteria for adult education and proposed a model on which to base historical research into adult education in women's organizations. These two sets of criteria will be used for the data analysis in this chapter. I will begin the chapter with an analysis of the data obtained from the Political Equality League records and the two woman's pages to determine whether the methods and content of the suffrage movement's activities meet the definition and criteria for 'adult education' proposed in Chapter 1. Then I will analyze the data using the model for adult education in women's organizations which was developed in Chapter 1. Finally, I will discuss these findings in relation to the broader contexts of a) adult education in Canada during the time period of this study, and b) adult education as an agent for social change.

The data presented in Chapters 2 and 3 indicate that the Manitoba woman suffrage movement used a variety of educational methods which correspond with those used for adult education in the model for the historical enquiry into adult education in women's organizations and are cited in the adult education literature. Table 6 summarizes the programs, methods, and content of the educational activities used in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement.

Table 6: Activities of the Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement

PROGRAMS	METHODS	CONTENT
Internal Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliamentary Procedures • Member Meetings • Business Meetings • Speakers' Class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framing a Constitution • Electing Officers • Forming Committees • Membership Committee • Finance Committee
External Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Meetings • Literature Distribution • Speakers' Bureau • Letter Writing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Debates • Speakers • Printing and publishing literature • Distribution of literature to libraries and displaying at PEL booths • at conventions • at organizational annual meetings • at public meetings
Political Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circulating petitions • Letter Writing • Delegations to the premier • Performing political dramas • Canvassing for candidates during provincial election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • purpose, method for signing • rally behind the cause • speakers, political exchange • music, satire

Analysis

An in depth analysis of the programs, methods, and content of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement's activities is necessary to determine whether (and if so, to what extent) the activities of the movement meet a) the criteria for adult education in the definition provided in Chapter 1, and b) the characteristics of adult education in women's organizations in the model proposed in Chapter 1.

Adult Education Criteria

The following definition and criteria for 'adult education' was proposed in

Chapter 1:

Adult education is the purposeful acquisition by adults and/or transference of knowledge and values to adults in a manner that will take into account the following criteria:

- That the learners are willing participants,
- That the learners are aware of and understand the adult education process(es) undertaken,
- That the educators reveal reasons for beliefs to learners,
- That educators are open to and invite evaluation and criticism of beliefs by learners,
- That educators employ methods such as dialogue, communication, and problem-posing rather than monologues, slogans, and communiques, and
- That educators and learners co-determine the educational content and process(es).

This definition will be used to analyze the activities of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The analysis will look at the four main themes suggested in this definition:

1) the purposeful transference of adult education, 2) the learners' responsibility for adult education, 3) the educators' responsibility for adult education, and 4) the co-determination of adult education.

Purposeful Transference of Adult Education

Throughout the Political Equality League's minutes and the two woman's pages, references are made to the educational nature of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. An account of Lillian Beynon Thomas' speech at the Political Equality League's first public meeting was given in the Grain Growers' Guide. She was reported to have said "in the education campaign our aim would be to reach and rouse women as well as men" (May 22, 1912, p. 27). Francis Marion Beynon, in one of her early

editorials wrote, "realizing that a great many men and women are not yet in favor of women's enfranchisement, [the Political Equality League] is entirely educational in its aim" (Country Homemaker, November 13, 1912).

The Political Equality League minutes refer to an educational campaign that would precede the circulation of the 1913 petition (Political Equality League minutes, March 1913). In 1914, Political Equality League members decided that the proceeds from performances of "The Woman's Parliament" would be used to finance a provincial education campaign (Ibid., April 29, 1914). That same spring, when Lillian Beynon Thomas addressed the Liberal party convention, she assured the audience that the platform of the Political Equality League was entirely educational in nature.

The data also indicates that specific knowledge was transferred purposefully to women of Manitoba by suffrage activists. Francis Marion Beynon advised her readers on the proper attitude when persuading other people to join the cause. She told them that speakers should be moderate in their promises and that "nothing would be gained by railing at men" (CHM, Jan 29, 1913). She outlined possible arguments both for and against woman suffrage. Beynon instructed her readers on how to obtain, circulate, and sign petitions.

Lillian Laurie also used her woman's page to purposefully transfer knowledge to her readers. Not only did she keep them informed about local, national, and international progress in the woman suffrage movement, she rallied women to organize suffrage societies in their communities and gave them step-by-step instructions for undertaking such organization.

Learners' Responsibility for Adult Education

The first two criteria for adult education are:

- That the learners are willing participants, and
- That the learners are aware of and understand the adult education process(es) undertaken.

The data indicates that the woman's page readers purposefully acquired knowledge about woman suffrage, and that they were willing participants. Nellie McClung (1945) stated that the Political Equality League members wanted to get "first-hand information on the status of women in Manitoba" (p. 106). Lillian Beynon Thomas stated that the "popular demand for information was very insistent" (Grain Growers' Guide, May 22, 1912, p. 27). Readers of the Country Homemaker page stated views such as: "every topic sets us women thinking" (June 18, 1913) and "[letters] bring out arguments for the suffrage movement for women which we otherwise would not know" (CHM, November 2, 1913). These statements indicate that many of the women of Manitoba purposefully and willingly acquired suffrage information. A letter to the Home Loving Hearts page demonstrates these learners' criteria for adult education very clearly. The writer stated that she was able to gain knowledge in a "nutshell" through the woman's page. This knowledge, she argued, was imperative for women's intelligent vote when they obtained equal franchise (Home Loving Hearts, February 18, 1914).

There are other indications that many of the people of Manitoba purposefully acquired knowledge about suffrage. As many as 800 people attended the first Political Equality League public meeting. One hundred people became members that night.

Many rural Manitoba women and men read “the woman’s page”; this is verified by the large number of women writing letters to both woman’s pages. These acts—attending meetings, joining membership, reading information, writing letters—are voluntary and purposeful activities to obtain knowledge.

Educators’ Responsibility for Adult Education

The next three criteria for adult education focus on the responsibilities of the educator:

- That the educators reveal reasons for beliefs to learners,
- That educators are open to and invite evaluation and criticism of beliefs by learners, and
- That educators employ methods such as dialogue, communication, and problem-posing rather than monologues, slogans, and communiques.

To analyze the data collected against these criteria, it is helpful to look to the woman’s page editors. Francis Marion Beynon told her readers that she was concerned about their legal, financial, and emotional well-being. She also told them that she agreed with Mary Wollenstonecroft and Olive Schreiner about women’s changing roles in society: “we women have just begun to dabble with our fingertips in this eddying stream of life” (CHM, January 1, 1913). Francis Marion Beynon believed that the women of Manitoba needed to accept and prepare for these changes. When Francis Marion Beynon was criticised for publishing a controversial series of cartoons, she clearly stated the reasons underlying her action:

All I am working for is to get things adjusted so that when they come to blows the

man won't have the infantry, cavalry and artillery of the law at his back, and the woman be left with only the rolling pin to defend herself. (CHM, December 9, 1914)

Lillian Beynon Thomas wrote extensively about the reasons for her stance on woman suffrage. She believed that women's input on the making the laws that they had to obey was imperative. In fact, women should help to frame all laws pertaining to women's status in society. Woman suffrage, Lillian Laurie wrote, would help to eradicate the poverty of women and children. It would help to ensure a woman's financial equality with her husband, raise her self respect, and make her more worthy of respect. Ultimately, this would benefit the nation as a whole.

Both woman's page editors were open to, and invited, criticism from their readers. Lillian Laurie wrote "we can bear criticism" (HLH, May 13, 1912) and later that same year "if this page did not cause adverse criticism, I would consider it a failure" (Ibid., December 4, 1912). However, this criticism was not always generously borne. When her views trampled on the pet theories of one or another of her readers, and they wrote to her expressing their disagreement, Lillian Laurie's response was often harsh: "I was sorry to think there are such selfish women in this west land. One thing I feel sure of—they do not belong to our circle [Mutual Benefit Association]" (Ibid., June 18, 1913). About another of the page's contributors she wrote: "I feel that she is absolutely selfish and has no conception of her responsibility as a woman and as a citizen" (Ibid., August 6, 1913).

Francis Marion Beynon's approach to criticism was more generous. She invited

differing points of view and printed them saying, "the opinions expressed in the Homemaker's page are not necessarily the opinions of the editor, but it is our intention to give the opportunity in this page for a frank discussion of social problems" (CHM, October 28, 1914). To another letter writer who was angry about the many letters criticizing the editor for printing the cartoon series, Beynon wrote that she did not feel the same indignation. She believed that the criticisms had been offered "in the kindest spirit and courteous manner" and that "all such criticism is welcome" (CHM, January 6, 1915).

The data indicates that leaders in the Manitoba suffrage movement used the adult education techniques of dialogue, communication, and problem-posing, the third responsibility of adult educators. The Political Equality League sponsored frequent debates between 'fors' and 'antis'. Both woman's page editors outlined pro and anti suffrage arguments for their readers. Political Equality League speakers at public meetings held question and answer sessions after their main address.

Two examples, both from the Country Homemaker page, clearly point to the Manitoba suffrage activists' use of the adult education techniques of dialogue, communication, and problem-posing. First, writers to the Country Homemaker page commented on the dialogue and communication characteristic of this page: "matters of all kinds can be discussed impersonally" (CHM, June 25, 1913). Another letter admired the page's "aggressive democratic spirit" (Ibid., June 10, 1914). A third letter stated, "there is always so much freedom of expression [on this page]" (Ibid., July 21, 1915). One letter described the nature of discussion of the page:

Did you ever, when teaching, wish that your children would grow so enthusiastic about a subject you were explaining that they would ask all sorts of questions about it, and that their ideas would fairly crowd over one another for expression? Well, now, it may be that's what's happening to you in some of these discussions with the women. (Ibid., May 21, 1913)

Another example of the Manitoba suffragists' use of the adult education method of dialogue is the number of letters written to the Country Homemaker page responding to the editor, each other, or to articles appearing on the page. Through these letters readers agreed or disagreed with each other and the editor and challenged each other's views. Since both pro and anti suffrage views were printed on the page, the page was a safe forum for engaging in dialogue about woman suffrage.

Co-Determination of Adult Education

The final criterion for adult education is:

- That educators and learners co-determine the educational content and process(es).

Although Lillian Laurie wrote the historical series in response to her readers' requests, the best evidence that suffrage activists met this criterion comes from Francis Marion Beynon's Country Homemaker page. She began her introduction to the page by describing her readers as "veritable seers in the knowledge of ways and means and in knowledge of other kinds acquired only through an intimate acquaintance with Nature and Necessity" (Country Homemaker, June 12, 1912). Valuing this knowledge base, she sought readers' input on the page's format. Their input, Francis Marion Beynon told her readers, was the focal point of the page. The page's format, the many letters responding

to each other, and the short editorials are proof of Beynon's sincerity and contrast sharply with Lillian Laurie's long editorials and the short excerpts from letters which simply stated a reader's stance on suffrage. Lillian Laurie's page format did not encourage readers to co-determine its processes and content. Rather, it encouraged readers to agree with and support the editor's views.

Summary

The foregoing analysis indicates that the definition of adult education and all its criteria were met through the methods and content of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. References to the purposeful transference of knowledge about suffrage are made in the Political Equality League 1914 constitution, its minutes, and in newspaper and woman's page coverage of the provincial suffrage campaign. Letters to the woman's page editors indicate that Manitoba women and men, as adult learners, purposefully and willingly acquired knowledge about woman suffrage.

The woman's page editors, as adult educators, met the criteria for adult education. Evidence from their editorials, as well as the format of the two woman's pages indicates that the editors revealed reasons for their beliefs, were open to and invited evaluation and criticism from learners, and used methods such as dialogue, communication, and problem-posing. While one of the editors, Francis Marion Beynon, more closely meets the criteria for adult educators, as well as the criterion to co-determine educational processes, there is ample evidence that the definition and all the criteria for adult education were met by the Manitoba woman suffrage movement.

Adult Education in Women's Organizations

The model for adult education in women's organizations, proposed in Chapter 1, is based on the model of enquiry into the history of adult education in Canada proposed by J. Roby Kidd (1979). I used Kidd's model to review the time periods, purposes, influences, and activities of five women's organizations. This review revealed several common themes. These themes became the model for analyzing the data obtained from this study (see Table 7).

Table 7: Model for the Historical Enquiry into Adult Education in Women's Organizations, 1900 - 1940

Purpose	Influences	Activities
<p>To bring women's unique experiences in the private sphere to bear on the public sphere for the betterment of the community and the nation.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eradicate war and the spirit of war • elevate women's role • cultivate home life 	<p>Events WWI and the inter-related effects of immigration and urbanization on the overall call for Canadian unity and nationalism; the changing role of women</p> <p>Ideas/Concepts the home and family unit are the foundation of the community and the nation; political activism is an extension of women's private role</p> <p>Comm. Tech. Written materials, Newspapers, Film and Radio</p> <p>Disciplines Education, Science</p>	<p>Institutions Schools</p> <p>Programs/Methods</p> <p><u>Public Education:</u> public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, question and answer sessions, literature distribution, newspaper coverage of events and ideas, exhibits, lending libraries</p> <p><u>Private Study and Member Education:</u> study groups; courses; training in public affairs, parliamentary procedures, citizenship; committee work; local organization; organization's history and purpose</p> <p><u>Political Activism:</u> lobbying, campaigning, criticism</p> <p>Public women, members, public-general education to bring about change</p> <p>Need moral reform; better women as mothers, workers, and citizens would help to improve society at the community and national level</p>

Time Periods

The suffrage activities examined in this study fall between the first (1867-1913) and the second (1914-1945) of Kidd's Significant Time Periods. Kidd's descriptions for

both time periods pertain to the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba. During the first time period, since national, provincial and local infrastructures were still being developed, adult education activities were mostly sponsored at a local or provincial level. During the second time period, dominated by the world wars at either end, many adult education activities were concerned with developing the Canadian nationality and identity. Participants in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement had to rely on local and provincial organizations, and not on established institutions, for information and organization. As was the case with Canadians generally, women in Manitoba wanted to contribute to building the Canadian identity. They sought to do so politically, pressing politicians for woman suffrage.

Purpose

The common purpose of women's organizations was "to bring women's unique experience in the private sphere to bear on the public sphere for the betterment of the community and the nation" (see Table 8). Women's influence would help to cultivate home life, elevate women's role in society, and eradicate war. There is ample evidence throughout this study that, although the primary purpose of the Manitoba suffrage movement was to obtain political equality for women, women's right to vote would ensure that their voices would be heard on a myriad of issues: forming laws, improving lives of girls and women, elevating women's self respect, benefiting the nation, and bringing about world peace.

Table 8: Comparing Purposes for Adult Education

Women's Organizations	Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement
<p>To bring women's unique experiences in the private sphere to bear on the public sphere for the betterment of the community and the nation.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • cultivate home life • elevate women's role • eradicate war and the spirit of war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • "To unite all those in sympathy with the movement to gain political equality for the women of Manitoba", • "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" (Constitution - 1914, p. 3). <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • help form laws • improve lives of girls and women • elevate women's self respect • benefit the nation • bring about world peace

After the women of Manitoba won the right to vote, they would be in a position to influence the legal system. Reverend Gordon, at the Political Equality League's first public meeting, stated that "fifty percent of the problems on which men are legislating today are problems on which a woman's voice ought to be heard" (Grain Grower's Guide, May 22, 1912, p. 27). Lillian Laurie informed her readers that women should, "for the sake of the children...help form the laws" (HLH, February 25, 1914). She argued that women should have a say in making the laws which they had to obey. Furthermore, she believed that women's input was necessary in all matters pertaining to the legal status of women and girls (e.g. property rights, child custody, financial equality with husband). Lillian Laurie believed that "women should be in charge of police courts where unfortunate girls and women are taken" (Ibid., January 15, 1913).

Woman suffrage would improve the lives of women and children. Lillian Laurie envisioned a world where "a woman will be paid the same wages as a man for the same work, a world where there are no slums, no hopeless women, starving children" (Home

Loving Hearts, May 13, 1912). Not only would 'the vote' alleviate a woman's suffering, it would elevate her self esteem: "she will have greater respect for herself...men will respect her more...she will be more worthy of respect" (Ibid.). Lillian Laurie cautioned her readers that the wrongs would not be righted all at once, but when conditions for women improved "the whole nation will be benefited" (Home Loving Hearts, July 9, 1913).

Table 8 illustrates that the purpose of adult education in women's organizations and that of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement is very similar. The purpose for adult education in women's organizations was to help women use their experiences from the private sphere to make changes in the public sphere. Women's influence in the public sphere would help to cultivate women's home life and thereby elevate their role in society. Women could then help to eradicate war. The purpose of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was to obtain political equality for women. Equality would be gained by educating and then organizing the public into a cohesive movement. Once suffrage was obtained, the women of Manitoba would be able to influence the public sphere and bring about changes which included forming laws, improving the lives of girls and women, and elevating women's self respect. These changes would benefit the nation as a whole.

The women involved in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement also believed that their political equality and the resulting influence would help to bring about world peace. Francis Marion Beynon believed fervently that woman suffrage would lead to world peace: "when women have a voice in public affairs...war will die a natural death"

(The Country Homemaker, July 31, 1912). When war broke out in Europe, Beynon responded: "it is so illogical, so barbarous...when [women] become legislators, they will find a saner method of settling differences" (Ibid., August 12, 1914).

Influences

Many economic, social, political, and cultural events influenced the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. An influx of immigrants resulted in racial and class tension in Winnipeg. The rapid rise in Winnipeg's population had led to widespread unemployment. More women were working outside the home to supplement the family income. They often worked in overcrowded, unsanitary, and unsafe conditions. The women involved in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement were influenced by the conditions surrounding them, and they wanted a voice in addressing the social needs of the people.

The ideas and concepts that shaped the suffrage movement focussed on two beliefs: that political equality for women was purely a matter of justice, and the other less radical belief, that women's experience in the home was needed to address issues in the larger community. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement was strongly influenced by politics and events outside Manitoba and Canada. The suffragists were well informed of suffrage activities in Britain, the United States, and other countries. Through the communication technology of the day: newspapers, letter writing, and public meetings, the suffragists kept up-to-date on advances made for women in the national and international sphere.

Although not clearly indicated by the data, the disciplines of Education and

Science were likely influential in the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. Several of the movement's leaders were trained as teachers (e.g. Lillian Beynon Thomas, Francis Marion Beynon, and Nellie McClung). Teachers throughout the province were targeted by the Political Equality League's letter writing campaign. The data also indicates that the women of Manitoba wanted a political voice to implement new ideas about nutrition and sanitation resulting from scientific advances.

Table 9 compares the influences shaping adult education in women's organizations with those influences shaping the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. Immigration and rapid urbanization had led to unemployment and racial and class tension throughout Manitoba and Canada. The leaders of the various women's organizations, as well as those of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement, wanted a voice in developing the Canadian national identity. The leaders of the women's organizations believed that women's influence in the public sphere was merely an extension of their private roles.

Members of the women's organizations and the Manitoba woman suffrage movement were influenced by the communication technology of the day: letter writing, newspapers, and public meetings. The disciplines of Education and Science were influential to both women's organizations and the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The influences shaping adult education in women's organizations in Canada were very similar to those shaping the Manitoba woman suffrage movement.

Table 9: Comparing Influences on Adult Education

Influences	Women's Organizations	Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement
Events	WWI and the inter-related effects of immigration, urbanization on the overall call for Canadian unity and nationalism; the changing role of women in society	immigration; racial and class tension; WWI; the feminist movement; unemployment; women working outside the home
Ideas/Concepts	the home and family unit are the foundation of the community and the nation; political activism is an extension of women's private role	feminism = peace political equality = justice women's influence needed in local, provincial and national arena
Communications Technology	written materials, newspapers, film and radio	newspapers; public meetings; letter writing
Disciplines	Education; Science	Education; Science

Activities

The Manitoba woman suffrage movement did not work closely with many institutions, but it did seek support from teachers in schools and ministers in churches. The suffrage movement worked closely with other established organizations, seeking endorsement from the Grain Growers' Association, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Direct Legislation League, and the Trades and Labour Council.

The suffrage movement, through the Political Equality League of Manitoba, supported three types of programs: Internal Political Organization, External Political Organization, and Political Action. The Internal Political Organization methods included parliamentary procedures, member meetings, business meetings, and a speaker's class. In setting up their organization, the women had to frame a constitution, elect officers, and form committees. Two of the committees were devoted to maintaining the

organization. The Membership committee was responsible for signing up members and conducting regular member meetings. The Finance Committee was responsible for raising money for public education and for training Political Equality League members to speak at public meetings.

The Political Equality League's leaders knew that overcoming public ignorance or indifference was their greatest challenge. Therefore, the Political Equality League sponsored various methods of External Organization: public meetings, literature distribution, speakers' bureau, and letter writing. The Publicity Committee was responsible for organizing public meetings. These meetings drew in the public by offering music, debates, and prominent speakers such as Nellie McClung and J.S. Gordon. In the summer of 1913, the Manitoba public was invited to a monster picnic with a popular philosopher, Elbert Hubbard, as the speaker. Public meetings drew large crowds--800 people attended the first public meeting at the Industrial Bureau in 1912--and Manitobans, probably for the first time, were exposed to the issue of woman suffrage.

The Literature Committee was responsible for the publication and printing of two pamphlets: "The Legal Status of Manitoba Women" written by Dr. Mary Crawford and "Why Manitoba Women Want the Ballot" written by Lillian Beynon Thomas. These publications and the suffrage literature purchased by the Political Equality League were distributed to libraries and were displayed at Political Equality League booths at church bazaars and at the Stampede. The Literature Committee also solicited current events papers and published a newsletter, "The Torch", to keep members updated about local,

national, and international advancements in woman suffrage. The Literature Committee sponsored a speaker's class that prepared Political Equality League members to speak at conventions, annual meetings, and public meetings. The other method of External Organization involved a letter writing campaign. Letters were written to established organizations seeking endorsement for the woman suffrage movement. The letters also volunteered Political Equality League speakers for their meetings.

The Political Equality League's third program was Political Action. The League planned various methods of political action. A Petitions Committee was set up to develop a petition form. This committee was also responsible for educating the public about the purpose of the petition and the correct method for signing the forms.

Members of the Political Equality League wrote letters to teachers and ministers, asking them to rally behind the cause. In 1915, for "Suffrage Week in Manitoba", the Political Equality League wrote letters to ministers asking them to preach a sermon about suffrage. Earlier in its organization, the Political Equality League corresponded with a member of the Manitoba legislature. The League had asked him to bring a woman suffrage bill forward to the legislature.

The Political Equality League sponsored two delegations to Premier Roblin. The first delegation, in 1914, included prominent members of the League who promoted women's political equality. The second delegation, in 1915, followed a provincial woman suffrage convention. One hundred and fifty people met with the premier. Premier Roblin still refused to grant women the franchise, but he told this delegation that women were assured 'the vote' "after the women had struggled for it an indefinite

number of years longer" (Grain Grower's Guide, February 24, 1915, p. 22).

Premier Roblin had not held out any hope for woman suffrage to the first delegation, but his remarks, well publicized by the media, became the focal point of the Political Equality League's most popular, and perhaps most successful, method of political action. "The Woman's Parliament" was put on for an overflow audience at the Walker Theatre on January 28, 1914. Music by a male quartet and a suffrage playlet, "How the Vote was Won", prepared the audience to laugh at the reversal of men's and women's roles in "The Woman's Parliament". Nellie McClung, playing the role of premier and basing her speech on Premier Roblin's to the delegation the day before, put on a fabulous performance. This entertaining evening was widely reported in the newspapers. Both "The Woman's Parliament" and "How the Vote was Won" were performed several more times throughout the province.

The final method in the League's Political Action program was direct involvement in provincial politics. In 1914, two Political Equality League members, Nellie McClung and Lillian Beynon Thomas, were asked to address the Resolutions Committee at the Liberal party convention. They were invited back to address the entire convention that evening where woman suffrage received unanimous endorsement from the Manitoba Liberal party. Thereafter, during the 1914 provincial election campaign, several members of the League actively canvassed for any candidates who publicly supported woman suffrage.

The Manitoba woman suffrage movement targeted various publics. They began with targeting women, but they realized that while men still held political and financial

power, as well as a strong desire for political reform, the men of Manitoba should be included in their campaign. Later, when petitions needed to be filled by adult women in Manitoba, women were once again the primary focus for the Political Equality League. To a lesser extent, and only later in its campaign, the suffrage movement's public included politicians. However, the suffragists seemed to know that it was the "wielders of the ballot", not the politicians, who would help to bring political equality to Manitoba women.

For the suffragists, the need was clear: political equality for women—justice. To achieve that goal, the people of Manitoba had to become informed and then organized into a cohesive movement. Other reforms would be assured soon after women had the vote. Women would finally have a voice on issues such as temperance and the legal and social status of women and girls.

In Table 10, the adult education activities of women's organizations are compared with the activities of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The programs of the suffrage movement closely correspond to the adult education programs of women's organizations. Internal Political Organization is analogous to Private Study and Member Education. The programs of both the women's organizations and the Manitoba woman suffrage movement have similar methods. The parliamentary procedures of women's organizations compare with the framing of a constitution, electing officers, and forming committees of the suffrage movement.

The Public Education programs of women's organizations are parallel to the External Organization programs of the suffrage movement. Many of the methods used

for adult education in women's organizations: public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, literature distribution, newspaper coverage, are the same methods used by the Manitoba woman suffrage movement.

Finally, the Political Activism programs of the women's organizations closely compare with the Political Action program of the suffrage movement. In both instances, methods of lobbying and campaigning were used. The political satire dramas were a method for criticising the status quo.

Table 10: Comparing Activities in Adult Education

Activities	Women's Organizations	Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement
Institutions	schools	schools and churches established organizations
Programs/Methods	<u>Private Study and Member Education:</u> study groups, courses, training in public affairs, parliamentary procedures, citizenship, committee work, local organization, organizational history and purpose <u>Public Education:</u> public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, question and answer sessions, literature distribution, newspaper coverage of events and ideas, exhibits, lending libraries <u>Political Activism:</u> lobbying, campaigning, criticism	<u>Internal Organization:</u> framing constitution, electing officers, formation of committees, speakers' class <u>External Organization:</u> public meetings, music, debates, speakers, printing and publishing literature, distributing literature, letter writing, expanding the organization, paid organizer, woman's page <u>Political Action:</u> circulating petitions, forming civic committee, organizing and informing voters, delegations to premier, canvassing for candidates in election, performing political satire dramas
Publics	women, members, general public	women, men, politicians
Needs	moral reform; better women as mothers, workers, and citizens would help improve society at community and national level	woman suffrage—to overcome indifference towards suffrage, to organize a movement, to inform public about suffrage suffrage = justice; peace

The publics and the needs of women's organizations also closely correspond to

those of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. The publics targeted were their own members, women generally, and the general public including men, children, and politicians. The need for both women's organizations and the suffrage movement was moral reform. The primary need for the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was political equality for women. Suffrage activists viewed political equality as an avenue for achieving general societal reforms—improving the lives of girls and women which would in turn benefit the nation.

Summary

When comparing the purposes, influences and the activities of adult education in women's organizations with those of the Manitoba suffrage movement, it is apparent that there is a close parallel between the two. Therefore, the data analysis, based on the criteria from the model of adult education in women's organizations, reveals the activities of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement to be adult education in nature.

Summary

The foregoing analysis of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement, 1912 - 1916, using a definition and criteria for adult education and a model for enquiry into adult education in women's organizations, both developed in Chapter 1, reveals that the methods and content of the movement's activities were adult education in nature, and that the two leaders of the suffrage movement examined in this study, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, were adult educators. I have determined that the Manitoba woman suffrage movement meets the criteria for adult education, and that the activities of the movement correspond with the characteristics in the model of adult

education in women's organizations. I will further discuss these findings in relation to the broader contexts of a) adult education in Canada during this time period, and b) adult education as an agent for social change.

Discussion

Adult Education in Canada—Early 1900s

Adult education in Canada during the time period of this study, the early 1900s, was, for the most part, sponsored by voluntary organizations. Adult education was usually of secondary importance to the organization—as a means to an end—not an end in itself. Selman (1988), in his overview of adult education in the province of British Columbia, suggested that adult education activities prior to 1914 were most often sponsored by churches, community and voluntary organizations, unions, and private business. Selman listed five examples of adult education sponsored by community or voluntary organizations: Mechanics Institutes, YM and YWCAs, private or proprietary schools, Farmers Institutes, and Women's Institutes. The adult education activities sponsored by these programs included: lending libraries, interest groups, lectures, classes, debating societies, orchestras, exhibits, reading rooms, cultural groups, mock parliaments, discussion groups, experts and consultants to address meetings, and literature distribution. Selman argued that after 1914 institutions took on increasingly greater responsibility for the delivery of adult education.

In their chronology of adult education in Canada, Draper and Carere (1998) listed the following adult education programs which were delivered in the early 1900s:

- Ontario Normal School of Domestic Science and Art, founded by Adelaide

Hoodless in 1900;

- The Credit Union Movement, initiated in 1900 by Alphonse Desjardins;
- The Canadian Reading Camp Association, founded by Alfred Fitzpatrick in 1901;
- Settlement House (Toronto), founded in 1902 by Sara Libby Carson;
- City Mission (Winnipeg), founded by J.S. Woodsworth;
- School on Wheels, founded in 1905 by the Federal Department of Agriculture;
- The University of Saskatchewan which started its agricultural extension program in 1910;
- The People's Forum founded in 1910 by Winnipeg labour leaders; and
- The Saskatchewan Homemaker's Club which was initiated in 1911.

As was the case with the programs named by Selman in his overview of adult education in British Columbia, many of these programs listed in the Draper and Carere chronology were sponsored by private or voluntary organizations.

Selman, Cooke, Selman and Dampier (1998) also referred to the prominence of privately sponsored adult education in Canada prior to 1914. Private study groups, institutes, and associations were devoted to educational and cultural matters. The list of adult education programs cited by Selman et al. included: Mechanics Institutes, National Councils of Women, YM and YWCAs, Home and School Associations, and Women's Institutes. Selman et al. stated that throughout the history of Canadian adult education, many adult education programs were concerned with citizenship education.

Selman (1988) concluded that many of these adult education endeavors in the early years of European settlement in Canada were concerned with either "living a life"

or “moulding a world”. Activities which encouraged “living a life” displayed a concern for life’s amenities. Such activities included: reading rooms, lectures, debates, study groups, dramatics clubs, literary societies, and music societies. Activities which encouraged “moulding a world” prepared individuals for responsible citizenship. Such activities included basic education (language and literacy), current events, study clubs, and debating societies, participation in democracy through mock parliaments and parliamentary procedures.

Table 11: Canadian Adult Education in the Early 1900s

Adult Education Purposes	Adult Education Organizations	Adult Education Programs	Adult Education Methods
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “living a life”✓ • “moulding a world”✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • churches✓ • community and voluntary organizations✓ • unions • private businesses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mechanics Institutes • YM/YWCAs✓ • private or proprietary schools • Farmers Institutes • Women’s Institutes✓ • Ontario Normal School of Domestic Science and Art • the Credit Union Movement • the Canadian Reading Camp Association • Settlement House • City Mission • School on Wheels • Agricultural extension • People’s Forum • Saskatchewan Homemaker’s Club✓ • Home and School Associations✓ • National Councils of Women✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 52. lending libraries 53. interest groups 54. lectures✓ 55. classes✓ 56. debating societies✓ 57. orchestras 58. exhibits✓ 59. reading rooms 60. cultural groups 61. mock parliaments✓ 62. discussion groups✓ 63. expert/resource consultants✓ 64. literature distribution✓

✓Indicates a similarity with the Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement

The Manitoba woman suffrage movement, like many of the Canadian adult education programs listed in Table 11, was sponsored by a voluntary organization—The Political Equality League of Manitoba. Like other organizations during this period of

adult education in Canada, the Political Equality League used adult education as a means to an end—not an end in itself. The primary goal of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was for women to obtain the right to vote. The sponsorship of adult education programs was a secondary goal for the movement. The suffrage movement in Manitoba was very concerned with “moulding a world”. While educating the women and men of the province about the importance of woman suffrage, suffrage activists were also preparing these “new” citizens for responsible citizenship. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement meets the criteria for adult education, and its purposes, programs, and methods of adult education activities correspond with those of other adult education programs delivered throughout Canada during the same time period.

Adult Education—Agent for Social Change

Draper (1998), in his introduction to a chronology of adult education in Canada, suggested that:

the history of adult education is the story of men and women; of agencies and institutions; of values, causes, and movements; of beliefs; and of relationships between individuals and nations. One can see that the history of adult education consisted of continuing attempts to increase individual choices, empowerment, and the improvement of the quality of life. (p. 37)

The adult education activities of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement were attempts to increase an individual women’s choices, to empower women, and to improve women’s quality of life. The suffragists’ activities began with addressing a perceived need—that of the individual woman; and that of women as a group in society. The

suffragists intended to change society, one step at a time. They would begin with changing the provincial law to include women in the right to vote.

Crane (1987) outlined the characteristics of an adult education social change movement which begins with addressing need. Selman et al. (1998) elaborated on "need" in adult education. Freire (1970; 1973) outlined the stages of conscientization for a society in transition, and the role of adult education to facilitate this passage. In the following discussion, I will explore ways in which the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was adult education for social change.

Crane (1987) addressed the role of need in early adult education such as the Antigonish movement when he introduced the characteristics of a reform social movement: "these early, pioneering ventures reflected an intuition that adult education, to be successful, must be linked with the most concrete reality in people's lives" (p. 225). Crane listed seven characteristics of a reform social movement based on sociological literature. These characteristics included:

1. The existence of social strain resulting in mental stress and feelings of deprivation,
2. The development of a philosophical or ideological belief which defines the causes of the strain and prescribes the solution for the problem,
3. Activities by charismatic leaders espousing the belief and instigating a core following,
4. Physical and social proximity between the leaders and their potential followers,
5. An organization to implement the prescribed solutions,

6. Societal conditions which permit the effort to be exerted, and
7. Routinization of organizational effort--an increasing emphasis on organizational maintenance and decreasing emphasis on philosophical goals.

Crane compared the activities of the Antigonish movement with these characteristics and determined that the Antigonish movement "was a deliberate collective effort for social change--an effort which followed [this] commonly recognized and predictable social pattern" (p. 227).

Crane described how the Antigonish movement met each of the requirements for a reform social movement. A brief analysis of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement reveals that it too meets each of the requirements of a reform social movement. The women of Manitoba were existing under the social strain of their own and their children's poverty. The problem was identified by suffrage activists as women's legal and social status in society; they had no legal right to family property, nor did they have child custody rights. The solution to this problem was "the vote".

The Manitoba woman suffrage movement was led by several charismatic leaders, including Lillian Beynon Thomas and Nellie McClung. These, and other less charismatic leaders, were raised under the same circumstances as the majority of the province's women--in rural Manitoba farms and communities. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement organized an education campaign through public meetings, newspaper coverage, the woman's page, and the Political Equality League of Manitoba to implement the prescribed solution.

Table 12: Characteristics of a Reform Social Movement

Characteristics	Antigonish Movement	Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement
Existence of social strain resulting in mental stress and feelings of deprivation.	Region was less prosperous than many other parts of Canada, due to, it was believed, the economic set-up within Confederation.	The poverty of women and children.
Development of philosophical or ideological belief which defines the causes of the strain and prescribes the solution for the problem.	Problem: Conventional Schooling Solution: Adult Education	Problem: Women's social and legal status in society: they had no legal right to family property, nor did they have child custody rights. Solution: The Vote
Activities by charismatic leaders espousing the belief, instigating a core following.	Moses Coady and team	Lillian Beynon Thomas, Nellie McClung and team
Physical and social proximity between the leaders and their potential followers.	Moses Coady, Jimmy Tompkins, and others were born and raised locally.	Lillian Beynon Thomas and Francis Marion Beynon were raised in rural Manitoba farming communities. They had achieved status and prestige with their positions on the newspapers.
An organization to implement the prescribed solutions.	Discussion circles, mass meetings, university extension department.	Education through public meetings, newspaper coverage, woman's page, and the Political Equality League to organize the people of Manitoba into a cohesive movement.
Societal conditions which permit the effort to be exerted.	Government, church, and organizational support by way of human resources, financial resources, and legal changes.	General reform sentiment in Manitoba combined the efforts of Direct Legislation League, Grain Growers' Associations, Women's Christian Temperance Union, Liberal party, etc.
Routinization of organizational effort, an increasing emphasis on organizational maintenance and decreasing emphasis on philosophical goals.	Changed emphasis from "educating people to think and to reason and to learn to solve their own problems in favor of efforts dedicated to helping the people overcome their immediate economic concerns" (Crane, 1987, p. 233)	There is little indication that emphasis ever changed from obtaining the vote, even though, for example, branch organizations of the PEL were formed.

There was a general reform sentiment in Manitoba during this time period. This sentiment provided the societal conditions which permitted the effort for woman suffrage to be exerted. The reform efforts of organizations like the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Direct Legislation League, the Grain Growers' Associations, and the Liberal party all combined to bring about woman suffrage. Unlike the Antigonish movement, the Manitoba woman suffrage movement had a very concrete and attainable solution—the vote. There is little indication that the emphasis of the suffrage movement ever changed from obtaining the vote even when branch organizations of the Political Equality League were formed. Table 12 lists the seven characteristics of a reform social movement and outlines how both the Antigonish movement and the Manitoba woman suffrage movement meet the requirements of a reform social movement.

Selman et al. (1998) stated that learning needs often go unnoticed until a progressive person brings attention to particular needs. Subsequently, there must be a vision of what the new circumstances would look like. Finally, this vision requires a person or group as its champion. Selman et al. presented Adelaide Hoodless, founder of The Women's Institutes, and Moses Coady and Jimmy Tompkins, leaders of the Antigonish Movement, as examples of such adult education visionaries and champions.

Initially the women of Manitoba did not recognize their need for "the vote". Beynon and Thomas described the women of the province as indifferent. At the Stampede where suffrage activists distributed literature, they met: "a great indifferent crowd of men and women and children" (Country Homemaker, August 27, 1913). Reflecting on her experience at the Stampede, Lillian Beynon Thomas stated that "the

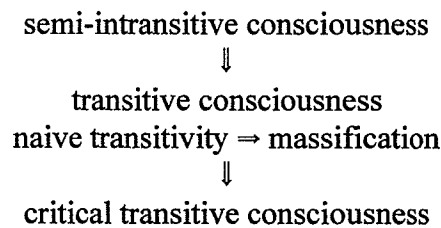
women of our province need a lot of educating—not only to teach them the value of the franchise, but to lead them to a broader outlook on life so that they will take some interest in public questions” (Home Loving Hearts, August 27, 1913). Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas also had a clear vision of what the new circumstance for women of Manitoba would be after they obtained suffrage. They would have a voice with which to address many social and legal issues pertaining to women. Ultimately, with this voice, women would help form the laws they had to obey, the lives of girls and women would be elevated in society, women’s self respect would increase, and the nation as a whole would be benefitted. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement and two of its leaders, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas can also be seen as adult education visionaries and champions.

Freire (1973) described the Brazil of the early 1950s and early 1960s as a society in transition. This transition involved the passage from semi-intransitive consciousness to critical transitive consciousness. Freire named this passage *conscientização* or conscientization: “the development of the awakening critical awareness” (p. 19). Diagram 1 depicts this passage. In the first stage of conscientization, the semi-intransitive state of consciousness, people are dehumanized. They are objects of a prescribed reality. Their concern is with survival and other biological necessities.

The second stage of conscientization, transitive consciousness, includes two phases. During the first phase, naive transitivity, people are becoming humanized. They are becoming subjects of their realities, able to adapt their circumstances. The naive transitive phase is characterized by an over simplification of problems, nostalgia for the

past, an underestimation of humanity, gregariousness, a lack of interest in investigation, fanciful, magical and fragile explanations, an emotional style, and the use of polemics versus dialogue. The second phase of transitive consciousness is critical transitivity. This phase is characterized by the ability to reevaluate constantly, an analysis of findings, an adoption of scientific methods and processes, and the perception of social reality as a dialectical relationship.

Diagram 1: The Stages of Conscientization



Freire cautioned that the “crucial step from naïve transitivity to critical transitivity would *not* occur automatically. Achieving this step would require an active, dialogical educational program concerned with social and political responsibility, and prepared to avoid the danger of massification” (p. 19). Massification, Freire explained, is a danger because naïve transitivity is nascent. In massification, authentic causality becomes distorted and takes on a mythical quality. People are irrational, and the possibility of dialogue diminishes. People fear freedom although they believe themselves to be free. They follow general formulas and prescriptions as if by their own choice, but they are, in reality, directed and their creative power is impaired. A person

must reflect on one's massification in order to overcome the condition. Authentic reflection is accompanied by action; ultimately, a person must act to transform one's reality-*praxis*.

The women of Manitoba, during the period of this study, were also a society in transition. Their passage was from semi-intransitive consciousness to, in some instances, critical transitive consciousness. Other women remained in naive transitive consciousness or entered a state of massification. Many women on the prairies of Manitoba were in a semi-intransitive state of consciousness. Their primary concern was with day-to-day survival. The cartoon series printed by Francis Marion Beynon depicted a woman slaving from morning to night, caring for her children, feeding her family, and working in the fields or in the barn. These women did not own any of the property on which they worked, nor did they have custodial rights to their children. Prairie women often lived their lives in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world. These women, for obvious reasons, often lacked a sense of the larger, historical significance of woman suffrage.

Women in larger centres, especially those women whose financial status allowed them to participate in community organizations because they did not have to earn a living outside the home and/or had servants to care for their house and children, were in a position to extend their interest beyond basic survival. They were able to pass to the transitive consciousness stage, although it is likely that many of these women stayed in naive transitivity or moved to massification. Lillian Beynon Thomas and her readers, for example, display characteristics of naive transitivity or massification. Several

contributors to the Home Loving Hearts page stated that they did not need "the vote" because they had good husbands. Many women gave simplistic reasons for favoring "the vote": so they could vote for temperance and end the white slave traffic. Lillian Beynon Thomas tended toward polemics rather than dialogue. She soundly scolded readers who offered opinions that contradicted her own. Francis Marion Beynon and her readers, however, display characteristics of critical transitive consciousness. They appeared more open to the use of dialogue to adapt their reality.

Summary

Kidd (1979) proposed that, although the programs and methods of adult education adjust to the people, place, and time, the function of adult education, "educating the public about social issues" (p. 20), remains the same. Lovett, Clarke, and Kilmurray (1983) argued that contemporary adult education had taken on a social pathology approach, adapting to and coping with the status quo, not challenging it. They encouraged adult educators to replace this approach with one "which places greater emphasis on relating education to real problems and issues, establishing closer links with community action and social movements, creating an alternative adult education system which places greater stress on linking education and action" (pp. 3-4). The function of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was educating adults about social issues. Its educational campaign was related to real problems and issues. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement was an adult education social change movement.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this thesis is to determine the extent to which the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba was adult education. In Chapter 1, I proposed a definition for adult education:

Adult education is the purposeful acquisition by adults and/or transference of knowledge and values to adults in a manner that will take into account the following criteria:

- (1) That the learners are willing participants,
- (2) That the learners are aware of and understand the adult education process(es) undertaken,
- (3) That the educators reveal reasons for beliefs to learners,
- (4) That educators are open to and invite evaluation and criticism of beliefs by learners,
- (5) That educators employ methods such as dialogue, communication, and problem-posing rather than monologues, slogans, and communiques, and
- (6) That educators and learners co-determine the educational content and process(es).

I also developed a model on which to base historical research into adult education in women's organizations (see Table 13).

Table 13: Model for the Historical Enquiry into Adult Education in Women's Organizations, 1900 - 1940

Purpose	Influences	Activities
<p>To bring women's unique experiences in the private sphere to bear on the public sphere for the betterment of the community and the nation.</p> <p><u>Examples:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • eradicate war and the spirit of war • elevate women's role • cultivate home life 	<p>Events WWI and the inter-related effects of immigration and urbanization on the overall call for Canadian unity and nationalism; the changing role of women</p> <p>Ideas/Concepts the home and family unit are the foundation of the community and the nation; political activism is an extension of women's private role</p> <p>Comm. Tech. Written materials, Newspapers, Film and Radio</p> <p>Disciplines Education, Science</p>	<p>Institutions Schools</p> <p>Programs/Methods</p> <p><u>Public Education:</u> public meetings, lectures, conferences, speakers, question and answer sessions, literature distribution, newspaper coverage of events and ideas, exhibits, lending libraries</p> <p><u>Private Study and Member Education:</u> study groups; courses; training in public affairs, parliamentary procedures, citizenship; committee work; local organization; organization's history and purpose</p> <p><u>Political Activism:</u> lobbying, campaigning, criticism</p> <p>Public women, members, public-general education to bring about change</p> <p>Need moral reform; better women as mothers, workers, and citizens would help to improve society at the community and national level</p>

In Chapter 4, I analyzed the data by using the definition and criteria for adult education and the model for adult education in women's organizations I developed in Chapter 1. Through this analysis, I determined that the activities of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement met the criteria for adult education and shared the characteristics for adult education in women's organizations. I also presented these findings in relation to the broader contexts of a) adult education in Canada during the early 1900s, and b) adult education for social change. For the Manitoba woman suffrage movement, like that of many other voluntary organizations sponsoring adult education in Canada during this time period, adult education was a means to achieving a primary goal. However, both the primary and secondary goals of these organizations had in common the adult education purposes of "living a life" and "moulding a world". Using the seven characteristics of a reform social movement, I determined that the Manitoba woman suffrage movement, like the Antigonish movement that came afterwards, was an adult

education movement for social change.

Table 14: Activities of the Manitoba Woman Suffrage Movement

PROGRAMS	METHODS	CONTENT
Internal Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliamentary Procedures • Member Meetings • Business Meetings • Speakers' Class 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framing a Constitution • Electing Officers • Forming Committees • Membership Committee • Finance Committee
External Organization	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Meetings • Literature Distribution • Speakers' Bureau • Letter Writing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Debates • Speakers • Printing and publishing literature • Distribution of literature to libraries and displaying at PEL booths • at conventions • at organizational annual meetings • at public meetings
Political Action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Circulating petitions • Letter Writing • Delegations to the premier • Performing political dramas • Canvassing for candidates during provincial election 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • purpose, method for signing • rally behind the cause • speakers, political exchange • music, satire

In this chapter, I will discuss the questions that shaped and directed the research. I will conclude the chapter with a discussion about the significance of this thesis for the field of adult education and make recommendations for future study.

Questions Directing the Research

The following questions shaped and directed the data collection for this study:

1. Was there a deliberate effort made by suffrage activists to educate the people of

Manitoba about suffrage?

2. If so, at whom was the education aimed?
3. What were the methods used to educate the people of Manitoba about suffrage?
and
4. What was the content of these educational methods?

An analysis of the Political Equality League of Manitoba activities and the content of the two woman's pages, edited by Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, indicates that the Manitoba woman suffrage movement made a deliberate effort to educate the people of Manitoba about woman suffrage. The education was aimed at both women and men in Manitoba. The methods used by the suffrage activists were threefold: Member Education, Public Education, and Political Activism. These methods correspond with the methods used by women's organizations and are cited in other adult education literature.

This study has determined that the primary organization for woman suffrage in Manitoba, the Political Equality League of Manitoba, and two of its activists, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, consciously educated adults, women and men of Manitoba, using a variety of adult education methods. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement was an adult education endeavor, and the two leaders examined in this study, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, were adult educators.

Table 15: Questions Directing the Research

1. Was there a deliberate effort made by suffrage activists to educate the people of Manitoba about woman suffrage?	Yes, the Political Equality League of Manitoba and its members; Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, through their woman's pages, made a deliberate effort to educate the people of Manitoba about woman suffrage.
2. At whom was the education aimed?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Women • Men • Politicians
3. What were the methods used to educate the people of Manitoba about suffrage?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Member Education • Public Education • Political Activism
4. What was the content of these educational methods?	<p><u>Member Education</u> Parliamentary Procedures</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Framing a constitution • Electing Officers • Forming Committees <p>Member Meetings Business Meetings Speakers' Class</p> <p><u>Public Education</u> Public Meetings</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Music • Debates • Speakers <p>Literature Distribution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Printing & Publishing literature • Distributing Literature to libraries • Displaying Literature at PEL booths <p>Speakers' Bureau</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conventions • Organization's Annual Meetings • Public Meetings <p>Letter Writing</p> <p><u>Political Action</u> Circulation of Petitions Letter Writing Performing Political Satires Delegations to Premier Canvassing for Candidates in Provincial Elections</p>

Significance of Study

This study contributes significantly to the field of adult education in three ways:

by,

- (1) examining the people of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement as adult educators, and the activities of the movement as adult education activities, this study provides a critical perspective on contemporary adult education,
- (2) reconstructing the Manitoba woman suffrage movement from an adult education perspective it adds to the range and bulk of the Manitoba and Canadian fields of adult education, and
- (3) generating criteria for adult education and a model for historical enquiry into women's organizations, this study adds to the depth of the Canadian field of adult education.

Provides a Perspective on Contemporary Adult Education

Plett (1998), in a review of The Antigonish Movement: Moses Coady and Adult Education Today, argued that "to use an historical figure or past event to advance an argument for present situations is extremely complicated" (p. 82). Differences in geographical settings and in cultural and religious backgrounds of people in the past, for example, will always vary greatly from the present context. However, history can be used to understand contemporary situations. Draper (1998) suggests: "the history of adult education forms the foundation for understanding present day programs, agencies, philosophical values, and the teaching and learning methods used" (p. 35).

This study examined an organization and its leaders "before the arrival on the

scene of a self-conscious adult education movement in the present century” (Selman et al., 1997, p. 129). There are many people and organizations who are involved in educating adults for social change. Much of this education takes place outside of established educational institutions by facilitators, social workers, or activists who do not describe themselves as adult educators or their endeavors as adult education. Perhaps this study will inspire adult educators to bridge the gap between institutionalized adult education and informal adult education for social change. This study seeks to legitimize women’s learning which occurs in organizations such as the Military Family Resource Centre, the Aboriginal Women’s Network, or the Immigrant Women’s Association, all of which are contemporary Manitoba organizations and sites for women’s learning.

Increases the Canadian Adult Education Knowledge Base

Although women are marginalized in Canadian adult education history, the contribution to adult education of several women’s organizations and their leaders has begun to appear in the literature: Adelaide Hoodless and Women’s Institutes, Violet McNaughton and Women’s Grain Growers’ Associations, and Lady Aberdeen and the National Council of Women. However, the contributions to adult education of women in the background of these and other organizations remains largely invisible.

The concept of visionaries and champions, one of the characteristics of a reform social movement outlined by Crane (1987) and described by Selman et al. (1998), is somewhat contradictory to the definition and criteria for adult education developed in this study which proposes that the processes and content of adult education should be co-determined by learners and educators. The relationship between learners and educators

should be collaborative rather than hierarchical.

Of the two woman suffrage leaders presented in this study, Lillian Beynon Thomas is more prominent today, likely because of her more public roles as president of the Political Equality League and as a popular public speaker. She typifies the champion and visionary style of other well-known Canadian adult educators such as Adelaide Hoodless and Moses Coady. Francis Marion Beynon was active in the background, using democratic and collaborative techniques to educate the women and men of Manitoba about woman suffrage. Beynon believed that the success of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement was due to the efforts of the women in the background:

Between these brilliant episodes, these high lights of publicity which caught the imagination of the public, were long drab stretches of tedious detail and drudgery of which the public had no conception, but upon which the whole foundation of the movement rested....Every such movement will have its outstanding women, who by their force of character and platform ability will make a magnificent contribution to the cause. All honor to them. But back of this there must be a great body of quiet workers who act like leaven upon the solid mass of public opinion. There should be no thought as to which is greater, the person who has the ability to carry conviction from the platform or one who stands quietly in the background organizing large groups of isolated workers into a powerful society. Their work is complementary and both are essential to the success of any great movement. (The Country Homemaker, February 9, 1916)

Women of Manitoba, as indicated by the readers responding to the two woman's

pages, responded positively to the styles of both Lillian Beynon Thomas and Francis Marion Beynon. They admired the strong leadership of Lillian Beynon Thomas, but they related as equals to Francis Marion Beynon's "sensible know-how-it-feels-myself" approach. This study attempts to add to the range and bulk of adult education in Canada by making visible a woman's organization--The Political Equality League of Manitoba--and two of its leaders: Lillian Beynon Thomas, one of the prominent women of the suffrage movement, and Francis Marion Beynon, one of the women in the background of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement.

Adds to the Depth of the Canadian Field of Adult Education

Recent adult education studies in Canada have begun to discuss women's organizations as adult learning sites, but little analysis has been conducted using or developing definitions and models of adult education. Perhaps it is for this reason that the learning in women's organizations is considered to add to the range and bulk of adult education without increasing its depth (Hugo, 1990). This study seeks to increase the depth of adult education historical research in Canada by providing a definition of adult education and a model for investigating adult education in women's organizations. The definition was developed from existing definitions in the adult education literature, and further informed by R. S. Peters' (1966) criteria for a morally acceptable education and Paulo Freire's (1970) pedagogy for education for social change. The model for investigating adult education in women's organizations was based on a review of several women's organizations and the findings were placed within the model for enquiring into the adult education heritage of Canada developed by Kidd (1979).

Although this study proposes a definition for adult education which includes criteria for a morally acceptable acquisition and transference of such education, the debate about what distinguishes a morally acceptable adult education from that which is unacceptable continues. Freire (1970) argued that education can be used for either domination or liberation, but that through dialogue, for example, liberation would more likely be achieved. Lillian Beynon Thomas frequently used methods such as monologue and slogan which are more characteristic of propaganda or indoctrination (education for domination); while Francis Marion Beynon often used methods such as dialogue and problem-posing which are characteristic of a more morally acceptable education (education for liberation). Adult education is a contested and ambiguous term. Studies such as this one will help to further the discussion about the definition and criteria for morally acceptable adult education.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although this study seeks to bring to light a previously invisible (to adult education) organization and its leaders as foundational to adult education in Canada, this study is limited. By making visible an organization and its leaders or an historical event, many other organizations, leaders, and events remain invisible. Furthermore, many women of Manitoba were not encompassed by the woman suffrage movement (e.g. aboriginal and non-British immigrant women). Butterwick (1998) cautions that "the notion of 'women's contribution' must be tempered with a recognition of the diversity of women's experience and of how that experience is also about race, class, sexual orientation, ablebodiedness, and age" (p. 104).

Hopefully, this thesis will inspire debate and further research among adult educators:

- What are the merits of this model for adult education in women's organizations?
- Can this model be used in historical studies of other women's organizations?
- Can this model be used to study adult education in contemporary women's organizations?
- Is the idea of a "model" relevant in this era of deconstruction?
- Does the function of adult education remain the same over time?
- Does the criteria proposed in the definition of adult education take into consideration culture, class, and gender differences?
- Future studies in adult education might compare the adult education in historical women's organizations with contemporary women's organizations. Such a study would further inform the field of adult education about women's learning in non-institutionalized adult education settings.
- Further research in adult education might investigate events such as the 1919 General Strike and organizations such as the Grain Growers' Associations, Women Grain Growers' Associations, and the Manitoba Agricultural College, and re-introduce them within an adult education framework.

Summary

Having examined the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba by analyzing the activities of the Political Equality League and the content of the woman's pages edited by Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, this study has determined that

suffrage activists consciously educated adult women and men of Manitoba, using a variety of adult education techniques. The Manitoba woman suffrage movement was an adult education endeavor, and two of its leaders, Francis Marion Beynon and Lillian Beynon Thomas, were adult educators.

The study of the woman suffrage movement in Manitoba is significant to adult education generally, and specifically to the study of Canadian and Manitoban adult education history. When Poonwassie and Poonwassie (1997) published a series of historical essays on adult education in Manitoba, the book was heralded as a model for adult educators in other provinces to follow: "every Canadian province needs a book like this one" (Thomas, 1996). Thomas argued that "a history of adult education is a history of culture" and "that regional reflections of our history...has become imperative" (Ibid.). Selman (1996) stated that, although this publication "advanced our knowledge of adult education" (p. 63) in Manitoba, more leaders in the adult education enterprises needed to be honored.

This thesis introduced two new leaders as adult educators. The study focused on their educational work for woman suffrage, but they were also instrumental in the development of several other women's organizations in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Perhaps this study will inspire research into their other contributions to adult education. This study re-introduced a well known event in the history of Manitoba and in Canadian women's history within an adult education framework. The success of the Manitoba woman suffrage movement can be attributed in large part to the successful use of adult education.

FOOTNOTES

¹"How the vote was won" (Lacey and Hayman, 1985) was a popular British suffrage play. It was performed several times by the Manitoba woman suffrage movement. Most notably, a performance of "How the vote was won" preceded the well known performance of "Women's Parliament" at the Walker Theatre in 1913.

²In 1869 two national woman suffrage organizations were formed in the United States. Lucy Stone led the more conservative of the two organizations, the American Woman Suffrage Association. Elizabeth Stanton helped found, and led the National Woman Suffrage Association. The two organizations united in 1890 to form the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Dr. Augusta Stowe-Gullen was president of the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association (DWEA) from 1903 to 1911. She succeeded her mother, Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, who had been president of the Canadian association from its inception in 1889. The DWEA changed its name to the Canadian Suffrage Association in 1907 and continued its work until 1925 (Cleverdon, 1974).

³An advertisement on The Country Homemaker page in 1914 announced an "Illustrated Suffrage Lecture" by Lynne M. Flett. The advertisement stated that the "slides are very beautiful and instructive and Miss Flett is a speaker of marked ability" (CHM, October 14, 1914). Flett, the advertisement continued, was planning to take the lecture on a tour of western Canada. It is possible that Lynne Flett was the PEL's organizer.

⁴Frederick John Dixon was an active member of the Political Equality League as

well as the full-time organizer of the Direct Legislation League. Dixon was first elected as an independent member to the Manitoba legislature in 1914. In the legislature he rose to prominence for his stance against conscription. After one of his speeches, Vernon Thomas, a reporter with the Free Press, left the press gallery to shake hands with Dixon. Thomas was promptly fired for this bold act. A few years later, Dixon once again gained public notice when he was charged with seditious conspiracy for his stance during the Winnipeg General Strike (Gutkin and Gutkin, 1997).

⁵Winona Flett and Frederick J. Dixon were married on October 15, 1914 (Grain Growers' Guide, October 28, 1914, p. 11).

⁶Gertrude Richardson, born in Leicester, England in 1875, settled in the Swan River area of Manitoba in 1911. She frequently published poetry and other items in the local newspaper. Having been involved in the woman suffrage movement in England, Richardson was instrumental in the formation of the Roaring River Suffrage Association in 1912. She was elected its first president. Gertrude Richardson was closely associated with the Political Equality League of Manitoba and its leaders (Roberts, 1996).

⁷A telephone conversation between Pat Beynon and Anne Hicks on August 28, 1983, indicated that according to Howard Beynon's diaries, "Francis was ill with cancer when she returned home" and that "she'd had an operation in New York". The unpublished research that Anne Hicks conducted on Francis Marion Beynon is now in the possession of Dr. Mary Kinnear at the University of Manitoba.

⁸Francis Marion Beynon was strongly influenced by Olive Schreiner who wrote Women and Labour in 1911. Hicks (1987) described Schreiner's work as "a dramatic,

panoramic account of the erosion of traditional homemaking skills and their appropriation by commercial industries" (p. xii).

⁹Mary Wollenstonecroft's A Vindication of the Rights of Women (1792) strongly influenced Francis Marion Beynon and many other suffragists.

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