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Educating for Peace and Co-operation: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Canada, 1919-1929

by

Beverly Boutilier, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of

Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of History

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Abstract

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (W.I.L.) was founded in 1915 by an international gathering of woman suffragists to further the twin causes of peace and feminism. During that same year a small but short-lived branch of the W.I.L. was formed in Toronto. After the war, the Toronto branch was revived by a group of socially radical feminists and by 1929 the W.I.L. had branches in Vancouver and Winnipeg and enjoyed the support of a number of organised farm women in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario.

The primary goal of the W.I.L. in Canada was the education of public opinion about the issues of peace and international co-operation. The strategies which the W.I.L. adopted to attain its goals reflected a strong faith in the power of education to change society. The W.I.L.'s strategies for educational reform during the 1920s included personal and group study of international issues; the creation and dissemination of peace propaganda to increase public awareness; and the demilitarisation of the state educational system.

Early in the 1920s members of the Canadian W.I.L. began an active campaign against all vestiges of militarism in Canadian schools. They worked to replace cadet training with physical education for both sexes, for the introduction of Good Will Days in schools, for peace-oriented teaching and for an end to war glorification in school textbooks. The group's work was hampered by its radical reputation, however

Its pacifist and democratic socialist ideological make-up alienated many middle-class Canadians and, although the W.I.L.'s work to further the cause of "world mindedness" in Canada gained popularity by the latter half of the 1920s, the group was unable to realise its major educational reform goals. Within the context of post-suffrage feminism, this thesis will examine the impact of gender and class on the W.I.L.'s organisational development during the 1920s and on its campaign to demilitarise the education of children in Canada.

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A number of professors have provided invaluable help and guidance over the past few years. I would like to thank Marilyn Barber for her insight and friendship. To Naomi Griffiths I would like to extend my deepest thanks for her sound wisdom and support of my spirits as well as my finances. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to Susan Mann Trofimenkoff whose personal generosity and enthusiasm for her own work introduced me to social history and kindled my interest in the varied and wonderful world of women's history. I cannot thank her enough.

Lastly, I am most indebted to Deborah Gorham, my thesis supervisor, for her clear insight, her good friendship and her steady support and encouragement--and patience--over the last two years.

This thesis is dedicated to the memories of
John Reid Wood, Maggie Beatrice Boutilier and S.B.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

> ". . . as a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman my country is the whole world.[1]

During the decade following the Great War peace was embraced by Canadian feminists as a women's issue. Although a longtime concern of organised women internationally, Canada's nationalistic women's groups had effectively resisted peace as a major reform interest before and during the First World War--despite their espousal of a maternalist ideology which claimed a greater pacifist capacity for women. After the war, however, the popularity of the peace issue among respectable Canadians during the late 1920s in particular helped legitimise peace and internationalism as viable causes for club women and other middle-class reformers. Liberal women welcomed peace as a potentially unifying issue in an otherwise fractious women's movement. Radical women, who often worked within and on the edge of the women's movement, also displayed a new kind of commitment toward the attainment of peace after the war by forming Canada's first separate women's peace organisation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, or the W.I.L. as it was

popularly known. Although the Canadian Section of the W.I.L. was initially shunned in the wake of post-war labour unrest as a radical and therefore threatening organisation, during the 1920s it became a major voice in Canada's peace movement, adding its unique and socially radical vision of a co-operative world characterised by international and sexual equality.

This thesis is a study of the programme and activities of the Canadian Section of the W.I.L. during the 1920s. It does not pretend to offer any comprehensive or systematic analysis of the various philosophical strands of inter-war pacifism; this has been attempted elsewhere.[2] It proposes instead to trace the changes in the W.I.L.'s analysis of war and the reform strategies it employed from its foundation in 1919 to the eve of the Great Depression. In the process, it will attempt, first, to situate the experience of the Canadian Section of the W.I.L. within the broader context of post-suffrage feminist activism; and second, to examine how the W.I.L.'s feminism, and the experience of its members in earlier suffrage and socialist politics, shaped its response to war and social change before 1930. More generally, this study will also endeavour to reach some tentative conclusions about the origins and nature of feminist pacifism in inter-war Canada and about the fate of the 'woman movement' after the First World War.

The foundation of the W.I.L., originally constituted as the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, was laid by an international group of woman suffragists, led by American social reformer and pacifist, Jane Addams, who met together at The Hague during the First World War to further what they perceived to be the twin causes of peace and women's equality. A section of the W.I.L. was formally established in Canada in 1919, after an earlier abortive attempt in 1915, by a group of Toronto labour and suffrage activists. Unlike the group's more liberal international leadership, from its inception the Canadian W.I.L. espoused a socially radical political and peace philosophy. Total membership in the W.I.L. in Canada was never large; nevertheless, during the 1920s branches were established in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Toronto, and it enjoyed the support of many organised farm women in Alberta, Saskatchewan and Ontario. Although regarded by many Canadians in the early 1920s as a potentially dangerous group because of its pacifist and socialist orientation, during the second half of the decade the Canadian Section of the W.I.L. worked with greater popular support to further the cause of "world mindedness" in Canada by attempting to channel the widely diffused peace sentiment of the period into constructive peace reforms

The primary goal of the W.I.L. in Canada, as abroad, was the education of public opinion about issues of peace and freedom. The W.I.L.'s educational emphasis and the strategies which it adopted to attain its goals reflected both a strong faith in the powers of education to change society and reflected its own membership's past activism in feminist politics. The W.I.L.'s single-sex or separatist form, its continuous focus on personal and group study, public education, and the education of children and youths, and its traditional association of feminine values with peace all markedly revealed its suffrage heritage. Unlike other liberal 'mainstream' feminist groups with which it continued to co-operate, however, the Canadian W.I.L. self-consciously fused its feminist pacifism with a democratic socialist analysis of the cause and prevention of war. The resultant critique combined a feminist emphasis on militarism as the ultimate manifestation of unbridled masculinity and socialism's indictment of the national war and economic systems. This ideological combination effectively extended and differentiated the W.I.L.'s pacifism from that of the liberal internationalist women's movement during the 1920s--and, at the other extreme, from that espoused by male-dominated socialist groups in Canada which tended to overlook the "Woman Question".[3]

British historian Dorothy Thompson recently observed that the question of "the relationship between gender and war is one on

which there is little agreement but a great deal of feeling."[4] Despite the renaissance of feminist history during the last two decades, however, in Canadian historiography the question of gender and war has received very limited attention. Mainstream historians, reflecting society's assumption that war and international relations are male preserves, have largely neglected to examine the impact of gender on the history of war or diplomacy. With the exception of women's war effort during the two world wars--a supposed aberration of female experience not to be dismissed lightly even by historians--Canadian women's relationship to war and international relations has remained largely outside the traditional social, intellectual and political history canon. This is in part the result of a historiographical tradition in Canada which emphasizes political or "national" themes.[5] Women are conspicuously absent from these traditional narratives due to their routine exclusion from the elite, male-dominated political process. In some of the more recent forays into the social history of war in Canada women have made brief appearances,[6] but the majority of these studies have continued to assume a male analytic norm.

The historiography of the 1920s in Canada also bears out this analysis. The 1920s have been defined almost exclusively in

political and thus male terms by historians who have focused on the rise and fall of the political fortunes of the Progressives, the King-Byng affair, and the steady progression of Canadian national independence from Great Britain. Although women's enfranchisement in 1918 is generally acknowledged briefly by these historians, afterwards women fade discreetly into the background and emerge only sporadically thereafter in the form of "women worthies": as the first woman Member of Parliament in 1921, or as legalised "persons" in 1929, or as one of the many other female 'firsts' of these decades.[7] But as Estelle B. Freedman discovered in her survey of American historical literature, historians' portrayal of the 1920s as a decade of feminist inactivity and failed opportunity for women is the result of their own unthinking acceptance of contemporary reactionary or anti-feminist analysis. Conservative commentators in the 1920s pointed to the flapper--the decade's quintessential emancipated but non-feminist woman--and to enfranchised women's failure to effect the suffragists' promised moral revolution to dismiss post-war feminism and women's hard won voting rights.[8] This cliche image of 1920s womanhood has also been perpetuated by Canadian historians who have consistently demonstrated little interest in the question. Thus Freedman argues,

> an examination of the record reveals that historians have repeated these descriptions not because research and analysis have confirmed their validity, but because no new questions have been asked about women in the 1920s since the initial impressionistic observations were made.[9]

More recent histories of Canada during the 1920s influenced by the burgeoning literature of social history and women's history have attempted to incorporate the historical experience of women and other neglected social groups into their analyses.[10] In the main, however, the result is still only a cursory acknowledgement of how women related to dominant male political culture and social experience.

In the past the women's movement of the 1920s has been a comparatively less attractive subject even for historians of women who have demonstrated a general preference for exploring their own ideological roots in suffrage era activism. Indeed, the writing of the history of feminism and the women's movement in Canada has focused almost exclusively on the late nineteenth and early twentieth century suffrage campaign. As a result, most of these studies end abruptly in 1918 when the federal government enfranchised women.[11] With few exceptions the history of the English-Canadian women's movement of the 1920s has been left virtually unexplored. This is due in part to the widespread historiographical perception described above that the years between

the so-called 'first' and 'second' waves of feminism constituted a period of overwhelming feminist inactivity because there was no one easily identifiable and dramatic non-partisan issue such as suffrage to galvanise an otherwise disjointed women's movement and catch the attention of historians.[12] This perception in turn is also the result of many historians' over-emphasis of the centrality--if not the importance--of the suffrage campaign within most segments of the women's movement before the First World War. As Veronica Strong-Boag has demonstrated, the pre-war women's movement was a loose and often fractious coalition of women-oriented reform interests, some of which often did not even regard the vote as an intrinsically valuable reform.[13] Despite the general paucity of literature on the Canadian women's movement of the 1920s, however, the small amount that has been produced is very suggestive. Contrary to the standard image, it reveals that Canadian clubwomen were active between the wars in a variety of feminist causes and often constituted an effective, if not a cohesive, lobby group.[14]

During the 1980s historians of Canadian women have begun to re-examine women's experience of the 1920s in earnest. Two works of particular relevance to this study warrant mention here. Veronica Strong-Boag's recent monograph, a life-cycle portrait of

the lives of girls and women in inter-war Canada, has done much to suggest the parameters of women's social, political and economic status during the 1920s and 1930s. But the limitations of capturing only the "essence" of women's collective experience is readily apparent. Nevertheless, Strong-Boag's bold synthetic work is a provocative guide to the continuing impact of feminism on women's lives and provides an essential foundation on which to reconstruct further women's experience during these decades.[15] Of similar importance to this study is Joan Sangster's 1984 doctoral dissertation on Canadian women and radical politics between 1920 and 1950. Sangster analyses the participation of socialist women in the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and the Communist Party and discusses in particular the development of their feminist and socialist identities within two male-dominated political parties which were purportedly sympathetic to the Woman Question but which in practice did little to support or resolve it. Sangster's analysis of the role of pacifism in the politics of these women, many of whom were also members of the W.I.L., has been crucial to this study's understanding of the Canadian W.I.L.'s experience during these years.[16]

Like the history of women, until recently the history of pacifism and peace activism in Canada has not fared as well as the

history of war. The history of peace in Canada has been largely limited to examinations of pacifist sectarian groups. With the virtual exception of a 1972 doctoral thesis on Canadians and the League of Nations before 1931,[17] until recently there was no one synthetic history of Canadian pacifism. This situation has changed with the publication of Thomas P. Socknat's overview of pacifism in Canada during the first half of the twentieth century.[18] Although both Page and Socknat consider women's role in the peace movement and chronicle in particular the activities of the W.I.L. their accounts fail to examine the importance of gender and feminism in the W.I.L.'s response to war and peace. The failure of these historians to consider the fundamental social and ideological basis of the W.I.L.'s peace activism reflects mainstream historians' continuing unwillingness to utilise gender as a meaningful category of historical analysis. Like other political and intellectual historians before them, Socknat and Page especially have attempted to explain the experience of women only as it intersects with that of men and in terms of male experience and expectations.

But as Dorothy Thomspson has observed in relation to nineteenth-century Chartist women, the pattern of women's involvement in radical political movements is often different from that of men because, as a social group known as "women", their

relationship to power and the political process differs fundamentally.[19] This point is applicable to the experience of the Canadian W.I.L. in the 1920s because, unlike other pacifist groups similarly inspired by socialist or progressive politics but led by men, it emerged out of the international woman suffrage movement. The W.I.L.'s suffragist heritage and its linkage of women's equality with world peace significantly differentiated it ideologically from socially radical male-dominated pacifist groups and determined to a large extent the nature of its reform strategies.

By according gender and gender-based politics a methodological centrality hitherto resisted by traditional historians of war and peace, feminist historians of women in recent years have begun to explore anew this aspect of women's experience. Reflecting the international character of the feminist peace movement itself in this century, the new history of women and peace is international and often comparative in scope. Given the underdeveloped nature of the historiography of Canadian women and peace this study will of necessity rely on many of the themes and ideas developed internationally, especially those works on British and American women peace activists who exerted the greatest influence on the Canadian W.I.L. during the 1920s. In recent years historians of Canadian women have produced a small number of articles and theses on women and peace. The work of these historians, like

that of their American, British and European counterparts, has largely reflected feminist historiography's general preoccupation with first wave feminism[20] although later periods have also received sporadic attention.[21] Like feminist peace activists decades earlier, contemporary feminists continue to debate the veracity of some women's historical claim to a greater gender-based propensity for peace.[22] Although a theoretical consensus continues to elude contemporary feminism, a belief in women's innately pacifistic nature has been voiced by feminists for centuries and has characterised the organised women's peace movement for much of this century.[23] Not surprisingly, then, historians of women and peace continue to be similarly preoccupied with the same general theoretical questions, namely the basis of women's relationship to peace and of feminism to pacifism.[24]

While historians of women are just now beginning to grapple with the impact of gender on the history of peace, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, many middle-class Canadians routinely linked contemporary defintions of masculininty and femininity with martial or pacific values and traits. The prevalence of a maternalist rationale for the extension of women's social and political rights in Canada at the turn of the century encouraged both the public at large and many women's rights

activists to regard peace as a natural concern of women in general and of organised women in particular. For a disenfranchised suffragist like Nellie McClung there could be little doubt about the connections between gender and war. "War," she argued in 1915, "is a crime committed by men." Disenfranchised women, long denied the political and military prerogatives of men, had "had nothing to say about war, except pay the price--this privilege has always been theirs."[25] McClung was not alone in her belief that only the recognition of "the mother's point of view" through female suffrage would humanise social relations and end the tragic cycle of war perpetuated by masculine society.[26]

By examining the ideas and activities of the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s from a feminist perspective this thesis will endeavour to discover just what women, that is, organised women, did think of war and how some of them moved constructively to abolish it as a viable option of international relations. In so doing, it will examine how gender and class affected one small group of women's understanding of the cause and prevention of war and how social, political and economic changes influenced their reform strategies and analyses. In the end this thesis hopes to contribute to our understanding of the grounding of feminist pacifism and its ideological role in the Canadian women's movement during the

early years of this century; its conclusions, however, will of necessity be tentative and in need of further corroborative analysis of the relationship of other socially radical women, as well as their liberal internationalist sisters, to the cause or calling of peace.

The first part of this thesis will briefly examine the traditional moral basis of women's peace activism within the women's movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This discussion is necessarily cursory; although the women's movement of these years has consumed a disproportionate amount of historians' energy very little attention has been paid to women's claim to an innately pacific nature. Accordingly, it will be based largely on American and British historiographical innovations. Chapter three will examine the Canadian W.I.L.'s ideological roots in feminism, socialism and farmer politics. In addition, it will chronicle the organisation's development in Canada to 1929 with emphasis on its self-conscious separatist character, the influence of the International Section on its consolidation and expansion in Canada, and the impact of the red scare of the late teens and early twenties on its own political makeup and on its reception in Canada. Chapter four will explore the impact of the W.I.L.'s feminist heritage on its reform strategies, focusing in particular on its educational campaigns. By employing the methodological innovations of women's history such as gender-

based analysis, this study will discuss explicitly how feminism and the interaction of class politics affected the W.I.L.'s reform efforts.

Endnotes, Chapter One

1. Virginia Woolf, Three Guineas, quoted in Cambridge Women's Peace Collective, comp., My Country is the Whole World: An Anthology of Women's Work on War and Peace (London, 1984), frontice.

2. For a more general account of the types of pacifism in early twentieth century Canada see Thomas P. Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945 (Toronto, 1987), especially chapter one. See also Martin Ceadel, Pacifism in Britain: The Defining of a Faith (Oxford, 1980).

3. Joan Sangster,"Canadian Women in Radical Politics and Labour, 1920-1950" (PhD dissertation, McMaster University, 1984), chapter one; Linda Kealey, "Canadian Socialism and the Woman Question, 1900-1914," Labour/Le Travail, 13 (Spring 1984), 77-100.

4. Dorothy Thompson, "Women, Peace and History: Notes for an Historical Overview," in Ruth Roach Pierson, ed., Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Contemporary Perspectives (London, 1987), p. 29.

5. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff comments on the effect of Canadian historians' preoccupation with political ideas, particularly that of nationalism, and the distaste for feminism on our understanding of Canadian historiography, in "Nationalism, Feminism and Canadian Intellectual History," Canadian Literature, 83 (Winter 1979), 7-20. See also Carl Berger's discussion of the perpetual reincarnations of the "national" theme, in The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing Since 1900, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1986).

6. See, for example, the chapter on women in Barbara M. Wilson, ed., Ontario and the First World War 1914-1918: A Collection of Documents (Toronto, 1977); Daphne Read, ed., The Great War and Canadian Society: An Oral History (Toronto, 1978). Ironically, given Canadians' thirst for war histories, the social history of war is not a very well developed field in Canada; two exceptions are John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Praire West, 1914-1918 (Toronto, 1978) and Carman Miller, "A Preliminary Analysis of the Socio-economic Composition of Canada's South African Contingents," Social History/Histoire Sociale, (1975).

7. Natalie Zemon Davis, "'Women's History' in Transition: The European Case," Feminist Studies, 3, no. 3/4 (Spring-Summer 1975), 83-84.

8. W.E. Maclellan, "Women and Votes," Dalhousie Review, 1 (1922), 419-20; William D. Tait, "Some Feminisms," Dalhousie Review, 10, no. 1 (April 1930), 51-56.

9. Estelle B. Freedman, "The New Woman: Changing Views of Women in the 1920s," in Lois Scharf and Joan M. Jensen, eds., Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920-1940, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1987), p. 22.

10. John Herd Thompson, with Allan Seager, Decades of Discord: Canada 1922-1939 (Toronto, 1985); Robert Bothwell, Ian Drummond, and John English, Canada 1900-1945 (Toronto, 1987).

11. The most obvious example is Carol Lee Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto, 1983). One notable exception to this trend in English-Canadian historiography is Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada 1893-1929 (Ottawa, 1976). Historians of Quebec women have necessarily extended their time-frame to the 1940s: Le Collectif Clio, Quebec Women: A History (Toronto, 1987); Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec (Toronto, 1983); Jennifer Stoddart, "The Woman Suffrage Bill in Quebec," in Marylee Stephenson, ed., Women in Canada (Toronto, 1973), pp. 90-106.

12. Even in the United States, where feminists were in fact preoccupied with one major issue during the 1920s--the Equal Rights Amendment--historians have either chosen to ignore this on-going femninist activism or have failed to comprehend its significance. See Freedman, "The New Woman," passim.

13. Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women, passim.

14. See, for example, Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canadian Feminism in the 1920s: The Case of Nellie L. McClung," Journal of Canadian Studies, 12, no. 4 (Summer 1977), 58-68; Strong-Boag, "Pulling the Double Harness or Hauling the Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," Journal of Canadian Studies, 21, no. 3 (Fall 1986), 32-52; Margaret Kechnie, "The United Farm Women of Ontario: Developing a Political Consciousness," Ontario History, 77, no. 4 (December 1985), 267-280; Marilyn Barber,

"Help for Farm Homes: The Campaign to End Housework Drudgery in Rural Saskatchewan in the 1920s," Scientia Canadensis, 9, no. 1 (June 1985), 3-26; Dianne Dodd, "The Hamilton Birth Control Clinic of the 1930s," Ontario History, 75, no 1 (March 1983), 71-86.

15. Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto, 1987), pp. 4-5.

16. Joan Sangster,"Canadian Women in Radical Politics and Labour, 1920-1950" (PhD dissertation, McMaster University, 1984).

17. Donald Page, "Canadians and the League of Nations Before the Manchurian Crisis" (PhD dissertation, Univerisity of Toronto, 1972); see also Richard Allen, The Social Passion (Toronto, 1970), chapter 19;

18. Socknat, Witness Against War, passim.

19. Dorothy Thompson, "Women and Nineteenth-Century Radical Politics: A Lost Dimension," in Anne Oakley and Juliet Mitchell, eds., The Rights and Wrongs of Women (London, 1976), pp. 112-138.

20. Barbara Roberts, "Why Do Women Do Nothing to End the War?"Canadian Feminist-Pacifists and the Great War (Ottawa, 1985); Frances H. Early, "The Historic Roots of the Women's Peace Movement in North America," Canadian Woman Studies, 7, no. 4 (Winter 1986), 43-48; Deborah Gorham, "Vera Brittain, Flora MacDonald Denison and the Great War: The Failure of Non-Violence," in Ruth Roach Pierson, ed., Women and Peace, pp. 137-148; Terry Crowley, "Ada Mary Brown Courtice: Pacifist, Feminist and Educational Reformer in Early Twentieth-Century Canada," Studies in History and Politics, 1 (1980), 76-114; Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in Carl Berger and Ramsay Cook, eds., The West and the Nation (Toronto, 1976), pp. 187-208.

21. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Peace-Making Women: Canada 1919-1939," in Pierson, ed., Women and Peace, pp. 170-191; Deborah Powell, "Women's Peace Organisations in Canada 1920-1970" (Research Essay, Political Science 498, Carleton University, 1983).

22. The parameters of the debate are reflected in the following two works: Pam McAllister, ed., Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Non-Violence (Philadelphia, 1982); Lynne Segal,

Is the Future Female? Troubled Thoughts on Contemporary Feminism (London, 1987).

23. Cambridge Women's Peace Collective, My Country is the Whole World: An Anthology of Women's Work on War and Peace (London, 1984).

24. Jean Bethke Elshtain, Women and War (New York, 1987); Jo Vellacott, "Historical Reflections on Votes, Brooms and Guns: Admission to Political Structures--on whose terms?" Atlantis, 12, no. 2 (Spring 1987), 36-39; Thompson in Pierson, ed., Women and Peace, pp 29-43; Bernice A. Carroll, "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Connections," in ibid., pp. 2-28.

25. Nellie McClung, In Times Like These (1915; Toronto, 1972), p 15.

26. Ibid., p. 25. See also Flora MacDonald Denison's pamphlet, "Women and War" (Toronto, 1914), reprinted in Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society (Toronto, 1976), pp. 249-254. For an American example, see Charlotte Perkins Gilman's 1915 utopian feminist novel, Herland (New York, 1979).

CHAPTER TWO

"What do women think of war? (not that it matters)": The Moral Basis of Feminist Pacifism in Canada[1]

Despite the legal and socio-economic advances won by the turn of the century women's movement, during the 1920s wifehood and motherhood were still regarded by most Canadians as the pinnacles of normal female experience.[2] These ideological precepts, although much changed in outward appearance and decidedly more 'modern' in tone, were founded on Victorian middle-class constructions of gender designed to define and delimit acceptable male and female behaviour. The persistence during this decade of popular associations of women with peace--and conversely, of men with war--reflected the tenacity of this moral conception of womanhood. Popular culture's linkage of women and traditional 'feminine' values with the ideal of peace underlaid the international woman movement's participation in the popular peace campaign before the Great War. Emphasizing women's social role of motherhood, the international women's movement actively promoted peace as a woman's issue.[3] The ideological or moral underpinnings of the cult of domesticity and the feminine ideal of nurturant women gave women reformers' peace advocacy and their activism in the 'masculine' sphere of international relations a degree of legitimacy

hitherto prohibited by prescribed female roles. Despite the movement's general endorsement of peace, however, when put to the test most women reformers' commitment to nationalism superseded their interest in internationalism. In Canada most, although not all, segments of the woman movement echoed and added their voices to the generalised conviction that the Great War was "just", denouncing in the meantime any talk of peace as untimely and, worst of all in an era of zealous nationalism, as unpatriotic.

In Canada, as elsewhere, the experience of the First World War demonstrated the limits of female solidarity over the issue of women's relationship to peace and war, thus auguring the post-war fragmentation of the women's movement. Unlike the liberal and conservative women reformers who identified their interests with those of the state, a small group of Canadian women rejected the validity of a world system based on competing nationalistic or imperialistic interests. In its stead they envisaged an international order based on equality and co-operation between nations and between the sexes. During the war, socially radical feminist pacifists throughout the world continued to oppose the war in Europe as the tragic result of the sexual and economic oppression inherent in a male-dominated system based on conquest (imperialism) and profit (capitalism). Their opposition to the

European War set them apart ideologically from nationalistic women reformers who repeatedly attempted to differentiate themselves from their more radical sisters.[4] Such ideological differences between pacifist and non-pacifist women reformers worldwide were manifested organisationally in 1915 by the foundation of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, led by well-known American feminist and social reformer, Jane Addams. A Canadian section was established almost immediately in Toronto. By examining the roots of popular associations of women with peace, this chapter will attempt to explain the moral basis of feminist pacifism and its impact on the war-time development of the W.I.L. in Canada and abroad.

The association of women with peace and men with war grew out of the Victorian middle-class construction of gender roles which encouraged a delineation of sexual spheres based on perceived differences between stereotypical 'masculine' and 'feminine' personalities. Middle-class proponents of the Victorian conception of womanhood, variously characterised by historians as the cult of domesticity or the Cult of True Womanhood,[5] prescribed a maternal and domestic calling for women and attempted to institutionalise motherhood as the only natural and socially acceptable role open to women. Woman's sphere was to be the

home where her pious, submissive, morally superior and self-sacrificing nature could be both indulged and protected from the vulgarity of male political and commercial life. Victorian society's increasingly arbitrary segregation of the sexes into 'separate spheres' of influence--men in the public, women in the private--highlighted the perceived moral, intellectual, emotional and biological differences of women and men. Women's femininity, then, was the linchpin in a complex ideological construction of social as well as sexual relations in late nineteenth-century Anglo-American society.[6]

Women, unsullied by the concerns of state, could claim and were willingly accorded a morally superior status in Victorian society. In this way, the cult of domesticity, and the feminine ideal on which it was founded, effected an expedient and "efficient moral balance" between the espoused Christian values of the feminine home and the seeming amorality of male industrial capitalist competition.[7] Feminine values were thus different from and by implication, in the ideological realm at least, better than those favoured and expected in men. Ironically women's rarefied stature provided many women with the rationale for abrogating the uneasy truce between the public and private spheres of action.[8] The expansion of economic and educational opportunities

for women in the latter part of the nineteenth century took many middle-class Canadian women outside of their usual domestic sphere.[9] Despite some advances, however, women continued to feel the constrictions of the feminine ideal. By the turn of the century a respectable woman's role "on the outside was [still] very much like her role in the home: to conciliate, to make people happy, to exemplify the moral standards of her society."[10] The woman movement's potentially revolutionary challenge to middle-class conceptions of gender was thus co-opted by the transformation of the nineteenth century True Woman into the twentieth century New Woman, another ideological construction which incorporated many of women's new economic opportunities and social freedoms outside of the home while continuing to stress the ultimate primacy of women's maternal and domestic roles. Nevertheless, armed with a feminist[11] impression that masculine society was responsible not only for women's oppression but also for countless other social problems, the international pre-war women's movement used the language and concepts of the cult of domesticity to argue that women's unique political influence was needed to cure society of its many ills, including war.[12]

The preponderance of a maternalist ideology and reform strategy in the turn of the century women's movements in North

America, Great Britain and much of Western Europe reflected the impact of the feminine ideal on feminist politics and indeed on women's lives. Like other social reforms advocated by the pre-war women's movement, organised women's interest in peace was regarded as a natural extension of their prescribed domestic and maternal roles. As the life-givers and nurturers of children women were thought to have a special, that is, a natural interest in the avoidance of war. As Linda Schott points out, "although everyone knew that some women accepted war as inevitable and that some men worked unceasingly for peace, society still tended to believe in a dichotomy of peaceful women and belligerent men "[13] Canadian advocates of woman suffrage, some with more real conviction than others, commonly argued that women's vote would prevent future wars and have a cleansing or purifying influence on politics generally. Peace-minded suffragists and their supporters typically asserted that civilisation itself depended on the enfranchisement of women. One Toronto feminist claimed that women's superior moral cognizance--because only women truly knew "the cost of life"--was needed to counteract man's equally natural inclination toward destructive force.[14]

In the years prior to the Great War, popular attitudes toward war and peace varied greatly in Canada.[15] The general popularity

of peace as a ideal among Canadians in the pre-war period, however, led one observer of Canadian affairs to declare in 1914 that "peace had become a habit of thought with many in Canada and, in some cases, almost a religion."[16] Much had happened on the international scene to justify some liberal Canadians' belief that war was becoming increasingly obsolete. Between 1901 and 1911 more than one hundred and thirty international arbitration treaties were signed, representing a significant increase over the previous decade. Similarly, an International Court of Justice was established at the turn of the century and international conferences were convened in 1899 and 1907 to discuss the issues of war and peace. It seemed that the demands of liberal pacifists for a new kind of world order based on international law and arbitration were being satisfied. In practice, however, as Edith Wynner argues, these two conferences "did nothing to abolish war; they merely drew up elaborate conventions designed to 'humanize' the periodic mass destruction and to establish the etiquette of future carnage."[17] Similarly, the court's effectiveness as a peace-keeper was badly compromised since any nation which perceived a threat to its "vital interests, independence and honour" could legally ignore its decisions.[18]

The endorsement of peace as part of their larger reform

platforms by national women's organisations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (W.C.T.U.) and the National Council of Women of Canada (N.C.W.C.) reflected the general popularity of the peace reform as a liberal cause in pre-war Canada. Canadian club women's sometimes reluctant involvement in the liberal peace movement stemmed from their ties to various international women's societies such as the International Council of Women (I.C.W.), the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, later known as the International Alliance of Women (I.A.W.), and other international parent bodies.[19] The Canadian W.C.T.U., for example, established a Peace and Arbitration Department in the early 1890s at the suggestion of the international W.C.T.U. which directed its Canadian members to be

> the sentinels on every watch-tower to awaken humanity out of its long sleep of barbarism. Let us plant the white flag of peace everywhere... The aim of this department is ... to lead all to believe that arbitration and reconciliation are better for a nation than war and conquest.[20]

Similarly, the I.C.W. pressed the N.C.W.C. to establish a Standing Committee on Peace and Arbitration. This it did at its national convention in 1904. Neither Canadian organisation could be characterised as a pacifist group, however. While the W.C.T.U. and the N.C.W.C. each promoted the principle of international arbitration and lent their moral support to the pre-war peace

movement in general, on the whole neither could engender much actual enthusiasm among their own memberships for the cause of peace.[21]

Unlike the I.C.W., which took an active interest in the issue of peace (its very first standing committee, established in 1899, had been devoted to peace and international relations) the N.C.W.C.'s support for peace was mostly nominal due to the indifferent or even hostile reaction of large segments of its membership to the issue. In 1909 it appeared that the Council had made great strides toward peace reform when it endorsed in principle plans for its members to attend any future peace congresses, to distribute propaganda about the arbitration process, and to urge educators to use textbooks which encouraged peaceful settlements of disputes.[22] The N.C.W.C. never acted upon these resolutions, however, forcing the increasingly frustrated pacifist convenor of its Peace and Arbitration Committee to ask:

> Are Canadian women doing as much as the women of other nationalities for the cause of peace instead of war? While millions of money are being spent annually for war propaganda, and while the energy that might go to encourage peaceful relations is being spent on 'how to educate for war', we seem to sit in blissful indifference and quote the old saying over and over again. 'In time of peace prepare for war.'[23]

Indeed, the Council seemed timid about the prospect of endorsing any decisive or compulsory peace measures. At four successive

conferences, the principle of disarmament was rejected by Council members. Likewise, in 1911 the membership refused to give its support to the Taft-Grey resolutions for the compulsory arbitration of Anglo-American disputes. During that same year, a vague resolution which simply endorsed the peace movement in general could not win the votes of even half the Council's members.[24] By 1912, only thirteen out of twenty-five local councils participated in the activities of the National Council's Peace and Arbitration Committee.[25]

The majority of the N.C.W.C. members were not interested in the peace issue and a significant number of members voiciferously expressed anti-pacifist views. Mrs. E.A. Ritchie of Halifax, for example, declared that the "nation that is unprepared to defend itself may by this unpreparedness bring about war."[26] The strength and prevalence of such opposition prompted Ada Mary Brown Courtice, the Council's pacifist convenor of the Peace and Arbitration Committee, to resign in 1913. Like that of many other reform-minded institutions and individuals, the N.C.W.C.'s 'pacifism' quickly disappeared in August 1914. When war was declared the N.C.W.C. suspended its already limited peace work and adopted an aggressively anti-pacifist stance. The Women's Century, the Council's journal, regularly expressed its hostility toward pacifism

in general and endeavoured in particular to disassociate the war effort of patriotic club women from the maternalist associations of women with peace which it had helped to popularise.[27] Although personally supportive of the continuation of women's "self-sacrificing work in [sic] behalf of peace",[28] Emily Murphy, the Council's new Peace and Arbitration convenor reported in 1915 that the work of her committee was in abeyance because of the war. Ironically, nationalist Canadian club women continued to use the language of the cult of domesticity and a maternalist ideology to link their interests as mothers, not with peace as was common in peace time, but with the nation-state which, although dominated by men, was popularly personified as female.[29] Thus, the president of the National Committee for Patriotic Service of Canada, the war-time women's umbrella group, could speak of the "horrors of peace" resulting from the "spiritual loss involved in a peaceful acquiescence in the devastation of an unoffending country whose sole crime was her geographic position."[30] Support of the measured and reasonable deployment of masculine force to avenge Germany's 'rape' of innocent and defenceless Belgium, for example, was required to combat the enemy's unbridled masculinity. These women's equation of motherhood issues with the very survival of the family and thus the state highlighted the contradictions

inherent in maternalist ideology which also provided pacifist women with a plausible and compelling rationale for their anti-war agitation.

Like its Canadian affiliate, in 1914 the I.C.W. succumbed to the competing nationalist sentiments of its international membership and suspended its activities until the war's end in 1919.[31] The International Alliance of Women (I.A.W.), on the other hand, continued its peace advocacy throughout the war years. Founded in 1904 to promote the advancement of women's political rights through suffrage and to accommodate the movement's more socially progressive members, the I.A.W espoused an internationalist position which often set it apart from other reform groups in an era of fervent nationalism. Its internationalism was inspired and fostered in part by the organisation's very composition One Finnish delegate equated the Alliance with "the equality of nations.... The true spirit of internationalism which pervades the meetings of the Alliance cannot be described; it must be felt."[32]

In April 1915, the I.A.W. convened an International Congress of Women at The Hague to discuss possible solutions to the world war that was raging around them.[33] Over one thousand women from twelve belligerent and neutral nations attended. The conference

participants, led by well-known American feminist, Jane Addams, constituted the more radical pacifist constituency of the pre-war liberal suffrage movement. The activists who attended the International Congress of Women promoted the peace time feminist view that, as mothers, women had a greater desire for and appreciation of peace and, as a result, that enfranchised women had a unique and essential role to play in the prosecution of world peace The "peacettes" present at The Hague regarded militarism and war, and the masculine led society that spawned these destructive forces, as the fundamental causes of women's oppression. It was, according to one American writer, the "spirit of militarism, the glorification of brute force, and this alone, that has kept woman in political, legal and economic bondage throughout the ages." Consequently, the achievement of the franchise alone would not put an end to war or insure women's equality; the eradication of the "tradition and the point of view born of militarism" and the reform of the war system itself was also needed.[34] This could only be accomplished by the introduction of a gendered-balanced--that is, humanised--social and political system in which the voices of men and women were heard with equal acuity.[35]

Twenty resolutions were passed by the women at The Hague addressing six broad areas of concern: Women and War; Action

Towards Peace; Principles of a Permanent Peace; International Co-operation; Education of Children; and Action to be Taken.[36] The International Congress of Women's call for the creation of an international organisation which would prevent the outbreak of future wars echoed the demands made by European and American peace activists for the last century.[37] Other congress resolutions, however, suggested the development of a new more comprehensive feminist response to the problem of peace. Rather than emphasizing solutions to specific instances of conflict, the resolutions on the whole reflected a desire to address the fundamental causes of war which the delegates perceived to be inherent in the inequitable basis of contemporary governmental and sexual relations. In addition, traditional feminist reform concerns such as education and children were to be given a new emphasis as preventitive measure against future wars.[38]

In his annual summation of events, Castell Hopkins observed that the International Congress of Women excited much attention in Canada. His charge that the congress was supported "by pro-Germans everywhere and by many who had no feeling of that nature but were led astray by women's natural hatred of war"[39] reflected the opinion of many Canadians who regarded as unsettling not only the pacifist tone of the proceedings, but also women's

'meddling' in affairs decidedly beyond their sphere and reputed understanding.[40] The National Committee of Patriotic Service of Canada declined on behalf of Canadian club women the I.A.W.'s invitation to attend its war-time congress, condemning the meeting as "untimely peace propaganda":

> When Germany has learned that right is stronger than might, when the mailed fist no longer threatens Europe, then may we hope for peace which our children's children may inherit.[41]

The Committee's response was made public and widely featured in Canadian newspapers. For national women's groups such as the N.C.W.C. and the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, both long inspired by the spirit of patriotism, women's national service during the crisis--symbolised most poignantly by the sacrifice of their sons--had become the very personification of the successful prosecution of the war.[42] Participation in or even support for peace agitation, in their view a misguided pursuit inspired by highly dubious motives or at least by misplaced emotionalism, would be antithetical to the nationalist impulses of most club women in Canada during the war.

Despite the currency of such views, the appeal of the 1915 International Congress of Women to a small number of socially radical suffragists in Canada--two of whom, Laura Hughes and Alice Chown of Toronto, attended the conference as unofficial delegates[43]

--was very great. The limited and almost anonymous nature of Canadian participation in The Hague congress reflected the relative weakness of the feminist pacifist constituency vis-a-vis the larger women's movement in Canada. One historian has estimated that a feminist pacifist network of "perhaps hundreds" of women existed in Canada at the time of the Great War, but this hypothesis is yet to be adequately tested.[44] While the definite number of women sympathetic to the pacifist cause during the war is unknown, the political impulses which inspired their anti-war sentiments are fairly clear. The example of Hughes and Chown, both confirmed feminists and socialists, active in labour as well as suffrage politics, reflected the radical nature of feminist pacifist opinion in Canada during the First World War.[45] The pacifism embraced by these socialist and feminist women was not the vague, intermittently held maternalist belief in women's peacefulness discernable in the pre-war liberal women's movement. Instead, the social radicalism of their indictment of imperialism and capitalism as the main causes of war, and their ideological and organisational interaction with the political left in Canada, differentiated their pacifism from earlier progressive peace sentiment.[46]

Explicitly, through various commentators,[47] and implicitly, through the formation of a separate women's peace society, a small

number of Canadian feminist pacifists continued to express the primacy of their gender group identification and their belief that women had a particular role to play in the elimination of war. After returning to Toronto from The Hague, during the summer of 1915 Laura Hughes, with the co-operation of Elsie Charlton, formed a Canadian branch of the recently created Woman's Peace Party (also known at this time as the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace which later became the W.I.L.P.F. in 1919). The Toronto group attracted no more than ten members during the war,[48] among them Harriet Dunlop Prenter of the Political Equality League and her colleague, Miss Perry; Alice Chown; and a handful of activist women drawn largely from the Toronto Suffrage Alliance and the Women's Social Democratic League, including Dr. Margaret Gordon and businesswoman Christine Ross Barker.[49] Hughes and Charlton undertook an ambitious campaign to interest women throughout the country in the work of their group but its success was limited. Nonetheless, the contacts they established in western Canada among organised farm women such as Violet McNaughton of the Women's Section of the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association proved fruitful. The group, which remained active until at least the spring of 1917, was hampered by a number of personality conflicts which impeded its development.[50] Hughes

contended that its work was also hindered by general resistance to the idea that an organised effort for peace was needed; indeed, she was surprised to find that "even among the Socialist and Labor people" there was "a blankness of ideas on peace and war that was apalling."[51] Toward the end of the war the group was effectively disbanded after Hughes married a radical conscientious objector named Lunde and removed to Chicago.

This chapter has attempted to explain the moral basis of women's pacifism and chart its origins in stereotypical Victorian associations of women, or rather, of motherhood, with peace. The development of an international women's movement informed by a maternalist reform ideology which emphasized women's unique moral and political character ultimately resulted in the creation of the W.I.L. during the First World War, the first separate international woman's peace society. The maternalist association of women with peace was still in evidence in the women's movement during the 1920s, but the experience of the war had demonstrated the emptiness of such claims for all of womankind. Women's peace groups like the WIL continued to maintain that the freedom of women from oppression was requisite for the similar emancipation of nations from the threat of force. This reasoned linkage of women's equality with the goal of international social justice and mutual understanding differentiated the pacifism of the WIL from

the vague pre-war maternalist belief in women's natural peacefulness. This shift in ideological focus is perhaps the most significant result of the emergence of a separate women's pacifist organisation which explicitly linked the advancement of women with peace. The new organisation, although it did not wholly spurn the traditional sentimental association of women with peace, built upon it to create to a recognisable and coherent gender-based, that is, feminist, pacifist ideology. The full impact of this shift was not discernable during the war; in the following decade, however, the worldwide appeal of feminist pacifism and its major advocate, the WIL, was recognisable to all.

Endnotes, Chapter Two

1. Nellie McClung, In Times Like These (1915; Toronto, 1972), p.21.

2. Linda Schott, "The Woman's Peace Party and the Moral Basis for Women's Pacifism," Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies, 8, no. 2 (1985), 18.

3. Lela B. Costin, "Feminism, Pacifism, Internationalism and the 1915 International Congress of Women," Women's Studies International Forum, 5, no. 3/4 (1982), 304-306.

4. Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto, 1987), passim.

5. The historiography of this question is international in scope; consequently much of Canadian historians' understanding of the cult of domesticity is derived from American and British literature: Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," in Esther Katz and Anita Rapone, eds., Women's Experience in Amerca (New Brunswick, N.J., 1982); Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven, 1977); Deborah Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal (Bloomington, 1982). The early prevalence of this ideology in Canada is discussed by Katherine J. McKenna, "Options for Elite Women in Early Upper Canadian Society: The Case of the Powell Family," Canadian Historical Association, unpublished paper, 1986.

6. Gorham, The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal, passim.

7. Ibid., p. 4.

8. Jane Rendall, "Introduction," in Jane Rendall, ed., Equal or Different: Women's Politics 1800-1914 (Oxford, 1987), pp. 1-27, especially p. 2.

9. The National Council of Women of Canada catalogued these educational and occupational changes in Women of Canada: Their Life and Work (Ottawa, 1900).

10. Barbara Corrado Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop:

Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth-Century England and France," in Renate Bridenthal and Klaudia Koonz, eds., Becoming Visible: Women in European History, 1st ed. (Boston, 1977), p. 321.

11. There is currently some debate among historians of women both about the applicability of the concept of feminism to the "woman movement" of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and about the use of the term feminist to describe "woman's rights" activists of the period. Nancy F. Cott has recently explored the history of these concepts in the United States and concludes that neither term came into popular usage until the 1910s; see The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven, 1987), esp. pp. 3-10. Despite the veracity of her thesis, however, in this study these concepts will be applied very broadly. The term feminist will be used to describe women who recognised themselves as part of a distinct and aggrieved social group and/or who participated collectively in single-sex organisations engaged in the suffrage campaign and other broad areas of social reform designed to improve women's socio-economic condition. Likewise, feminism (the ideology) will be understood to mean the advocacy of equal individual political, economic, legal and social rights for women.

12. Olive Banks, Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement (Oxford, 1981), pp. 61-150. See also McClung, In Times Like These, passim.

13. Schott, Frontiers, 8, no. 2 (1985); 18.

14. Flora MacDonald Denison, "Women Against War," [1914] in Cook and Mitchinson, eds., Women's Proper Place (Toronto, 1976), pp. 250-51. See also Deborah Gorham, "Vera Brittain, Flora MacDonald Denison and the Great War: The Failure of Non-Violence," in Ruth Roch Pierson, ed., Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives (London, 1987), pp. 137-148.

15. For a discussion of militarism and imperialist sentiment in the pre-war period see Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto, 1970), especially chapter 10.

16. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review (1914), cited in Thomas P. Socknat, "Canadian Liberal Pacifists and the Great War," Journal of Canadian Studies, 18, no. 4 (Winter 1983-84), 30.

17. Cited in Costin, Women's Studies International Forum, 5, no. 3/4 (1982), 301.

18. Ibid.

19. Costin, Women's Studies International Forum, 5, no. 3/4 (1982), passim; Edith F. Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," in Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz, eds., Becoming Visible: Women in European History, 1st ed. (Boston, 1977), pp. 337-338.

20. Donald Page, "Canadians and the League of Nations before the Manchurian Crisis" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1972), p. 13.

21 Ibid., pp. 13, 17, 19.

22. Ibid., p. 18.

23. Ada Mary Brown Courtice quoted in Terry Crowley, "Ada Mary Brown Courtice: Pacifist, Feminist and Educational Reformer in Early Twentieth-Century Canada," Studies in History and Politics, 1.(1980), 89-90

24. Page, "Canadians and the League of Nations," pp. 18-19.

25. These were Vancouver, Victoria, Brandon, London, Hamilton, Sudbury Walkerville, Chapleau, Toronto, Kingston, Montreal, St. John, Halifax; National Council of Women of Canada, Yearbook (1912), p. 78, cited in Ibid.

26. Crowley, Studies in History and Politics, 1 (1980), 88.

27. Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929 (Ottawa, 1976), p. 328.

28. Norlin Library, University of Colorado, Boulder, Western Historical Collection, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Papers (microfilm) (hereafter WILPF (Boulder) Papers), reel 57, file 92, Emily Murphy to Mme. [Greetneys], 5 April 1915.

29. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, "Nationalism, Feminism and Canadian Intellectual History," Canadian Literature, 83 (Winter 1979), 7-20; Wayne Roberts, "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto, 1877-1914," in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim (Toronto, 1979), p. 21.

30. Quoted in Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review

(1915), p. 335.

31. Hurwitz, in Bridenthal and Koonz, eds., pp.337-338

32. Annie Furuhjelm of Finland, quoted in ibid., p. 335.

33. Jane Addams, Emily Balch and Alice Hamilton, comps., Women at the Hague: The International Congress and Its Results (1915; repr. New York, 1972); Jill Liddington, "The Women's Peace Crusade: The History of a Forgotten Campaign," in Dorothy Thompson, ed., Over Our Dead Bodies: Women Against the Bomb (London, 1983), pp 180-198

34. Grace Isobel Colbron, "Women and the Military Spirit," The Woman Voter, 5 (November 1914), p. 9, cited in Costin, Women's Studies International Forum, 5, no. 3/4 (1982), 305

35. Schott, Frontiers, 8, no. 2 (1985), 19-20.

36 Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965 (London, 1980), p. 20.

37. Sandi E Cooper, "Women's Participation in European Peace Movements: The Struggle to Prevent World War I," in Ruth Roach Poerson, ed., Women and Peace (London, 1987), p. 52.

38. Costin, Women's Studies International Forum, 5, no 3/4 (1982), 311-312.

39. Canadian Annual Review (1915), p 335

40. Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, the original historians of the WILPF, remarked that the women present at The Hague in 1915 were regarded with a curious mixture of scorn and shock; accordingly, the delegates were called "irresponsibly feminine, and at the same time boldly unwomanly." Bussey and Tims, pp. 19-20.

41 Mail Empire (Toronto), April 23, 1915, quoted in Marie Louise Degen, The History of the Women's Peace Party (New York, 1972), p. 78.

42. For the importance of patriotism in the platform of the National Council of Women, see Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada,

1893-1929 (Ottawa, 1976), pp. 67, 81-82, 84.

43. Degen, p. 78. Barbara Roberts, 'Why do women do nothing to end the war?': Canadian Feminist-Pacifists and the Great War (Ottawa, 1985), p. 29, note 9.

44. Roberts, "Why do Women..., p. 1.

45. Hughes, the daughter of prominent Toronto reformers James and Ada Hughes, was radicalised by her exposure to the labour cause while working as an armaments factory inspector during the war and became an early member of the Ontario Independent Labor Party. Alice Chown was a woman suffragist and trade unionist whose socialism and pacifism were rooted in the social gospel and utopian social visions; during the war she advocated non-violence as the "the only right path for the nation to follow." Socknat, Witness Against War, pp. 56-57.

46. Ibid., p. 58.

47. For example, Francis Marion Beynon, women's editor of the Winnipeg-based Grain Growers' Guide and Gertrude Richardson of Swan River, Manitoba, who contributed regular pacifist articles to the British press and the Canadian labour press, were two voiciferous peace commentators. Beynon's articles were further broadcast through the influence of Violet McNaughton who reprinted a number of them in her column in the Saturday Press and Prairie Farmer. See Roberts, "Why do Women..., pp. 6-15, 20-26; on Beynon, see also Ramsay Cook, "Francis Marion Beynon and the Crisis of Christian Reformism," in Ramsay Cook and Carl Berger, eds., The West and the Nation: Essays in Honour of W.L. Morton (Toronto, 1976), pp. 187-208.

48. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, Laura Hughes Lunde to Emily Balch, 7 November 1919.

49. Ibid.; Roberts, "Why do Women..., p. 29 n. 10.

50. In a bitter letter after the war Laura Hughes Lunde recounted these difficulties, blaming the intransigence of Harriet Dunlop Prenter who claimed that "she alone had the power" to organise a WIL branch and "she would not do it while peace was unpopular." Apparently during a visit to Toronto in March 1915 Chrystal MacMillan, an early member of the Woman's Peace Party of the United States and an organiser for the 1915 International Congress of Women, asked Prenter to organise a Canadian section of

the group. Hughes Lunde claimed that after the group's initial meeting Prenter denounced it but refused to establish her own group until 1919 when she began a correspondence with the International Section in Geneva. See WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, Hughes Lunde to Emily Balch, 7 November 1919.

51. Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

Gender and Class in the Organisational Development of the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s

Oh Mothers, will you longer give your sons
To feed the awful hunger of the guns?
Women of earth this is the hour of fate,
Come forth! to build the safety of the state.[1]

Middle-class club women's abdication of leadership on the question of women and peace during the First World War left pacifism and peace reform, as much by default as by design, to a more radical feminist constituency in Canada. During the war the nascent Canadian W.I.L. filled this void and later, during the 1920s, acted as a focal point for feminist pacifist sentiment, attracting both socialist-feminists and non-socialist organised farm women. Although socialist women had participated in the woman suffrage campaign they often viewed the "feminist" label pejoratively, ascribing to it middle-class values and reform priorities which tended to exclude or alienate them.[2] A commitment to a socially radical agenda for peace reform, however, which emphasized the democratisation of both international and sexual relations as well as social justice, united progressive women in the W.I.L. from seemingly disparate reform backgrounds. By welding a feminist

indictment of militarism to a class or "group" based economic theory of international and social relations the Canadian W.I.L produced a distinctive socialist-feminist response to war which both distinguished it from earlier moralistic ideas of feminine peacefulness and set it apart ideologically from other socially radical peace groups

Although a very small organisation during the war, after the cessation of hostilities the Toronto W.I.L. began to rebuild and extend its influence westward to the four Western provinces. In the process it became part of and capitalised on the mood of social and political unrest that characterised the immediate post-war years. The W.I.L.'s analytic amalgam of socialist, co-operatist and feminist precepts represented a unique development in feminist and progressive politics in Canada during this period. Much of the W.I.L.'s early membership, as well as the inspiration of its economic analysis of the cause and prevention of war, was drawn from socialist labour politics and the farmers' movement of the West and Ontario. It would be inaccurate to describe the W.I.L. as other than a feminist group, however. Its self-conscious separatist strategy, which incorporated both middle-class and socialist reform strategies,[3] reflected the primacy of its feminist identity and underscored its original feminist inspiration and its roots in the

international suffrage campaign. By examining the W.I.L.'s institutional development during the 1920s and its ideological underpinnings in feminist, farmer and socialist labour politics this chapter will endeavour to explore further the origins of feminist pacifism in Canada and the women who embraced it.

In May 1919 the war-time "peacettes" of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, to which sixteen nations then belonged, met in Zurich to consolidate organisationally and to review the impact of the war. The climate of hostility which had plagued its first meeting in 1915 was replaced by one of disillusionment as the terms of the peace treaty were made known. At this second international gathering the Versailles Treaty was reviewed and condemned for a number of reasons, including its abandonment of U.S. President Wilson's Fourteen Points and its continued sanction of secret diplomacy. The unilateral disarmament of Germany by the Allies was also criticised as a violation of the principle of justice and, since only one set of belligerents was to be disarmed, as a continuation of the "rule of force." The League of Nations, the only surviving remnant of Wilson's plan of peace without victory, and its limitations as an instrument of peace also elicited comment. Although the principle of a league was warmly endorsed, the proposed League, as constituted by the Treaty and by the League Covenant, violated a

number of principles which delegates to the conference regarded as essential to a lasting peace. The Covenant did not, for example, provide for the admission of all interested nations; national self-determination was to be disregarded in territorial reallocations; the terms of disarmament were not the same for all nations; and the amendment procedure for the Covenant was too cumbersome. The formal recognition of women's equality within the League was apparently the only hopeful sign of progress.[4]

During this meeting the group's name was changed to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and a constitution, under the presidency of American Jane Addams, was adopted which formally embodied the six main concepts which had emerged during the Hague conference four years earlier.[5] In order to take advantage of the opportunities afforded by close proximity to the League of Nations the group moved its headquarters from Amsterdam to Geneva. The national sections, although otherwise completely autonomous, were to be bound to the decisions of the W.I.L.'s biennial congresses. The purpose of the reconstituted W.I.L., according to its first international secretary, former Wellesley College professor, Emily Greene Balch, was not primarily a humanitarian one--although efforts on behalf of war victims occupied much of the international W.I.L.'s early resources.

Instead, Balch envisaged the W.I.L. as an active agent for peace whose members would work for the abolition of the causes of war through more practical and positive measures. International disarmament, which would remove the possibility of the use of force to settle future disputes, was a primary example of this kind of reform focus and remained the principal concern of the international W.I.L. throughout the following decade. Given the failure of the Versailles Treaty to secure a just peace and the obvious limitations of the League of Nations, W.I.L. historians Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims argue that at Zurich the women of the W.I.L. ultimately decided to concentrate their efforts on making the League of Nations more representative of and responsive to the needs of the international community and thus "a significant force for peace."[6]

Until August of 1919, Laura Hughes Lunde, although now a resident of Chicago, remained the only Canadian contact known to the international section of the W.I.L. Since 1915 her personal circumstances had greatly changed; marriage, a new baby, and her work to secure amnesty and improved conditions for conscientious objectors and military prisoners like her husband had sidetracked her plans to mobilise peace sentiment in western Canada. Lunde, who considered post-war Winnipeg a particularly auspicious centre for a W.I.L. organisation, still hoped to continue organising for the

group in Canada.[7] Lunde's on-going but sporadic interest in the Canadian W.I.L. was matched by the international section's desire to see a viable national W.I.L. section established in Canada. Scarce resources limited the effectiveness of its trans-Atlantic organisational attempts, however. Immediately following the close of the Zurich Congress in May, at the request of Emily Balch a British W.I.L. activist, travelling across Canada to visit a sister in Vancouver, endeavoured to interest Canadian women in the work of the group. Other than securing a few names, her efforts met with little success.[8] The impediments to the creation of a viable national section in Canada were clear to Lunde who attempted to persuade the international section to abandon any immediate hope of an indigenous Canadian group.

Canadian women's resistance to pacifism, combined with Canada's regionalism and colonial mentalite, made a Canadian section all but an impossibility in Lunde's estimation. A "huge amount" of peace education would be needed to attract women in sufficient numbers to make a Canadian section worthwhile. Although she perceived in Canadians a growing lack of faith in both their national and imperial governments, Canada's lack of "a world view point, and even an all Canadian view point" would significantly hinder peace work. And Canada's small and scattered

population, combined with its fractious regional character, only compounded these difficulties.[9] Under these conditions a national women's organisation devoted solely to peace--or to any issue, as the post-war National Council of Women of Canada was then discovering--was a virtual impossibility.[10] Given these bleak prospects, Lunde, supported by Montreal socialist and feminist, Rose Henderson, suggested that the international section try to secure Canadian members for its British organisation or for the international section itself until there were "enough women to get an organization that would count and be able to do active work."[11] If a Canadian section were to be formed, however, Lunde counselled Emily Balch to encourage the development of a number of autonomous branches which would unite periodically to formulate a flexible national programme which would accommodate conflicting regional reform priorities; while these branches need not all have the same name, Lunde was adament that that they "stand behind the national and international organization."[12]

Lunde's observations proved to be remarkably astute and more or less foretold the pattern of the Canadian W.I.L.'s development during the 1920s. Due to the initiative of Harriet Dunlop Prenter, who acted as the group's secretary until 1922, a Toronto group had been revived as a early as May 1919. With the

return to a degree of normalcy after the war, and with the threat of censorship lifted, a small group of pacifist women began to meet again in Toronto under the presidency of Mrs. E.A. Kantel, a suffragist and anti-conscriptionist.[13] A report of a meeting in early 1920 reveals that the group still attracted only a handful of supporters. The re-emergence of the W.I.L. in Toronto was not hailed by all segments of Toronto society. The notoriously conservative Evening Telegram lamented that "Echoes of the infamous Zurich conference of women pacifist internationalists" had reached the city. The newspaper all but accused the W.I.L. of treasonous behaviour, characterising it as the group that had "wept over the woes of Germany and attacked the allies."[14] The Toronto group was regarded with equal asperity and suspicion due to the reputed infamy of its leading member. Like her other well-known W.I.L. colleague, Laura Hughes, Harriet Dunlop Prenter's vocal anti-militarism and peace work, including the sponsorship of a lecture by Scottish pacifist, Chrystal MacMillan in 1915, had made her one of the more prominent pacifists in Toronto during the war.[15] In addition to her work with the W.I.L. Prenter was active in a number of other socially radical socialist and feminist causes in Toronto, including the Political Equality League and the Independent Labor Party of Ontario, which did not endear her to the more

politically timid.[16]

Not all early W.I.L. members had actively opposed the Great War. The combination of the allied leaders' failure to fulfill their promise of a 'war to end all wars' and the exigency of class and regional protest at home contributed to a post-war climate of disillusionment in Canada[17] which drew some women who had supported the war to the W.I.L. Margaret Fairley, for example, joined the W.I.L. during the 1920s after apparently supporting Canada's war effort. In her poem, "A Woman's Confession," published in the Canadian Forum in 1921, Fairley repented Canadian women's misguided and unnatural complicity in a war not of their making:

> We know not what we did,
> Not ours the fires kindled on the earth;
> Yet we, from ages charged to bring to birth;
> Down to death-dealing slid.
>
> We left our vision clear
> Which men say comes upon us all unsought;
> Our instincts we have silenced, and have taught
> Our minds the truth to blear.
>
> Our voices were not heard
> Bidding men wait before they sentence passed;
> Our tenderness toward life away we cast,
> We called "peace-talk" absurd.
>
> We failed to see our star;
> God and the world and men cried for our aid;
> We gave them guns and shells and gladly paid
> Our money for the war.

We said, "When all is past,
Then, then will woman come into her own".
Fools! To reap grain we have rank thistles sown,
Chain round us we have cast.

And when at length peace came,
We could not say, "In this we had a share",
To hasten that blest day we did not dare,
Let men us cowards name.

Not unto us, O Lord,
The glory of righteous call for peace;
Our hands are blood-stained for we did not cease
To forge and whet the sword.

We failed, as men have failed,
No longer can we claim a purer heart;
In the great game of war we played our part,
Full with the tide we sailed.[18]

Women's descent into "death-dealing" against the better judgement of their natural or "unsought" maternal instincts in order to prove the merits of their enfranchisement had, in Fairley's mind, disallowed any further claim by women of moral superiority. Fairley's membership in the W.I.L. suggests she may have continued to believe that women had a distinct role to play in the peace movement despite the disillusionment expressed in her poem. The W.I.L.'s non-complicity in the war and its ideological orientation, which reflected her own social radicalism, probably also attracted her to the work of the group.

In a letter to Geneva, Harriet Dunlop Prenter revealed the depth of the Toronto group's fears about the prospect of another

war. "We are in agreement," she said, "that another war such as is more or less in the past, means destruction of our present civilization."[19] In May 1921, the group sent a series of resolutions to Prime Minister Arthur Meighen which outlined the basic foundations of its approach to peace. Fifty thousand "'Canadian soldiers under the sod'" had been too high a price to pay for Canada's participation in the Great War and Meighen was urged to pursue a foreign policy which would both preclude Canadian entrapment in future imperial wars and deny Canadian support for any future "imperial aggressive intentions or territorial ambition." The W.I.L. also urged Meighen to secure Canada's right to determine "all matters of foreign policy in which the clear and paramount interest is Canadian." The issue of disarmament was also of particular concern to the Toronto group. Disarmament would advance international co-operation and decrease the likelihood of another war by removing the possible use of force. Prenter and Dora Wood, the group's president, urged Canada's support for the disarmament movement, charging that international government's failure to achieve disarmament "would be a confession of the bankruptcy on the part of statesmanship."[20] In addition to anti-imperialism and disarmament the Toronto W.I.L. voiced its concern for the "economic and social causes of war."[21]

The precise ideological character of the Toronto W.I.L.'s pacifism is difficult to ascertain. Although the group as a whole shared Prenter's economic analysis of war, her pacifist views, which dominate the historical record because of her role as secretary during the early 1920s, appear not to reflect those of the entire group. Indeed, Laura Hughes Lunde expressed concern that Prenter, whom she accused of having dubious reputation in reform circles, would compromise the development of the W.I.L. in Canada and urged Emily Balch to discourage her involvement.[22] Despite the near exclusivity of Prenter's correspondence with the international section, however, differences of political opinion and pacifist orientation can be gleaned within the Toronto group during its early years. The foundation in 1921 of the Women's Peace Union of the Western Hemisphere (W.P.U.), an alternative "absolutist" women's peace organisation, and the realignment of socialist politics into democratic socialist and 'scientific' communist camps[23] that same year brought these differences to the fore and resulted in Prenter's abrupt resignation from the group in June of 1922.

The creation of the W.P.U. highlighted many differences between Prenter--who by 1921 had declared herself a communist and joined the illegal Workers' Party of Canada--and the remainder of the Toronto W.I.L. leadership. A number of W.I.L. women from

Toronto attended the founding convention of the W.P.U. at Niagara Falls, Ontario in 1921. The W.P.U., which espoused an absolutist or non-resistance pacifist creed, lobbied throughout the 1920s and 1930s for an amendment to the constitution of the United States making war illegal.[24] Christine Ross Barker, a Toronto suffragist and pacifist who had resigned her presidency of the Business Women's Club during the war rather than participate in its war work,[25] was a leading figure in the W.P.U. as well as a member of the Toronto W.I.L. Other apparent supporters of the W.P.U.'s absolutist position in the Toronto group were Alice Loeb, Sarah Cunningham, Mrs. Dixon and Dora Wood, all of whom were active in the executive at various times during the early 1920s.[26] A comparison of the pacifist views of Harriet Dunlop Prenter and Christine Ross Barker, an admirer and supporter of J.S. and Lucy Woodsworth who replaced Prenter as secretary in 1922, is illuminating and reveals the source of much of the group's early ideological tensions.

Prenter's communist beliefs shaped her appraoch to peace work and set her apart from other W.I.L. members in Toronto. Although she attended the Niagara Falls convention in 1921, Prenter found herself unable to support the W.P.U.'s non-resistance clause because she could not renounce all wars, only those of capitalist origin. The problem of revolutionary wars was also an issue of

dissension in the international W.I.L. At the Zurich Congress in 1919, W.I.L. national delegates had decided by just one vote to endorse only peaceful methods of social change, reasoning that it was "their special part in this revolutionary age to counsel against violence from any side "[27] In Prenter's estimation, however, wars of revolution or national liberation such as the Russian Revolution, of which she was a voiciferous supporter, were justified:

> We are convinced that there is a fundamentally just demand underlying most revolutionary movements. We declare our sympathy with the purpose of the workers who desire to claim the world. Nevertheless we would like to see the change from a competitive system of production for private gain and privilege to a system of production for human welfare and human need, brought about about peacably by all means at our disposal.[28]

Prenter, in emphasizing revolutionary wars, was evidently not speaking for all members of the Toronto W.I.L. or even a majority of them, however. Increasingly she was becoming aware of the differences between her approach to peace and social justice and that of other executive members like Barker and Alice Loeb. Prenter charged that the women at Niagara Falls were guilty of ignoring "the great underlying economic reasons for all wars" and had passed their anti-war and non-resistance resolutions in vain because they, "as a class--mattered not at all, or at least very slightly."[29] The primacy of Prenter's communist analysis precluded

not only her support for a group like the W.P.U. which denied the legitimacy of violence as a means of social change, but also limited her identification with gendered analyses of war and feminist--as distinct from feminine--pacifist claims which were at the core of the W.I.L. While Prenter conceded that a group like the W.I.L. was useful for the provision of leaders, the W.I.L.'s executive's refusal to co-operate with the Women's Bureau of the Workers' Party brought these rather significant differences to the fore. Charging that the W.I.L. was threatened by a "growing conservatism" and that the women responsible for her resignation--Loeb and Barker principally--should simply join the W.P.U., Prenter resigned from the Toronto group in 1922, much to apparent relief of the others.[30]

Unlike Alice Loeb, Christine Ross Barker's primary loyalty was to the W.P.U. which required a personal pledge of non-resistance of its members. Such shared membership between the two organisations was not uncommon. Although the international W.I.L. did not require its members to sign any pledge, it is clear that a large proportion of its membership embraced the principle of non-resistance as a personal doctrine. In 1922, when the debate in the Toronto group was reaching a head, the international W.I.L. debated the issue at its Vienna Congress; a majority of delegates voted in favour of a motion that it adopt "the principle and

practice of Non-Resistance under all circumstances," but the choice was deemed to be one of individual decision rather than a statement of binding policy.[31] In Toronto, Barker's membership in the W.P.U. was underwritten by a belief that women had a crucial and unique role to play in the maintenance of peace and the abolition of war. Only when women no longer countenanced their own complicity in war would it be abolished:

> If women come out in their strength and say 'We will not take any part whatever in life destruction' we can put an end to war. No argument can stand against us who bear the race, who feed the race, who nurse the race, who are the race. All we have to say is we will not touch this unclean thing--war.[32]

Barker's evocative choice of imagery and her linkage of feminine roles with women's desire to abolish war is revealing. The 'uncleanliness' of war was simply the most compelling example of the need for women's input in world affairs. More important, however, was Barker's assertion that women had the power to effect this kind of fundamental change in human behaviour. In constrast to Prenter's motivation, Barker's identification with her gender group and the non-violent values she associated with it were the most compelling reasons for her membership in the W.P.U. and the W.I.L. Also unlike Prenter, a commitment to democratic rather than revolutionary socialism informed Barker's and the remaining W.I.L. executive's pacifist vision--which could be

characterised as 'conservative' only from the vantage point of a Harriet Dunlop Prenter.

Despite these ideological differences, by early 1920 the Toronto group had begun to look westward and to Montreal in the hope of organising additional W.I.L. branches in Canada. Like Laura Hughes Lunde before her, Harriet Dunlop Prenter lamented the problems inherent in creating a national W.I.L. organisation in a country of Canada's vast size and regional orientation. With none of Lunde's doubts about the viability of such an undertaking, however, Prenter endeavoured first by letter and then by personal contact to extend the influence of the W.I.L. throughout the Canadian feminist pacifist network. Rose Henderson, who had earlier suggested with Lunde that Canadian women join the British W.I.L., undertook to establish a branch in Montreal. In Manitoba Prenter solicited the support of Winona Dixon, a Winnipeg suffragist whose husband had been one of the leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, and Beatrice Brigden, a Brandon socialist, birth control advocate and former lecturer for the Methodist Church; in Alberta suffragists Emily Murphy and Nellie McClung were approached (without much apparent success); and in British Columbia initial contact was made with Lucy Woodsworth and Vancouver suffragist Mary Chesley who had been involved in the foundation of the British W.I.L. in 1915.[33] Finally, in the spring of

1921 on her way home from a winter stay in California Prenter reported to Geneva that she had successfully organised W.I.L. branches in "several towns in the Canadian west," particularly in Calgary and Vancouver. Although reports of a Calgary organisation do not surface again until much later in the decade when the Calgary Women's Labor League affiliated with the Vancouver branch,[34] Prenter's efforts in Vancouver were immediately successful.[35]

After being addressed by Prenter in May, a group of Vancouver women formally organised a branch of the W.I.L. in that city. Like the branch in Toronto, the Vancouver W.I.L. was founded by a group of women with experience in both the suffrage campaign and socially radical politics. The group's founding president, Lucy Staples Woodsworth, shared the political views and commitment of social justice of her better known husband, J.S Woodsworth, and its first secretary, Laura Marshall Jamieson, was a suffragist with progressive views who had been president of the Vancouver University Women's Club from 1915 to 1917 and active in the Women's Employment League.[36] Indeed, Jamieson joked that she was widely known in Vancouver "as a Radical, and even to many as a 'dangerous woman'."[37] Other early members of the Vancouver group included Helena Gutteridge, a trade union

organiser of women workers who had been an active suffragist; Kate E. Lane, a former National Secretary of the Dominion Council of the Y.W.C.A who, according to Jamieson, had "the radical outlook"; Dorothy Steeves, a Dutch pacifist suffragist and socialist who emigrated to Canada in 1919 and became active in various Vancouver socialist and feminist concerns; and Mildred Fahrni, a member of the radical Student Christian Movement who was converted to socialism during her undergraduate years and just one of a number of University of British Columbia students who joined the W.I.L.[38]

The women of the Vancouver group immediately set to work on a programme of peace study and reform. From its inception, the Vancouver W.I.L. displayed many of the attributes of a traditional women's study club. Its emphasis on study reflected the new emphasis on 'civics' among organised Canadian women who were anxious to educate newly enfranchised women about their duties as citizens.[39] The W.I.L.'s concurrent emphasis on political activism made it more than a study club, however, despite the importance it accorded to this aspect of its work. Early meetings were held in members' homes where they were introduced to the history and policies of the W.I.L. itself and to international relations in general. During its first year the

Vancouver group established a small lending library which formed the basis of its reading and discussion programme. Readings for these meetings were along progressive lines. Norman Angell's The Fruits of Victory, for example, which was designed to provide the group with a "firm foundation" on the "Economic Futility of War," was read during its first year.[40] Other suggested readings included works by J.M. Keynes, H.N. Brailsford, Helena M Swanwick, Leonard Woolf, E.D. Morel, and J.A. Hobson. The group also subscribed to and recommended for reading the British Union of Democratic Control's journal, Foreign Affairs, as well as The World Tomorrow, The New Student and the W.I.L.'s British, American and international news sheets.[41]

The input of Mary Chesley, a Vancouver resident who had been in London during the formation of the British W.I.L. in 1915, facilitated the Vancouver group's early development. As the above selection of readings suggests, the influence of the British section and of British socialist pacifism generally on the Vancouver branch during the immediate post-war decade was extensive. As well as the direct tie represented by Mary Chesley, a bond developed between the British and Vancouver W.I.L. as a result of the social radicalism of each group's pacifism. The most salient example of this close relationship was the Vancouver W.I.L.'s decision to adopt

the British W.I.L.'s statement of purpose, which included the achievement of peace between nations, races and classes based on justice and good will; the acceptance of the belief that war is a crime; the substitution of conference and law for coercive force; and the attainment of full rights of citizenship for women.[42] In addition to its support for the work and point of view of the British section, the Vancouver W.I.L. declared its sympathy with another British socialist-pacifist group, the Union of Democratic Control (U.D.C.). Laura Jamieson applauded the U.D.C.'s "democratic point of view" and its journal, Foriegn Affairs which, "although it has no connection with our W.I.L.P.F., ... expresses almost exactly our point of view."[43] The women of the Vancouver W.I.L. could not, however, support the central absolutist position of another British socialist-pacifist organisation which emerged after the war, the No More War Movement. The Vancouver W.I.L. did not advocate taking a pledge against participation in war although, as in Toronto, some of its members, Mildred Fahrni for instance, embraced an absolutist pacifist stance.[44] Nevertheless, the Vancouver W.I.L.'s collective rejection of non-resistance did not reflect a belief in the possibility of a 'just' war. On the contrary its decision was a pragmatic one; as Laura Jamieson explained, the group was concerned that such a policy would simply be "very apt

to antagonize people." Despite these differences, the Vancouver W.I.L., in co-operation with other local peace societies and the Society of Friends, sponsored annual No More War demonstrations beginning in 1922.[45]

At a series of public W.I.L. meetings in the autumn of 1922, a number of speakers addressed many of the concerns the Vancouver group shared with its British sisters. Disarmament, the economic futility of war, the 'awakening of Asia', and the "Will to Peace and the Will to War" were discussed either by sympathetic guest speakers from the University of British Columbia or by the W.I.L. members themselves.[46] A list of possible discussion topics in a Vancouver W.I.L. pamphlet published later in the decade is suggestive of the group's socialist pacifist orientation. Under "Theories of the Causes of War," capitalist expansion, foreign markets and imperialism were cited as the major economic causes of war while a "supriority complex" was given as the main racial cause. Psychological causes of war included national honour and natural pugnacity; the ideas of sovereignty and the balance of power were cited as the major political causes of war. The suggested remedies for these interrelated causes--international institutions (including the "dangers and possibilities" of the League of Nations), disarmament, arbitration, democratic control of foreign

affairs, deliberate peace education, and the recognition of the economic interdependence of nations--revealed the W.I.L.'s strong dissatisfaction with the current state of international relations and implied the need for significant structural and attitudinal changes both in the world community and at the local level in order to achieve international peace.[47]

The energy and industry of the Vancouver branch was due very largely to the influence and activism of Laura Jamieson. Born and raised on a farm in Bruce County, Ontario, Jamieson, nee Marshall, worked briefly as a teacher after a collegiate course in Owen Sound and then, in 1908, earned a B.A. in Philosophy from the University of Toronto where she was an avid debater and regarded by her graduating class as "one of the few possessing sufficient energy and skill to play a leading part in every activity open to women students."[48] After graduation she was employed for three years as a Y.W.C.A. secretary before moving to Vancouver in 1911. That same year she married J. Stuart Jamieson, a Vancouver barrister and judge, with whom she had two children. After the provincial and federal suffrage victories of 1917 and 1918 respectively Jamieson devoted her time to the W.I.L., the Parent-Teacher Federation of British Columbia of which she was president in 1925-1926, and in 1926 after the sudden death of her

husband, she was appointed Juvenile Court Judge of Burnaby, a post she held until 1938 when she finally resigned to join the C.C.F. Jamieson's conversion to a radical social outlook occurred sometime before the war. Shortly after the outbreak of war, in an address on "Social Reconstruction" before the Vancouver University Women's Club in November 1914, Jamieson argued that the circumstances of the war made study of the topic both necessary and opportune. The ideal social order, she counselled her audience, should afford happiness to those "to whom happiness is not possible under present conditions." The problems of the land and the people, work and wages, and competition as the principle of the present economic world, all socially radical concerns, received her attention.[49]

During the 1920s Laura Jamieson developed a pragmatic peace philosophy which emphasized co-operation as the ideal of international, sexual and class relations and which united the Canadian W.I.L.'s ideological strains of feminism, democratic socialism and radical agrarianism. Peace was for Jamieson a practical and realistic goal and a "condition of survival" rather than a vague ideal. As a basic human need in an era of world war, peace was also

> an objective which must have some assurances of attainment if any other form of social service is to be worthwhile, since it is useless working for human betterment if another war is to wipe out our already badly shaken civilization.[50]

Women's pacifism and worldwide organisation on behalf of peace had similarly practical origins and an equally urgent appeal because it was rooted "in practice, not in theory alone." Women's capacity to love humanity, not just in bulk, but "to the extent of sacrificing one's self to bring into the world and rear separate entities of the human race," gave their ideals a "greater universality" which enabled them to see war more intimately as a futile exercise of destructive force. Jamieson's equation of maternal capacity with a greater female sensibility for peace was not simply an evocation of pre-war maternalist sentiment; for Jamieson women's interest in peace was not an innate instinct. Although their proven capacity for love predisposed women to fear the effects of war, it was their "reason and intelligence" which inspired women world wide to organise in groups like the W.I.L. and to work co-operatively for the abolition of war. Indeed, Jamieson argued, the international bonds of women's friendships was a greater determent against war than any buildup of armaments could ever be.[51]

An emphasis on the democratic rights of individuals and

nations informed much of Jamieson's thinking on the question of peace and women's co-operative efforts on its behalf. Although women had won the legal right to vote, in the 1920s and 1930s they were still regarded less as citizens than as usurpers of male political privilege. Consequently, the extension of democratic rights promised by democratic socialism and the farmers' movement had a natural appeal to progressive feminists like Jamieson. As John Manly has pointed out: "For them, a struggle to defend democracy easily became a struggle to extend its promises."[52] Drawing on the ideology of the radical wing of the farmers movement, Jamieson equated democracy with the principle of co-operation. In a speech delivered in 1919, Henry Wise Wood, the leader of the United Farmers of Alberta, had argued that co-operation was "the life of democracy and constructive in charcter" whereas competition was the basis of autocracy and inherently destructive.[53] Using this dichotomy of co-operation versus competition which was also prevalent in socialism, Jamieson advocated the increased democratisation of international and human relations in order to alleviate the economic and political inequities which ultimately led to war between nations and to social injustice at home.

Jamieson's belief in the practicality and the necessity of peace shaped her approach to peace reform. As a democratic socialist,

Jamieson supported constitutional methods of social and political change rather than violent revolution. As a result, she believed that fundamental attitudinal changes were the necessary foundation for such slow, evolutionary change. The Vancouver W.I.L.'s own emphasis on self-education can be seen as part of this broader campaign of social change. Similarly, curricular reform in the education of youth, including the eradication of all vestiges of militarism and the abolition of cadet training, figured prominently in Jamieson's peace plans. Just as important was the education of public opinion through propaganda and public events such as Armistice Week peace festivities and annual peace conferences. International womanhood's collective work through organisations such as the W.I.L., however, was the most effective route to creating the spirit and fact of international co-operation, according to Jamieson. By "creating the will to Peace" in practice through the international sorority of groups like the W.I.L., and through deliberate peace education at home, Jamieson believed that women could not only prevent war, but also work toward its abolition as a legitimate foreign policy alternative.[54]

Jamieson's co-operatist ideology, derived in part from democratic rhetoric of the radical wing of the farmers movement, appealed to organised farm women whose own interest in internationalism had been fostered by the long held anti-imperialist

views of the farmers' movement. The same democratic impulse which inspired farmers' advocacy of electoral reforms such as proportional representation and direct legislation also inspired their anti-imperialist agitation before and after the war. Imperialism was antithetical to democracy because it stripped Canadians of a say in their own affairs. The farmers' anti-imperialism was also cast in regional and class terms. War profiteering and conscription, which had deprived farmers of revenue and labour, were equated with an inequitable political system which catered to eastern manufacturing and money interests while oppressing western farmers. Although in its initial stages regional grievances dominated the farmers' movement, W.L. Morton has argued that after the 1919 revolt of Ontario farmers the economic differences between agriculture and industry came to predominate.[55] A desire to purge Canadian politics of the evil effects of capitalism,[56] combined with a growing consciousness of their status as an economic class, led farmers into the political arena after the war. Echoing suffragists' claims that they would sweep politics clean, farmers announced that they would "cleanse the whole public life of Canada...."[57] The first stage in this agrarian political reformation, according to the Farmers' Platform of 1919 and 1921, would be the removal of the causes of war through support for the

League of Nations; the second would be Canada's refusal to be drawn into future imperial entanglements.[58]

Differing economic interests also led organised farm women in the west and Ontario to reject the reform agenda of the elite urban middle-class women's movement after the war. The Toronto based Woman's Party, formed in 1918, for example, alienated both rural and urban western women with its chauvinistic win-the-war platform which included a reinvigorated imperialism and opposition to labour unionisation.[59] Separate women's groups within the farmers' movement such as the Women's Grain Growers' Association (W.G.G.A.) of Saskatchewan and the United Farm Women of Alberta (U.F.W.A.), facilitated the break with the so-called 'national' women's organisations and, as Veronica Strong-Boag notes, provided farm women with alternative public forums.[60] The economic interests which divided them from middle-class women's groups united farm women with the interests of their husbands. Irene Parlby of Alberta articulated the commonality of purpose shared by farm men and women:

> First and foremost as organized farm women we stand shoulder to shoulder with the men's organizations in the demand for a reconstruction of our economic system.[61]

Farm women's awareness of their status as an economic class of producers, combined with the anti-imperialist and anti-militarist

agenda of the farmers' movement, made the social radicalism of the W.I.L.'s pacifism and its approach to peace very appealing to them.

One of the most influential women in western Canada was Saskatchewan suffragist and journalist, Violet McNaughton. A pacifist since the Boer War, McNaughton had helped draft the Farmers' Platform and served as the W.G.G.A's first president. After being contacted by Laura Hughes, McNaughton joined the W.I.L. in July 1916. Barbara Roberts suggests that during the course of the war McNaughton's pacifism assumed a more socially radical character as a result of her contact with radical feminist pacifists such as Hughes and Gertrude Richardson of Swan River, Manitoba, who was an avid supporter of the socialist Women's Peace Crusade of England.[62] During the 1920s McNaughton's position as the women's editor of the Western Producer made her the W.I.L.'s most important supporter and propagandist in western Canada.[63] Like Jamieson, with whom she developed a close friendship, McNaughton argued that women's knowledge of "the cost of human life" made them embrace more ardently the ideal of co-operation. McNaughton considered women's leadership--and especially that of the W.I.L.--in the area of international peace an outstanding example of women's co-operative spirit. Indeed, in her

estimation the terms 'women' and 'co-operation' were synonymous.[64] Given the rural nature of her reform constituency and readership, McNaughton did not advocate the formation of a separate W.I.L. branch in Saskatchewan; instead, she believed the W.I.L. should work through existing prairie women's organisations such as the W.G.G.A. and the U.F.W.A.[65]

A commitment to this kind of "coalition work"--one women's organisation advancing its cause through other more broadly based women's societies--formed the basis of the Vancouver W.I.L.'s organisational strategy for much of the 1920s.[66] In addition to the affiliation of seven locals of the U.F.W.A. by mid-decade,[67] Jamieson reported that much of its work in B.C. was carried out through co-operation with such non-radical groups as the province's Parent-Teacher Associations and Women's Institutes.[68] The group also interacted with other well-established women's groups in the city, addressing meetings of the Local Council of Women, the Women's Canadian Club, the Y.W.C.A., the Women's Educational Club, the Women's Literary Society of B.C., the Victorian Order of Nurses, and various church societies.[69] The goal of the W.I.L., according to Jamieson, was not to build up a large membership, but to disseminate its ideas and propaganda which could be done effectively through existing women's organisations. Variations in

reform interests from region to region also made coalition work a sensible organisational alternative.[70] Indeed, the strategy provided the W.I.L. with a number of potential advantages in the early part of the decade. Association with other well-established organisations could help legitimize the W.I.L.'s otherwise suspect message Moreover, although only a small group--by 1924 it had a reported membership of only fifty women[71]--coalition work allowed the Vancouver W.I.L. to extend its influence and spread its message beyond its limited circle of interested local women without confronting the organisational impediments inherent in the group's inability to attract a large or broadly based membership.

In Toronto, the W.I.L. pursued a similar policy of co-operation with other women's groups and endeavoured in particular to interest the organised farm women of Ontario in its work. The Toronto W.I.L.'s association with the United Farm Women of Ontario (U.F.W.O.) was begun informally as early as 1920 with the membership of Emma Griesbach, a founding member of the U.F.W.O. who had condemned the Great War as an imperialist conflict which needlessly conscripted farmers' sons. As women's editor of the Farmers' Sun from November 1917 to February 1922 when she was fired, Griesbach helped publicise the W.I.L. amongst Ontario farm women whom she constantly urged to develop a

consciousness of themselves as part of a valuable industrial class.[72] After 1923 the political appeal of the U.F.W.O. waned considerably and many rural women returned to membership in the Women's Institutes; those who remained, however, began to explore the possibility of a more formal affiliation with the W.I.L. By 1925, the U.F.W.O.'s provincial secretary, Mrs. H.L. Laws, was also a vice-president of the Toronto W.I.L. and during the farm women's annual convention in Toronto that same year "the basis of a cooperative effort" was laid between the two organisations by their executive committees.[73]

One of the benefits of the Toronto W.I.L.'s association with the U.F.W.O. was the resultant participation of Agnes Macphail, Canada's first woman member of Parliament, in the work of the group. Agnes Macphail's aversion to war may have stemmed in part from her father's despondent reaction to the First World War.[74] First elected as a United Farmer of Ontario (U.F.O.) representative in the federal election of 1921, Macphail shared the peace and anti-imperialist sentiments of organised farmers and was an advocate of 'group government', a form of co-operative democracy in which the interests of all occupational or economic groups would supplant those of the old-line political parties.[75] Although Macphail hesitated to call herself a socialist,[76] her

membership in the Ginger Group, the radical 'rump' of the Progressives in the House of Commons which later formed the parliamentary nucleus of the C.C.F, marked her as a socially radical and 'dangerous' woman.[77] Macphail considered herself primarily a representative of farmers, not women. Her status as the only woman member of Parliament, however, made her the de facto parliamentary women's representative during the 1920s and for most of the 1930s. Indeed, it was a role she assumed with gusto, tackling such issues as the plight of farm women, divorce, female immigration, women's inequality and the masculine nature of Canada's legislative canon.[78] By her own admission, Macphail's gender influenced her perspective on the issues of the day. In 1925, she informed an American reporter that she could only represent her constituents in her "peculiar woman's way."[79] Although not a maternalist, Macphail argued that when women were able to throw off "artificiality", that is, those stereotypical feminine values which men demanded of them, the humanising effect of women's political influence would be felt and "we will get rid of the oddities of Parliament and the troubles of the nation will be overcome."[80]

Macphail argued that women's oppression was a vestige of the "survival of the rule of force."[81] Interestingly, she drew parallels between the defects of the institution of marriage and the "old

imperial order" which she blamed for the First World War. Both marriage and imperialism suffered from too great an imposition of "uniformity" by one dominant partner, she argued. The solution was the development of greater "diversity", in marriage through the equality of the sexes, and among nations through the creation of "a great family of nations, embracing the whole world."[82] The greatest obstacle to this kind of harmonised international community was the practice of settling international disputes by war. The "stark, sheer, senseless horror of modern war" repulsed Macphail who urged Canadians to adopt a new definition of patriotism; the height of patriotism, she contended, was living rather than dying for one's country.[83] Macphail, like her sisters in the U.F.W.O., was drawn to the W.I.L. because its peace and social philosophy coincided with her own. The U.F.W.O.'s affiliation with the W.I.L., informal as it may have been, merely intensified her support for the group.[84] Macphail argued that women, as the humanistic sex, had a special responsibility to suppress "the thought and practice of war."[85] Not surprisingly, then, although she also lent her support to other peace organisations such as the No More War Movement,[86] Macphail most closely identified and was most commonly associated with the pacifist activism of the W.I.L. in Canada. Macphail's participation in the work of the

group was a most welcome development to both Canadian supporters of the W.I.L. and the international leadership in Geneva.[87]

By 1925-1926 another urban W.I.L. branch was founded in Winnipeg by Lucy Woodsworth, whose husband was now a Winnipeg Labor representative in the Canadian House of Commons, and by the wife of the head of the University of Manitoba's French department. The immediate impetus for the group would appear to be the presence of Lucy Woodsworth in the city and direct personal contact with Alice Loeb, a prominent member of the Toronto branch who visited the city during the summer of 1925.[88] As the founding president of the Vancouver W.I.L. and one of the Canadian Section's two 'consultative' or international W.I.L. members during the early 1920s Woodsworth's commitment to the organisation was very great. After residing for a short period in Ottawa, where she endeavoured to interest the wives of members of Parliament in the W.I.L.,[89] Woodsworth moved to Winnipeg and began work organising a W.I.L. branch. Although the new group did not take the W.I.L. name immediately, preferring instead to call itself the Women's Peace-Study Group, Woodsworth believed "that in essentials, we have travelled to the position of the W.I.L. and we are a student group." By September 1927 the group had

formally declared itself a branch of the W.I.L and, in 1928, undertook a major study of Canadian military expenditures, disarmament policies and international status.[90] During May of that same year, one of its first peace initiatives resulted in the institution of Good Will Day in Manitoba schools.

More definite work needs to be done before the class composition of the Canadian W.I.L. membership can be precisely ascertained. The measurement of women's class affiliations is an imprecise process at best. In her recent monograph, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English-Canada 1919-1939, Veronica Strong-Boag has argued convincingly that sex not class was the most important variable governing women's experience in the inter-war period. All women, regardless of their social status, shared the fundamental reality, although not necessarily the consciousness, of their social, economic and political subordination as a sex. The routine conferral upon women of the social class of their husbands and fathers underscored women's inequality as a sex. For this reason, Strong-Boag argues that the concept of class "remains a fundamentally imperfect method of indicating a woman's relationship to a capitalist male hierarchy."[91] Yet no satisfactory conceptual model to replace class exists. Strong-Boag concludes that class, therefore, must be understood only "as a guide

to the status and power of women's families rather than as a reliable measure of women's ability to command resources or to share in full the values of male capitalist society."[92]

The class consciousness of W.I.L. members and its impact on the group's political outlook makes class an important analytical variable in this study. A survey of the sources suggests that the leadership of the Canadian W.I.L. at least was drawn largely from the middle classes. In Toronto, for example, the group's founder, Laura Hughes, was the daughter of the city's chief inspector of schools and, ironically, the niece of Sir Sam Hughes, Canada's senior military officer during the First World War. Similarly, Carol Bacchi has described Harriet Dunlop Prenter as middle-class. Other early members, such as Mrs. Arthur Roebuck, whose husband was a lawyer and politician, and Dr. Leila Davis, who, aside from being a medical doctor herself, was also the sister of two "arch capitalist brothers," were also clearly middle-class women.[93] The same can be said of the Vancouver leadership although the group also attracted a number of working class members.[94] The feminist and socialist bases of their pacifist conviction and a commitment to democratically achieved social reform united these women in the W.I.L. Their progressive linkage of social reform with peace effectively differentiated them as a group from other women's

organisations during the 1920s which tended to look exclusively to the League of Nations as the only remedy for the threat of war.[95] While the W.I.L., both internationally and in Canada, supported the work of the League of Nations and endeavoured to make it a truly responsive and responsible guarantor of peace, the primary focus of its work, at least in Canada, was, first, identifying the structural causes of war--namely state-sanctioned militarism and the inequitable economic system upon which it rested--and secondly, pursuing positive measures to combat these conditions.

The interaction of gender and class in the W.I.L. was discussed and analysed at length by the Vancouver branch during its first year. Although predominantly a middle-class group, according to Laura Jamieson the Vancouver branch attracted the "ardent" support of a number of labour women, such as trade union activist Helena Gutteridge, who were drawn to the W.I.L. because of its progressive peace and social philosophy.[96] Although it is unclear how many women labour activists joined the W.I.L. or what proportion of the membership they represented, the political implications of their presence in the group caused some concern among the Vancouver leadership. The W.I.L.'s middle-class leadership, in differentiating themselves from the "labour women," revealed their consciousness of their own class affiliation. Although

they could not divest themselves of their middle-class economic status, through the deliberate development of a radical political outlook they attempted to divest themselves of the reactionary social outlook which they believed characterised the middle classes. Their assimilation of a socially radical view point effectively separated them from their own class, but did not necessarily unite their interests with those of labour women.

In a letter to Geneva in the early 1920s, Laura Jamieson outlined the tensions inherent in the group's dual class composition. The Vancouver leadership's identification with the values of their own class, she explained, was minimal:

> we strive with all our might not to be middle class internally, that is, to be far in advance of the general middle class outlook, in information, and in leadership of ideas.[97]

Although the group feared the possible encroachment of a "'middle class mind'," Jamieson explained that it was also anxious to retain the form of a traditional middle-class women's society. The apparent ambiguity of these sentiments can be reconciled by an understanding of the expediency of the W.I.L.'s motivation. Although the W.I.L.'s middle-class leadership shared the socially radical economic and peace analyses of the group's labour members it did not want to compromise the success of the group's educational campaign among the middle classes with any undue

association with the labour movement. Jamieson believed that once identified with labour the W.I.L. would "lose almost entirely the opportunity to penetrate the middle class with our ideas"; the working classes, whose political organisations generally already shared the W.I.L.'s pacifist vision, did not need yet another voice added to the chorus of 'labour radicalism.' The need for work among the reactionary middle classes was, on the other hand, comparatively urgent.[98] No such explicit statement of intent exists for the Toronto branch--although the group's 'expulsion' of communist Harriet Dunlop Prenter in 1922 is suggestive of its desire to reach a broader audience. The Toronto group's blend of social radicalism with a similarly middle class form would suggest that it shared many of the same concerns as the Vancouver branch and ultimately chose to pursue the same organisational strategy.

The W.I.L.'s politically expedient strategy of assuming the outward guise of a middle-class women's society while attempting concurrently to go beyond middle-class interests, had its precedent in the woman suffrage movement. Progressive feminists like Flora MacDonald Denison and socialist feminists like Helena Gutteridge both espoused a more socially radical view point than the majority of suffragists and yet they adopted the same organisational form and strategies as their more socially conservative sisters. Indeed, Helena Gutteridge consciously endeavoured to de-emphasize her

socialist ideology in order to attract more support for the B.C. Woman's Suffrage League, a group she had founded in 1911 as an alternative to the more liberal Pioneer Political Equality League.[99] Yet the artificiality of this unity was underscored by the experience of the post-suffrage women's movement. With no unifying issue to galvanise its various reform constituencies the women's movement fractured after the war into a wide range of single issue groups dominated by disparate political perspectives. At the same time, however, the women's movement remained an effective reform constituency. American historian Joan Jensen has characterised the United States women's movement in the 1920s as "one of the best-organized interest groups in the country...."[100] That the same can be said of the Canadian women's movement is evidenced by the decision of the League of Nations Society in Canada to utilise the already well-established organisational infrastructure of the National Council of Women during this decade.[101] Thus the apparent anomaly of a largely middle-class women's group like the W.I.L. espousing a socially radical pacifist and political position is in part a function of the pejorative historiographical characterisation of the woman suffrage campaign in Canada as 'middle class' and 'conservative'.[102]

Although the women of the W.I.L. renounced the perceived

reactionism of middle-class ideology, the primacy of their identification with the forms of middle-class feminism remained paramount. An emphasis on women's civic duties and, by implication, on realising women's new found political power, dominated early post-suffrage feminist activism in Canada and justified, indeed compelled, the continuation of organised women's separatist reform strategy for a wide range of issues. Moreover, the persistence of stereotypical prescribed male and female roles and personalities continued to fuel the perception that women, although now nominally 'equal', were still irrefutably 'different'.[103] Despite the post-war dissipation of the influence of maternalist ideology, which had been based on the premise of a unified and distinctive female character,[104] the issue of gender continued to play a role in the pacifism of radical women peace activists like those in the W.I.L. Either implicitly by joining a woman's peace group or explicitly through the articulation of feminist pacifist beliefs, these women demonstrated, as Linda Schott has argued, their "overwhelming conviction that women's interest and dedication to peace differed from men's."[105]

The W.I.L.'s separatist, that is, women only, character was an important factor in the group's early development. A perception that the enfranchisement of women had removed the need for

separate women's societies was one factor in some women's decision not to join the W.I.L. A lack of feminist consciousness informed the decision of others.[106] In 1919, for example, Mrs. H.G. Hogan of Ottawa refused Harriet Dunlop Prenter's request to form a W.I.L. branch in that city, stating,

> I cannot join any society of women. My internationalism is that of a human being--not as a woman do I think of matters of equal import to men, women and children! Women no longer need separate women's organizations--they vote![107]

Prenter reported that the issue of men's admission to the Toronto W.I.L. had been discussed but "with no very positive voice either way."[108] The W.I.L. membership's experience in the suffrage campaign, the feminist character of the organisation's international section, and a recognition that the vote had not fully emancipated women largely determined the group's continuing separatist form. The continuation of this gender-based organisational form, as well as the group's advocacy of women's equality, is significant in itself. One Vancouver W.I.L. member believed that the group's all woman form gave its members the "freedom to speak."[109] At the same time, however, the experience of the W.I.L. in the 1920s reflects an important shift in the nature of feminist organisation. The pre-suffrage principle of feminine unity imposed by the expediency of suffrage reform was no longer workable in a women's movement

divided by the reinvigorated class interests of socialist and farm women.[110] Thus after 1918, class as well as gender determined the ideological orientation and membership of feminist societies such as the W.I.L.

Although designed to make the W.I.L.'s social radicalism more palatable to a wider reform constituency, the group's middle-class guise did not pay off until nearly mid-decade. A fear of impending revolution by the 'industrial classes', fostered by hysteria over the Russian Revolution abroad and by the 1919 Winnipeg General Strike and 1921 national farmers' revolt at home, created a climate of hostility toward radical political groups in post-war Canada.[111] This reactionary sentiment, which extended to Canada's national women's groups,[112] was underscored by a fear of socialism which was regarded as the antithesis of capitalism and thus as a threatening counterculture. In August 1920, a federal department of Labour pamphlet alleged that a Soviet-funded Bolshevik propaganda network was in operation throughout Canada. Prominent in this network of so-called Bolshevik 'dupes' were the One Big Union, the Labor Church, Reverend William Ivens and J.S. Woodsworth.[113] Peace societies, with the notable exception of the semi-official League of Nations Society in Canada,[114] were also regarded with suspicion.[115]

The W.I.L., both abroad and in Canada, was commonly regarded as a communist front group. An American pamphlet which circulated in Canada during the 1920s charged that the United States section of the W.I.L. was "dominated by the spirit of Russian Communism" and wrongly accused the group of advocating the violent overthrowal of the American government.[116] In Canada, the W.I.L.'s open support for the new Soviet regime and its denouncement of the Allies' White Russian policy of harassment also made it a target of suspicion.[117] The Canadian W.I.L. felt hampered by the reactionary nature of Canada's conservative national character and habit of "aggressive" patriotism. Harriet Dunlop Prenter described post-war Toronto as "an atmosphere of ... organized hate and hopeless prejudice."[118] Margaret Perceval of the Vancouver executive lamented that the Canadian section battled "against fearful odds":

> So that [it] is uphill work and really it is only the working classes who understand us. There are a few intellectuals who think as we do, but they are scarce anywhere and particularly so in this country.[119]

The odds were against the W.I.L. in 1920 when it attempted to bring Jane Addams, a much reviled war-time pacifist and the International president of the W.I.L., to Toronto to speak under the auspicies of Professor R.M. MacIver of the University of Toronto;

due to "much underhand work on the part of the dark forces of militarism," however, the lecture was cancelled after creating quite a public controversy.[120]

The international W.I.L.'s fourth biennial conference held in Washington, D.C. in early May 1924 was a turning point for the W.I.L. in Canada. Although members of the Canadian W.I.L. had begun to notice a lessening of reactionary sentiment as early as 1921, after the publicity surrounding the Washington Congress the W.I.L. in Canada began to attract more positive attention. In many ways the theme of the congress--"A New International Order"--was especially meaningful for the Canadian section. Canadian W.I.L. members had long expressed their desire for direct personal contact with the leadership of the international section. The regionalised nature of the W.I.L. in Canada had made the international section a focus for organisational initiatives as well as a source of inspiration and morale. The Canadian branches' sense of isolation from the organisation's leadership and work in Europe was profound. Unable to send delegations to European biennial conferences, with the exception of Rose Henderson's attendance at the Vienna Congress in 1921, Canadians began to feel "insulated".[121] For these reasons the Canadian W.I.L., especially those in the Toronto group who could attend the congress more readily than

those in Vancouver, welcomed the Washington Conference as an opportunity for international fellowship and inspiration.

The conference was well attended by Canadians who, next to the Americans, constituted the largest delegation. Among the Canadians who attended the conference were Lucy Woodsworth of Winnipeg, Alice Loeb and Isa M. Byers of the Toronto W.I.L., and Agnes Macphail who represented both the W.I.L. and the U.F.W.O. and acted as the leader of the Canadian delegation. Although no Canadian delegates seem to have attended the conference from Vancouver, a visit to the city by a member of the British delegation brought "an unexpected harvest of good counsel and W.I.L. atmosphere and spirit."[122] At the invitation of Agnes Macphail a number of European delegates travelled to Canada on a special train which was dubbed the "Pax Special". The train arrived in Toronto in June and brought with it twenty-five women prominent in the German, Austrian, French, Belgian, Bulgarian, Danish, Czechoslovakian, Dutch, Hungarian, Irish, Norwegian, Polish, Swedish, Turkish, Ukranian, British and American peace movements. Also on board was Lucy Woodsworth.[123] A reception held for the women at Massey Hall was attended by Toronto's labour and religious leaders and the W.I.L. delegates were also received at Queen's Park where they

spoke to a large crowd under the premier's auspicies.[124] Although the Pax Special was dismissed by one Toronto newspaper as "a sinister attempt to undermine British patriotism,"[125] on the whole, as Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims point out, "personal confrontation helped dispel prejudice" in Toronto.[126] Thus for the Canadian W.I.L. the Washington Congress and the Pax Special was a twofold success. Coverage of the conference had actually helped ease reactionary sentiment in Canada and Toronto's fairly positive reception of the Pax delegation reflected a changing attitude toward the group. Perhaps more importantly, however, the conference made Canadians participants, like Alice Loeb, "feel really a part of the world."[127]

By the next biennial congress in 1926 the Canadian W.I.L. had begun to take on a national character. The removal of the national headquarters from Toronto to Vancouver and the appointment in 1926 of Laura Jamieson to the position of National Secretary, a job which had been performed fairly ineffectually by various members of the Toronto branch until that time, invigorated the Canadian W.I.L. Despite the position of national secretary, there was no real national W.I.L. organisation in Canada. Beginning in 1926, however, attempts were made to create a national executive composed of representatives of the various

Canadian branches. In order to bridge the distances between branches and to help members keep in touch with the work of the international section and with international affairs in general a Canadian W.I.L. monthly newsletter was begun by Jamieson in 1926.[128] The group's first united effort was the drafting of two resolutions for inclusion in the programme of the W.I.L.'s 1926 Dublin Congress. In many ways these two statements summed up and foreshadowed the work of the Canadian W.I.L. during the 1920s. The first resolution emphasized the Canadian W.I.L.'s commitment to the education of public opinion as a means of preventing war while the second called for the demilitarisation of Canadian schools.[129] Although these two themes had dominated the group's work before 1926, the upsurge of popular support among Canadians for the peace movement after mid-decade made the W.I.L.'s message of peace through international goodwill and co-operation more palatable and even popular.

The W.I.L.'s growing popularity reflected the worldwide upsurge in popular support for the peace movement at the end of the decade. Thomas Socknat has argued that this popularisation of the peace movement was in part a response to the Kellogg Peace Pact of 1928 which formally renounced war: "Climaxing a decade of pacifist activity dedicated to the condemnation of war, the pact

was heralded as proof that the pacifist idea had taken root."[130] Laura Jamieson, for example, greeted the Kellogg Treaty with enthusiasm but stressed that it was as yet only a gesture toward peace, not an accomplished fact. Jamieson reminded her W.I.L. newsletter readers that the

> Treaty of Versailles promised that Germany's disarmament should be but a fore-runner of general disarmament in Europe; but ten years have seen no move in this direction, but rather an increase.

If the Kellogg Pact failed, like the League Covenant and the Larcarno Treaty before it, to realise its promised renunciation of war Jamieson concluded that "the peoples of the world might well become sceptical of the great powers, and consider they set no value on the signing of Treaties."[131] Although sceptical, Jamieson and the W.I.L. welcomed the increasing recognition of the legitimacy of their cause. Ironically, however, at this time the Toronto W.I.L. experienced a decline in membership. Although the reasons for it are not very clear, it was a source of great concern to the international section. Mary Sheepshanks, the international secretary, hoped that reports of the extended visits of two of the Toronto W.I.L.'s most prominent leaders, Alice Loeb and Berta Hamilton, at its headquarters in Geneva during the winter of 1928-1929 would spark some enthusiasm among lapsed W.I.L. members in Toronto.[132]

Although the Toronto branch was experiencing some organisational difficulties, in the West the group continued to expand and to attract the support of a growing number of organised farm women in Alberta and, by 1929, of those in Saskatchewan.[133] Feeling its unprecedented strength among organised women, at the initiative of Laura Jamieson and the Vancouver branch the group formed a national executive committee and began to develop a national 'plan of work'.[134] Although the committee was merely a 'paper executive', as Jamieson acknowledged, the group's attempt to consolidate its resources and to unite its branches and affiliates in a national organisation is significant. The plan, which was published and circulated among W.I.L. members and affiliates in early 1929, summarised and reinforced the educational focus of the group's reform agenda and outlined new initiatives for the group.[135] The W.I.L.'s growing organisational maturity was symbolised by the participation of five of its members--Agnes Macphail of Ontario, Isa Byers and Mrs. Walter McRae of Toronto, Violet McNaughton of Saskatchewan, and Laura Jamieson of Vancouver--in the W.I.L.'s sixth international congress at Prague, Czechoslovakia, in August 1929. For the Canadian delegates, the W.I.L. itself was the embodiment of international goodwill and co-operation. Attendance

at the conference crystallised their internationalist spirit and served to reinforce the urgency of the Canadian group's educational message of goodwill and co-operation.[136]

This chapter has ranged rather broadly through the organisational development of the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s and has attempted to delineate those ideological imperatives which informed the W.I.L.'s feminist pacifist response to the continued threat of potentially devastating world conflict during the 1920s. At a Vancouver W.I.L. meeting in 1926, the group's retiring president, Mrs. Burton, suggested that if "women all over the world could get a little more 'class consciousness' in regard to war it might be abolished sooner."[137] Mrs. Burton's statement, combining as it does the language of class conflict with gender consciousness, is illuminating for it neatly exemplifies the dual analytic focus of the W.I.L.'s pacifism in Canada. The group's marriage of feminist form and reform strategies to a socialist economic analysis of war drew women together from the seemingly disparate backgrounds of the middle-class woman movement and socially radical labour and farmer politics. What united these women was a commonality of experience in the suffrage movement (as distinct from the broader woman movement) and a commitment to a socially radical pacifist view point which proposed

human solidarity, world co-operation, and the establishment of social, political and economic justice for all, regardless of sex, race, class or colour, as the only viable alternatives to war.[138]

Although the social radicalism of their message differentiated the women of the W.I.L. from the mainstream liberal women's movement, it would be wrong to suggest that they were in any way separate from it. Despite its fears of complicity with middle-class ideology and disgust at middle-class complacency regarding foreign affairs the W.I.L. self-consciously assumed the form of a middle-class women's organisation in an attempt to spread its message of peace through social justice and co-operation among the great unconverted middle mass of Canadian society. Its separatist form and emphasis on education (as the next chapter will show) clearly marked the W.I.L. as primarily a feminist group, rather than a socialist one. Support for socialism, however, expressed their misgivings about an economic system which did not conscript wealth as indiscriminately as it conscripted men and caused imperialist wars to satisfy market forces and profit margins. Socialism also articulated their desire for greater democratic control of government and international relations as well as greater democracy between the sexes.[139] Tying these feminist and socialist strands together was an overriding belief that women, as the

source of all humanity, had a unique and vital role to play in the abolition of war.

Endnotes, Chapter Three

1. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 93, Toronto Branch letterhead, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 17 June 1921.

2. Joan Sangster, "Canadian Women in Radical Politics and Labour, 1920-50" (Ph.D. Dissertation, McMaster University, 1984), pp.9-10. Agnes Macphail, a farmer representative in Parliament after 1921 and a member of the W.I.L. for much of the 1920s resisted association of her 'womanist' beliefs with the "feminist" label which she equated with the elite urban leadership of the middle-class women's movement. Margaret Stewart and Doris French, Ask No Quarter (Toronto, 1959), p. 73.

3. Sangster, "Canadian Women in Radical Politics...," p. 25.

4. Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915-1965 (London, 1980), pp. 28-29, 31-32.

5. In 1915 twenty resolutions had been passed which addressed the organisation's six broad areas of concern: women and war; action towards peace; principles of permanent peace; international co-operation; education of children; action to be taken. In addition, the congress also proposed that a conference of neutral nations be convened to provide "continuous mediation" and an early end to the war. Ibid., p. 20.

6. Ibid., pp. 32-36.

7. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, Laura Hughes Lunde to Emily Balch, 7 November 1919.

8. Ibid.; ibid., Emily Balch to Harriet Dunlop Prenter, 6 October 1919; ibid., Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, October 1919.

9. Ibid., Laura Hughes Lunde to Emily Balch, 7 November 1919.

10. The exigencies of the war temporarily united most Canadian club women in the National Committee for Patriotic Service of Canada; but faced with growing regional dissatisfaction and defections at the war's close, Canada's peace-time national

women's group, the N.C.W.C., could not maintain this unity during the following decade. Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women (Ottawa, 1976), chapter 8.

11. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, Laura Hughes Lunde to Emily Balch, 7 November 1919.

12. Ibid., quoted by Emily Balch to Harriet Dunlop Prenter, 6 October 1919.

13. Mrs. Kantel joined Dr. Margaret Gordon, a war-time member of the W.I.L., and Ada Mary Brown Courtice, the former Peace and Arbitration Convenor of the N.C.W.C., in voting against a Local Council of Women resolution in favour of conscription in 1916. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review (1916), p. 425.

14. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, press clipping, Evening Telegram (Toronto), n.d.

15. Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review (1915), p. 350; ibid., (1916), p. 446.

16. In 1919/1920, Prenter was president of the Toronto Political Equality League; vice-president and assistant secretary of the Independent Labor Party of Ontario; a member and speaker for the Self-Determination for Ireland League. In the 1921 federal general election she unsuccessfully contested the Toronto West constituency as a Labor Representative Committee candidate. See WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 25 August 1919; ibid., October 1919; ibid., reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 18 November 1920.

17. Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto, 1974), chapter 16.

18. Canadian Forum, 1, no. 1 (August 1921), p. 333.

19. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 17 June 1921.

20. Ibid., Harriet Dunlop Prenter and Dora Wood to Arthur Meighen, May 1921.

21. Ibid., reel 57, file 94, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 25 April 1922.

22. In a letter to Emily Balch, the substance of which Balch subsequently shared with Prenter, Laura Hughes Lunde accused Prenter of being "a woman who likes to climb thro [sic] 'causes'. She is all things to all people. And has gotten such a reputation for being under hand etc. that no one will join anything she is in." Ibid., reel 57, file 92, Laura Hughes Lunde to Emily Balch, 7 November 1919.

23. On the split in the Canadian socialist movement in 1921, see Martin Robins, Radical Politics and Canadian Labour 1880-1930 (Kingston, 1968), chapter 8; Norman Penner, The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis (Toronto, 1977), chapters 3 and 4.

24. Frances Early, "The Historic Roots of the Women's Peace Movement in North America," Canadian Woman Studies, 7, no. 4 (Winter 1986), 46.

25. Hopkins, Canadian Annual Review (1915), p. 350.

26. It is not clear whether "Mrs. Dixon" is Winona Dixon, wife of F.J. Dixon, one of the jailed leaders of the Winnipeg General Strike. Harriet Dunlop Prenter had earlier solicited her support for a group in Winnipeg. Alice Loeb, who remained active in the W.I.L. well into the 1940s, later joined the C.C.F. and was a member of the short-lived Toronto C.C.F. Women's Joint COmmittee during the 1930s, see John Manly, "Women and the Left in the 1930s: The Case of the Toronto CCF Women's Joint Committee," Atlantis, 5, no. 2 (Spring 1980), 100-119. Sarah Cunningham served as the Toronto group's vice-president while Dora Wood was president of the group in 1921 and, along with Mrs. Burt, was briefly appointed as one of the Canadian W.I.L.'s two international consultative members in 1920. Their other political affiliations and views are not known.

27. Bussey and Tims, pp. 39-40.

28. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 17 June 1921.

29. Ibid., reel 57, file 94, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 24 March 1922.

30. Ibid., Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 16 June 1922; Ibid., Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 1922. Carol Bacchi suggests that despite Prenter's attempt "to break free of [her] middle-class bonds" through participation in the labour movement, she failed to challenge the concept of class privilege and remained

firmly mired in her class assumptions. Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto, 1983), pp. 122-123. Martin Robin, on the other hand, characterises Prenter --whom he incorrectly identifies as Mrs. Hester [sic] Prenter--as one of the more radical members of the Toronto ILP." Robin, p. 234. It would appear from available W.I.L. evidence that Robin's characterisation is the more accurate of the two.

31. Bussey and Tims, pp. 39-40.

32. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, Christine Ross Barker to Emily Balch, 15 November 1922.

33. Ibid., reel 57, file 92, newspaper clipping, "From a Canadian Friend," Pax et Libertat (April 1920); ibid., reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 24 September 1920. In 1921, Rose Henderson unsuccessfully contested the federal riding of New Westminster, B.C. as a Labor candidate. She ran again as a Labor candidate in Montreal in the 1925 federal election. Manly, p. 107. On Beatrice Bridgen, see Joan Sangster, "The Making of a Socialist-Feminist: The Early Career of Beatrice Brigden, 1888-1941," Atlantis, 13, no. 1 (Fall 1987), 13-28.

34. Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Collection (hereafter SCPC/WILPF), International Papers, WILPF Canada (Toronto), series C, box 1, Laura Jamieson , Canadian W.I.L. monthly newsletter, 1 January 1929.

35. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 93, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 22 May 1921. In 1957, Helena Gutteridge recalled that a Vancouver branch of the W.I.L. had been formed much earlier in 1917 at the home of Fanny Cowper. Pacific Tribune, 8 March 1957, pp. 11-12. During her 1921 trip to California, Prenter also helped to organise a California division of the W.I.L.: WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 93, Mary F. Hogan (Los Angeles) to Harriet Dunlop Prenter, 21 June 1921.

36. On Lucy Woodsworth, see University of Toronto Archives, Alumnae Records, Lucy Staples Woodsworth file, Star (Toronto), 14 February 1924; Public Archives of British Columbia (hereafter PABC), Sound Division, tape no. 3963:1, side 2, Mildred Fahrni interview; University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections, Grace MacInnis Papers, box 3, "Notes on LLW." On Jamieson, see Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver University Women's Club Papers, Add. Mss. 872, vol. 1, file 1, pp. 212-214, 227-228, minutes, 13

February 1915, 24 April 1915, 13 May 1916; Linda Louise Hale, "Votes for Women: Profiles of Prominent British Columbia Suffragists and Social Reformers," in Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C. (Victoria, 1980), p. 294.

37. Saskatchewan Archives Board (hereafter SAB), Violet McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 27 March 1929.

38. On Gutteridge, see Susan Wade, "Helena Gutteridge: Votes for Women and Trade Unions," in Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C. (Victoria, 1980), pp. 187-23. On Kate Lane, see WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 12 August 1922. On Steeves, who became the CCF's first woman MLA in British Columbia, see Susan Walsh, "The Peacock and the Guinea Hen: Political Profiles of Dorothy Gretchen Steeves and Grace MacInnis," in Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., The Neglected Majority, vol. II (Toronto, 1985), pp. 144-159. On Fahrni, see University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections, Angus MacInnis Memorial Collection, box 51, file 4, biographical profiles.

39. The importance of all female study clubs in the women's movement is discussed in Theodora Penny Martin, The Sound of Our Own Voices: Women's Study Clubs, 1860-1910 (Boston, 1987). The post-suffrage formation of civics clubs for women in Canada is touched upon by Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women, p. 383.

40. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 19 June 1923.

41. SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, Vancouver Branch pamphlet, n.d.

42. Ibid.

43. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 19 June 1923.

44. PABC, Sound Division, tape no. 3963:1, Mildred Fahrni interview.

45. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to

Violet McNaughton, 19 June 1923; WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 12 August 1922; Ibid., Margaret Perceval to Emily Balch, 4 June 1923.

46. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), pamphlet, Vancouver Branch. WILPF programme of meetings, 1922.

47 SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, pamphlet, Vancouver Branch, [1927].

48. University of Toronto Archives, Alumnae Records, box 307, file 72, Laura Jamieson records.

49. Vancouver City Archives, Vancouver University Women's Club Papers, Add. Mss. 872, vol. 1, file 1, pp. 202-204, minutes, 28 November 1914.

50. Laura Jamieson, "How did the peace conference turn out?" The Church Review, n.d., SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (5).

51. Laura Jamieson, "International Peace the Objective of Organized Women," Western Producer, 24 November 1927, p. 14.

52. Manly, Atlantis, 5, no. 2 (Spring 1980), 107-108.

53. W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto, 1950), pp. 90-91. Morton characterises the "Albertan" wing of the Progressives as the more radical constitutency of the farmers' movement, pp. 38-40.

54. Jamieson, "International Peace ...," Western Producer, 24 November 1927, p. 14.

55. Morton, pp. 75-76.

56. Norman Penner has argued that "Agrarian radicalism was against the evils of capitalism, but not against capitalism itself." The Canadian Left, p. 174.

57. E.C. Drury, the newly elected Farmer-Labor premier of Ontario, quoted in Morton, p. 75.

58. Morton, p. 302.

59. Carol Bacchi, "Divided Allegiances: The Response of Farm and Labour Women to Suffrage," in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not

Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880s-1920s, (Toronto, 1979), p. 105.

60. Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women, p. 392.

61. Grain Growers' Guide, 4 December 1918, quoted in Bacchi, "Divided Allegiances," p. 103.

62. Roberts, 'Why do women ...', pp. 15-16.

63. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Violet McNaughton to Jane Addams, 29 November 1927; Ibid., Violet McNaughton to Laura Jamieson, 22 December 1927.

64. Violet McNaughton, "Women and Co-operation," Western Producer, 24 November 1927, p. 13.

65., SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 18 July 1926. By the end of the decade McNaughton felt the development of a Saskatchewan branch of the W.I.L. would be advantageous because it would unite the various peace groups doing W.I.L. work in the province. Ibid., Violet McNaughton to Madeleine Doty, 29 April 1930.

66. Coalition work was a tactic extensively employed during the suffrage campaign. Joan Jensen, "All Pink Sisters: The War Department and the Feminist Movement in the 1920s," in Lois Scharf and Joan Jensen, eds., Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement, 1920-1940, 2nd edtn. (Boston, 1987), p. 207.

67. SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, pamphlet, Vancouver Branch, [1927].

68. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 95, Laura Jamieson to Velma Gluecklich, 29 January 1925.

69. Ibid., 20 June 1925.

70. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 19 June 1923. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, "Material for Press Release," 1925.

71. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 95, Laura Jamieson to Velma Gluecklich, 14 March 1924.

72. Ibid., reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily

Balch, 24 September 1920. See also Margaret Kechnie, "The United Farm Women of Ontario: Developing a Political Consciousness," Ontario History, 77, no. 4 (December 1985), pp. 268, 270, 273, 275, 278 n. 17.

73. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Alice Loeb to Madeleine Doty, 10 December 1925.

74. Margaret Stewart and Doris French, Ask No Quarter (Toronto, 1959), p. 29.

75. Western Producer, 21 July 1927, p. 7; ibid., 28 July 1927.

76. New York Times, 7 June 1925.

77. On the schism in the Progressive caucus which led to to the creation of the Ginger Group, see W.L. Morton, The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto, 1950), pp. 194-201.

78. PAC, MG 27, III C4, Agnes Macphail Papers, vol. 6, press clippings, 1921-1926, Star (Toronto), 27 September 1921; ibid., press clippings, 1927-1928, Border City Star (Windsor), 1 February 1928; Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1924, vol. 160, p. 494.

79. New York Times, 7 June 1925.

80. PAC, MG 27, III C4, Agnes Macphail Papers, vol. 6, press clippings, 1927-1928, Citizen (Ottawa), 29 February 1928. Macphail's gender and the effects of her participation in the masculine arena of politics on her femininity was also a constant source of interest to the media. One correspondent went to great lengths in describing her to reassure his readers that Macphail was indeed a woman, both physically and mentally: "With large, but pleasing, form, erect as an Indian, fine shapely hands, mouth mobile and delicate and capable of much; gaze, straightforward and steady as if done in oils, and a wealth of hair black as the raven's wing and fixed into gleaming regularity like a head-plate of shining steel; pink of cheeks and serene of bearing as the statue of Boadicea,...." The same interviewer asked, "Do you think, Miss Macphail, that it is possible, or easy, for a woman to go into political life, and yet keep radiant and untarnished the inner shrine of a woman's modesty, delicacy, sensitiveness, exclusiveness?" Macphail replied, "I'm no gulf stream in the cold ocean of political life." Ibid., press clippings, 1921-1926, "Agnes Doesn't Ask for Favors in Public Life," n.d.

81. Ibid., Boston Herald, 4 April 1928.

82. Ibid., press clippings, 1921-1926, clipping [927].

83. Ibid.

84. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Laura Jamieson to Madeleine Doty, 1926.

85. Ibid., press clipping, n.d.

86. In 1923, Agnes Macphail addressed a No More War Rally in Toronto, see Stewart and French, pp. 140-141.

87. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 99, Mary Sheepshanks to Laura Jamieson, 11 July 1928. Support for Macphail and her highly publicised peace work came also from the United States section of the W.I.L., see SCPC/WILPF, United States Papers, series C, box 8, Canada 1925-28, Dorothy Detzer to Agnes Macphail, 5 May 1926.

88. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Isa M. Byers to Madeleine Doty, 16 February 1926.

89. Ibid., reel 57, file 94, Lucy Woodsworth to Emily Balch, 16 January 1923.

90. SCPC/WILPF, United States Papers, series C, box 8, Lucy Woodsworth to Jane Addams, 1 April 1927; WILPF (BOulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 9 September 1927; Ibid., reel 57, file 98, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 9 November 1928. For biographical information about Lucy Woodsworth, see University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections, Grace MacInnis Papers, box 3, "Notes about LLW".

91. Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English-Canada 1919-1939 (Toronto, 1988), p. 3.

92. Ibid.

93. On Hughes, see Roberts, 'Why do women ...', p. 3. On Prenter, see Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto, 1983), pp. 122-123. On Roebuck, see Robins, p. 134. On Davis, see Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women, p. 37 n. 101.

94. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 12 August 1922.

95. The National Council of Women's internationalism, for example, was focused almost exclusively on the League of Nations; moreover, the support of the National Council for the Canadian League of Nations Society was crucial. Strong-Boag, "Peace-Making Women: Canada 1919-1939," in Ruth Roach Pierson, ed., Women and Peace (London, 1987), pp. 170-191.

96. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 12 August 1922.

97. Ibid.

98. Ibid.

99. Wade, in Latham and Kess, eds., p. 189. See also, Deborah Gorham, "Flora MacDonald Denison: Canadian Feminist," in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim (Toronto, 1979), pp. 47-70.

100. Jensen, in Scharf and Jensen, eds., p. 199.

101. Strong-Boag, in Pierson, p. 176.

102. Laura Jamieson's pejorative assessment of contemporary middle class values is echoed in Carol Bacchi's treatment of the ideas of middle-class woman suffragists between 1877 and 1918. Like Jamieson, Bacchi equates the middle classes with reactionism. As a result, Bacchi concludes that "female suffragists did not fail to effect a social revolution for women; the majority never had a revolution in mind." (p. 148) Bacchi's sweeping condemnation of the middle-class background and motives of woman suffragists negates the importance of progressive feminist and socialist women's concurrent assimilation of middle-class organisational forms and strategies. Although their socially radical outlook differentiated farm and labour women and progressive feminists like those in the Canadian Suffrage Association from the mainstream middle-class women's movement, their very participation in the movement and their adoption of middle-class organisational forms is significant. Carol Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? (Toronto, 1983), pp. 148-149. See also, Ernest Forbes, "The Ideas of Carol Bacchi and the The Suffragists of Halifax: A Review Essay of Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists 1877-1918," Atlantis, 10, no. 2 (Spring 1985), 119-126.

103. Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, (New Haven, 1987), introduction, esp. p. 4. See also Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, passim.

104. Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women, pp. 318, 414-415.

105. Linda Schott, "The Woman's Peace Party and the Moral Basis for Women's Pacifism," Frontiers, 8, no. 2 (1985), 19.

106. See Nancy Cott's discussion of the post-1910 development of feminism in the American women's movement, The Grounding of Modern Feminism.

107. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, Mrs. H.G. Horton to Harriet Dunlop Prenter, 17 November 1919.

108. Ibid., reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 17 June 1921.

109. PABC, Sound Division, tape no. 3963:1, side 2, Mildred Fahrni interview.

110. Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women, p. 335.

111. Penner, p. 28.

112. Strong-Boag, Parliament of Women, pp. 370-371, 376-377.

113. Penner, pp. 2, 70-71.

114. Founded to support and promote a government sanctioned international institution, the LNS was an uncontroversial group which attracted the support and patronage of a number of prominent Canadians. Although in its early years it was vehemently anti-pacifist--First World War pacifists were not admitted as members--conservatives eventually accused the LNS of being a pacifist haven. Richard Veatch, Canada and the League of Nations (Toronto, 1975), pp. 42-43; Socknat, Witness Against War, p. 93. The Vancouver W.I.L. eventually affiliated with the LNS during the second half of the 1920s. SCPC/WILPF International Papers, series C, box 1, pamphlet, WILPF (Vancouver), n.d.

115. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 22 October 1923.

116. R.M. Whitney, Peace at Any Old Price (New York, 1923), p. 3 (pamphlet found in Agnes Macphail's Toronto Telegram biographical file, now owned by the Toronto Sun). The RCMP also regarded the W.I.L., and later the Voice of Women, as "communist front" groups. Conversations with three former RCMP Security Service officers with experience in domestic intelligence gathering, July 1988.

117. In 1920 the Toronto W.I.L. sent a petition to the British government which criticised, one, its attempts to curtail communication between British Labour and the new Soviet state; two, its "criminal" delay in the repatriation of Siberian prisoners of war; and, three, its "barborous blockade of Soviet Russia." The petition was subsequently published in the London Daily Herald. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 92, clipping, "From a Canadian Friend," Pax et Libertat (April 1920).

118. Ibid., reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Secretary of U.S. Section of W.I.L., 16 September 1921.

119. Ibid., reel 57, file 94, Margaret Perceval to Emily Balch, 4 June 1923.

120. Ibid., reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 24 September 1920. See also C.B. Sissons, Nil alienum: The Memoirs of C.B. Sissons (Toronto, 1964), p. 157.

121. Ibid., reel 57, file 93, Laura Jamieson to Emily Balch, 5 September 1921; ibid., Laura Jamieson to Jane Addams, 2 September 1921; ibid., Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Secretary of U.S. Section of W.I.L., 16 September 1921.

122. Ibid., reel 57, file 95, Laura Jamieson to Velma Gluecklich, 20 June 1924.

123. SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, WILPF Canada (Toronto), "Peace Delegates Coming to Toronto," n.d.; ibid., United States Papers, series C, box 8, Lucy Woodsworth to Jane Addams, 1 April 1927.

124. Socknat, Witness Against War, p. 108; Bussey and Tims, p. 49.

125. Evening Telegram (Toronto), 6 June 1924, quoted in Socknat, Witness Against War, p. 108.

126. Bussey and Tims, p. 49.

127. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 95, Alice Loeb to Velma Gluecklich, 24 July 1924.

128. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 18 July [1926]; ibid., Laura Jamieson, Canadian Newsletter, 16 October 1926. See also WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Laura Jamieson to Madeleine Doty, 1 January 1927.

129. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Isa M. Byers to Madeleine Doty, 16 February 1926.

130. Socknat, Witness Against War, p. 122.

131. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 98, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 9 November 1928.

132. Ibid., Mary Sheepshanks to Alice Loeb, 6 February 1929; ibid., Alice Loeb to Mary Sheepshanks, 20 February 1929.

133. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Laura Jamieson to Madeleine Doty, [September 1927]; SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.52 (1); "Resolutions Passed at the Farm Women's University Week," Saskatoon, June 1929.

134. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 98, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 1 January 1929.

135. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.H.32 (1), Plan of Work for Canadian Section of W.I.L. (Vancouver: WILPF, 1929).

136. SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, WILPF Canada (Toronto), Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 1 October 1929.

137. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, minutes, Annual Meeting, W.I.L., Vancouver Branch, 19 May 1926.

138. SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, pamphlet, WILPF (Vancouver), [1927].

139. Roberts, "Why do women ...", p. 2.

CHAPTER FOUR

Making Peace as Interesting as War: The Educational Strategies of the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s

"I would say to the gun makers and the cadet trainers, I would say to the people of Canada, 'Whom do you want to kill?'"[1]

Eradicating the spirit of hatred, fostered by national jealousies and exacerbated by the Great War, was the immediate post-war goal of the W.I.L. in Canada. Women, as conciliators and as the educators of youth, were proclaimed to be the most qualified constituency to undertake this moral 'reconstruction' of Canadian society. The education of children, long considered a "natural" purview of women, had been a traditional concern of organised women in Canada.[2] The W.I.L., expanding the woman movement's traditional definition of education as the basis of the family and of national life, argued that peace education was the very foundation upon which hope for the world's continued existence rested. Like its international parent, the Canadian W.I.L. placed great faith in the powers of education to transform popular attitudes about the futility of war and its immorality as a legitimate foreign policy alternative. As an agent of social change, the W.I.L. believed that education had the potential to effect a fundamental social and

attitudinal reformation among Canadian youth about the issues of war and peace. Despite the recent proof afforded by the Great War of the futility of armed conflict, the W.I.L. charged that the older generation continued to succumb to the hateful dogma of the war-makers. Children, however, as the generation with the most to lose in the event of another world war, could, if given the opportunity, lead the way to a brighter future of peace, international goodwill and co-operation.

The Canadian W.I.L.'s educational reform strategy had a twofold purpose and focus. Arguing that militarism and its perpetuation in the school systems across Canada were at once causes and symptoms of the spirit of hatred and war which plagued the international community, the W.I.L. worked to effect a wide range of curricular reforms which would challenge contemporary attitudes about war. Before the evil spirit of militarism could be exorcised from Canadian school children, however, the W.I.L. recognised that the public at large first needed to be convinced of the problem. By using a wide range of propaganda ploys, loosely defined by the group as public education, the W.I.L. endeavoured to create an "attitude of mind" among Canadians which would facilitate the teaching of peace in schools and foster a desire to eradicate militarism from the curriculum. The W.I.L.'s curricular reform agenda emphasized peace as an ethic

and included peace-oriented teacher training, the celebration of Goodwill Days in the schools, peace fetes and pageants for children, the removal of war glorification from history textbooks and, most importantly, an end to the direct intervention of the military in civil education through the replacement of cadet drill with a system of physical education which would serve the needs of girls as well as boys. By examining the educational strategies of W.I.L. women in Canada during the 1920s this chapter will attempt to illuminate their vision of education as a tool of social change and to show how they attempted to use both informal and formal systems of education to counteract the spread of militarism in Canadian society and thus insure the viability of peace in their time.

In an open letter to the women of Canada published in 1920, the Toronto W.I.L. lamented the widespread suffering among ordinary people caused by the Great War. The faulty diplomacy of their rulers which had led to the outbreak of war six years earlier had left the world with

> a heritage of HATRED, a hideous thing which is breeding intolerance and brutality, handicapping human progress in many and varied ways and steadily preparing the way for future wars.[3]

Since women's "natural vocation" was the care and comfort of humanity the authors of the letter argued that, just as they had

cared for the sick and wounded during the war, it was women's duty to transform the spirit of hatred into one of "Humanness". While men busied themselves reopening commercial relations with their former enemies the W.I.L. counselled Canadian women to aim for a much higher objective, the moral reconstruction of society. Only by taking the lead in this "civilizing work," by standing on "a higher plane" and banishing hatred from their own hearts, could women successfully hope to overcome the grave conditions of the day. The proper training or education of children, as the future citizens of the nation, would be central to their task. Only educational reforms which stripped war of "its tinsel and its false glory" and fostered respect for human life rather than reliance on force and hatred, would bring about a "true reconstruction" of Canadian society. The influence of women in this matter, the letter argued, was crucial.[4]

The Vancouver W.I.L., characterising itself as "one of the many educational forces endeavouring to create world sentiment for peace," similarly advocated a system of education which would teach children the principles not only of co-operation and goodwill between nations, but also of sexual equality.[5] The Vancouver women's focus on children resulted from their conviction that Canada's youth would benefit more from peace reform than its

"middle aged peoples."[6] The belief that only youth could save humanity from another war was prevalent after the Great War. British historian, Robert Wohl, suggests in The Generation of 1914 that a myth developed during the war that the generation of young soldiers who had gallantly sacrificed their youth and, in many cases, their lives in the name of democracy had been deceived by their elder rulers. The survivors of the trenches of Ypres and Passchendaele

> limped home in 1919 to find that their sacrifice had been in vain. The hard-faced, hard-hearted old men had come back and seized the levers of power. Youth had been defeated by age.[7]

The post-war climate of ultra-nationalism in Canada underscored the W.I.L.'s belief that no social progress had resulted from the war. By equating youth with hope and peace the W.I.L. contributed to and helped perpetuate the myth of the 'lost generation'. In the House of Commons, for example, Agnes Macphail argued that the older generation taught children the values of war from an early age in order to protect themselves. "We hold up the natty-looking boy, full of life and adventure and beauty," Macphail declared in 1925, "a splendid fellow who knows nothing about war, and we who do know sit here and let the children who see that nattily dressed cadet think that there is the ideal of manhood."[8] The selfishness and brutality of "the old men"

who perpetuated this process of socialisation was nothing less than criminal in Macphail's estimation:

> Youth has nothing to gain by war and everything to lose. War is not glorious. The object has been to associate in childish minds these three things -- soldiering and honour and glory. Those who have inculcated this idea have carefully kept out of sight the waste of human life, the lowering of moral standards, the increase in disease, the assertion of brutality, and the general falling away from the high standards of the Prince of Peace -- in short, the retrogression rather than the progress that results from war.[9]

Youth, made cynical by "the lies that were being circulated about the war," would in future form a barrier against war rather than fall victim to it.[10] Macphail's assertions were reflected in the W.I.L.'s educational policy. By engaging children and youth in its work and by striving toward a peace-oriented curriculum in the schools the W.I.L. in Canada, and most particularly in Vancouver, sought to insure that Canada's young people would never again be subject to the selfish whims of their elders.

The Toronto and Vancouver branches' millennial faith in the next generation's ability to realise world peace reflected the international W.I.L.'s concern for the education of children and the involvement of young people in its work. Lela Costin has noted that the women who attended the group's founding meeting at the Hague in 1915 concluded that it was necessary "to direct the

education of children so that their thoughts and desires [could] be developed towards the ideals of a constructuve peace."[11] At its Vienna congress in 1921, the international W.I.L. advocated a system of education for children which would denounce militarism and encourage the development of a learning environment conducive to freedom and spiritual growth.[12] The international W.I.L. was also concerned that children and youths be the messengers as well as the objects of peace reform. Accordingly, it endeavoured to involve young women in the W.I.L.'s work and urged its national sections to do likewise.[13] By teaching children that mutual aid and co-operation were the source of all progress, the W.I.L., in Canada and abroad, envisaged education--and children--as its best allies in the on-going fight for peace and justice.

Women's interest in educational reform had long been accepted, as the above Toronto W.I.L. letter suggests, as an inherently natural female preoccupation. As the primary childcare workers in the home, women's interest in the welfare of all of society's children was regarded as a comparatively non-threatening --and even welcome--realisation of female aspirations outside the bounds of their accepted sphere. Women in some provinces, for example, were permitted to vote and to stand as candidates in school board elections long before achieving either the provincial or

federal franchise.[14] This acknowledgement of the legitimacy of organised women's interest in education was underscored by club women's own anxiety to effect their educational reforms. As the hope for the nation's future, the moral and intellectual development of children was regarded with the utmost importance by national women's groups such as the National Council of Women, the W.C.T.U., the Women's Institutes, and the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire (I.O.D.E.). Through their education departments or committees these groups attempted to influence the public educational system by lobbying for the implementation of curricular changes which reflected their own respective reform priorities. In this way, organised women sought to use the school as an agent of societal reform which would "save society from social and moral decline."[15]

In contrast to the often conservative motivation of these groups, the W.I.L., in tandem with organised farm women, conceived of education as a progressive force which would fundamentally transform society rather than simply reform it. Its educational goals were designed ultimately to abolish the need for nations to resort to violent armed conflict. By lobbying for the implementation of new kinds of peace mechanisms such as binding arbitration and disarmament and by creating a will to peace

among the public the W.I.L. hoped to make war both a legal and moral impossibility. Equally revolutionary was its demand for the complete social, economic and political equality of women. The W.I.L.'s continuing reliance on middle-class reform strategies and form might be interpreted as contrary to its aims of fundamental social change. As a progressive feminist group, however, the W.I.L.'s understanding of the concepts of equality between nations and of women's equality was not based on 'sameness' but rather on the recognition that national cultures and sexual natures were different but complimentary. Consequently, the W.I.L.'s employment of stereotypically middle-class tactics did not represent a contradiction with its goals nor negate the progressive import of its message.

The W.I.L.'s focus on education was also the product of the professional backgrounds of its most influential leaders. Laura Jamieson in Vancouver, Violet McNaughton in Saskatchewan, Lucy Woodsworth in Winnipeg and Agnes Macphail in Ontario were all former school teachers.[16] Like organised women's interest in educational reform, teaching was regarded as an inherently feminine occupation. Indeed, one observer noted in 1923 that it was one of the few professions "in which women are received without opposition or comment. In other professions a woman must combat prejudices and endure long hours of drudgery and greater

competion from men with less certainty of success."[17] Nancy Sheenan has suggested that the direct experience of a number of women activists within the school system as teachers influenced their approach to educational reform work. Former teachers turned activists were apt to employ reform tactics which engaged children and teachers directly with their cause such as poster and essay contests and personalised contact either in the classroom or at teacher conventions and normal schools. Plans for curricular changes were also usually accompanied by suggestions for specific curriculum materials and plans for their implementation.[18]

A belief that the education of children was the best route to a new social order was prevalent in Canada in the years following the First World War, although there was often little agreement about the form this new society should take. As Henry Johnson has observed, in Canada it "was 'a brave new world' that many saw, a world which was through with war and which was now 'safe for democracy'. For this new order a new deal in education was needed."[19] Expanding school enrolment and the widespread post-war conviction that the educational system of a democracy should create a well-informed and responsible citizenry led to the gradual introduction of progressive educational measures in Canada during the 1920s. Popularised by the writings of American

educator, John Dewey, progressive or new education advocated a complete restructuring of current methods of schooling by placing greater emphasis on the natural development of the pupil and less on formal factual learning. Progressive education was characterised by an emphasis on interest, rather than discipline, as the basis of a child's motivation for learning and by a conception of teachers as the intellectual and moral guides of children.[20] The international W.I.L.'s desire to teach children freedom and spiritual growth and the Canadian section's desire to make peace as interesting as war for children reflected their assimilation of the ideals of progressive education.[21] Indeed, by working to engage the imaginations of children and to introduce them to other cultures and the system of international affairs, the W.I.L.'s own youth-oriented reform agenda could be characterised as the embodiment of the decade's progressive educational ideals.

Despite the increasing acceptance of the reformist premise of progressive education, the Canadian W.I.L.'s pacifist vision of education and society was not widely shared for much of the decade. As a small organisation the W.I.L. concentrated its limited resources on educating public opinion about the cause and prevention of war. As such, its main work was political only in the sense that its propaganda was contrived to inspire the

Canadian public to pressure governments about moral issues like militarism in the schools and foreign policy concerns such as arbitration and universal disarmament.[22] Laura Jamieson charged that hostile alliances, tariff barriers between newly formed states and the constant repression of liberty kept "hatred and passion at fever heat" and made war in Europe a constant threat. Properly enlightened public sentiment was ultimately the only permament solution to the problem of war. "We can only hope," Laura Jamieson wrote in 1928,

> that the League of Nations may be able to keep actual war from breaking out until common sense and educated public opinion will demand the removal of the more immediate causes. In the meantime all peace lovers must redouble their efforts to educate public opinion toward Peace and to encourage such measures as Arbitration.[23]

In order to achieve a widespread 'will to peace' Laura Jamieson argued that it was first necessary to create an "attitude of mind" conducive to peace. An emotional reaction against war was the basis of this attitude of mind; but, Jamieson warned, a purely emotional response to the issue of peace was ultimately unsatisfactory. A passion for peace had to be supplemented by serious study of the causes of war. The results of such study would show conclusively that war was avoidable and "not only futile but suicidal in this day of the interdependence of nations." An interest

in and exposure to the cultures and peoples of other countries through first hand experience or through books would also foster better international understanding and contribute to the creation of a bone fide peaceful attitude of mind.[24]

The W.I.L. employed a range of propaganda devices to publicise its message of peace. Each device, whether peace literature, newspaper coverage or its more innovative all-day peace conferences, was designed to engage the public and challenge its views about militarism and the viability of war as an instrument of governmental policy. Public meetings with featured guest speakers were regular features of the programmes of the Vancouver W.I.L and other urban branches in Canada. The Vancouver group's library of peace literature was also accessible to the public. In a country the size of Canada, however, meetings and lending libraries could have only limited impact. Accordingly, one of the Canadian W.I.L.'s most important means of public education was the distribution of pamphlets created by its own members or by other likeminded organisations.[25] Between 1919 and 1929 the Toronto and Vancouver branches produced at least eight different pamphlets either explaining the history and aims of the W.I.L. or advancing its arguments for the demilitarisation of the school system. Topics included war toys, war glorification in textbooks,

the replacement of cadet drill with a system of physical education, and the teacher's role in promoting the ethics of peace.[26] These pamphlets were distributed by the various branches of the W.I.L. and its affiliated groups to other women's organisations and to educational groups throughout western Canada and Ontario. The support of Violet McNaughton and the Western Producer was another equally important means of publicising the W.I.L.'s message. As one of the most popular farm newspapers in Canada the Western Producer was an important educational forum for the W.I.L. and the peace movement in general. McNaughton introduced prairie women to the W.I.L. by featuring articles about or by its members, by reprinting its literature and by focusing on W.I.L. issues such as militarism in the schools.[27]

By far the most innovative propaganda method devised by the W.I.L. in Canada was the all-day peace conference. The conference idea stemmed from the Vancouver W.I.L.'s desire to mobilise enough public sentiment to force the Canadian government, as a signator of the 1928 Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, to act upon its renunciation of war. The success of the first Vancouver conference in 1928 and of subsequent conferences in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Saskatoon reflected both the growing influence of Laura Jamieson, who co-ordinated the Vancouver

conferences, and the increasing legitimacy of the peace movement and the W.I.L. at the close of the decade. Held during Armistice Week, the first all-day peace conference attracted the co-operation of nineteen formerly hostile societies--the League of Nations Society and the Vancouver Local Council of Women, for example--and over one hundred mostly female participants. The conference took the form of a series of round table discussions and featured an educational exhibit designed to foster goodwill between children around the world. Laura Jamieson considered the conference "one of the most valuable pieces of work we have yet initiated" and hoped that other communities would emulate the Vancouver W.I.L.'s example.[28]

The interest with which the Vancouver conference was greeted throughout western Canada must have exceeded even Jamieson's hopes. In 1929, conferences followed in Winnipeg and Saskatoon initiated by the W.I.L. and Violet McNaughton respectively. Like the Vancouver conferences, those in Winnipeg and Saskatoon were the product of the joint efforts of a wide range of reform societies formerly hostile toward the W.I.L. The Winnipeg W.I.L. wanted to give public expression to the ideas which its members had gleaned from personal study. Accordingly, the theme of the conference was "On Public Education for Peace". Through the round table format of the conference the group also

hoped to effect a free exchange of ideas, be exposed to the view point of other groups and educate themselves, as well as the public, about the issues surrounding the peaceful settlement of international disputes.[29] Some farm women expressed interest in organising a nation wide conference on peace, but Laura Jamieson urged women to organise local conferences since Canada's size and the limited interest in peace displayed by Canadian women's societies mitigated against such an undertaking. Jamieson suggested that these small local efforts all have a common theme, however: "Let the key note of the Conference be: 'Canada has signed the Kellogg Pact. What is the next step, in order to live up to it?'"[30]

Since Canada had no war problem to speak of, the W.I.L.'s urban branches and rural affiliates focused on making Canada's formal renunciation of war a reality by working to effect constructive curricular changes in the school systems of their respective provinces. The demilitarisation of Canada's schools and the inculcation of an international point of view in children were the primary goals of these efforts. Militarism in the school system was regarded by the W.I.L. as the most insidious example of the perpetuation of the war spirit in Canadian society. As the decade progressed, other Canadian pacifists, especially the Ontario Society of Friends, joined the W.I.L.'s fight against military training

in the schools and took up its call for an end to war glorification in history textbooks. Indeed, Thomas Socknat has argued that during the 1920s the demilitarisation of schools was "the catalyst that united pacifists and built a stronger and more cohesive peace movement in general."[31] The W.I.L.'s--and Laura Jamieson's--conception of peace as a positive experience and as an on-going co-operative enterprise between nations, classes and individuals determined its approach to curricular reform. As a result its campaign against militarism was not restricted to negative statements denouncing current practices; instead, each criticism was accompanied by a constructive alternative to the status quo designed to effect lasting attitudinal changes and to expose children and the teaching profession to a more positive definition of international human relations.

One of the earliest pamphlets issued by the W.I.L. addressed the teacher's role in the promotion of peace in the classroom and made suggestions for the integration of a peace curriculm.[32] Authored by the Vancouver branch in 1923, the pamphlet represented the beginning of the Canadian W.I.L.'s campaign against militarism in the schools. By the autumn of 1924 five thousand copies of the pamphlet had been distributed to teachers and normal school students in British Columbia, the prairies and Ontario by the

Vancouver and Toronto branches of the W.I.L. and by Violet McNaughton of Saskatchewan.[33] The W.I.L., citing the authority of a prominent American educator, argued that "'entirely new values and new standards of judging need to be created. The emphasis must be placed upon the valor and patriotism of peace.'"[34] Canadians unfortunately had demonstrated a reluctance to use the school to bring about world peace. This belief was underscored for the W.I.L. by the poor representation of Canadian educators at the San Francisco World Conference on Education in June 1923 where they noted, despite the close proximity of the meeting, "only half-a-dozen" of 400 accredited delegates were from Canada.[35] Teachers were urged to point out "the economic and political fallacies of the past" which had consistently led to war. In a more constructive vein, teachers were also asked to encourage their pupils to embrace the spirit of international co-operation which would "preserve and cherish the personality of each nation, while it contends against ignorance, prejudice, hate and mutual suspicion." This work would result in the propagation of a new kind of patriotism based on the respect and appreciation of cultural difference rather than on the fear bred by antagonistic nationalism.[36]

Merely teaching the precepts of peace was not enough,

however. A spiritual element was also involved. The pamphlet stressed that evolution or "progress" was not the result of a violent Darwinian process of 'natural selection', but rather one of "'the exercise of elementary mental or spiritual faculties....'" Since it equated peace with progress, the W.I.L. argued that the development of children's own "spriritual faculties" needed to be encouraged. Echoing the progressive conception of education as "'a release of power from within, instead of an imposition of facts from without'", the pamphlet contended that "children must be enabled to discover for themselves the main factors necessary in the new order of society, if peace is to reign there." The goal of this individual self-discovery, like the process of education itself, was ultimately the propagation of a new social order. Taught that their social obligations extended no further than their own country, previous generations had been plagued by war unnecessarily. Changes in the political and economic sytems alone would not remedy this situation. Only by teaching the spirit of peace in the schools, the W.I.L. counselled teachers, would the rising generation hold "not only power, but a sense of moral responsibility different from that of the past."[37]

The inculcation of this new kind of moral responsibility was also the goal of the W.I.L.'s Goodwill Day campaign. The annual celebration on May 18 of Goodwill Day in schools worldwide was

first recommended by educators at the San Francisco World Conference on Education. The practicality of this suggestion appealed to the W.I.L. women in Canada who hoped it would counteract the martial influence of Empire Day celebrations.[38] In British Columbia, the W.I.L. worked in concert with the provincial Parent-Teacher Federation (P.T.F.) to promote the institution of Goodwill Day in provincial schools. At the request of the P.T.F., the provincial government finally implemented a programme for the observance of Goodwill Days in 1925. A Goodwill Society was immediately formed by the W.I.L. and the P.T.F. which attracted the support of 32,000 children. Like Goodwill Day, the society was designed to foster a feeling of "Friendship, Fairplay, and Felicity" between individuals and between nations.[39] Jamieson, who had been president of the P.T.F. during its Goodwill Day victory, urged other W.I.L. groups and supporters to pressure their provincial governments and their Home and School associations to introduce the scheme. By 1927, however, only Manitoba's Department of Education had followed B.C.'s example.[40]

Beginning in 1924, the Vancouver W.I.L. undertook an annual peace pageant and international fete during Armistice Week which brought together the children and women of the various national groups residing in Vancouver to celebrate "the spirit of friendship

and brotherhood in the common work for peace."[41] Women's groups in the city such as the American Women's Club, the Canadian Daughters League, the Hellenic Society and the Christian Japanese Association displayed the art and products of their homelands in booths during the fete Countries such as Italy, Great Britain, Holland, Germany, China and Russia were also regularly represented by individual women participants.[42] The pageant was a more elaborate affair and was designed to introduce the children in the production and in the audience to the spirit of peace and goodwill. The pageant opened with a prologue written by the W.I.L. featuring the allegorical characters Mother Earth, War and Fairy Goodwill. According to Laura Jamieson, the prologue showed

> Mother Earth coming after a bountiful harvest to confer with her children. Several children of the earth are under-nourished, the crippled, etc. Mother Earth promises to help all. Then War comes in and insolently asks for four-fifths of her income, and gives for his reason the old arguments about preparedness. Then Fairy Goodwill enters and makes War go. To Mother Earth's fear that he will come again she points [out] what we must do to prevent this, and says she will begin right now bringing the children of the nation[s] together to learn to understand and love one another Then she proceeds to call to the various nations, and groups of children come and dance the folk-dances and sing the folk-songs of their countries. When all have[,] Goodwill has them all join hands and dance together, after which she repeats "In hearts too young for emnity" etc.[43]

The pageant taught that when acting in concert the co-operative

ideal, embodied by Mother Earth--the quintessential maternal figure who "promised help to all"--and the ideal of goodwill between nations and cultures, represented by Fairy Goodwill, could combine to defeat war itself and reveal the fallacy of peace through military preparedness. With this pageant the Vancouver W.I.L. was teaching children more than international goodwill and co-operation, however. By personifying the 'good' or constructive forces--Mother Earth and Fairy Goodwill--as female, and the evil or destructive force--War--as male, the W.I.L. helped, perhaps unconsciously, to perpetuate the popular moral dichotomy of peaceful women and warlike men.

The W.I.L. hoped that practical peace measures such as Goodwill Days and its annual Armistice Week peace pageant would offset the influence of state-sanctioned militarism in the schools. The W.I.L. across the country criticised war glorification in textbooks, the presentation to schools of war pictures by groups like the I.O.D.E. and, especially, cadet training in lieu of a proper system of physical education. The international W.I.L. at its Vienna Congress in 1921 recommended to its national sections that they undertake an examination of school textbooks with a view to "eliminating statements likely to foster misunderstanding...."[44] Although the W.I.L. in Canada made no systematic study of the

issue until the early 1930s,[45] throughout the 1920s it displayed a keen interest in the subject. Speaking at mid-decade to an Ontario audience, Agnes Macphail stated that unless the facts about war were made available to school children through their textbooks there was "little hope that the present war psychology will be displaced by any universal movement for peace."[46] In 1925, the Vancouver W.I.L., in tandem with the provincial Parent Teacher Federation, began a campaign to have militaristic passages eliminated from school textbooks. In a letter to a local newspaper, Laura Jamieson, the secretary and president respectively of these two organisations, urged the citizens of British Columbia to recognise the seriousness of the problem of war glorification in textbooks. To solve this problem the W.I.L. recommended that all selections in provincial readers which glorified war and fostered international rivalry be replaced with readings which discussed

> (a) Causes of war, futility of war, effects of war; (b) indications of how war may be prevented; (c) heroism of peace, e.g., those who save life and assist progress; (d) realization of the economic and spiritual unity of mankind, and encouragement toward making this unity stronger and more conscious in all human relations.[47]

The stakes in this contest between pacifism and militarism were high. Without the "unprecedented" amendment of textbooks along the lines suggested above, Laura Jamieson concluded that children

would be "doomed to go to war again...."[48]

The W.I.L. criticised the I.O.D.E.'s gift of war pictures to schools for many of the same reasons it objected to the glorification of war in textbooks. As part of its campaign to honour Canada's war effort and to promote patriotism and a greater knowledge of Canada among school children, during the early 1920s the I.O.D.E. spent $40,000 on war pictures to be hung in Canadian classrooms. The Vancouver W.I.L., through the Parent-Teacher Federation, protested against hanging such "gruesome things before the eyes of children" and argued that the I.O.D.E. had used its money "to glorify war to children and to perpetuate through them prejudice and hatred against people of other countries."[49] Lucy Woodsworth of the Winnipeg W.I.L. declared that the presentation of war pictures to schools was indefensible:

> Some people contend that such pictures have a historical value, and should be retained in our schools on that account....If, instead of being shown as a memorial to the glory of war they are kept as a warning of the complete futility of war, then I would say, "Let them be kept in our schools." That is the only historical lesson they can teach.[50]

Undoubtedly, that was not the lesson intended by the I.O.D.E. The I.O.D.E.'s success, even in B.C. where Goodwill Days were also celebrated, in securing official sanction for such nationalistic educational measures as Empire Day programmes and essay

contests on Canadian and imperial topics would seem to reflect the adverse tenor of public opinion about peace in the schools.[51]

The I.O.D.E. was also a voiciferous supporter of the school cadet movement, another militaristic educational practice denounced by the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s. A federally funded but provincially administered system of military training in Canadian schools began in 1907. Under the provisions of the Militia Act, boys between the ages of twelve and eighteen were eligible for membership in cadets. The boys were drilled and trained and could be furnished with arms, amunition and military equipment.[52] In 1909, Lord Strathcona established a private fund to encourage the development of the school cadet movement in Canada. The fund was to be used "to improve the physical and intellectual capabilities of the children, by inculcating habits of alertness, orderliness and prompt obedience" and "to bring up the boys to patriotism."[53] Some pre-war observers also regarded cadet drill as "a safeguard against physical degeneracy and that physical decadence which industrialism continually brings in its train," as well as a remedy for the undue feminine influence of female teachers.[54] By accepting the Department of Militia's annual cadet grants, Neil Sutherland has argued that most provinces "cast their physical education programs in a 'preparedness' mould."[55] The pre-

war framers of the cadet programme openly advocated a militaristic purpose for drill in schools. The martial spirit represented by the cadets was regarded as a sign of strength and as "a desirable ingredient of national feeling."[56]

The popularity of the cadet programme grew during the war and continued to grow during the 1920s despite the existence of a vocal anti-militarist constituency. Statistics compiled in 1927 and 1929 by Isa M. Byers, a former president of the Toronto W.I.L., from Ontario Ministry of Education circulars, Canada Yearbooks and the Department of Militia and Defence show that both annual federal grants to the cadet programme and membership in it grew steadily between 1909 and 1928:

	No. of Cadets in Canada	Federal Votes for Expenditures on Cadets
1909	9,000	No record
1912	20,000	$ 35,000
1913	30,000	93,000
1914*	47,000	392,000

* First war year.

After the War

1919-20	65,000	$ 74,000
1925-26	112,000	400,000
1926-27	118,000	412,000
1927-28	130,000	500,000
Estimates 1929-30		500,000

Source: Isa M. Byers, Military Training in Canadian Schools and Colleges, rev. ed. (Toronto: WILPF, Toronto Branch, 1929).

During the 1920s, Canada's support for the cadet movement was three times greater than that found in Great Britain In 1926, Ontario alone had only 234 fewer cadets than Great Britain and Northern Ireland.[57] Despite the growing popularity of cadet training, during the decade following the war, Canadians' war weariness and an increasingly noisy anti-militarist lobby, prompted cadet boosters to downplay the movement's martial character and to deny its usefulness as a training ground for future armies as it had been in the First World War.[58] Cadet training, they argued, was merely an efficient form of physical and moral training designed to build up the bodies and characters of Canada's young men.

The most visible opposition to cadets during the 1920s originated from the House of Commons. J.S. Woodsworth and Agnes Macphail, he a supporter and she a member of the W.I.L., consistently opposed the annual cadet estimates vote in Ottawa Agnes Macphail was passionate on the subject of cadets. Her opposition to the measure stemmed in part from her support of the frequent resolutions passed by the United Farmers of Ontario (U.F.O.) against the measure. In 1924, for example, the U.F.O declared at its convention "that we disapprove of military training in schools and positively repudiate the expenditure of every dollar

spent by the government for such purposes."[59] Macphail's conviction that the last war had left civilisation unadvanced led her to conclude that the entire world would once again become embroiled in another war unless the causes of war were confronted and eliminated. Ridding the school system of military training would represent the greatest progress in this area because it killed initiative and stunted "the development of free ideals which make for progress." Worst of all, military drill created and perpetuated the same kind of "bombastic strutting nationalism" which Canadians had fought against in the First World War.[60]

Because it taught children to value military solutions to conflict Macphail urged successive federal governments to discontinue the annual "Cadet Services" grant. In 1924, Macphail's first motion against cadets was quickly ruled out of order because it called for the complete elimination of the $400,000 estimate. Why, she asked,

> should we take young boys, dress them in uniforms and teach them to strut along to martial strains with their foolish little guns and swords at their sides until they think they are manly? We are teaching them to get ready to kill some fellow in another country...[61]

Macphail's vehemently anti-militarist statements on this and other occasions were met with a great deal of hostility in the press and in the House of Commons where one member called her a

"Bolshevik". During the 1925 cadet debate, after explaining that the cadet system was not an effective form of physical education for boys and especially not for girls who were excluded from drill, Macphail moved that $400,000 grant be reduced by $399,999.[62] Throughout the decade Macphail continued to move for similar reductions in the annual cadet vote but her efforts were largely symbolic.[63] Outside the House, Macphail continued to assail militarism in the schools during her numerous speaking engagements. Macphail told her audiences that mental disarmament was just as important as physical disarmament; consequently, the abolition of the military "mind set" from school children would be as significant as a reduction in armaments or the peaceful settlement of international disputes.[64]

The W.I.L. in Canada shared Agnes Macphail's belief that the abolition of cadet drill from schools would help bring about the mental disarmament of society. In a pamphlet published early in the decade, the W.I.L. charged that the indoctrination of the war spirit in children began in the nursery. War toys and play uniforms encouraged children to look upon war as a game.[65] Military training in the schools reinforced these early lessons and mistakenly associated patriotism with "the pageantry of war." At the heart of the matter lay the problem of military interference in

civilian physical education. The cadet movement was fueled by financial incentives in the form of prizes furnished by the Strathcona Fund and Department of Militia and Defence grants to school boards and cadet instructors who were required to hold a teaching certificate from the Department of Militia and Defence. The more boys a school board or instructor could attract to cadets the greater would be the financial rewards. In order to counteract the danger of Canada becoming a militaristic country the W.I.L. warned that the influence of the "small group of professional military men" over the physical education of Canadian youth must cease. The group recommended that military control of teacher training courses for physical education be ended; that federal funds for physical education be administered under civilian control; and that teachers no longer be required to obtain a certificate from a military department to teach physical education in schools.[66]

In Toronto the W.I.L. worked to garner support for the group's anti-cadet position through much of the decade. By 1925 it had succeeded in placing resolutions condemning cadets before every trade union in the city, a tactic which, according to Alice Loeb, met "with splendid results."[67] In Manitoba, the Winnipeg W.I.L. did not begin its campaign in earnest until later in the decade despite Lucy Woodsworth's voiciferous opposition to cadets.[68] In Vancouver, the

W.I.L.'s campaign against cadets, like its efforts to rid provincial readers of militarism, was conducted through the Parent-Teacher Federation with some success. At its annual convention in 1926 the P.T.F. passed a compromise resolution asking the B.C. government to eliminate all military training and gun practice during school hours.[69] Added force was given to these sentiments by the Putman-Weir Survey, a government appointed study of the British Columbia school system which was published in 1925. In their study, Dr. G. Weir of the University of British Columbia and Dr. J.H. Putman of the Ottawa School Board, two of Canada's leading proponents of progressive educational ideals, recommended, among other things, that greater emphasis be placed on health and physical education in the schools. Putman and Weir condemned the current system of cadet drill taught by militia officers and recommended that a system of physical education taught by qualified civilian instructors be instituted.[70] By 1927 the provincial government had eliminated the offending militaristic aspects of its cadet programme--military drill and the wearing of uniforms were discontinued--but it would seem that it continued to participate in the cadet movement.[71]

At the close of the decade, the institutionalisation of militarism in the school system was still best personified by the

tenacious popularity of cadet drill. Laura Jamieson returned home from Europe in 1929 with fresh ammunition for the W.I.L.'s fight against military training in the schools. Armed with resolutions from the Geneva congress of the World Federation of Education condemning military training in schools and promoting the role of the school in fostering peace and goodwill, Jamieson once again urged Canadian educators and parents to work to remove military training from civilian schools and to replace cadet drill with a bone fide system of physical education.[72] The W.I.L. recognised that the intransigence of Canadian administrators could not be overcome by mere resolutions, but attempts to convince federal government officials such as J.L. Ralston, the Minister of Defence, that grants for cadet training should be discontinued met with predictable results.[73] Even a cursory glance at the group's new plan of work reveals that the majority of its reform priorities going into the 1930s continued to centre around either the demilitarisation of the Canadian school system or the creation of a public opionion conducive to such peace reforms.[74] Ironically, however, it was the economic catastrophe of the 1930s, not the W.I.L. or any widespread conviction that cadet drill was wrong, which lessened the popularity--or, rather, the fiscal practicality--of military training in Canadian schools and marked the decline of the movement's

influence.[75]

This chapter has attempted to describe the Canadian W.I.L.'s educational strategies and to suggest their significance in the W.I.L.'s peace work during the 1920s. Looking back on the decade, Laura Jamieson declared, "I am sure all the groups will feel that a distinct advance has been made in public opinion for Peace in Canada."[76] The group's constructive peace measures--Goodwill Days, peace pageants, literature, all-day peace conferences and coverage in the Western Producer--had contributed to the greater popularity of peace as a legitimate mainstream issue. But, while peace sentiment had indeed become more widely diffused by 1930, the W.I.L. still faced many of the same educational and attitudinal obstacles that had beset it at the beginning of the period. With the exception of the institution of Goodwill Day celebrations in British Columbia and Manitoba and the 'demilitarising' of cadets in British Columbia, there was little evidence that the W.I.L.'s educational objectives within the formal school system had been realised. The W.I.L.'s belief in the spirit of international goodwill and co-operation and its contention that the mental disarmament of children must go hand in hand with military disarmament if war was ever to be abolished attracted some support. In the main, however, the more usual conception of patriotism through

martial strength prevailed during the 1920s in the form of cadet drill and war glorification in textbooks. Nevertheless, as Thomas Socknat has argued, the W.I.L. was one of the most important groups in the inter-war Canadian peace movement.[77] And, above all else, it was their work on behalf of demilitarising the school system that distinguished it as a group during these years.

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2. W.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, the Family and Child-Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," Ontario History, 68, no. 2 (June 1976), 65-74.

3. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.H.32 (1), pamphlet, Canadian Section (Toronto Branch), W.I.L.P.F., "This is not an appeal for money it is an appeal to your heart and your brain," [1920]. The publication of the pamphlet is discussed in WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 93, Harriet Dunlop Prenter to Emily Balch, 17 May 1920.

4. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.H.32 (1), pamphlet, Canadian Section (Toronto Branch), W.I.L.P.F., "This is not an appeal ..."

5. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 94, pamphlet, Vancouver Branch, W.I.L.P.F., 1923.

6. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 19 June 1923.

7. Robert Wohl, The Generation of 1914 (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), p. 85.

8. Quoted in Stewart and French, p. 89.

9. Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1924, vol. 164, p. 4797.

10. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, p[redacted] clipping, n.d

11. Lela B. Costin, "Feminism, Pacifism, Internationalism and the 1915 International Congress of Women," Women's Studies International Forum, 5, no. 3/4 (1982), 312.

12. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.H.32 (1), Resolutions passed at the Third Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Vienna, July 10-17, 1921.

13. Ibid. See also WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 98,

Mary Sheepshanks to Alice Loeb, 6 February 1929.

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16. On Laura Jamieson, see Linda Louise Hale, "Votes for Women: Profiles of Prominent British Columbia Suffragists and Social Reformers," in Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C. (Vicotria, 1980), p. 294; on Lucy Woodsworth, see Grace MacInnis, J.S. Woodsworth: A Man to Remember (Toronto, 1953), p. 26; on Violet McNaughton, see Barbara Roberts, "Why Do Women Do Nothing to End the War?": Canadian Feminist-Pacifists and the Great War (Ottawa, 1985), p. 15; on Agnes Macphail, see Stewart and French, chapter 3.

17. Geneva Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee," The Chronicle (Canadian Federation of University Women, 1923), p. 16, quoted in Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women, p. 362. See also Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," in Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, eds., The Neglected Majority (Toronto, 1977), pp. 49-65.

18. Sheenan, in Gaskell and McLaren, p. 236.

19. F. Henry Johnson, A History of Public Education in British Columbia (Vancouver, 1964), p. 101.

20. Robert Patterson, "Society and Education during the Wars and their Interlude, 1914-1945," in J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp and Louis-Philippe Audet, eds., Canadian Education: A History (Toronto, 1970), pp.363-364. Neil Sutherland discusses the use of education for social reform before and during the war in Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus (Toronto, 1976), chapters 10-13.

21. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.H.32 (1), Plan of Work for

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22. Laura Jamieson, "International Peace is the Objective of Organized Women," Western Producer, 24 November 1927, p. 14. See also WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Laura Jamieson to Madeleine Doty, 23 November 1925.

23. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 97, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 7 January 1928.

24. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.D.34, Laura Jamieson, "Educating Toward Peace," n.d.

25. Ibid., Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 12 June 1924.

26. The pamphlets included: (1) Canadian Section, WILPF, War Toys: A Crime Against Children, (Toronto, n.d.); (2) Canadian Section, WILPF, What Can I Do for Peace? An Appeal to Teachers, (Vancouver, n.d.); (3) Vancouver Branch, WILPF, (Vancouver, 1923); (4) Vancouver Branch, WILPF, (Vancouver, n.d.); (5) Isa M. Byers, Military Training in Canadian Schools and Colleges, (Toronto, 1927); (6) Isa M. Byers, Military Training in Canadian Schools and Colleges, 2nd edtn. (Toronto, 1929); (7) Canadian Section, WILPF, World Federation Takes a Stand on Military Training (Vancouver, 1929); (8) Canadian Section, Plan of Work for Canadian W.I.L. (Vancouver, 1929).

27. Thomas Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada, 1900-1945 (Toronto, 1987), pp. 106-107. See also SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 26 December 1927.

28. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 98, Laura Jamieson to Madeleine Doty, 30 November 1928.

29. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Thelma Ayre to Violet McNaughton, 29 April 1929; ibid., A1.E.52 (1), "Program of an all-day Conference On Public Education for Peace," Winnipeg, 4 April 1929.

30. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 97, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 19 October 1928.

31. Socknat, Witness Against War, pp. 111-112.

32. Canadian Section, WILPF, What Can I Do For Peace? An Appeal to Teachers (Vancouver, [1923]).

33. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 22 June 1923; Ibid., A1.D.52 (1), Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 20 October 1924.

34. President Owen of the Chicago Normal College, quoted in Canadian Section, WILPF, What Can I Do For Peace? An Appeal to Teachers (Vancouver, [1923]).

35. Ibid.

36. Ibid.

37. Ibid.

38. For a discussion of Empire Days in Ontario, see Robert Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: The Training of Young Imperialists," Journal of Canadian Studies, 7, no. 3 (1973), 32-42.

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40. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.D.34, Laura Jamieson to Violet McNaughton, 24 April 1925; WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, Laura Jamieson, Canadian Section newsletter, 7 May 1927.

41. SCPC/WILPF, International Papers, series C, box 1, pamphlet, Canadian Section, WILPF, [1927].

42. WILPF (Boulder) Papers, reel 57, file 96, newspaper clipping, "International Peace Pageant and Fete To be Held Friday," n.d.

43. Ibid., Laura Jamieson to Madeleine Doty, 30 October 1926.

44. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.H.32 (1), Resolutions passed at the Third Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Vienna, July 10-17, 1921.

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58. For a discussion of the military's attempts to revise its image during the 1920s, see James Eayrs, In Defence of Canada: From the Great War to the Great Depression (Toronto, 1964), pp. 104-124.

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60. PAC, MG 27, III C4, Macphail Papers; vol. 6, press clippings 1927-1928, Montreal Gazette, 13 February 1928.

61. Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1924, vol. 164, pp. 4797-4798.

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63. See, for example, Canada, Debates of the House of Commons, 1927, vol. II, p. 2203.

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65. Canadian Section, WILPF, War Toys: A Crime Against Children (Toronto, n.d.).

66. Isa M. Byers, Military Training in Canadian Schools and Colleges (Toronto: WILPF, 1927).

67. SAB, McNaughton Papers, A1.E.95 (1), Alice Loeb to Violet McNaughton, 6 May [1925].

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71. Isa M. Byers, Military Training in Canadian Schools and Colleges (Toronto: WILPF, 1927).

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74. Canadian Section, Plan of Work (Vancouver, 1929).

75. Stamp, Journal of Canadian Studies, 7, no. 3 (1973), 40.

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77. Socknat, Witness Against War, p. 105.

CHAPTER FIVE

Summary and Conclusions

This thesis has attempted to illustrate the importance of gender and class in the ideological development of the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s. In particular, it has attempted to demonstrate how the experience of its members in the woman suffrage campaign and their feminist consciousness influenced its choice of reform strategies for a more peaceful and equitable world. As we have seen, the interaction of gender and class was an important variable in the development of the W.I.L. in Canada during the 1920s. The group's marriage of a radical democratic socialist view point to its feminist-pacifist outlook distinguished its ideology significantly from pre-war maternalist peace sentiment. At the same time, its feminism effectively set its pacifism apart from that of socially radical male-dominated peace groups.

The W.I.L.'s feminist heritage both internationally and in Canada determined the group's single-sex organisational form and its almost exclusive focus on the education of themselves, of public opinion and, most particularly, of children. At the root of the W.I.L.'s peace advocacy was a belief that women, as the bearers of children, that is, as the creators of humanity itself, would be an inherently constructive force in the arena of international

government if given the opportunity. The reality of women's inequality hampered their ability to test their hypothesis, but reinforced, at least for themselves, their belief that the goal of peace and the goal of feminism were one and the same, that is, an end to the rule of force whether by nations or by men.

Ursula Franklin has recently observed that "one should not confuse pacifism with being against war. Pacifism is not anti-war, pacifism is the advocacy of a way of life in which the roots of war are attacked and war is unnecessary."[1] The Canadian W.I.L.'s advocacy of peace as a practical issue upon which the continued survival of civilisation depended reflects Franklin's definition of pacifism; peace was not a pleasant ideal, but rather a commitment to the eradication of the causes of war and to a life of mutual goodwill and co-operation between nations and between the sexes. The Canadian W.I.L.'s strategic emphasis on militarism reflected the practicality of its cause. By attacking militarism, the Canadian W.I.L. hoped to banish the destructive spirit of hatred and national mistrust which characterised international relations and eventually led to war. Its programme of peace-oriented curricular reforms was similarly designed to check militarism at its source, the educational system. The W.I.L. contended that if properly inculcated with the constructive values of international goodwill and co-operation in childhood, the youth of the nation and of the

world would have the power not only to avert future wars, but to abolish war altogether.

Martin Ceadel has argued that the experience of the Second World War changed irrevocably our view of the British peace movement between the wars. Hitler's diabolical rise to power in the 1930s and the Nazi aggression of the 1940s "rehabilitated warfare and ensured that the Second World War's credentials as a just war were almost unimpeachable." As a result, pacifists of the inter-war period, who had experienced a collective and very real revulsion against the Great War, are often dismissed in hindsight as ludicrous or, at best, as misguided idealists.[2] But, in studying the peace movement of the inter-war period, it is important to understand the horrific impact of the Great War upon Anglo-American and Canadian society. In Canada, the irrationality of the war almost immediately prompted Canadians to question their vainglorious participation in the First World War and, in a country renowned for the vehemence of its pre-war imperialist sentiment, to question the efficacy of imperialism itself.[3]

For much of the 1920s, the W.I.L.'s message of peace and co-operation was regarded with deep suspicion and even hostility by ultra-nationalist Canadians who felt threatened by the group's internationalism and its feminist and democratic socialist principles.

This generalised animosity often hampered the work of the W.I.L. and limited the success of its educational reform campaigns even after the sudden upsurge of popular support for the peace movement during the latter part of the 1920s. D.C. Watt has suggested that "fringe groups" outside the elite political process of government have exerted a negligible influence on the formulation of British foreign policy during the twentieth-century. Only when such groups "operate within, not against or outside, the leadership," he argues, can they expect to have some impact.[4] Removed from the mainstream political process by their sex as well as by their social radicalism, the W.I.L.'s inability to realise all but a few of its reform initiatives is not surprising. Moreover, the group's decision to pursue an educational reform strategy left it with only limited resources to mount a campaign of direct confrontation with the political elite and the government.

The impact of the world economic crisis and the inability of international diplomacy to cope with growing international aggression during the early 1930s precipitated a period of transition for the Canadian W.I.L. The optimism of pacifist women in the 1920s that the enfranchised female sex properly organised could avert war became less and less plausible in the wake of the Manchurian crisis and the failure of the 1932 Geneva Disarmament Conference to realise meaningful change, despite the worldwide

mobilisation of women in support of disarmament. For the Canadian W.I.L., the failure of the latter increasingly highlighted the futility of attempting fundamental reconstruction of either Canadian society or the international political system in the guise of a middle-class women's group. This realisation, combined with the failure of the existant political and economic systems to create a just society at home or abroad, prompted most W.I.L. women to join the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.), a democratic socialist coalition of labour, farmer and socialist interests founded in 1933. With its message of an equitable society the C.C.F. seemed to be the very political manifestation of the W.I.L.'s own amalgam of feminism, socialism and pacifism.[5] The W.I.L.'s decision to pursue direct political action through the C.C.F. did not represent an abandonment of a separatist feminist strategy, however. Nevertheless, the participation of the W.I.L. on an unprecendented scale in traditional male-dominated party politics marked an important change in its reform efforts. While the C.C.F. would prove to be less responsive to the feminist aspirations of its female members than many originally envisaged,[6] in 1933 the C.C.F. was regarded by the W.I.L. as Canada's best hope for peace and social justice during a decade increasingly marred by social injustice and the likelihood of another world war.

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4. D.C. Watt, Personalities and Policies: Studies in the Formulation of British Foreign Policy in the Twentieth Century (Notre Dame, Ind., 1965), pp. 1-10, esp. p. 10.

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