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TO MAKE INTELLIGENT BEINGS YET MORE INTELLIGENT:
THE CANADIAN FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 1919-1931

by

Wendy A. Hubley, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

Department of History
Carleton University
Ottawa, Ontario
September, 1993

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"TO MAKE INTELLIGENT BEINGS YET MORE INTELLIGENT: THE
CANADIAN FEDERATION OF UNIVERSITY WOMEN, 1919-1931"

submitted by

Wendy A. Hubley, B.A. Honours,

in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts

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Abstract

The Canadian Federation of University Women (CFUW) was founded to create a national voice for university-educated women. The CFUW served society while at the same time improving academic and professional opportunities for university-educated women. CFUW members relied on the principle of individual equality to encourage the admission of women into public roles. With a meritocratic understanding of the professions, CFUW members believed that the success of individual graduates would open the way for all women. From 1919 to 1931, the CFUW tried to achieve its goals through the work of four standing committees on Scholarship, Vocations, Education, and Libraries. Its fifth committee, that of International Relations, was Canadian women's link with an international network of university women, the International Federation of University Women, which promoted co-operation and tolerance among university women as a means to foster world understanding.

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CHAPTER ONE

"Progress Requires United Efforts"¹

Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women

The Canadian Federation of University Women (CFUW) was founded in 1919 to provide a united voice for university-educated women in the changing atmosphere of the post-suffrage era. Owing to the benefit of an advanced education, university-educated women believed that their role in Canadian society was special and CFUW members felt obliged to repay society for this privilege. By using their education and talent to ameliorate academic and professional opportunities of university-educated women, members of the CFUW insisted that they were providing a national service. CFUW members endorsed the concept of equality of the sexes, and they recognized that women's abilities were not accepted as equal to those of men. The CFUW sought to provide university women with opportunities to prove themselves in the male institutions of the university and the professions. The CFUW offered an annual travelling scholarship and vocational guidance to university-educated women. Members argued that these services offered employers and university administrators a greater pool of talented workers from which to meet the demands of a growing nation. The CFUW also advocated stricter professional standards for two occupations

¹National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Canadian Federation of University Women Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28 Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943, unnamed Montreal newspaper, circa August 1926.

in which university-educated women were well represented: teaching and librarianship. Members claimed that to introduce higher qualifications for those employed in these sectors increased the educational value of these publicly-supported facilities. CFUW executives asserted that in assisting university-educated women, members served the nation.

By presenting their work as a benefit to the community, members of the CFUW justified their efforts on behalf of university women. They did not regard their dual goals of serving society and university women to be in conflict. Society could reap great advantages from improved professional opportunities for university-educated women. The CFUW tried to provide these opportunities. Early CFUW executive members established five committees which allowed graduates to express their interests and concerns throughout the 1920s. The Scholarship and Vocations Committees encouraged university-educated women to advance their careers in professions in which they were in direct competition with men. Through these committees, the CFUW maintained its commitment to the ideal that the achievements of individual university-educated women proved the abilities and dedication of all university-educated women. Members argued that women and men were of equal ability, and when matched with equal education, both were able to fulfil the demands of any profession. With the capabilities of educated women proven, employers would be at liberty to choose from the best of qualified individuals, either women or men, without any lingering doubts about women's dedication and commitment to the workforce. Thus, employers would be able to select the best

candidate for a position, regardless of gender. Teaching dominated the career choice of university-educated women, and the CFUW tried to raise the professional standards, prestige, and pay of teachers. The Education Committee advocated reforms in the educational system which affected the staffing of schools and promised to improve the quality of education offered by the publicly-funded school system. The Library Committee championed better funding for libraries, and stricter professional standards for librarians. If its recommendations were introduced, the Library Committee promised that the library's educational benefits would enhance the entire community. The Committee on International Relations was the Canadian women's link with the International Federation of University Women (IFUW) which attempted to inspire a spirit of friendship and co-operation among university women worldwide. Their tolerance and co-operation was perceived as a means to foster peace and understanding among national governments. Through these five committees, the CFUW hoped to make meaningful contributions to Canadian national life.

Interpreting the aims and strategies of the CFUW is made difficult by nature of the primary sources. The main source for research is the organization's triennial publication, The Chronicle. The publication contains only reports of the Committees of Education, Scholarship, Libraries, Vocations, and International Relations along with the presidents' addresses to the conferences. These reports are also preserved in the archival volumes along with scant correspondence. The minutes of executive and triennial conferences are only outlines of administrative procedures which do not record the discussions surrounding committee reports and recommendations.

Unfortunately, the minutes, executive correspondence, and annual reports do not reveal conflicts which may have arisen among members. The records imply that there was a consensus concerning the interests, objectives, and initiatives of the CFUW and what the members saw as the role of university women in Canadian society. The CFUW studied and made recommendations on various subjects relating to the interests of university-educated women. However, many of these recommendations were to be undertaken by the local university women's clubs and alumnae associations. The local affiliates were not obliged to report their activities to the CFUW. Therefore, it is difficult to determine to what extent local associations accepted and enacted the proposals suggested at the national level.

Understanding the goals of the CFUW is not facilitated by the analyses of the 1920s offered by Canadian women's historians. The decade had long been labelled as the beginning of feminism's demise in Canada.² Recent examinations of the 1920s challenge assumptions about feminism's collapse and recognize that changes occurred in women's lives and feminist activity survived. It is generally accepted that feminism continued in the post-World War One period, but its expression changed in the 1920s. Veronica Strong-Boag tried to explain this change by asserting that feminists turned their attention from activity in the public, political sphere, to address issues of inequality in the domestic sphere.³ Re-examinations, however, concur that what

²Elaine Leslau Silverman, "Writing Canadian Women's History, 1970-82: An Historiographical Analysis," Canadian Historical Review, LXIII (December, 1982), 526.

³Veronica Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," Journal of Canadian Studies, XXI (Fall, 1986), 32-4.

was once identified as the demise of feminism was in fact the diversification and fragmentation of women's interests in the post-suffrage period.⁴ There developed a split between those who emphasized women's distinctive social and reproductive role and incorporated relational arguments in their public activities, and those who minimized their gender-identification and sought autonomy as individuals. In the United States, this led to a division between women who fought for protective legislation, and individualist feminists who lobbied for the introduction of the equal rights amendment.⁵ In Canada, such a sharp separation of interests was not as apparent, but public activism continued following enfranchisement, with many women expressing their interest in public activities as citizens, rather than on the basis of their maternal interest and concern.⁶ During this period, the CFUW expressed political, professional, and academic concerns of university-educated individuals. CFUW members sought autonomy as individuals and argued for this on the basis of women's equality and similarity to men.

The CFUW was founded in 1919, but the organization drew on members' experiences of earlier decades. Admission to Canadian universities had been granted

⁴Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 193; Nancy Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 3-10.

⁵Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Approach," Signs, XIV (Autumn, 1988), 137 and 142. Nancy Cott recognizes that the differences between these two streams of activist became evident in the 1920s, but she argues that it is only those who based their arguments on women's individual rights warrant the identification "feminist." Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, p. 8.

⁶Gillian Weiss, "As Women and as Citizens: Clubwomen in Vancouver, 1910-1928," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1983), p. ii.

to women since the 1870s in some cases, but opposition and hostility continued to face female students until the 1920s.⁷ Assumptions about women's inability to participate in higher education plagued early female students. In 1906, Augusta Stowe Gullen, M.D., explained the two main arguments against women's higher education. These were "the erroneous idea of woman's mental and physical inferiority," and "the imagined dire effects that would ensue in our social structure if woman's right to higher or professional education were conceded."⁸ Many critics feared that higher education lured women away from the home.⁹ These objections were countered by proponents of women's higher education; some asserted that women had a right to higher education, while others argued that university provided training for intelligent motherhood and made women interesting companions for their husbands. Opposition to women's academic participation gradually dissipated as university officials and students realized that women were not disruptive on campus. Their acceptance was further facilitated with the introduction in the 1920s of degree programs which prepared women for sex-typed occupations. Home economics, nursing and secretarial degree programs were not criticized because they did not threaten the elite status of the male professions. Instead they emphasized women's traditional subordinate

⁷Nicole Neatby, "Women at Queen's in the 1920s," Historical Studies in Education, I (Spring, 1989), 53-68.

⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 8, Education: Early Women Graduates, Augusta Stowe Gullen, M.D., A Brief History of the Ontario Medical College for Women (1906), p. 2.

⁹Alice Chown, "The Supplement of Higher Education for Women," Methodist Magazine and Review, (Nov. 1901), 444-5; Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 5-18.

roles.¹⁰ University training was also a means to ensure financial independence in case of spinsterhood or widowhood. By the 1920s, university education for middle-class women was accepted, as was a period of paid employment prior to marriage.¹¹ The status of women within the university administration, however, was still being negotiated. Careers of women academics on university faculties were often obstructed, and qualified women did not receive the recognition which their talents and skill warranted.¹²

Early generations of female students had to find means to cope with the hostility they faced on campus. Women who attended Canadian universities formed bonds and friendships which survived graduation and were formalized with the establishment of local university women's clubs or alumnae associations. American historian Estelle Freedman explains the importance of what she terms female institution building or the creation of a separate, female public sphere. These institutions offered a network of support and consciousness to women who sought entry and acceptance to the larger male world.¹³ Separate institution building had been a strategy of feminists since the 1870s with the establishment of women's

¹⁰Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, pp. 24-5.

¹¹Neatby, "Women at Queen's in the 1920s," pp. 53-68; Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, pp. 21 and 70-1.

¹²Judith Fingard, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty Women Before 1950," Dalhousie Review, LXIV (Winter, 1984-5), 687-703; Margaret Gillett, "Carrie Derick (1862-1941) and the Chair of Botany at McGill," and Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley, "Last in the Field?' Canadian Women Natural Scientists, 1815-1965" both in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. by Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990).

¹³Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," Feminist Studies, V (Fall, 1979), 512-529.

volunteer organizations and proved to be a successful mechanism for adapting to the early years at Canadian universities. Female students remained separate from the male-oriented administration, faculty, student body, and curriculum. To cope with their alienated status, these women established same-sex support networks. They chose the same approach in later years to gain the support they needed to face the obstacles in the wider field of the professions. The CFUW created a network of women's support for the post-graduate years which provided the social, political and economic backing of peers.

The growing literature on Canadian universities and student life indicates that early university women were not active participants in the mainstream of campus activities. As one early graduate of Acadia explained, she was received with "veiled hostility".¹⁴ Male students, administrators, and professors grudgingly accepted women on campus. Whether they were challenging the traditions of the established universities of McGill, Queen's, or University of Toronto, or were admitted without question to the recently-established universities of British Columbia and Saskatchewan, the early co-eds were not fully accepted participants of campus life and continued to occupy a separate sphere.¹⁵

¹⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 8, Education: Early Women Graduates, marginalia by Annie Marion MacLean on a letter from Elinor M. Wheeler to Annie Marion MacLean, 30 July 1923.

¹⁵Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), pp. 74-240; Anne Rochon Ford, A Path Not Strewn With Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto, 1884-1984 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 19-20; Lynn Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University: A 'Little Sphere' All Their Own?" Ontario History, LXXVIII (December, 1986), 331-349; Lee Stewart, "It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), pp. 3-9; Michael Hayden, "Women and the University of Saskatchewan: Patterns of a Problem," Saskatchewan History, XL (Spring 1987), 74.

Women's separation from regular campus activities was institutionalized at McGill. From 1884, when women were first admitted to the university, the Donaldas, as the female students were called, attended separate classes or were chaperoned when in mixed company. The division between the male and female students was formalized with the establishment of the women's college, Royal Victoria College, in 1900. Although the students of the college were also students of McGill, they did not vote or have representation on the McGill student council until 1932.¹⁶ Segregation by sex is less defined but equally evident in Judith Fingard's study of the first two generations of women at Dalhousie. Although they were accepted in most extracurricular activities, the first generation of female students participated in neither the student government nor the debating society. More women attended Dalhousie in the second generation of female students. They posed a greater threat to men's status on campus, and this caused a backlash from male students. Male students reacted by ensuring women's seclusion on campus. To accommodate themselves to the university environment, female students established their own formal society which served as a forum for discussion, and they created an informal network of support and friendship of like-minded women.¹⁷

Even at universities where women were accepted from the time of their establishment, where women were making tradition and not challenging it, women

¹⁶Gillett, We Walked Very Warily, pp. 74-99, 168-75, and 237-40.

¹⁷Judith Fingard, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921" in Youth, University and Canadian Society, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), pp. 29 and 38.

students were consistently excluded from organized campus activities as well as the informal student affairs. In her study of the University of British Columbia, Lee Stewart asserts that although there was no battle concerning women's admission, women were forced to create a means of coping with the male-orientation of the university by establishing their own Ladies Literary and Debating Society.¹⁸ Such associations gave university women camaraderie and support, and also equipped them with a strategy to confront hostility in other arenas of male control.

The support and friendship nurtured during the university years were not readily abandoned upon graduation. Most universities established alumni societies, and women were offered a choice of joining these male societies individually, or forming auxiliary branches. These options perpetuated the subordination of university women's interests which had existed on campus. To deal with the continued subordination, female graduates established independent alumnae societies. In the commemorative history of the Alumnae Association of the University of New Brunswick, author Linda Squires Hansen explains that the charter members' struggle on campus to be accepted as able students was the catalyst which encouraged the graduates to form a separate organization.¹⁹ Shortly after their graduation, the Donaldas of McGill formed the Mu Iota, or Mutual Improvement Society, to

¹⁸Lee Stewart, "Women on Campus in British Columbia: Strategies for Survival, Years of War and Peace, 1906-1920," in "Not Just Pin Money": Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, ed. by Barbara K. Latham and Roberta Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun Press, 1984), p. 191.

¹⁹Linda Squires Hansen, "Those Certain Women": A History of the Associated Alumnae of the University of New Brunswick (Alumnae Association of the University of New Brunswick, 1982), pp. 1-2.

maintain social and intellectual links formed as students. This society grew to become the McGill Alumnae Association.²⁰ The creation of alumnae associations formed the basis for the founding of the CFUW.

Efforts to organize university women nationally can be dated to 1900 although such a union was not achieved until 1919. Graduates of Victoria, St. Hilda's and University Colleges of the University of Toronto federated to form the United Alumnae Association. Representatives of Trinity College, McGill and Queen's Universities' Alumnae Associations attended the second annual meeting of the United Alumnae at which a proposal to form a federation of alumnae societies was discussed. The idea of an association to voice the opinions of female graduates nationally was appealing. However, the McGill, Queen's and University of Toronto delegates decided they did not have the power to take action on this suggestion, and felt that a union of women graduates was inadvisable at that time. Unfortunately, no explanation for this decision is recorded, but it is probable that the few women graduates and the distance separating them served as a deterrent to organizing.²¹ An organization with few members widely scattered was unable to muster the collective influence of its members and was ineffective. Members of the various alumnae associations may have feared their organization's autonomy would be jeopardized if a federation was formed. Such a federation encouraged graduates to

²⁰Gillett, We Walked Very Warily, p. 372.

²¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, Selections from the University College Alumnae Association Minutes, 20 April 1900.

divide their loyalty between the association of women graduates and their alma mater.

Again in 1902, the issue of a federation of university alumnae associations was recorded at a meeting of the University College Alumnae Association. At this meeting, the members hoped that such a union "would be useful as a bond between all women graduates and that it would serve the cause of education."²² The unsuccessful attempt to establish an inter-collegiate society did result in the formation of the University Women's Club of Toronto in 1903 which united the members of the alumnae associations of Trinity, Victoria and University Colleges and also admitted graduates of other Canadian and British universities. Because it admitted women from any recognized university living in a particular locale, a university women's club had a broader membership than an alumnae association which limited membership to graduates of one institution.

The mandate of the University Women's Club of Toronto was to organize united action on common interests of female graduates, without interfering in the activities of the individual alumnae associations.²³ This select group of university women organized to address their specific interests which were ignored by the dominant male institutions, and were not priorities of established women's associations. The Toronto club hoped that some of the issues to which it might give

²²*ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, Selections from University College Alumnae Association Minutes, 31 March 1902.

²³*ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Notes from St. Hilda's Chronicle Re. C.F.U.W." excerpt from minutes 25 April 1903, p. 1 and excerpts from "Minutes of the University Women's Club of Toronto," 3 April 1905, p. 7.

its attention were "the encouragement among women of higher ideals of scholarship, of postgraduate work and also of a higher standard of teaching, both in the elementary and secondary schools."²⁴ Members of the Toronto club wanted their united efforts to result not only in companionship and intellectual stimulation, but also in changes in the education system. In 1903, Mabel Chown of Toronto,²⁵ wrote to Elizabeth Shortt, president of the Queen's Alumnae Association,²⁶ stating that women were uniting at a time when popular opinion was opposed to women's progress in university and university women "must see to it that the advantages which pioneers struggled to secure for us, are not destroyed for those who follow us, and that if there must be changes that they be for a better standard."²⁷ These university women wanted to consolidate their efforts to maintain what was achieved by earlier university graduates, to overcome opposition, to encourage the next generation of

²⁴ibid., vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Notes from St. Hilda's re. C.F.U.W." p. 2.

²⁵Mabel Chown was probably the daughter of Alice Chown's half-brother, Methodist minister Rev. Edward Anning Chown. Geo. Maclean Rose, ed., A Cyclopedia of Canadian Biography (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1886), p. 703; The Canadian Who's Who, Vol. 8, 1958-1960 (Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, 1960), p. 1089; Diana Chown, "Introduction," to Alice Chown, The Stairway (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988), p. xi.

²⁶Elizabeth Shortt (née Smith) encouraged Queen's to introduce co-educational medical instruction. In 1884, she was one of the first graduates of the Kingston Women's Medical College. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Introduction" to A Woman with a Purpose: The Diaries of Elizabeth Smith, 1872-1884 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

²⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mabel Chown to Mrs. Shortt, 9 January 1903 (copy).

university women, and to improve educational standards for women as teachers and students.²⁸ These goals of 1903 were the priorities of the CFUW in later decades.

University women in other cities followed the lead of Toronto and began to organize local university women's clubs. Vancouver university women organized five years after Toronto. According to the club's commemorative history, the Vancouver graduates were eager to organize university women elsewhere in the province.²⁹ The Vancouver club made an effort throughout 1908 to encourage university women to form similar associations in other towns and cities with the eventual aim of establishing a national federation.³⁰

Interest in the work of the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae (AACA) was one of the factors which encouraged Vancouver and Toronto women to found university women's clubs. The AACA, later the American Association of University Women (AAUW), was established in 1882 to unite local clubs of university graduates in a national network. Its early years were dedicated to compiling statistical

²⁸Few occupations were open to women and teaching was a respectable employment for university-educated women who wanted, or needed to be, financially independent. In 1900, Carrie Derick predicted women's greater entry into high school teaching. She estimated that approximately one half of female university graduates of eastern Canada entered the teaching professions. Other professions did not offer as much promise as teaching, and most such as law and medicine had more potential barriers. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching," The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, Vol. 1, ed. by Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 61; Carrie Derick, "Professions open to Women," Women of Canada: Their Life and Work (National Council of Women of Canada, 1900), pp. 57-61.

²⁹Phyllis Reeve, 75th Anniversary of the Vancouver University Women's Club, (Vancouver: University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1982), p. 2.

³⁰NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Minutes of the UWC of Vancouver" in "The Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women" by Edna Ash, p. 6; Jean Bannerman, Leading Ladies, Canada, 1639-1967 (Dundas, Ontario: Carswood, 1967), p. 46.

information on the health of women graduates which addressed the perpetual myths that women were not mentally or physically equipped for advanced education. The AACA also encouraged young women to attend university, and wanted to expand opportunities for graduates.³¹ Evelyn Farris, the founder of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, was impressed by the activities of the AACA to which she had belonged while teaching in Connecticut from 1899 to 1905.³² Graduates in Toronto also engaged in ongoing correspondence with the AACA and were encouraged to join. From 1901, members of the Victoria College Alumnae Association of the University of Toronto, considered the benefits of this proposal. In a letter to Elizabeth Shortt, Mabel Chown expressed her awe of the AACA's work. Chown explained that the Victoria College Alumnae Association was a "social affair" and members felt they were too isolated to accomplish much. Exposure to the American activities "came to arouse" the members of the Victoria College Alumnae Association. This led Chown to ask Shortt, "Don't you think we might emulate them, at least help the colleges of Canada to have some ideals and clear views upon questions concerning women's education and interests?"³³

Victoria College Alumnae conceived the idea of establishing a Canadian inter-collegiate federation of alumnae which could consider joining the AACA as a branch

³¹Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres, pp. 18-27 and 37.

³²Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982, p. 2; Tami Adilman, "Evelyn Farris and the University Women's Club," in In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C., ed. by Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), p. 149.

³³NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mabel L. Chown to Mrs. Shortt, 17 April 1901 (copy).

representing all Canadian women. Throughout the next three years, members of the Victoria College Alumnae Association spread the idea of national federation by contacting presidents of the Alumnae Associations of McGill and Queen's Universities.³⁴ As early as 1903, Mabel Chown wrote to Elizabeth Shortt explaining the position of the Victoria College Alumnae Association. Her letter underlines the influence of the AACA, and the Canadian graduates' desire to emulate its success:

It was felt that the work of each society was too detached to accomplish for women,s [sic] education in Canada, what might be achieved by more united action. A similar federation in the United States has succeeded in improving educational standards to a remarkable degree. The graduates of different universities residing in the same town or city unite to further local education or any needed reform, x [sic] while the federation makes a bond between themand [sic] connects them in plans for general work.³⁵

Many Canadian graduates believed that if they joined as a branch of the AACA their local interests would be overshadowed by the demands of larger American clubs. On the other hand, joining the AACA would permit Canadian women to participate in a strong organization which lobbied for the interests of educated women. The idea of joining the AACA remained in the minds of Toronto women until 1918 when the members decided that an independent Canadian federation would better serve university women of Canada.³⁶

³⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, Edna Ash, "The Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women," (1967).

³⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mabel Chown, Mercy Powell, and Mary Sutherland to Mrs. Adam Shortt, 24 March 1902 (copy).

³⁶*Ibid.*, vol 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Victoria College Alumnae Minutes," 4 November 1915, 24 September 1919, 27 May 1918, in Edna Ash, "The Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women," (1967).

American women pressured Canadian university women's clubs to join the AACA throughout 1917 and 1918.³⁷ In the commemorative history of the IFUW, Edith Batho mentions American women's interest in having Canadian women as members. The AACA saw the possibility of Canadian women's membership as the beginning of a "Greater American" association with international connections. Again, members of the University Women's Club of Toronto established a committee to study the possibility, and ten members of the club joined the AACA, including the convener, May Skinner.³⁸ The AACA asked for a Canadian woman to be appointed as the Canadian correspondent for its publication, and Skinner was selected. At the AACA convention in 1918, Skinner was made a member of the American Committee on International Relations which was attempting to create international links of university women. Members of the University Women's Club of Toronto considered the AACA actions as indicative of "a definite proposal for affiliation."³⁹ Toronto women were interested in the proposal as a way to increase their strength, influence, and support on issues concerning university women. The interest of Canadian women from 1901 to 1918 reminded members of the American Association of the potential

³⁷Ibid., vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, Edna Ash, "The Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women," (1967), p. 14.

³⁸Edith Batho, A Lamp of Friendship: A Short History of the International Federation of University Women, 1918-1968 (IFUW, 1968), p. 2. Letters were exchanged by a representative of the AACA and Elizabeth Apps of Toronto throughout 1917. Letters from the AACA requested information about any university women's associations in Canada, and suggested their affiliation with the AACA. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, University Women's Club of Toronto minutes acknowledge receiving letters from the AACA to Elizabeth Apps, 6 April 1917, 10 May 1917, 1 October 1917.

³⁹Margaret Foster, The First Fifty Years: A History of the University Women's Club of Toronto, 1903-1953 (Toronto: Hunter and Rose, 1953), p. 10.

of a Canadian branch, and organized American university women actively sought to fulfil the American manifest destiny by incorporating Canadian graduates into a North American network of university women.

Attention was not only received from American women. British university women were also interested in forming a bond with Canadian graduates, although this aspect of international contact is not as evident in the records of the CFUW. In 1904, the University Women's Club of Toronto received a letter from British university women which suggested they engage in "annual intercourse and mutual aid."⁴⁰ The invitation was repeated a decade later when Ida Smedley MacLean of the British Federation of University Women (BFUW) invited Canadian associations to affiliate as the Indian and Irish university women had.⁴¹ Margaret McWilliams, who later became the first president of the CFUW, considered pressure from British women to be of greater significance than that exerted by American women. One BFUW member, Dr. Winnifred Cullis, who had been a medical lecturer at University of Toronto, encouraged Canadian women to form a national association of university women to affiliate with the IFUW. McWilliams stated that Canadian women had been discussing a federation for many years, "but the effective impulse towards it came from Great Britain."⁴²

⁴⁰NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Minutes of the University Women's Club of Toronto," 17 March 1904.

⁴¹The BFUW was founded in 1907. Batho, A Lamp of Friendship, p. 2.

⁴²Margaret McWilliams, History of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 1919-1949 (Canada: 1950), p. 3.

Canadian women reacted to the international pressure by renewing their interest in establishing a Canadian federation. Canadian graduates wanted to be part of an international network of university women, but wanted to maintain a distinct Canadian identity. The Toronto University Women's Club began to contact other clubs to generate interest in a federation. In 1913, a provisional constitution was written and circulated to the presidents of other university women's clubs. A number of clubs were interested, including those of Winnipeg, Saint John, Vancouver, and Ottawa.⁴³ University women considered favourably the plan to federate in 1913. Greater numbers of graduates promised a strong national association, and the strength of other national women's associations during the suffrage campaign proved the feasibility and potential of such federated women's clubs. With the outbreak of World War I, however, the local clubs became preoccupied with patriotic duties and the matter of federation was temporarily suspended.⁴⁴ Throughout the war, university women's attention was directed elsewhere, and this led Margaret McWilliams to recommend that 1914 was not time for federation:

I am theoretically in favour of systematic organization, but I also feel that we tend to organize for the sake of organizing and that this proposal was an instance.⁴⁵

⁴³NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "University Women's Club of Toronto Minutes," 15 January 1912 and December 1913, in Edna A. Ash, "The Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women," (1967).

⁴⁴Jane Berton and Claire Coates, Calendar/Calendrier, 1981-2 (Canadian Federation of University Women, 1980), n.p.

⁴⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Margaret McWilliams read to the University Women's Club of Toronto, 10 October 1914, in Edna Ash, "The Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women," (1967).

Other women supported McWilliams' opinion and suggested instead organizing provincial organizations of university women as a stepping stone for a future national federation.⁴⁶ No provincial federations, however, were established.

Despite her earlier misgivings, Margaret McWilliams led the organizing campaign which followed the war.⁴⁷ McWilliams was a University of Toronto graduate who was very active in local women's associations of Winnipeg. The reason for McWilliams' change of heart is unclear, but university women may have felt they had the time and energy to organize once they were freed from war time obligations. Four delegates from Winnipeg and Toronto wrote a constitution and contacted local clubs to inform them that a meeting to establish the federation was scheduled for the following summer. In August 1919, delegates from the Clubs of Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, and Victoria met in Winnipeg to organize the CFUW.⁴⁸

Not all university women's clubs were enthusiastic about federation. The Vancouver club members were harsh in their judgement of the plan despite their early vision of such a federation. Members wrote to the Toronto Club stating:

we could not see any specific object to be gained by such a federation and the feeling was strong that too many organizations exist among

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mrs. Toye to Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, 17 October 1914.

⁴⁷Mary Kinnear, *Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 40, History of the CFUW, "The Canadian Federation of University Women," (mimeographed sheet), September 1962.

women and that the machinery necessary for such a federation would involve us in "more meetings" for no particular gain.⁴⁹

The organizers were apparently unaffected by these criticisms and they continued to contact other alumnae societies and university women's clubs. The Federation of University Women in Canada became a reality in 1919.⁵⁰ Gradually alumnae associations and university women's clubs across the country joined the CFUW. There were twelve branches in 1920 which grew to twenty-three federated organizations in 1927.⁵¹

Establishing the CFUW was not simply a result of the university women's desire to unite Canadian women's efforts. Their decision had international implications. Throughout 1919, members of the BFUW and the AACA discussed proposals to establish an international association. Many women's associations of the 1920s sought to establish international links, and the desire of university women to form international bonds was part of a greater trend.⁵² Since the late nineteenth century, women's organizations attempted to organize internationally in what Edith Hurwitz described as "the internationalization of the women's movement." Middle-

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter D. McIntosh of Vancouver to Winnipeg University Women's Club, 21 July 1919. The Vancouver University Women's Club joined the CFUW in 1923.

⁵⁰In 1919, the organization was named the Federation of University Women in Canada. In 1922, the name was changed to the Canadian Federation of University Women. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1 September 1922.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, G.H. Lennox, "First Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada," 1920, p. 1; *Ibid.*, Vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Notes on Membership Matters, 1927."

⁵²Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 191.

class women wanted to forge links cross-culturally and across national boundaries in an effort to address common issues.⁵³ University women wanted to confront issues which affected women graduates worldwide and to foster international co-operation and goodwill among nations. The CFUW was established in time to attend the first conference of the IFUW in 1920.

Domestic factors also encouraged the Canadian university women's clubs to federate. The division of women's interests in the post-suffrage era has been used to explain the change in feminist activities of the 1920s. Historians argue that following enfranchisement, feminists were unable to maintain the momentum of the suffrage fight and their interests were fragmented.⁵⁴ American historian Nancy Cott argues that feminism, a movement which developed following 1910 and is not synonymous with the woman's rights movement, experienced a diversification and sectionalization of women's interests in the 1920s. Evidence of this is in the innumerable organizations which were developed to represent select groups of women.⁵⁵ Thus, the CFUW was established to voice the opinions of a select group of Canadian feminists.

The National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) portrayed itself as the voice of Canadian women, but the association did not represent professional women

⁵³Edith Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. by Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), p. 327.

⁵⁴Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 193.

⁵⁵Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, pp. 3-10 and 282.

of the 1920s. According to Veronica Strong-Boag, the NCWC did not encourage women's expansion into the professions, and NCWC discussions "implied a declining contribution from female professionals."⁵⁶ University-educated and professional women needed a national federation which could more accurately voice their opinions.

Individual members were active in both organizations, but the CFUW executive never considered officially affiliating with the NCWC. Veronica Strong-Boag reasons that the decision of CFUW members not to affiliate with the NCWC was that the "Federation was either too confident or too indifferent to affiliate with the NCWC."⁵⁷ In her "First Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada," Gertrude Lennox emphasized the potential of the new national association of university women:

It is only by personal enthusiasm that we are going to popularize this most potent force that we have thrust into the group of Canadian National Federations. Let us all strive together to make it great; from the very beginning an active leaven working mightily in our changing chaotic social life here in Canada. It is a great opportunity and a vast responsibility; Dare we fail?⁵⁸

The CFUW executive were unwilling to be associated with an increasingly conservative organization which they believed did not represent professional women.

⁵⁶Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976), p. 363.

⁵⁷Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women, p. 110.

⁵⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, Mrs. G.H. Lennox "First Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada", 1920, p. 1.

The NCWC was also losing the support of western women in the 1920s, and this was reflected in Margaret McWilliams' renewed interest in creating a university women's federation. McWilliams was angered by a number of the characteristics of the NCWC, especially the association's conservatism and the Montreal-Toronto bias expressed by the executive. In 1919 she was asked by the NCWC to draft a constitution to amend these shortcomings. When this constitution was defeated, she disaffiliated the Winnipeg Local Council of Women from the NCWC.⁵⁹ McWilliams was not totally disheartened by the episode with the NCWC, and believed that a national federation of university-educated women could be formed which would not be controlled by central Canada. The work toward founding the CFUW was initiated by Toronto club women, but during 1919 McWilliams assumed leadership of the campaign. McWilliams' central role reassured western graduate women and made possible the formation of the new national women's organization during a period of heightened regional alienation. While western women were brought into the organization and the regional divisions within English Canada were overcome, the CFUW was unable to bridge the English-French split common to many national organizations.⁶⁰

The constitution of the CFUW was designed to ensure the CFUW was not dominated by regional interests. Local university women's clubs were instructed to

⁵⁹Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams, pp. 65-6.

⁶⁰Regional representation and membership are considered fully in chapter two.

pursue their own choice of activities.⁶¹ Some concessions to regionalism had to be made to ensure the administration of the CFUW could be carried out. It was decided that the president and the corresponding secretary should live within telephoning distance.⁶² To ensure national unity, the CFUW held triennial meetings across Canada, organized national lecture tours for such prominent public speakers as Bliss Carman, and arranged for the president to visit all of the affiliated organizations at least once during her three year term.⁶³ Efforts to avoid complaints of regional domination were successful until 1936 when, because of regional conflicts in the Committee on International Relations, a resolution was passed requiring committees be comprised of members from all provinces with important business carried out by mail.⁶⁴

The constitution of 1919 established the operating structure of the CFUW. Membership was open to any ten graduates who formed a local university women's

⁶¹The Regina University Women's Club was concerned about the proposed constitution's ability to prevent regional over-representation. The Regina club argued that the executive could exert too much power. This club also wanted the constitution to specify that two officers could not reside in the same province, and no office should be held by members of the same province for two terms. In a meeting with Winnipeg representatives these amendments were rejected. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 96, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, excerpt from the minutes of the University Women's Club of Regina, 11 October 1919, 17 October 1919, and 22 October 1919.

⁶²Although not specified in the sources, telephoning distance probably meant the same city. *Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Minutes of the Organization Meeting," 27 October 1919, p. 10. In 1923 there was a suggestion that regional subdivisions be formed to meet between triennial conferences, but no action was taken. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, "1923 Tentative Agenda for the Triennial."

⁶³Kinnear, Margaret McWillaims, pp. 75-78.

⁶⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 96, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1936, p. 196.

club, but only one local organization was recognized for each town or city.⁶⁵ Membership was restricted to women who attended a recognized university and received a four year degree or its equivalent.

The officers of the federation included an elected president, first vice-president, second vice-president, recording secretary, corresponding secretary, archives secretary, membership secretary, and treasurer. The officers, along with the convenors of the standing committees, past-president, and one representative from each federated body, formed the executive. The executive met annually, and general meetings of the CFUW were held triennially. All members of the CFUW were invited to attend triennial conferences, but only recognized delegates of local university women's clubs and alumnae associations could vote on behalf of their organization. To avoid dominance by the larger affiliates, the number of delegates sent to triennial meetings was determined by the membership in the club with one representative for every twenty-five members, but with only one delegate per hundred members over two hundred.⁶⁶

The objectives of the CFUW were established during the 1919 organizational meeting. The members determined the three criteria which guided their work well into the future. The following objectives were recorded in the CFUW constitution:

⁶⁵Only once during the period 1919 to 1931 did the constitutional regulation of recognizing only one university women's club in each town or city create a problem, when a small group of women broke from the Women's University Club of Edmonton. Both groups wanted to join the CFUW, but only the older of the two groups was admitted. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Barbara Blokley to Edna Ash, 1 April 1967.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 5, Constitution 1913-1966, "Constitution of the Federation of University Women in Canada," circa 1919, pp. 1-7.

- a) To stimulate the interest of university women in public affairs, and to afford an opportunity for the expression of a united opinion.
- b) To promote higher education of women, and especially to encourage research work.
- c) To facilitate social intercourse and co-operation between women of different universities.⁶⁷

Rarely in the papers of the CFUW does the word feminist appear, but the goals and actions of the members indicate that their beliefs were feminist in nature. Historians Mary Kinnear and Nancy Cott each offer a general definition of feminism. These historians argue that there are three core features of feminism. The first is that women and men are equal, therefore feminists react against a sexual hierarchy and seek equal treatment of women and men. Second, feminists believe that the condition of women is socially constructed and is not the product of nature. Finally, women share what Cott describes as a gender group identification or what Kinnear calls "a consciousness of identification with other women as a social group."⁶⁸ Both historians warn that there are shortcomings to this definition, but it is useful as a working definition. Using this definition of feminism, it is evident that the CFUW was a vehicle for expressing the feminist beliefs held by its members, or at least the most vocal members.

Members were aware that many of their feminist beliefs were criticized. An attack on feminism published in the Dalhousie Review criticized women who defied their natural role in society by seeking "emancipation" and "equal rights" through

⁶⁷Ibid., vol. 5, Constitution 1913-1966, "Constitution of the Federation of University Women in Canada," circa 1919, p. 1.

⁶⁸Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams, p. 10; Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, p 4.

access to education or male vocations were common.⁶⁹ Between 1919 and 1931, members did not classify or describe their ideas as feminist, although many of their interests and activities fall under the generally accepted definition of feminism. According to Nancy Cott, the word feminist did not appear in the United States until 1910.⁷⁰ CFUW members may not have been familiar with the word, or may not have perceived their goals as feminist. However, members may have consciously decided not to publicly call themselves feminists. This avoided undue criticism directed at a new national organization which encouraged women to pursue education and career goals at a time when public opinion considered women's working careers as temporary.⁷¹

References to feminism are rare in the CFUW records, and most came from outside the Canadian organization. Leaders of the IFUW were careful to assure the press and members that they were creating an international association, but their goals were not "ultra-feminist" and the members did not form "a body of women discussing feminist problems."⁷² One of the first references to feminism which

⁶⁹William D. Tait, "Some Feminisms," Dalhousie Review, X (April, 1930), 51-6.

⁷⁰Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, p. 3.

⁷¹Mary Vipond, "The Image of Women in the Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s" in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, Vol. 1, ed. by Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 119-123. Occasional reference is made to criticisms directed at the idea of university education for women. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Laila Scott, "Report of the Committee on International Relations."

⁷²Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 6, Report of the Third Conference, Christiania, July 1924, p. 29; Virginia Gildersleeve, Many A Good Crusade (New York: MacMillan Company, 1954), p. 138.

survives in the records of the CFUW is found in the "Report of the Committee on International Relations" for 1931-2. In this report, the CFUW was asked to consider what the "proper sphere" of the work of the IFUW was, whether "its discussions and resolutions [should] deal with subjects of general intellectual or definitely feminist interest." Other topics suggested were the value of intelligence testing, the adequacy of the training for women offered by universities, and the role of motherhood and family in the formation of the state.⁷³ The members' definition of feminism is not provided nor is their understanding of the term implied in the text of this report. The members of the CFUW did not refer to themselves as feminists, but their goals and beliefs were feminist in nature.

The ideals of the CFUW may be described as an expression of liberal feminism. Josephine Donovan studies the philosophic and historic roots of liberal feminism. She describes the main features of liberal feminism as a belief in the inalienable rights of the individual, the ontological equality of men and women, the ability of the individual to use education to realize her potential, and the faith that ensuring rights in the public sphere guaranteed equality for women.⁷⁴ Having gained the vote, women felt the need not only to fulfil the obligations of citizenship, but also to overcome obstacles faced by women in other public roles. This included the

⁷³NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1931-2," pp. 4-5.

⁷⁴Josephine Donovan, Feminist Theory: The Intellectual Traditions of American Feminists (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, 1985), pp. 1-30.

barriers women faced in gaining access to post-secondary education, specifically at the graduate level, and earning admission to male-dominated professions.

Members of the CFUW approached issues of women's educational and professional opportunities on the basis of women's equality and individual rights. They relied on individualist feminist arguments to advance their causes and minimized women's traditionally prescribed social roles in their discussions. They did not emphasize their distinct character or biological functions which Karen Offen describes as the "gender-based but egalitarian vision" espoused by relational feminists.⁷⁵ The division between these two main strains of feminism was evident in the United States of the 1920s, where individualist feminists, often well-educated professional women, sought to limit sex-linked limitations and lobbied for the passing of the equal rights amendment. On the other hand, relational feminists, previously identified by American historians as social or maternal feminists, supported protective legislation and affirmed women's distinct role in society.⁷⁶ Like the equal rights lobbyists of the United States, the CFUW de-emphasized women's biological and cultural roles and sought advancement and acceptance to public realms on the same basis as men.

⁷⁵Offen, "Defining Feminism," p. 135.

⁷⁶Offen, "Defining Feminism," pp. 136-7, and 142. Maternal feminism is an analytical tool created by historians which is now criticized. Nancy Cott argues that this label does not aptly describe how historical subjects viewed themselves. Activists of the woman's movement did not confine themselves to two separate camps of social feminism and "hard-core feminism." Nancy Cott, "What's in a Name? The Limits of Social Feminism, or Expanding the Vocabulary of Women's History," The Journal of American History, LXXVI (December, 1989), 809-830.

Women of the 1920s were self-conscious of their new-found role as citizens and they wanted to fulfil the obligations this involved. As educated individuals, CFUW members believed that they should not be denied access to an occupation for which they were trained or were qualified. They considered themselves qualified as university-educated individuals to offer clear and rational analysis of their society. In order to overcome the professional barriers, these women argued that the most talented of their ranks first had to prove themselves. Once one woman proved her abilities in the public world of academia and the professions, the path of other women pursuing similar goals would be smoother. They did not challenge the male constructs of the public world, but instead sought admission to these institutions on the same basis as men.

The 1920s are noted for the success of individual women, but general advancements were slow in areas considered a male prerogative, such as the professions and politics. Exceptional women were admitted to male domains, and because such access was rare, it evoked much less fear from opponents than did group entry.⁷⁷ In Canada, educated women of the 1920s were generally optimistic that they would advance in professional careers on the basis of their abilities. The reality was that they continued to face limited career options and discrimination.⁷⁸

⁷⁷Joanne Reid, "Muriel McQueen Fergusson: A Study of Interwave Feminism in New Brunswick" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1988), pp. 3, and 95.

⁷⁸Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920's," in The Consolidation of Capitalism, 1896-1929: Readings in Canadian Social History, Volume 4, ed. by Michael Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983); Renate Bridenthal, "Something Old, Something New: Women Between the Two World Wars," in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. by Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1987), pp. 473-88.

Faith in a meritocracy was shared by members of the CFUW.⁷⁹ The philosophy of the CFUW depended on the success of individual women and their ability to dispel myths that women were less efficient, capable, and permanent employees than men. As Nancy Cott points out, the token success of individual women undermined feminists' arguments that discrimination persisted.⁸⁰ CFUW members lacked the feminist analysis required to evaluate the potential success of their methods. They did not understand the implications of the systemic discrimination within the male institutions of the workforce and academia but continued to credit the success of individual women as the advancement of all university women.

As educated and therefore privileged individuals, university women believed they had an obligation as citizens to repay their society through public service. Their efforts usually focused on improving professional opportunities of university women, but they also promised to improve Canadian society by providing better employees, educators, community leaders, and role models. Therefore, allowing women to participate as individuals not only benefited the situation of women, but also promised to offer a general improvement in society as well. In her foreword to The Chronicle, 1920, Margaret McWilliams described the role of the female graduate:

Whether she chooses to lend her effort towards smoothing the path of those who follow her in her search after knowledge, or towards returning in general service something of the aid which, earlier, she received from her own community, the University woman will find in

⁷⁹Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams, p. 6.

⁸⁰Joan Jensen and Lois Scharf, "Introduction," Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement 1920-1940 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 3; Cott, Grounding of Modern Feminism, p. 7.

the federation her opportunity. For through community of action it offers a medium by which her work may be made to count as no isolated effort ever can.⁸¹

This belief was held by all of the members of the CFUW. The university graduate was to play a leadership role in Canadian society and it was her responsibility to be informed and informative. The membership was dominated by women who felt a great debt to society needed to be paid in return for the privileges they enjoyed, and the greatest of these privileges was education.⁸²

University education and involvement in women's clubs instilled in CFUW members a sense of obligation to serve society. University educators across Canada emphasized the privilege their students shared and the service they owed in return. The principles which guided the development of English Canadian universities from 1890 to 1920 emphasized the role of the university in developing the nation and providing leaders. Marni Frazer de Pencier summarized the ideas of the universities of these decades while discussing the introduction of business training at the university:

The assumption was that the university had a mandate for leadership, for public service, and for moulding public opinion. (One can also assume that the role of social critic was implied.)⁸³

The university women who created the CFUW had been educated with these principles; they were part of this tradition and products of this philosophy. The role

⁸¹Margaret McWilliams, "Foreword," The Chronicle, 1920, p. 3.

⁸²Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams, pp. 68, 78, and 161.

⁸³Marni Frazer de Pencier, "Ideas of the English Speaking Universities in Canada to 1920" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977), pp. 639 and 602-640.

of the university in society translated into the role of the university's graduate. Graduates were educated, informed leaders of Canadian society willing to contribute to national life. For example, Queen's University administrators promoted the university as an agency of national service.⁸⁴ Many women of the first generation of graduates were inspired by the message and wanted to do something of value with their degrees. Often, this translated into pursuing the same goals beyond the walls of the campus as men.⁸⁵ It was this sense of duty, combined with a desire to achieve, which united the members of the CFUW.

Sports, military training, and other campus activities and culture equipped male students with skills and training to become nation builders, leaders, and protectors of the empire through their business and professional careers. Women's student activities emphasised more voluntary service, and did not accommodate their interest in contributing to society through their professional careers.⁸⁶ In establishing the CFUW, members aimed to enrich society by improving educational and professional opportunities for university-educated women.

CFUW members felt responsible for the condition of Canadian society not only as university graduates but also as middle-class women. Their class-based sense

⁸⁴Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks, and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University, 1895-1900," Youth, University and Canadian Society, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 5.

⁸⁵Lynne Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University 1895-1906: 'A Little Sphere All Their Own'," Ontario History, LXXVIII (December, 1986), 335.

⁸⁶A.B. McKillop, "Marching as to War: Elements of Ontario Undergraduate Culture, 1880-1914," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), pp. 75, and 77.

of obligation stemmed not only from their university experiences, but also from the long tradition of women's volunteer associations. Middle-class Canadian women used volunteer organizations to voice their goals and opinions in public and acted upon them through reform-oriented projects. Members of the CFUW were part of a larger women's club movement which reminded members of their responsibility for the community's well-being.⁸⁷

The desire to contribute to society and to improve women's situation in Canada was not unique to the members of the CFUW, but the projects they created and chose to endorse reflect interests unique to university-educated women. Their efforts were not intended to extend "the feminine influence" beyond the home to the advantage of the community as some women's organizations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries wished.⁸⁸ Members of the CFUW did not rely on what historians term social feminism, which emphasized woman's unique character, morality, and maternalism used on behalf of the public good.⁸⁹ They did not rely on a maternalist self-definition or relational arguments to justify their interests and activities, but acted on the basis of their education and individualism to focus on

⁸⁷Gail Brandt, "Organizations In Canada: The English Protestant Tradition" in Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, ed. by Paula Bourne (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage: National Organizations and the Women's Movement in the Late 19th Century," in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, Vol. I, ed. by Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); and, Nancy Sheehan, "Women's Organizations and Educational Issues," Canadian Woman Studies/ les Cahiers de la Femme, VII (Fall, 1986), 90-6.

⁸⁸Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women, p. 82.

⁸⁹Wayne Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle for the World: The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto, 1877-1914," in A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s, ed. by Linda Kealey (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979).

issues which affected university-educated women. Overall, the class-based desire to serve society was nurtured more by the university atmosphere than by the arguments of the pre-war women's movement.

The authors of Canadian Women: A History describe the CFUW as the codification of friendships formed by university students.⁹⁰ This has been repeated by a number of historians, including Strong-Boag who describes the founding of the CFUW as an attempt to "revive the sociability of college life."⁹¹ The CFUW did offer women with shared interests the opportunity to form or renew friendships, which remained a valuable aspect of the organization. One reason for the publication of the CFUW's costly bulletin, The Chronicle, was explained by G.H. Lennox, corresponding secretary, in a letter to Mabel Thom, second vice-president:

The executive feels that in this journal we have a tangible bond that will unite all isolated groups of University Women who desire to promote the larger nationalism and internationalism which at this moment it appears to be our privilege to develop.⁹²

Correspondence and meetings of the federation raised members' awareness of the status of women in Canadian society generally, and in white-collar occupations specifically. The conferences provided not only a venue for business and discussions,

⁹⁰Alison Prentice, et. al., Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), p. 162; Beth Light and Joy Parr, Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1983), p. 198.

⁹¹Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women, p. 110.

⁹²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 17, Resolutions: Convenor 1920-1967, letter from Mrs. G. H. Lennox to Mrs. Thom, 2 October 1920.

but also served as a time for socializing and forging friendships.⁹³ Members shared companionship, support, and consciousness.⁹⁴ The united action of the CFUW members was intended to further the opportunities open to university-educated women. This work promised to improve society, and raise the members' consciousness regarding their status as educated women in Canadian society.

⁹³Mrs. R.F. McWilliams, "Forward," The Chronicle, 1920, p. 3.

⁹⁴Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams, p. 68.

CHAPTER TWO

"Pooling Resources for the Common Good"¹

Federation Membership and Affiliates

Founders of the Canadian Federation of University Women aimed to unite women graduates in a national network. The association was successful in attracting a large number of single, career-minded women who regarded the CFUW as an effective organization for voicing their concerns. The CFUW had difficulty attracting graduates of the 1920s, and the majority of members graduated from Canadian universities in the 1910s. The direction of the CFUW's activities in the first decade were guided by a few women who dominated the executive positions of the association. The affiliated branches of the CFUW, however, were involved in a variety of activities to serve their own interests and those of their communities.

Any woman who had completed a four-year course at a university, a Bachelor of Arts or its equivalent, was entitled to membership in the CFUW.² The degree had to be from a "recognized" university, most of which were in Canada, the United

¹Mrs. Walter Vaughan, "Address of the Retiring President at the Triennial Conference, 1926," The Chronicle, 1926, p. 13.

²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Conference Minutes, 1928, p. 92.

States or Great Britain.³ Women who belonged to university women's clubs or alumnae societies which were affiliated with the CFUW were automatically members of the CFUW if they met all other membership criteria. By 1920 the CFUW united ten associations of local clubs and alumnae associations and this number grew to twenty-three societies with a total membership of 1,863 graduates in 1927.⁴

Membership criteria seemed straightforward, but questions about membership regulations did arise. At the Vancouver triennial conference in 1928, members voted that only degree programs which were four years following matriculation were acceptable for membership.⁵ An exception was made for one individual member, Laila Scott. Scott, who held a three-year degree in pharmacy, was elected president at the same triennial conference, but her tenure as president was not challenged or questioned.⁶

Rapid growth of Canadian universities in the early twentieth century created problems for determining CFUW membership. Questions arose about the eligibility of graduates from certain institutions. Many members were concerned about the

³*Ibid.*, vol. 5, Constitution 1913-1966, "The Canadian Federation of University Women: Constitution," p. 1.

⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Notes on Membership Matters, 1927."

⁵It is unclear whether membership was restricted to women holding an honours B.A. Generally, with junior matriculation, students could enter first year university, and with senior they could begin second year studies. Universities of Ontario and Manitoba required five years of university following junior matriculation, or four years following senior matriculation for an honours degree. In the western and eastern universities, an honours B.A. was awarded four years after junior matriculation. Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 235 and 239.

⁶NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, memorandum from Dorothy Turvelle to Miss Newman, n.d.; *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1929.

status of colleges which were affiliated with universities, such as two of the University of Toronto affiliates, Macdonald College of Guelph and the Conservatory of Music of Toronto. The constitution gave no guidelines for resolving the issue and the 1922 list of recognized universities compiled by Carrie Derick was inadequate.⁷ It was finally decided that members would vote on each college or university in question as the situation arose.⁸

A few women, chosen for their record of local leadership, directed the work of the CFUW throughout the 1920s. According to the by-laws of the CFUW, the local university women's clubs nominated members for executive positions six months before national conferences. Convenors were at liberty to select the members of the committees.⁹ Members of the affiliated branches of the CFUW were inclined to nominate women who proved their abilities locally. Most of the women who formed the executive during the first decade were very active in their local associations, and most had served as president or were among the charter members of their association. Although few women directed the activities of the CFUW, they were

⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Carrie Derick, "Colleges and Universities whose Graduates Are Eligible for Membership in the Federation of University Women of Canada," 1922.

⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, letter from Jessie Clark to Miss Gagnon, 9 January 1927; *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, letter from Miss Bollert to Miss Susan Gagnon, 11 January 1927; *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jessie Muir, "1927 Annual Report of the Membership Secretary."

⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 5, Constitution 1913-1966, "Constitution of the Federation of University Women in Canada", circa 1919, By-law 4; "Canadian Federation of University Women: Constitution," 1928. By-law 4 stated that a nominations committee was set up at executive meetings which preceded a triennial conference. The federated clubs were asked to suggest members for election. The committee prepared reports on these nominations which were distributed and presented at the triennial conference at which time an election was held.

chosen by the majority of otherwise silent members who maintained some input in the choice of leadership of the CFUW. They chose many of these women to direct their activities on a local scale and saw fit to nominate them to represent university-educated women nationally.

Thirteen women attended the 1919 organizational meeting in Winnipeg.¹⁰ Of these women, six continued to dominate the executive offices of the CFUW: Margaret McWilliams, Gertrude Lennox, Mabel Thom, Geneva Misener, May Skinner, and Jessie Dykes. These women shaped the work of the CFUW during its first decade, and held various positions in the CFUW executive throughout the period. The first CFUW president, Margaret McWilliams, was an early member of the Winnipeg University Women's Club and served as its president prior to World War I. At the first IFUW conference, she was elected first vice-president of the IFUW. She served as CFUW convenor of the Committee on International Relations. Mabel Chown, later Mrs. Thom, was the founder and first president of the University Women's Club of Toronto. She served as the CFUW president (1931-34) and convenor of the Scholarship Committee. Geneva Misener was a charter member of the University Women's Club of Edmonton. She was elected CFUW convenor of the Education Committee (1919-23) and was a member of the Scholarship Committee

¹⁰The thirteen women who met to organize the CFUW were: Miss Lexa Denne and Mrs. E. Smith of Victoria University, Miss Geneva Misener and Miss Kathleen Teskey of the University Women's Club of Edmonton, Mrs. Douglas Thom of the University Women's Club of Regina, Mrs. C.M. Wiley of the University Women's Club of Ottawa, Miss May Skinner and Miss Jessie Dykes of Toronto, Mrs. J.E. Butterell of the McGill Alumnae Association, Mrs. Margaret McWilliams, Mrs. W. Sadler, Miss Marjorie Horner, and Mrs. G.H. Lennox of the Winnipeg University Women's Club. *Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter Mrs. from G.L. Lennox to Miss H. Reid, 29 September 1919 (copy).

(1925). Jessie Muir was president of the Queen's Alumnae Association (1920-22) and president of the Ottawa local club in 1924. She was chosen to serve as membership secretary of the CFUW in 1926. Muir was elected second vice-president in 1928 and was a member of the Scholarship Committee from 1923 until 1926.

One member with a colourful and long history of local involvement is May Skinner. Before the founding of the CFUW, Skinner was appointed to analyze the implications of affiliating the University Women's Club of Toronto with the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae. To demonstrate the Toronto Club's interest in the proposal, Skinner joined the AACA and maintained close contact with the American organization long after the Toronto club opted for a Canadian federation.¹¹ She assisted in the writing of the provisional constitutions of 1913-14 and she attended the 1919 organizational meeting of the CFUW. Once the CFUW was formed, Skinner continued her dedicated involvement in the association. In 1923, Skinner was elected first vice-president, and was elected second vice-president at the next triennial. She served as a member of the CFUW Committee on International Relations and on the Nominating Committee, and also held the post of Convenor of Bylaws.

Although the position of membership secretary was established during the CFUW's inception, maintaining membership lists remained the responsibility of the local association, leaving no complete membership list of the CFUW for any given year. The membership secretary did, however, collect statistical information which is

¹¹*Ibid.*, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Minutes of the University Club of Toronto," 27 May 1918, in Edna Ash, "Founding of the Canadian Federation of University Women," (1967).

helpful for creating a profile of CFUW members.¹²

Membership of volunteer organizations of the early twentieth century is often characterized as over-represented by middle-class, married women, many of whom were beyond child-bearing age and had the luxury of spare time to devote to club activities.¹³ This describes only a portion of the CFUW membership. The CFUW membership secretary's statistics of 1921 and 1923 reveal that approximately forty per cent of the members were married and not involved in paid employment. These women continued to serve society and use their education in the volunteer associations to which they belonged.

Although married women not in the paid labour force were well represented, the CFUW appealed particularly to single women with professional aspirations who were attracted by the CFUW's liberal individualism. The CFUW supported their efforts to be accepted in the workforce and in academia, and advocated their advancement on the basis of their skills, unobstructed by gender-based limitations. The CFUW did not recognize that women might have special needs based on their gender and reproductive roles. Hence, the CFUW did not concern itself with the family issues which would appeal most directly to married women, and avoided promoting an identification of university-educated women with women's reproductive

¹²A common complaint of membership secretaries was that the affiliated branches did not provide the membership information in the form requested, or not at all. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Membership Report, 1928-31."

¹³Mary Kinnear, *Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), p. 69; Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 183.

and social roles.

In 1921, there were thirty-one paid employments represented in the CFUW. One third of the members were employed as teachers.¹⁴ Other members pursued careers in new fields which were opening to women's participation. These women entered the expanding areas of libraries and social services, while other members found employment as doctors, chemists, and economic experts.¹⁵ In 1929, members' occupations included university extension work, pathology, and journalism. The membership secretary exclaimed "indeed there seems to be no limit to positions which are open to the University-trained woman and which she is presently filling."¹⁶

Teachers were well represented in the CFUW, accounting for 36 percent of the membership.¹⁷ They taught at all levels of the school system, with 55 women teaching at the university level as well.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the statistics do not reveal how many women were engaged as high school as opposed to elementary teachers.

¹⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1921," and "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923," pp. 2-3.

¹⁵One member presented a paper entitled "Fields of Activity for the Woman Economist" in which she considered job options for women holding degrees in economics. She suggested opportunities were opening in journalism, law, libraries, academia, social work, and the civil service. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, Articles and Addresses 1922-1958, Irene Bliss, "Fields of Activity for the Woman Economist," circa 1931.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923," p. 3.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Vocations of Membership, 1923."

¹⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923," p. 2.

Only music teachers were listed separately by the membership secretary.¹⁹ Eight percent of the membership was employed in administrative and commercial sectors. In 1921, 103 members were working as clerks or were employed in the civil service, insurance, commercial art, or advertising industries.²⁰

The CFUW, with its thrust to advance such issues as women's education, participation in public affairs, and in the forefront, its recognition of the employment of university women as performing a national service, attracted many employed women. University curriculum, student activities, and the philosophies espoused by university presidents had encouraged them to serve society.²¹ Occupational choices for women were limited and university training often reaffirmed women's traditional service roles in society. Using their talents in a professional capacity was one way university women felt they served the community. Members were engaged as doctors, nurses, dieticians, masseuses. Twenty-six members worked for the Young Women's

¹⁹Five members were music teachers. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Vocations of Membership, 1921." Most of the teachers probably taught high school. Susan Gelman's article on the expansion of teaching as a female profession, or the feminization of teaching, accredits the growth of the secondary school system and the entry of girls into co-educational high schools for increasing employment opportunities for women. Susan Gelman, "The Feminization of the High Schools? Women Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1871-1930," *Historical Studies in Education*, II (Spring 1990), 119-48.

²⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Vocations of Members, 1921." According to Graham Lowe, from 1900 to 1930, the modernization and mechanization of the office resulted in a fragmentation of tasks. Clerical and support positions were gradually considered suitable for women. Graham Lowe, "Women, Work, and the Office: The Feminization of Clerical Occupations in Canada," *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, V (Fall, 1980), 363-381.

²¹Marni Frazer de Pencier, "Ideas of the English Speaking Universities in Canada to 1920" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977), p. 602; A.B. McKillop, "Marching as to War: Elements of Ontario Undergraduate Culture, 1880-1914," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society*, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 86.

Christian Association (YWCA). According to Diana Pedersen, the YWCA was active on many Canadian campuses and called upon university women to work for the community in the spirit of Christian service. Pedersen asserts that the call to service from the YWCA which emphasized "usefulness, service and sacrifice helped to shape the work experience of the first generations of college women and the character of the emerging female professions." Some of the women who were influenced by the YWCA were able to further their interest in the association following graduation by finding paid employment within its ranks.²² Other CFUW members served as missionaries,²³ or found employment as social service workers.

Members were eager to demonstrate that their university education was useful, and that their work benefited society. The report of the membership secretary in 1921 stressed the idea that professional university women served the greater good of the community when they used their talents to build the nation. Elsie Moore considered university women's paid employment as "the return they are making to the state."²⁴ The volunteer work of unemployed women was also applauded. Moore

²²The YWCA is the only organization specifically named by the membership secretary in the data on occupations. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, "Vocations of Membership, 1921. Diana Pedersen, "The Call to Service': The YWCA and the Canadian College Woman, 1886-1920," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 207.

²³Many of the students in Judith Fingard's study of Dalhousie women chose missionary work for service-filled career, especially among the first generation of female students, 1880-1900. Judith Fingard, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Co-eds, 1881-1921," in Youth, University and Canadian Society, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989).

²⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923," p. 2.

claimed that without the work of these women in the unpaid service sector, "it would be impossible to carry on these humanitarian movements which are the sincerest expression of the modern mind."²⁵ The secretary was eager to emphasize the promise of uniting the university women of Canada which inevitably benefitted the nation:

surely an organization of eleven hundred trained women with interest so widespread but withal so united, and traditions of sixty universities acquired during a period of forty years - surely such an organization has a contribution to make to the life of our time, a part to play in the building of our nation.²⁶

The CFUW emphasized the university women's service to society through paid employment and unpaid voluntarism, and offered members another venue through which to channel their service-oriented energy.

A survey undertaken for the IFUW in 1927 indicated that the majority of members had work experience and were sympathetic to many middle-class women's professional concerns. The survey showed that 51.02 per cent of CFUW members were using their training in a profession, 27.8 per cent had never used their education in a profession, and 21.18 per cent had used their academic background at one point but were no longer working at the time of the survey.²⁷ Many of the members who were not actively engaged in the workforce had experience in paid employment. Through the career-oriented and academic goals of the CFUW, these members

²⁵Elsie Moore, "Membership Report," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 10.

²⁶NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary 1921," p. 3.

²⁷Ibid., vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Questionnaire II from the IFUW."

demonstrated their support and sympathy for university-educated women with professional aspirations.

Single working women were attracted to the CFUW by its goals and the support it extended to professional-minded women. Without the recognized markers of children, home, and husband which symbolized women's contribution to building the nation, single career women often sought other means to publicly demonstrate their intent to serve the community. Unmarried women were interested in an organization which recognized their professional efforts as a national service, and provided another direction for community service. The majority of members were single and most were recent graduates of the decade 1910-19.²⁸ Based on quantitative studies of five Vancouver clubs, Gillian Weiss confirms that single working women were attracted to the University Women's Club of Vancouver more than other local clubs. Their club interests were encouraged by their professional activities.²⁹ Charter membership lists of local clubs record a high percentage of unmarried women at the time of each clubs' establishment. Many of these women married later, but it is important to note that they were attracted to the university women's clubs while they were single. The Women's University Club of Edmonton,

²⁸Ibid., vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Period during which degrees were conferred, 1921." Mary Vipond estimates that approximately ninety percent of women employed in the 1920s were single, and most middle-class young women expected to work before marriage. Mary Vipond, "The Image of Women in Mass Circulation Magazines in the 1920s," in The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History, Vol. 1, ed. by Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 117-8.

²⁹Gillian Weiss, "The Brightest Women of our Land': Vancouver Clubwomen, 1910-1928," in Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia, ed. by K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdero (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984), p. 202.

established in 1918, had thirty-eight charter members, eighteen of whom were married. The most extreme case which demonstrates that the charter membership had a high representation of single women is that of Moose Jaw in which only three of its fourteen founding members were married.³⁰ Charter membership lists are not a reliable means to determine marital status of members, especially when not supported by periodical membership lists which indicate changes in the membership's composition. Despite these methodological shortcomings, the charter membership lists indicate that single women were motivated to establish local associations which eventually affiliated with the CFUW.

Naturally, the composition of the CFUW membership reflected general trends of university women's attendance. An overwhelming majority of members, 79.46 per cent, held undergraduate degrees in arts and only 11.45 per cent held a Bachelor of Science. A mere 0.86 per cent of members had a doctorate degree. Few women held degrees in commerce, pedagogy, law or pharmacy. According to Veronica Strong-Boag's statistics, these figures are representative of female students' distribution among faculties. Strong-Boag states that in 1920, 81.62 per cent of female students and 48.84 per cent of male students were in the faculties of arts and science.³¹

The executive wanted to appeal to all university-educated women, but the

³⁰Lists are available for the clubs of Edmonton, St. Catharines, Regina, Moose Jaw, and Winnipeg as well as the Alumnae Association of the University of New Brunswick. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership: Charter Members 1918-1968.

³¹Unfortunately, neither Strong-Boag nor the Canada Year Book divide women's enrolment between arts and science. Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 23; The Canada Year Book, 1921, (Ottawa: A.F. Acland, 1922), pp. 156-7; NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Questionnaire II from the IFUW."

CFUW had the greatest success attracting graduates of the 1910s. In 1921, 651 of the 1,064 members were graduates of the 1910s.³² Graduates of this decade shared an experience unknown to those of other decades. During World War One, women comprised a greater proportion of student bodies than in the decades before or after.³³ In some cases, such as University of British Columbia, the majority of students were women.³⁴ Such a strong on-campus presence may have resulted in a greater gender group identification and a better understanding of women's potential influence when united in one organization.

Fifteen of the pioneer graduates of the 1880s were also members.³⁵ The executive of the CFUW made repeated attempts to contact the earliest female graduates of Canadian universities and encouraged them to join. Members of the CFUW recognized that the privilege of university education was recently gained and they wanted to understand the obstacles faced by those women who made early

³²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Period during which degrees were conferred, 1921."

³³At the University of Saskatchewan, women comprised 25 percent of the student body during the war. This was an increase from the pre-war attendance of 17 percent. Michael Hayden, "Women and the University of Saskatchewan: Patterns of a Problem," *Saskatchewan History*, XL (Spring 1987), 76; Judith Fingard, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Coeds, 1881-1921," p. 40.

³⁴Lee Stewart, "Women on Campus in British Columbia: Strategies for Survival, Years of War and Peace, 1906-1920," in *"Not Just Pin Money": Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in British Columbia*, ed. by Barbara K. Latham and Roberta Pazdro (Victoria: Camosun Press, 1984), p. 186.

³⁵There is no direct evidence about the age of the membership. Most of the members graduated 1910-1920, therefore, it is probable that many members were in their twenties and thirties when they joined the CFUW. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1921," p. 1.

efforts to forge the path as well as contemporary students.³⁶

As the decade progressed, women graduates of the 1920s joined the CFUW, but not in the numbers hoped by the executive. By 1923, graduates of 1920-23 comprised 15 per cent of the membership.³⁷ However, the repeated attempts to contact recent graduates indicates that the executive believed there was greater potential membership. Local clubs were encouraged to recruit women from graduating classes. These recruitment efforts met with limited success. Graduates of the 1920s were not interested in pursuing the same type of club activities as the earlier generation of university women. In her essay, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," Estelle Freedman states that many women of the twenties sought equality in the male sphere rather than confining themselves to separate female organizations. The women who created the CFUW were of the generation which had fought for suffrage, and part of the pre-suffrage tradition was the development of separate female networks. Generally, women graduates of the 1920s preferred to be integrated into the male domains rather than maintain female-only organizations.³⁸

For many decades, women faced veiled hostility and innumerable obstacles as

³⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1921," p. 1.

³⁷This represents 192 graduates of 1920-1923 out of a total membership of 1,280. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923," p. 2. Unfortunately, membership secretaries did not keep such statistics about membership after 1923.

³⁸Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies*, V (Fall, 1979), 514-5; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canadian Feminism in the 1920s: The Case of Nellie McClung," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 12, No. 4, (Summer, 1977), 58-68.

university students. Many of the women who graduated prior to the 1920s considered the CFUW as an effective organization to recapture the strength of the bonds formed as students facing opposition on campus. By the 1920s, however, women were accepted on campus, and they were generally reconciled to university life. In post-graduate years, the students of the 1920s did not consider joining a network of university women as a priority.

The CFUW attracted many women with career goals and offered them support in their professional aspirations. Graduates of the 1920s expected to work, but most intended to leave the workforce upon marriage, only to return if financial need deemed it necessary.³⁹ The curriculum offered to women students of the 1920s prepared them for a variety of occupations, all of which conformed to women's traditional roles. Students were offered greater vocational variety than graduates of earlier decades, although their choices were limited to the sex-segregated and subordinated occupations.⁴⁰ Earlier graduates fought for entry into all other professions, and were often met with hostility, especially in occupations in which they were in direct competition with men. With the apparent diversity of acceptable occupations open to middle-class women, the 1920s graduates did not believe they needed the support of the CFUW to lobby for their professional advancement.

To gain the interest of young graduates, locals were encouraged to hold study groups, conduct open meetings and entertain the graduating class of near-by

³⁹Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's in the 1920," Feminist Studies, I (Spring, 1989), 54, 59, and 67.

⁴⁰Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 60-71.

universities as well as recruit new and younger members through personal canvassing. The membership secretary explained the disinterest of recent graduates by stating that many of these women returned to small communities in which university women's clubs were not yet established.⁴¹ Despite the membership campaigns, new graduates were not interested. In 1926, there were only 472 new CFUW members, yet there were an estimated 800 women of the graduating class who were eligible to join.⁴²

Disinterest was not the symptom of new graduates only; the CFUW lost many members every year. The membership secretary's report of 1926 complained that the loss in members since 1920 was 1,853, yet the total membership for the year was only 1,783 women.⁴³ In only one year, 855 members dropped out, died, or relocated and other members who seemed lost rejoined under new names following marriage.⁴⁴ Mabel Thom believed that some members were distracted by their involvement with other women's organizations. While she was pleased that university women were making themselves invaluable to their community and were contributing to national

⁴¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jessie Muir, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1928," pp. 2-3.

⁴²*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jessie Muir, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1927," pp. 1-2. In 1920, 701 women completed undergraduate and professional programs. In 1925, there were 1,276 female graduates. The growth in the CFUW did not reflect the greater numbers of graduates eligible for membership; the total increase of CFUW members from 1925 to 1927 was only 231. Much of the CFUW's growth was a result of new clubs and alumnae associations affiliating, and did not represent the membership of recent graduates. F.H. Leacy, ed. Historical Statistics of Canada (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), W504-512.

⁴³NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jessie Muir, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1926," p. 1.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jessie Muir, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923."

life, she wanted to instill a greater loyalty within the CFUW.⁴⁵ These factors alone may not explain the losses; many women may not have been interested or were disillusioned by the work of the CFUW. One observer who wrote in the popular magazine Canadian Comment may have expressed the attitude of women leaving the CFUW when she pronounced that national organizations were ineffective and unable to keep the interest of members. Anne Anderson Perry declared, "One has but to attend an annual meeting of any of the great federations of today, to realize what an immense amount of human energy, time, expense and thought is being wasted."⁴⁶ The CFUW competed with other clubs for members, and career women may have found that professional associations were more responsive to their needs.⁴⁷ Despite the losses, the CFUW membership continued to grow slowly throughout the 1920s, and the clubs were encouraged to "secure greater permanency" within the membership.⁴⁸ Loss of membership, it was feared, would mean "a loss in experience, in efficiency and zeal," and this was considered "a serious source of weakness in the

⁴⁵Mabel Thom, "Foreword," The Chronicle, 1931, p. 10.

⁴⁶Anne Anderson Perry, "What's Wrong With Women's Clubs?" Canadian Comment (September, 1933), p. 15.

⁴⁷Gail Brandt, "Organizations In Canada: The English Protestant Tradition," Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, ed. by Paula Bourne (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985), p. 86; Joan Jensen and Lois Scharf, "Introduction," Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement 1920-1940, (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 7. For an overview of Canadian professional associations, see Veronica Strong-Boag, The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929 (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976), pp. 111-5.

⁴⁸NAC, MG 28, I 196, CFUW Records, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1923", p. 1.

Federation."⁴⁹

The loss of CFUW members near the end of the decade is partially the result of the new method of calculating the membership of alumnae associations.⁵⁰ Often, women who were members of both university women's clubs and alumnae societies were counted twice in the membership of the CFUW. This caused discrepancies between the membership secretary's calculations and those of the treasurer.⁵¹ Following 1927, the membership of alumnae associations did not include women who lived in areas in which there was a university women's club. This reduced the alumnae associations' representation in the CFUW. Many of the alumnae associations also had difficulty meeting their financial obligations to the CFUW as well as the projects for their alma mater. Most of the alumnae societies required a one dollar annual membership fee and they did not wish to ask more of their members. The membership fee for university women's clubs was forty cents per member, along with the scholarship donation of one dollar for each member. After 1927, each alumnae association determined its contribution to the scholarship fund with the understanding that this sum would not be lower than the 1925-26 contribution.⁵² Part of the decline in CFUW membership was due to changes in alumnae association membership.

The CFUW executive felt that raising the membership would increase the

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1926, p. 1.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 92.

⁵¹This was the case of the London University Women's Club and the Western Alumnae Association. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, note by Jessie Muir, 7 August 1928.

⁵²*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, letter from Jessie Muir to Laura Newman, 27 April 1927.

national strength of the CFUW, and "so enlarge [their] usefulness."⁵³ A large membership allowed the CFUW to assume broad-based and far-reaching plans.⁵⁴ Attracting and maintaining members continued to be one of the greatest concerns of the CFUW executives throughout the 1920s. In the CFUW's first year, one-thousand members were needed to give the CFUW maximum voting power at the first meeting of the IFUW. The membership drives did not subside however, once the one-thousand member mark was reached.

Intended to represent university women from across the country, the CFUW executives tried to affiliate local university women's clubs and alumnae associations from every province. As the first president, Margaret McWilliams was determined to avoid regional domination within the CFUW, but the early years of the association were marked by a predominantly Ontario-based membership. In March of 1920, approximately five hundred of the eight hundred members were from central Canada,⁵⁵ yet two of the largest alumnae associations, those of McGill and Queen's, had not yet joined. The CFUW was eager to have Maritime clubs enter the federation. Early in the decade, graduates residing in the Maritime provinces were contacted by CFUW promoters. The benefits of affiliation were explained to the Maritime women, and the importance of creating a truly national association was

⁵³*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, circular letter from Susan Vaughan, March 1924.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, letter from G.H. Lennox to May Skinner, 24 November 1919.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, Margaret McWilliams, "Memorandum for the Executive Members of the National Federation of University Women," 13 March 1920, p. 2.

emphasized.⁵⁶ In one letter to Mrs. Digby Wheeler, C.I. Mackenzie described the discussions with the Alumnae Association of the University of New Brunswick stating, "We have no affiliations yet in the Lower provinces, and I have been angling for a long time for a nibble."⁵⁷ Initially, Maritime women may have hesitated before joining an association with such a strong central Canadian bias. Eventually, graduate associations from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia did affiliate.⁵⁸

Graduates residing in the west may also have been wary of the strength of central Canadian women in the CFUW. Under-representation of western women was noticeable throughout the decade. By August of 1920, there were twelve federated societies in the CFUW, six of which were from western Canada. However, of the 1028 members, 694 women were from central Canada, and only 147 of these women were from Quebec.⁵⁹ Often, there were twice as many members from the Maritime and central provinces than the prairies and British Columbia. In 1927, for example, 1,197 women belonged to university women's clubs and alumnae associations east of Manitoba, and only 631 women belonged to such associations of the western

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1922.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 8, Education: Early Women Graduates, letter from C.I. Mackenzie to Mrs. Digby Wheeler, 26 April 1924; *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, Margaret McWilliams, "Confidential Memorandum to the Members of the Sub-Executive of the National Federation of University Women," 13 March 1920, pp. 1-4.

⁵⁸Dalhousie alumnae joined the CFUW in 1927. The 1924 minutes note that the Saint John University Women's Club and the Alumnae Association of New Brunswick joined the CFUW. *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1924.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, G.H. Lennox, "First Report of the Membership Secretary of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1920," p. 1.

provinces.⁶⁰ Western universities were more recently established and were not as numerous as their eastern counterparts. To allow greater representation of Western women, a non-resident membership was introduced which allowed graduates in remote communities to remain informed members of local university women's clubs.⁶¹ Despite the efforts to balance the membership, there was an over-representation of members from central Canada during the first decade. However, many of the most influential leaders of the CFUW were residents of the Western provinces, including Margaret McWilliams, Geneva Misener, Mabel Thom and Mary Bollert, all of whom served on the executive during the 1920s.

The CFUW was a national federation, yet there were few French-speaking university women within its ranks. The McGill Alumnae Association was an early member of the CFUW. The Alumnae Association of Bishop's and the University Women's Club of Quebec affiliated with the CFUW in the 1920s, but their relationships with the CFUW were tenuous.⁶² University women in Montreal established a University Women's Club which co-operated with the CFUW but did

⁶⁰Western representation was slightly higher until 28 members were lost when the Wesley Alumnae Association resigned in 1927. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, "Membership List, 1926-27 and 1927-28."

⁶¹*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, G.H. Lennox, "First Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1920."

⁶²A Quebec club joined in 1924 but this association had only ten members in 1927 and was not affiliated with the CFUW after 1931. *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1924. The Bishop's Alumnae Association was a member organization in 1927. *Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jessie Muir, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1928." p. 1. Unfortunately, this Alumnae Association did not keep in touch with the CFUW for long. *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1930, p.4.

not federate with the national association.⁶³ However, all of these societies represented English-speaking university women who were living in Quebec. This was largely the result of the admission policy of the French-Canadian universities. Women were not admitted to Laval until 1910 and the University of Montreal until 1915, resulting in fewer francophone university alumnae to organize in Quebec.⁶⁴ The few francophone women eligible to join the CFUW may have been isolated from each other, or were not interested in joining an organization dominated by English Canadian graduates. There is no record of any effort made by the CFUW to recruit French university women of Quebec to join the CFUW.⁶⁵

In her first report to the CFUW, corresponding secretary Gertrude Lennox emphasised that the "Federation with its national and unifying outlook" should be accessible to every female university graduate in the country.⁶⁶ For this reason, women with degrees were encouraged to find their peers and organize local

⁶³The Montreal University Women's Club, established in 1928, was interested in the work of the CFUW but did not affiliate with the CFUW. Members of the Montreal club felt their resources were taxed; they had recently purchased a house which was operated as an international club house for university women. The Montreal Club joined the CFUW in 1935. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 95; Catherine Holland Joyce, The First Forty Years: A Short History of the University Women's Club of Montreal, Incorporated, 1927-1962, (Montreal: University Women's Club of Montreal, 1967), pp. 19-20.

⁶⁴Margaret Gillett, We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), p. 11.

⁶⁵In 1943, francophone university women living in Quebec City began to join the anglophone University Women's Club which was re-established in 1939. Francophone women formed a separate association in 1948 with 75 charter members. In 1949, francophone university women in Montreal organized. Jane Berton, and Claire Coates, Calendar/ Calendrier, 1981-2 (Canadian Federation of University Women, 1980), n.p.

⁶⁶NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, 1 196, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, G.H. Lennox, "First Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1920."

associations which could join the national network. Established clubs were reminded of the necessity of attracting new members. This led some clubs to write to high schools requesting the names of teachers eligible for membership. The Regina Club offered teachers in the midst of marking exams an informal tea at which the university women served, explained the purpose of the club, and compiled a list of names of local women who were qualified to join. Clubs were also encouraged to contact women in isolated communities. Their membership was valuable:

women who are engaged in pioneer work of any kind throughout the borders of our Provinces may not miss whatever privileges our Federation has to give and that we, in turn, may conserve the entire strength and power of our graduate body.⁶⁷

It was not until 1927 that individual women could become members. The structure of the federation sought the recruitment of local clubs, not individual women. Any ten women graduates in one locale were recognized as a club if they sought membership.⁶⁸ However, any woman who had access to an already-established local club or alumnae association was not admitted as an individual member.⁶⁹ The emphasis was on group activity, on the national and local levels.

Holding a degree from a recognized university was the basis for membership in the national organization, but the local university women's clubs and alumnae associations were at liberty to determine their own membership criteria. Membership

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, Mrs. G.H. Lennox, "First Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1920."

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes, 1919, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, circular letter from Laila C. Scott to local club presidents, 26 October 1928.

of local clubs included regular members who met the qualifications specified by the CFUW constitution, as well as honorary members or auxiliary members who were active locally but not considered members of the CFUW. Usually, women who had attended university but had not completed a degree were admitted as associate members.

The diverse activities of the university women's clubs and alumnae associations attracted many university graduates to the CFUW. The goals of the CFUW were directed by a few women who dominated the executive in the 1920s, and the CFUW's goals were long-range with few immediate returns. However, the local associations gave university women an opportunity to contribute to their communities directly and their projects often showed results promptly. The CFUW affiliates chose their activities independently. They were obliged only to co-operate with the CFUW in its general work.⁷⁰ There were three main types of work undertaken by the local university women's clubs: social activities, study groups, and reform projects.

Members of alumnae associations and university women's clubs used their meetings to stimulate themselves intellectually. The Edmonton University Women's Club debated the value of intelligence testing and studied modern literature. Classes on literature, drama, and current events were common activities of the local clubs. The corresponding secretary marvelled at the range of topics discussed by the local study groups throughout 1931 and 1932, which included economic issues, social

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 5, Constitution 1913-1966, "Constitution of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1919" p. 2; n.d. "Provisional Institution [sic] for proposed University Women's Club in Canada".

questions and international events. Discussions on Russia, India, Japan, League of Nations, and Mussolini and the "New Italy" were held by many of the clubs. Interest in world events was coupled by a desire to learn about the finer points of culture and education. Lectures on art, literature, drama, music, life at overseas universities, and child psychology were presented at local club meetings.⁷¹

The reform work pursued by the locals varied. Some clubs, such as that of Victoria, lobbied municipal and local governments to consider problems of malnutrition of school children and the need for physical examinations of high school girls. University women's clubs in large cities chose settlement work as a means to serve their community. Such work was undertaken by the Toronto club and the McGill Alumnae Association while the St. Catharines' club offered "social service among the foreigners."⁷² For some members, the local university women's clubs served as a vehicle to promote local benevolent services.

Some clubs established club houses or meeting rooms and opened their doors to university women across Canada and the world. The Winnipeg club opened a club room in 1921 while the Vancouver club was an important participant in the purchase of the Women's Building which housed the activities of a number of local women's

⁷¹*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, B.E. Barnett, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary, 1931-2."

⁷²The McGill Alumnae Society established the "Girl's Club and Lunch Room" in 1891 and as this settlement effort grew to include rooms for rent for working women, a small library, and sitting room, sewing classes, and an unemployment fund, the Alumnae Society continued to offer support. In 1910, the settlement passed from the control of the Alumnae Society and became a general welfare agency. Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*, pp. 372-74; NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 8, Education: Early Women Graduates, Donalda McFee, "Some Biographical Notes on the Earliest Women Graduates of McGill, 1884-1890"; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1922, p. 44.

organizations.⁷³ The Toronto and Montreal University Women's Clubs both opened club houses which served as meeting places for the members and as a hostel for CFUW and IFUW members visiting the city.⁷⁴

Following the presentation of the local clubs' reports at the 1922 conference, the members of the executive made an observation about the diversity of activities undertaken by organized university women across the country:

Interesting points which emerged were that in the smaller clubs, especially those situated in a busy industrial centre such as Kitchener, a purely cultural and social programme was most acceptable, while in the larger organizations, such as the McGill Alumnae, a program which included a certain amount of social service work had served better to sustain the interests of the members.⁷⁵

The locals' activities were directed by the personalities and interests of local leaders and were mediated by each community's needs.

The diversity of activities of the affiliated branches of the CFUW was affected by leadership, members' interests, local needs and the regional economy. In her comparison of the activities of the Alberta and Saskatchewan Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), Nancy Sheehan illustrates that although the two provincial organizations were directed by the Dominion WCTU and they were under the same territorial banner, the work the provincial branches chose to undertake was

⁷³Ibid., vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1921, p. 51. Reeve, 75th Anniversary of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982 (Vancouver: University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1982), p. 22.

⁷⁴The Montreal club did not federate until 1935, but CFUW members were welcomed at the clubhouse throughout the 1920s. University Women's Club of Toronto, 75 Years in Retrospect, chapter 1; Joyce, The First Forty Years, pp. 9-10, and 19-20.

⁷⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1922.

dissimilar. Differences in the WCTU activities were a product of local leadership, regional economies, and settlement characteristics.⁷⁶ These factors also account for the diversity of activities of CFUW affiliates across Canada. The activities of the Vancouver club are representative of the leeway and choice each association had to direct its activities, and demonstrate the influence the local leadership and the local circumstances had in determining the work undertaken by the university women's clubs. Strong leadership from Evlyn Farris and Elsie Gregory MacGill directed Vancouver women to study the status of women in the provincial laws of British Columbia. Well-educated and well respected in her own right, Evlyn Farris was the wife of the Attorney General. She was described as a student of philosophy, teacher of history and political science, and president of the club from 1907-10 and 1925-27.⁷⁷ Prior to World War I, MacGill was the convenor of the Committee for Better Laws for Women and Children in British Columbia. MacGill's expertise in British Columbia law was officially recognized with her appointment as juvenile court judge. During the 1910s, the University Women's Club of Vancouver petitioned the premiers and Attorney Generals of British Columbia for amendments to the laws regarding marriage age, guardianship, and divorce. Delegations to provincial politicians did not have an immediate effect on the legal status of women in the

⁷⁶Nancy Sheehan, "The WCTU on the Prairies 1886-1930: An Alberta-Saskatchewan Comparison," Prairie Forum, VI (Spring, 1981), 17-33.

⁷⁷Tami Adilman, "Evlyn Farris and the University Women's Club," in In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C. edited by Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), pp. 147-66; Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982, p. vii.

province, but the members' efforts did educate public opinion and united university women of the province.⁷⁶ In the 1920s, the University Women's Club of Vancouver continued to lobby for prison reform, shorter working hours, and legislative action to control sexually transmitted diseases.⁷⁹

Local conditions also determined the work of the branch organizations. The university women of Vancouver remained active in the affairs of the University of British Columbia, which opened in 1915. The Vancouver club successfully lobbied for the construction of the university in Vancouver as opposed to Victoria.⁸⁰ University women ensured their continued involvement in university affairs with the nomination of three of the club's members to the university's senate, which resulted in the appointment of Farris.⁸¹ Their legal and reform activities continued in the post-war years and combined with social activities, and a commitment to educational issues, community service, and promotion of peace.⁸² In the early years, the Vancouver club was committed to legislative reform and was guided in this work by two women who were dedicated to these goals. In the inter-war period, the association focused on the newly-established university, legislative change, and social service.

⁷⁶Elsie Gregory MacGill, My Mother the Judge (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1981) pp. 117-123; Isabel Bassett, The Parlour Rebellion: Profiles in the Struggle for Women's Rights (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1975), pp. 118-119

⁷⁹MacGill, My Mother the Judge, pp. 142, 158, and 169.

⁸⁰Stewart, "Women on Campus in British Columbia," pp. 185. Lee Stewart, "It's Up To You": Women at UBC in the Early Years (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990), p. 24.

⁸¹The other two nominees withdrew. Phyllis Reeve, 75th Anniversary of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, pp. 4-5.

⁸²Reeve, 75th Anniversary of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, pp. 27 and 32.

Many of the clubs attempted to act on the recommendations of the national association, and often the recommendations of the CFUW originated with the affiliated associations. For example, many of the local university women's clubs and alumnae associations tried to offer vocational guidance to the local female graduates.⁸³ Vocational work undertaken by the Queen's Alumnae Association involved the creation and distribution of a black-list of unsuitable communities in the west in which teaching conditions were too poor for university-educated women.⁸⁴ The Wesley Alumnae Association also hosted teas at which they gave vocational guidance to recent graduates.

Most of the clubs, especially those in cities in which there was a university, tried to foster the education of talented women by offering local scholarships, often organizing social activities to raise this money.⁸⁵ In 1921, the proceeds of the Winnipeg club's musical and garden party were given to the scholarship fund. The Toronto club held a theatre night and a series of lectures also intended to raise

⁸³NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, B.E. Barnett, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary, 1931-32."

⁸⁴Due to the brevity of each association's report at the triennial conferences, the conditions which led a community to be blacklisted were not described. *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1921, p. 5.

⁸⁵The first undertaking of the Alumnae Association of the University of New Brunswick was to award a prize of \$30.00 in gold to a female undergraduate. First awarded in 1910, this prize later became the Alumnae Scholarship. Linda Squires Hansen, Those Certain Women: A History of the Associated Alumnae, UNB (Alumnae Association of University of New Brunswick) p. 16. The Edmonton Club offered four types of awards: 1) \$50 to a student with an average of 75, 2) \$25 to a grade eleven student with high standing in English, Latin, French and History, 3) an \$800 endowment fund was created in 1914, 4) gold medals for students in third and fourth year. Marjorie Buckley, As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton: The First Sixty Years (Edmonton: Spartan Press, 1973), p. 8. Scholarships were also offered locally by the Regina club. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Minutes, 1921, p. 7.

money for scholarships.

CFUW affiliates were interested in the resources of local libraries and regarded the library as a growing educational institution in Canada. Smaller clubs improved existing library facilities by donating reading material, and clubs with adequate resources established reading rooms and small libraries to serve select clientele. The Edmonton club established a library in the women's residence of the University of Alberta, Pembina Hall, and contributed reading material to the YWCA. The McGill Alumnae Association undertook library work in the Royal Victoria Hospital.⁸⁶ Vancouver club members were active on the Library Board and sought to bring attention to the matters which, as university women, they found intolerable, including the salaries of librarians, the quality of the reference collection, and the management of facilities.⁸⁷ This interest in libraries was brought to the forefront in the CFUW with the establishment of the Library Committee which studied these facilities across the country.

Education was a constant concern of university women's associations, but affiliates' activities in this realm varied. The Edmonton club discussed educational issues such as intelligence testing and curriculum, while British Columbia's university women nominated candidates for school board elections of Vancouver, New Westminster, and Victoria, and sought the appointment of women to administrative

⁸⁶Buckley, As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton pp. 9, and 12; NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Minutes, 1922.

⁸⁷Reeve, 75th Anniversary of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, p. 19.

bodies of universities.⁸⁸

The CFUW tried to ensure an active interest in its work on the local level by circulation of The Chronicle and with the more erratic method of letters, questionnaires, and leaflets. Communication between the national federation and the local branches was often impeded and early notice of the triennial meetings was required so that the members were prepared and could arrange travel.⁸⁹ The corresponding secretary repeatedly complained that some local clubs "do not consider it incumbent on them to keep in close touch with the Federation."⁹⁰ A set of guidelines entitled "What each club may do for [sic] the federation" asked locals to maintain an adequate flow of correspondence between the branches and the executive, sustain the membership, stimulate interest in the CFUW's work through circulation of The Chronicle, and send complaints and complements to the president.⁹¹

Despite the diverse activities of the federation, the members believed that their efforts had national scope and they shared common goals. The members were reminded, "Internationally the Federation of University Women stands for sympathy

⁸⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1921, p. 4, Report of the Edmonton Club; Lee Stewart 'It's Up To You', p. 21.

⁸⁹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary, 1928-31"; letter from M.L. Bollert to all local club presidents, 13 February 1928. A similar reminder of the annual duties of the local clubs was sent in May 1929. Ibid., vol 15, President 1920-1950.

⁹⁰Ibid., vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, B.E. Bennett, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary 1931-2,"

⁹¹Ibid., vol. 15, President 1920-1950, circular letter from Mrs. Vaughan, March 1924, "What each club may do for [sic] the Federation."

and mutual helpfulness. Nationally it should do the same.¹⁹² The work of such well-educated and like minded women promised certain benefits, including better understanding among Canadians.

The general membership criteria of the CFUW accepted all women who had earned a university degree, and CFUW attracted a considerable number of career-minded single women who graduated in the 1910s. Although the CFUW's membership grew during the first decade, increases in membership were hard won and it was difficult to compensate for the high rate of attrition. The university women's clubs and alumnae associations used meetings to foster their intellectual interests and embark on reform activities. Although they chose their activities autonomously, the affiliates co-operated with the national association in its general goals. The executive positions of the CFUW were dominated by a group of dedicated women including many who were influential in the founding of the CFUW and were active on the local level. These few women raised concerns shared by many of the university graduates who joined the association.

¹⁹²*Ibid.*, vol. 7, Education 1924-1955, Rosalind Young, "Report of the Committee of Education, 1924-5" p. 5. A similar message was delivered at the 1931 triennial conference by the president. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, Constitution 1913-1966, "President's Address before the August 1931 Triennial, Ottawa."

CHAPTER THREE

"The Most Important Concrete Effort of the Federation"¹

The Travelling Scholarship

At the organizational meeting of the Canadian Federation of University Women, the idea of an annual travelling scholarship was well received. It became the most important and most successful undertaking of the CFUW. The scholarship gave talented women the opportunity to continue their studies at the doctorate level. By offering the funding required for advanced studies abroad to one woman each year, members felt that all Canadian university-educated women benefited. Academic women were responsible for proving the abilities of all university-educated women, thereby confronting stereotypes concerning women's mental inferiority and challenging the assumptions which made university officials hesitant to advance women in academic positions. Therefore, choosing the best qualified and most talented woman to represent university-educated women remained a priority of the Scholarship Committee.²

¹Susan Vaughan, "Foreword," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 7.

² The following women were awarded the CFUW scholarship.

1921-2 Isobel Jones	1927-8 Phyllis Gregory
1922-3 Dixie Pelluet	1928-9 E. Silver Dowding
1923-4 Margaret Cameron	1929-30 E. Beatrice Abbott
1924-5 Dorothea Sharpe	1930-1 Mary White
1925-6 Doris Saunders	1931-2 Dorothea Blakey
1926-7 Alice Wilson	

For CFUW members, the scholarship was a national service. It provided Canadian universities with more educated, well-trained individuals to staff university faculties, and it gave individual women the means to equip themselves to hold academic positions. The CFUW offered an annual scholarship to a female student who wanted to travel outside Canada to pursue graduate work.³ Members hoped that their scholars would return to find positions in Canadian universities. Their advanced training would be an advantage to the teaching institutions in which they were employed and the students with whom they had contact. Winners would confront the stereotypes about women's academic competence and demonstrate the abilities of university women generally. One journalist from Saskatoon suggested that the scholarship was "the one real way in which university women could help real scholars in their own line, and better themselves and the country's educational facilities as well."⁴

Higher education was generally acceptable for middle-class women of the 1920s, but it was often presented as a means to equip women for their careers as wives.⁵ This attitude was not promoted by the CFUW which was dedicated to serving the interests of advanced students and women who had already achieved and were

³Graduate programs in Canada were weak. Doctoral studies were available at the University of Toronto and McGill, and nominally at Queen's. Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 311-5. Only two women and 27 men received a Ph.D. from the University of Toronto from 1918 to 1923. Geneva Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee" The Chronicle, 1923, p. 13.

⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "Mrs. Douglas Thom Urges Need of Extending Scholarship Time; Brings Greetings From Regina," 1929.

⁵Nicole Neatby, "Women at Queen's in the 1920s," Historical Studies in Education, I (Spring, 1989), 54.

dedicated to their academic careers. The award was not intended to inspire undergraduate women to continued studies; its aim was to give women well-advanced in academia a means to continue and defy lingering stereotypes of women's unacademic nature.

The 1920s began with optimistic predictions for women's career opportunities.⁶ The CFUW, aware of the limitations placed on the careers of university-educated women, focused its optimism on the power of the individual to confront professional boundaries. The CFUW regarded the individual woman as the means to challenge presumptions regarding all women's abilities. Throughout the 1920s, feminists believed that the success of individual women heralded general access to male hierarchies for all capable women.⁷

The CFUW's logic of promoting the careers of individual university women to improve all women's options was faulty in that it did not address systemic discrimination which limited women's advancement. According to Nancy Cott, token access undermined feminists' arguments that discrimination persisted.⁸ Opponents of feminism, including some university officials, used the success of individual women to point out that prejudice did not actually exist and that a woman, if she had the ability, could succeed. They further argued that most women possessed neither the

⁶Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 42.

⁷Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 60.

⁸Nancy Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 7.

talent nor the character required to advance in the professions. Thus, as long as this opinion prevailed, discrimination would continue to limit the entry of women into these realms. The CFUW did not assess the barriers and hostility a woman faced in being accepted into a profession nor did it evaluate or analyze the cause of difficulties she continued to encounter once admitted.⁹

CFUW members wanted to promote women in the professions, but they were not equipped with an analytical understanding of male institutions such as the university. They believed in a meritocracy in which women who proved themselves were accepted and rewarded. They did not possess the theory required to identify institutionalized discrimination and develop an effective strategy to confront it. The CFUW promoted careers of individual women in academia, but was unable to understand and redress the causes for the systemic discrimination against women. Their goals were idealistic, but unsuccessful in addressing the structural problems of the male institutions.¹⁰ The scholarship assisted the most talented of university-educated women but it did little to change women's position in academia.

Providing the scholarship satisfied one of the objectives outlined in the constitution which specified that the CFUW should promote women's higher

⁹Margaret Gillett, "Carrie Derick (1862-1941) and the Chair of Botany at McGill," in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. by Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990).

¹⁰Monique Bégin assesses the Royal Commission on the Status of Women of the 1970s in a similar way. Monique Bégin, "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada: Twenty Years Later," in Challenging Times, ed. by Constance Backhouse and David Flaherty (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), pp. 22 and 31.

education and original research.¹¹ Original research and scholarship were priorities emphasized by members of the Canadian university community, and the CFUW wanted to ensure that women contributed to Canadian intellectual life by offering original research of the highest quality.¹² With their ability to undertake independent and analytical research proven in intellectual circles, women would receive respect and recognition from male peers. Members of the CFUW were less concerned with the subject of the scholar's research than with its quality. As Geneva Misener explained, few women began graduate studies, and fewer made "any contributions to knowledge by research."¹³ The CFUW encouraged women to prove their abilities in all fields of academia, thus the scholarship was awarded for research in the humanities and sciences.¹⁴ Three recipients were scientists studying geology, botany, and genetics. Others specialized in comparative literature, history, political economy, and philosophy. Original research in all fields was regarded as the key to enhancing women's academic reputation, therefore, the CFUW was eager to support qualified applicants willing to undertake "a worthwhile piece of research."¹⁵

¹¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 5, Constitution 1913-1966, "Constitution of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1919," p. 1.

¹²Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, p. 312.

¹³Geneva Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 13.

¹⁴Members suggested offering two scholarships, one for a woman studying in the sciences, the other for a scholar of the humanities. The plan was not introduced because of financial restraints. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, "Executive of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 1925-8," p. 2.

¹⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, application letter of Phyllis Gregory, 1927, n.d.

To raise \$1000 for the annual scholarship, part of each affiliated organization's membership fee was contributed to the scholarship fund. For local university women's clubs the contribution was one dollar per member. Local clubs raised this money by asking for direct payment from members, or by organizing fund raising events such as teas and theatre nights. Alumnae societies were committed to other expensive scholarship and building projects for their universities, so a separate contribution arrangement was developed whereby the executive of each alumnae association decided the sum of the scholarship contribution.¹⁶ National lecture tours by poets Bliss Carman and Vachel Lindsay were organized to supplement the membership's contributions.¹⁷ Other lecture tours were suggested, but no more were organized "in view of the fact that it was opposed by the majority of the clubs."¹⁸ CFUW affiliates were able to raise the appropriate contribution without assuming the added responsibility of organizing lecture tours.

To avoid criticism in the choice of a scholarship winner, the convenor of the Scholarship Committee selected for her committee women from different regions who were graduates of various universities. No further consideration to age, interests, and university studies was given. With regional diversity ensured, most CFUW members could feel confident in the integrity of the committee in its choice of a scholarship

¹⁶Ibid., vol. 21, Treasurer 1919-1937, 1926 Financial Statement.

¹⁷The successful Bliss Carman tour of 1921 was presented in co-operation with the Canadian Clubs and Local Councils of Women Ibid., vol. 15, President 1920-1950, undated press clippings. American poet Vachel Lindsay toured western cities in 1922. This tour was less successful because Lindsay was not well known in western Canada, and he did not command large crowds. Ibid., vol. 14, Vachel Lindsay Recitals 1922, M.G. Munro to Mrs. G.H. Lennox, 12 November 1922.

¹⁸Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Executive Meeting Minutes 1929, p. 100.

recipient.¹⁹ The committee announced the annual winner after lengthy cross-country correspondence which involved the considerable operational cost of approximately \$50.00 per year.²⁰

The committee wanted to choose the most promising student for the scholarship, and having a great number of applicants remained a priority. An average of ten to fifteen applications were received annually, and in 1927 there were twenty-four applicants.²¹ Most convenors of the committee felt that publicity was required. They reasoned that if more university women knew about the award, a greater number would apply and the committee would have the opportunity to evaluate a wide variety of candidates. Publicizing the scholarship began in 1921 when the committee asked universities to display The Chronicle in a prominent place, opened to the scholarship advertisement. The committee also discussed advertising in college journals, but to save money it asked these journals to write about the scholarship as a news item.²² Despite efforts to publicize the scholarship, not all qualified university women knew of the award. Queen's Alumnae Association members were irritated

¹⁹Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Scholarship Committee Report, 1924"; Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919, p. 6. In 1921, some McGill graduates were suspicious of the committee's choice of a University of Toronto graduate. Because there was a McGill representative on the committee, May Skinner characterized the situation as one of "a tempest in a teapot" caused by jealousy. Ibid., vol. 7, Council and Executive Meetings 1921-1969, letter from May Skinner to Margaret McWilliams, circa 1921.

²⁰Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1928."

²¹Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1928," and "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1928-9."

²²Ibid., vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1926.

that Queen's women were unaware of the 1921 scholarship until after it was awarded.²³ To ensure better publicity, the committee sent regulations of the scholarship to deans of women and registrars requesting that the regulations be printed in university calendars.²⁴ Local university women's clubs were reminded of their responsibility to inform graduates of the scholarship.²⁵ The committee's desire to secure widespread advertising for the scholarship was not only intended to ensure candidates had a fair competition, but to render the best pool of Canadian scholars from which the committee could choose a representative.

There was a demand for a travelling scholarship for women. University women had limited access to academic funding. Some post-graduate scholarships were open to both women and men, including Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and National Research Council fellowships. Other prestigious awards, specifically the Rhodes Scholarship, were not open to women.²⁶ Despite these fellowships, graduate funding for Canadian students, both male and female, was inadequate.²⁷ The persistent assumption that women were not efficient and analytical researchers made it more difficult for women to secure scarce research funding.

²³Ibid., vol. 8, Alumnae News: Queen's Quarterly Alumnae Association, December 10, 1921, p. 5.

²⁴Ibid., vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1922, p. 4.

²⁵Ibid., vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1929, p. 4.

²⁶The CFUW modeled its scholarship after the Rhodes Scholarship, and hoped it was as well regarded. Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919; Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings: Fellowships 1921-1968, Manitoba Free Press, 15 March 1924; Regina Leader, 1 March 1924; McGill News, circa 1923.

²⁷Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, pp. 315 and 433-4.

Members were aware that funding for female graduates was minimal, and their scholarship was an attempt to remedy this situation. In 1924, members of the University Women's Club of Toronto suggested that the financial circumstances of candidates become a criteria for selecting winners. The CFUW president, M.L. Bollert, offered an alternative solution. Bollert suggested that winners be reminded that the award was an honour and if the candidate did not need funding she could keep the distinction and the money would be awarded to another applicant.²⁸ There was no need for Bollert to offer this solution. Such a situation did not arise within the decade; with so few scholarships open to women, the possibility of a woman refusing the scholarship on the basis of sufficient resources was unlikely.

Winners of the scholarship were chosen according to a number of criteria designed to reward women who had already achieved considerable success and were dedicated to their academic careers. The committee chose candidates with one or two years of doctoral studies completed and a definite plan of research. The CFUW preferred to award the scholarship to advanced scholars who could complete their studies abroad within one year. Each candidate was also evaluated on what the committee described as her "character and ability and the promise of success in the subject in which she is devoting herself."²⁹ The tools used to evaluate a candidate included a letter from the applicant outlining her academic background and proposed

²⁸N.A.C., CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Mabel Thom, "Annual Scholarship Committee Report, 1924-5."

²⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1920, p. 15.

plan of study.³⁰ The candidate's letter was accompanied by one from the president of her university and by testimonials to her health, character, ability, and scholarship. Published and unpublished papers were also requested by the committee. These articles and essays were sent to experts in the field who offered opinions on the quality of the candidate's past scholarship and proposed research. Experts were often friends or university connections of CFUW members. Evaluations by outside experts were weighted very heavily.³¹

Few application restrictions were introduced. In 1928, there was a failed motion of putting an age limit on the scholarship winner.³² CFUW members recognized that many dedicated women had interrupted careers, and their maturity and commitment could be an advantage. One recipient, Alice Wilson, was forty-four when she was awarded the scholarship.³³ At the 1929 executive meeting, one CFUW member argued in favour of restricting scholarship to members of the association. This recommendation was debated, but the members decided that emphasis should

³⁰In 1930 the committee adopted an application form. *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1930; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1920, p. 15.

³¹*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1928-9." In 1931, the guidelines for evaluating the applications were made more stringent. The committee not only considered academic qualifications of the candidate, but the competitiveness and standards of the university were also evaluated. Letters of recommendation were confidential and were sent directly to the committee. The committee members believed that when authors knew candidates saw the letters, they were too flattering and vague. Geneva Misener, "Report of the Scholarship Committee," *The Chronicle*, 1931, p. 27.

³²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 94.

³³Jane Berton and Claire Coates, *Calendar/ Calendrier, 1981-2* (Canadian Federation of University Women, 1981), n.p.

be placed on the candidate's abilities and qualifications, and membership in the CFUW was of minimal significance.³⁴ Members worried that adding unnecessary restrictions could prevent the CFUW from awarding the scholarship to the most talented and deserving candidate.

The quality of the applicants was a source of great pride for CFUW members. Often, applicants were well advanced in their studies and usually held a Masters degree or had begun doctoral studies, and most had valuable work experience. Of the ten applicants of 1925, nine held a Masters degree, and the tenth had a law degree. All were employed, many as teachers or scientific researchers. The winner for that year was Doris Saunders who had already spent one year in residence at Oxford.³⁵ Throughout the decade, the fellowship recipients often surpassed the criteria established by the CFUW. Phyllis Gregory was a graduate of the University of British Columbia who had received the Susan B. Anthony Research Scholarship in Politics at Bryn Mawr. She was also a fellow in the Department of Economics and Politics at Bryn Mawr for the academic year of 1926-7.³⁶ Margaret Cameron taught at the Halifax Ladies' College, lectured at Smith College, and studied in Paris before

³⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1929, p. 100. In 1922, two prominent members of the CFUW applied for the scholarship. One was Elsinore Macpherson, convenor of the Vocations Committee in 1921 who resigned when she relocated. The second was Kathleen Teskey who was a member of the Edmonton University Women's Club and was present at the 1919 organization meeting of the CFUW *Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Second Annual Report of the Federation of University Women in Canada, 1922"; *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1921, p. 1.

³⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Mabel Thom, "Scholarship Report, 1924."

³⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, circular letter, no author, "Canadian Federation of University Women, October 1927," p. 2.

receiving the award.³⁷

When discussing the first scholarship winner, Isobel Jones, some journalists de-emphasised her scholastic achievements and commended her for her feminine virtues. Maclean's Magazine explained that the winner, despite her academic excellence, was "a very human type of girl" who was not only intellectually gifted but was "the most natural, widely interested girl that ever did chores about the house, played out of doors, or took part in community affairs."³⁸ These were not the reasons she was chosen by the CFUW. The Scholarship Committee emphasized the winner's academic excellence, originality of mind, the quality of her research, and her potential. The convenor wrote to McWilliams applauding the accomplishments and abilities of the young scholar, exclaiming "[Miss Jones] appears to be a young woman of ability, scholarship, energy, versatility and resourcefulness, one who is likely to justify the establishment of our scholarship."³⁹ Most press reports concentrated on the recipient's academic credentials and potential, but if the assessment of Isobel Jones by Maclean's is representative of public opinion, the difference in attitude towards the serious female scholar is glaring. The members of the CFUW were aware, however, that "Ancient prejudices, it is admitted, are slow to pass."⁴⁰

³⁷Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, letter from Mrs. Gillies to Margaret McWilliams, 21 March 1923.

³⁸Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings: Fellowships 1921-1968, Maclean's Magazine, 1921 (no date).

³⁹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, letter from Mrs. Gillies to Margaret McWilliams, 16 March 1921.

⁴⁰Geneva Misener, "Report of the Education Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 17.

Canadian university administrators' mandate in the 1920s was to ensure that universities of France and Britain recognized Canadian undergraduate training and accommodated Canadian students undertaking graduate studies.⁴¹ Despite their efforts, the quality of Canadian graduate degrees was questioned by university officials abroad. Upon her arrival in Britain, Dixie Pelluet realized that the professors of the University of London were dubious about Canadian training and they were uncertain about Pelluet's scholastic ability. Her reaction was to devote herself to her studies and earn respect not only for her own talents but for Canadian universities.⁴² Dorothy Blakey was not immediately admitted to the doctoral program of the University of London. The Department of English requested that she take a Bachelor of Arts honours exam. After much delay, the department decided that she was not required to write such an exam. The cause of this confusion was that Blakey did not hold a degree from a British institution; her Master of Arts degree from the University of British Columbia was considered substandard.⁴³ The Scholarship Committee was aware that its choice represented not only Canadian women, but the status of Canadian university education as well.

The committee awarded the scholarship to students who had a definite plan of study, but many of the scholars found that their time abroad was filled with

⁴¹Marni Frazer de Pencier, "Ideas of the English Speaking Universities in Canada to 1920" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1977), pp. 631-33.

⁴²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Dixie Pelluet to Mrs. Gillies, 10 April 1923.

⁴³*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Dorothy Blakey to Dr. A.V. Douglas, 11 January 1932.

complications and was less productive than expected. Accessibility of research material and university regulations created obstacles for scholarship recipients. Dorothea Sharpe went to Oxford to study medieval philosophy but was surprised to find that much of the research material she required was scattered across Europe.⁴⁴ Doris Saunders was also frustrated when she attempted to register for the appropriate program at Oxford. Upon her arrival, Saunders was informed that the structure of the B.Litt. program had been reorganized so that only after a year of lectures could students begin a thesis. Saunders appealed for an exemption from the year of seminars because she had already spent one year in residence at St. Hugh's College of Oxford. University officials allowed her to attempt the examinations after the second term rather than after the third, and she was permitted to begin her thesis early. Her proposed thesis topic on Dr. Johnson's literature was considered too philosophical, forcing Saunders to find a new theme for her research. These changes resulted in an extra four months in Britain for Saunders.⁴⁵ She passed the ten required exams, but her thesis was not immediately accepted since it was not considered an exhaustive study. She apologized to the CFUW, adding that it would take twenty-five years to exhaust the topic, but she eventually hoped to finish the

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Dorothea Sharpe to Mrs. Grant, 22 August 1929.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Doris Saunders to Susan Vaughan and Mabel Thom, 29 November 1924. The treatise approved by her professors was entitled, "Dr. Johnson's Knowledge of the Early English Writers, before 1600 Excluding Shakespeare." Although not specified, Saunders' work was probably on Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), English writer and lexicographer. *Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter Doris Saunders to Mabel Thom, 13 June 1928.

degree.⁴⁶ In 1936, Saunders received the B.Litt. degree from Oxford.

Students attending universities in France also met with difficulties. Isobel Jones was not accepted at the Sorbonne until after her arrival in France. Courses began later than she expected, and she was encouraged to change her thesis topic from early New France government to the Company of New France. She introduced her first report to the CFUW with an apology:

I feel that I should tell you and the Committee quite frankly at the beginning that as far as results go I have nothing to show them. I'm sure that they cannot be more disappointed than I am myself.⁴⁷

Letters from Jones discuss the obstacles she faced which included a minor accident, illness, seven moves, efforts to improve her French, and generally "the difficulties of setting to work over here."⁴⁸ Reports such as these were difficult for the Scholarship Committee to read, given the amount of work required to raise the scholarship money, members' hopes for the impact of the scholarship, and the care devoted to the selection of winners.

The CFUW members regarded the fellowship as their main enterprise, but the amount of money offered was inadequate. Members questioned whether \$1,000 was enough to sustain a student overseas for one year; most other scholarships were

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Doris Saunders to Mabel Thom, 13 June 1928.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Isobel Jones to Mrs. Gillies, 8 December 1921.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Isobel Jones to Margaret McWilliams, 2 January 1922, and letter from Isobel Jones to Mrs. Gillies, 11 February 1922.

valued at \$1,200 to \$1,500.⁴⁹ Dorothea Sharpe, the 1924 recipient, was unable to complete the requirements for the doctoral degree while she held the CFUW scholarship. Her second year was provided for by her college and a sympathetic friend in Toronto.⁵⁰ Sharpe's transportation costs, university fees, college dues, room and board exceeded \$600 in her first year. This did not include incidentals such as books and spending money. She estimated at least \$1250 per year was required to cover additional expenses and the costs incurred during Oxford's twenty-eight weeks of vacation.⁵¹ One member of the executive, Mabel Thom, pointed out that the \$1000 was sufficient for students travelling to the United States, but was inadequate for attending British or continental universities.⁵² However, members decided that to ensure the money was raised and the scholarship offered annually, they must keep the sum low.⁵³ Finally in 1928, the association was financially secure enough to raise the scholarship to \$1,250.⁵⁴

Although well advanced in the studies, recipients had difficulty completing

⁴⁹Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, Toronto Star, untitled, newspaper clipping, circa August 1920.

⁵⁰Ibid., vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Dorothea Sharpe to Mrs. Grant, 22 August 1929.

⁵¹Ibid., vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Dorothea Sharpe to Mrs Buchanan, 6 December 1924.

⁵²Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Mabel Thom, "Scholarship Committee Annual Report, 1924."

⁵³Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, Toronto Star, untitled newspaper clipping, circa August 1920.

⁵⁴Ibid., vol. 15, President 1920-1950, letter from Mary L. Bollert to Miss Laila Scott, 19 September 1928.

their work abroad in one year. Isobel Jones sent an update of her year's work and asked to be considered for the next year's scholarship. Her letter is a plea to change the conditions of the CFUW scholarship. She claimed that only students advanced in research could finish their studies within one year, and during her time in Paris she encountered no such student.⁵⁵ Recognizing that one year was too short to complete studies abroad, Mabel Thom wanted to offer the scholarship for a two-year period.⁵⁶ This suggestion was not accepted, and preference continued to lean towards students with one or two years of study completed who showed promise of being able to finish their work abroad within one year.⁵⁷ For the CFUW, "It was considered better to assist a larger number than to give greater aid to a few."⁵⁸

The CFUW felt its work was wasted and a poor reflection on all women if its scholarship recipients did not complete their degrees. To help former winners complete their studies, the CFUW established an emergency loan fund. Loans, granted on the advice of the student's professor, were to be repaid with interest in

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Isobel Jones to Mrs. Gillies, 11 February 1922.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943, "Mrs Douglas Thom Urges Need of Extending Scholarship Time; Brings Greetings From Regina," from an unnamed Saskatoon newspaper, circa 1929.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes 1920, p. 14.

⁵⁸No author, "The Federation Scholarship," *The Chronicle*, 1923, p. 33. A junior scholarship was approved in 1931. Candidates for the \$600 award were evaluated by the same criteria applicants for the senior scholarship. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 27, Triennial Minutes, "Report of the Triennial Meeting, 1931" p. 2.

three years.⁵⁹

One student avoided some of the financial problems and time constraints encountered by earlier scholarship recipients. The 1929 recipient, E. Beatrice Abbott, delayed her studies abroad for one year. She believed extra time at the University of Toronto would make her year in Paris more fruitful. The committee permitted the delay, recognizing that the purpose of the scholarship was to help winners get advanced degrees, and for Abbott this was probable if she was prepared by her studies in Toronto.⁶⁰ After her year at the Sorbonne, Abbott returned to the University of Toronto, and with a loan from the CFUW she completed doctoral studies.

Many of the winners of the CFUW scholarship were later awarded fellowships from other organizations and institutions. Dorothea Sharpe worked as a sub-editor of the Encyclopedia Britannica until she was offered the Lady Carlisle Research Fellowship at Somerville College, Oxford which was tenable for five years and renewable for an additional five. The 1927 recipient, E. Silver Dowding, held a Hudson's Bay Company research fellowship at the University of Manitoba to study fungi.⁶¹ The fact that their scholars could find money elsewhere was often cited in

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, "President's Report, 1928-9"; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1931, p. 119. From 1928 until 1931, four women received the CFUW scholarship, three of whom accepted the loan to continue their studies. Abbott, White and Blakey made use of the CFUW loan but E. Silver Dowding, the 1928 scholarship winner, did not.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Geneva Misener to unnamed members of the Scholarship Committee, 21 May 1929.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, letter from Laila Scott to local club presidents, 7 December 1929.

response to suggestions that the amount of the scholarship and its tenure were inadequate.⁶² Of greater significance to the CFUW was the implicit validation of its judgement when former scholarship holders received fellowships and awards from other organizations.

Only one recipient of the CFUW scholarship was unable to meet the requirements of the doctoral degree, but her achievements in national affairs warranted the CFUW's praise. When she applied for the CFUW scholarship, Phyllis Gregory planned to complete two-thirds of the residence requirements and course work for the doctorate degree before she left for England. She proposed to use the scholarship money to attend lectures at the London School of Economics and the Geneva School of International Studies, but the main reason for the trip was to use the archival sources of the British Museum Records Office and other depositories across the continent. To satisfy the requirements for a doctorate in political economy, she planned to write a thesis on communal settlements in Canada and their European background.⁶³ The year after she held the CFUW scholarship, she continued to research for her dissertation until she married a journalist of Punch magazine. Following her husband's death, she returned to Canada with her son in 1932. She was appointed as a member of the Dominion Tariff Board and was promoted to Chief Research Economist. With the outbreak of World War Two, she was designated Economic Advisor of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, and later Technical

⁶²Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1926, p. 75.

⁶³Ibid., vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter of application of Phyllis Gregory, no date.

Advisor to the Oils Administrator. From 1941 to 1945 she served as the Oils and Fat Administrator with jurisdiction over animal, vegetable, and fish oils, the soap, paint, and varnish industries, printing inks, starches, glues, dextrine and waxes.⁶⁴ Her career was in the national spotlight, and commanded respect for university-educated women.

Members of the CFUW were worried that their efforts to raise the scholarship were nullified if recipients discontinued studies for marriage. The CFUW wanted to ensure that recipients completed the doctorate degree even if they chose to marry during, or after, the tenure of the award.⁶⁵ The history of the scholars made the committee uneasy about granting the award to a woman with marriage plans. The first recipient, Isobel Jones, stayed in Europe and changed fields of study from Canadian history to Spanish history to complement the work of her husband, Spanish scholar Raymond Foulché-Delbose. The Scholarship Committee was disappointed when she did not return to Canada and continue research in her field. The convenor commented, "we must take her decision as one of the vicissitudes of fortune--particularly in working for women."⁶⁶ The committee members believed that women could continue their research after marriage, and tried to ensure that recipients did this. With this assertion, the CFUW challenged popular opinion and mass media,

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1936"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1940"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1941."

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1929, p. 104.

⁶⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Mabel Thom, "Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1924."

both of which encouraged middle-class women to forfeit careers in favour of marriage.⁶⁷

The CFUW's emphasis on the combination of career and marriage was not limited to those chosen for the scholarship. Members assumed a balance was possible for all women. In their discussions on the compatibility of marriage and career, CFUW members did not mention children largely because they were determined to downplay women's biological roles and special needs.⁶⁸ Members presumed that middle-class husbands condoned their wives' dedication to their careers. There was an assumption that well-educated women entered marriage as partners and chose husbands with similar ideals concerning women's roles within and without the home. Working outside of the home was a common feature of working-class women's lives, and recently accepted as the norm for single middle-class women. Many middle-class men, however, were opposed to their wives' economic and professional independence.⁶⁹ Veronica Strong-Boag expresses the unvoiced feelings of these men, "the traditional sexual hierarchy was much more difficult to maintain when the long-time subordinate was potentially financially independent."⁷⁰

More women were attending university, beginning careers, and planning on marriage in the 1920s. The issue of combining marriage and professions and seeking

⁶⁷Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), pp. 240 and 244.

⁶⁸Karen Offen, "Defining Feminism: A Comparative Historical Approach," Signs, XIV (Autumn, 1988), 136.

⁶⁹Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, 81, 95, and 102.

⁷⁰Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 95.

a balance for middle-class women was a priority of feminists of the decade.⁷¹ Geneva Misener encouraged women to continue their careers after marriage. At the meeting of 1919, she pleaded for greater professional opportunities for women and bemoaned the fact that many women who chose to marry also decided not to continue their careers. Misener advocated that "Marriage and a profession should go hand in hand for a woman as for a man."⁷² At a meeting of the Regina University Women's Club, members of the CFUW endorsed the notion that women should have the option to work following marriage, and they should not be restricted by marriage bars. The Regina newspaper reported that CFUW members "expressed their views that women are individuals and have the rights [sic] to make their own decisions in regard to their occupation."⁷³ For the members of the CFUW, the decision to work rested with the individual.

In order for the scholarship to be of service to the country and realize the goals of the CFUW, it was necessary that recipients find posts in Canadian universities. University administrators were hesitant to hire married women.⁷⁴ The remedy for this situation, according to Geneva Misener, was for the CFUW to fight "the prejudices against women in higher teaching posts" and publicly support the

⁷¹Carl N. Degler, At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 411-413.

⁷²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919, p. 3.

⁷³Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943, "Rights of Married Women To Work are Discussed by University Club Speakers", unnamed Regina newspaper, circa April 1932.

⁷⁴Judith Fingard, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty Women Before 1950," Dalhousie Review, LXIV (Winter, 1984-5), 687-703.

employment of married women by universities.⁷⁵

According to the CFUW, all women benefited with improved salaries and mobility when university women chose to continue their careers following marriage. Elsinore Macpherson, convenor of the Vocations Committee, declared that women who gave up their careers for marriage, or chose to work part time, hindered the professional development of all women. They reinforced employers' belief that a female employee was a temporary employee. This forced women's salaries down and limited promotions.⁷⁶ If married women continued working, employers would no longer question the permanency of women in the labour force. Macpherson realized, however, that many university women were not interested in a salaried position once they married, but she claimed that if it became "a generally accepted condition that the wife should contribute to the support of the family, the greatest argument for the present inequalities will have been destroyed."⁷⁷ The inequalities to which Macpherson referred were the uneven occupational opportunities for professional

⁷⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Geneva Misener, "Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1928-9." Although the members supported the principle, the CFUW did not actively lobby for the promotion of married women in universities. In 1932, the University of Toronto's Board of Governors announced a decision to remove female university employees who were not economically dependent on their work, specifically married women. Mabel Thom, CFUW president, wrote to the President of the University of Toronto to protest this action. The CFUW considered the action to be illogical and reactionary as well as a threat to the "generally accepted principle of equality of opportunity for men and women." Thom argued that the marriage bar had one of two effects. It kept talented and qualified women out of the ranks of university teaching staffs at a loss to the university and the students, or it "enforced celibacy as a condition of advancement in higher academic circles." *Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, letter from Mabel Thom to Sir Robert Falconer, 21 January 1932.

⁷⁶Elsinore Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women" (unpublished M.A. Thesis. University of Toronto, 1920) pp. 8 and 14.

⁷⁷Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," p. 43.

women.

Not all of the scholarship recipients shared the opinion of the vocal CFUW members regarding the compatibility of marriage and work. The Scholarship Committee had difficulty selecting a candidate for 1928-9, and there was "no candidate of outstanding scholarship or merit, the competition was very close and unanimity in the choice impossible." Finally, the scholarship was awarded to Ellen Hammion, Dean of Women at Mount Alison University and a former fellow of McGill. When offered the award, Hammion announced that she was to be married. The committee decided the award could not be changed or taken back, but Hammion declined the scholarship. She believed that she was unable to meet the conditions of the award as a married woman.⁷⁸ When the award was offered to E. Beatrice Abbott in 1929, the convenor reassured committee members that the same situation would not recur. Geneva Misener explained to committee members:

Miss E.B. Abbott has accepted the scholarship and gives me the assurance that marriage is not likely to be an obstacle in her case. She seems to be an earnest student and will, I am certain, realize our hopes.⁷⁹

One reason for establishing a scholarship was to offer younger women role models. The minutes of the 1920 triennial conference record the opinion of some of the members who insisted that there were not enough women working as professors in Canadian universities. Therefore, the role of the CFUW was to offer support to

⁷⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1928-9."

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Geneva Misener to unnamed members of the Scholarship Committee, 21 May 1929.

the talented woman and provide her with financial assistance to advance her education. This ensured that more women were qualified for university positions. These academic women would become an ideal to which female undergraduate students aspired.⁶⁰ Publicly, members also presented their work as a way to provide Canadian universities with European-trained scholars whose exposure to another culture was a benefit to students' education. In this vein, Susan Vaughan wrote that "the treasures which a receptive scholar can bring home to the younger students of our own universities are almost incalculable."⁶¹ By assisting talented women and providing successful role models and mentors for aspiring women, the CFUW offered its services to the public.

CFUW members wanted their scholars to fill posts in Canadian universities, but such positions were difficult for women to find. Members complained that, "the history of our scholars s shews [sic] that there are not positions available in Canada upon their return."⁶² Aware of the reluctance of university administrators to employ women in advanced positions, the CFUW undertook a survey to find out why this situation persisted. Geneva Misener estimated that women comprised almost one-half of undergraduate student bodies, but only five or six percent of university teachers were women, including temporary demonstrators. Without the faculties of nursing and household science, women's representation on teaching staffs of universities dropped

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1920, p. 15.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975, Susan Vaughan, "Notes on our Scholars," 1925 circular letter.

⁶²*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1926, p. 2.

to one percent.⁸³ Results of this 1923 survey indicate that most university officials expected women to leave posts for marriage; responses to the study repeated the sentiment that "the half-hearted attitudes of women toward pure learning and professional life [arose] from the expectation of marriage." University women were also haunted by stereotypes that their research abilities were inferior to those of men. University officials were convinced that women required constant supervision and were not successful in undertaking original research.⁸⁴ If Canadian universities were similar to their American counterparts, the reluctance to hire women in senior teaching positions is explained by historian Patricia Graham. Graham concludes that universities trying to improve their status always showed preference for men, with the implication that even the capabilities of a well-trained and qualified woman never equalled the abilities of a man.⁸⁵ However, these were only the excuses of university administrators; the members of the CFUW maintained that women were as capable and committed as men to undertake independent research and hold positions in universities. The Chronicle, 1931 explains:

The percentage of women on the faculties of universities is still far from commensurate with the supply of women scholars and the number of women undergraduates. The most convincing argument for the appointment of women is productive scholarship, and this we can further best through our gifts and loans.⁸⁶

⁸³Geneva Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 13.

⁸⁴Geneva Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 17.

⁸⁵Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," Signs, III (Summer 1978), p. 768.

⁸⁶Geneva Misener, "Report of the Scholarship Committee," The Chronicle, 1931, p. 31.

Aware that women had difficulty finding university positions, CFUW members believed they had to help place the scholarship winners as well as other qualified university women. CFUW members could only affect university hiring practices indirectly by recommending scholarship winners for openings at local universities and informing recipients of available positions. Speaking at the executive meeting of 1924, Mabel Thom reminded members that it was already time for the CFUW to find a university position for Dorothea Sharpe who had just received the scholarship and had not yet begun her studies abroad:

It may take some effort to accomplish this desirable end but unless it is achieved it seems to me that the object of the federation in awarding the scholarship will not be brought to the desirable result.⁸⁷

The extent to which the CFUW scholarship could change the composition of teaching staffs of Canadian universities was limited. The CFUW scholarships were only available for one woman each year, so no great change could be effected in the composition of university faculties.⁸⁸ CFUW members hoped their scholars would convince university officials to consider employing other women.

Members of the Scholarship Committee were not discouraged by the slow course the changes took. They were unable to create an immediate change in the status of university women, but to relieve anxiety, they reminded themselves that, "Every success of these young Canadian women is the success of all Canadian women.

⁸⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Mabel Thom, "Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1924."

⁸⁸Yves Gingras assesses the impact of National Research Council scholarships in a similar way. Yves Gingras, "Financial Support for Post-graduate Students and the Development of Scientific Research in Canada," in *Youth University and Canadian Society*, ed. by Paul Axelrod and John Reid (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), p. 302.

They are ambassadors in the wider field of knowledge," and "in the long run the benefits are not limited to one class."⁸⁹ The class, in this case, was university-educated women who could improve the situation of all women by ensuring their own success.

Upon their return to Canada, two fellowship winners were able to find junior positions in Canadian universities. Both advanced to prominent positions within their institutions. Doris Saunders returned to Canada to work as a lecturer at the University of Manitoba. She was promoted to assistant professor and eventually associate professor in English. Saunders was also the Assistant Dean of Women and later the Dean of Junior Women at the University of Manitoba.⁹⁰ In 1959, she became the first woman to be promoted to the rank of full professor at this university.⁹¹ Margaret Cameron returned to a position as assistant professor of French at the University of Saskatchewan. She was later promoted to full professor and was head of the department from 1939-60.⁹²

The CFUW was successful in promoting the careers of some female academics, but winners had difficulty improving the opportunities for other university

⁸⁹Reference to class is rare in the CFUW records. In this case its meaning is limited to indicate women at universities, both as students and professors. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings: Fellowships 1921-1968, "University Women in Research-- Scholarship Justified," Manitoba Free Press, 15 March 1924.

⁹⁰Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report Scholarship Committee, 1936"; "Annual Report Scholarship Committee, 1940"; "Annual Report Scholarship Committee, 1941"; "Annual Report Scholarship Committee, 1949."

⁹¹Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975.

⁹²Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975; Ibid., vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Margaret Cameron to Mabel Thom, 9 October 1927.

women within the discriminatory structure of the university. Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley's study of women in natural science includes biographies of CFUW scholarship winners Dixie Pelluet, Eleanor Silver Dowding, Alice Wilson and the 1932-3 recipient, Lillian May Hunter. These biographies demonstrate that despite their advanced education, these women had "obstructed careers."⁹³ Their efforts and abilities met with few promotions and low pay. Many well-trained women found employment where possible, never finding the research facilities and teaching positions for which their education prepared them.

Opportunities elsewhere lured some recipients away from Canada, but eventually all but two returned to Canada. Only Sharpe and Jones remained in Europe. Dixie Pelluet wanted to return to Canada, but she was offered a fellowship for Bryn Mawr and had an opportunity to stay. She accepted an appointment as Head of the Department of Biology at a teacher's college in Murray, Kentucky. She later taught at Rockford College, Illinois, and undertook research at the Rockefeller Institute. Pelluet stayed in the United States until she found a position at Dalhousie in 1931.⁹⁴ The convenor of the Scholarship Committee tried to reconcile the loss of academic women to the United States by stating that "there are no national boundary

⁹³Ainley uses E. Silver Dowding's married name, Eleanor Keeping. Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley, "Last in the Field?" Canadian Women Natural Scientists, 1815-1965" in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. by Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990), pp. 30-62.

⁹⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, Mabel Thom, "Scholarship Committee Report, 1924-25"; "Notes on Our Scholars" 1925 circular by Susan Vaughan; "Scholarship Committee Report, 1936"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1930"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1940"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1941"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1943;" Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975; The Chronicle, 1931, p. 28; Ainley, "Last in the Field?" pp. 43-55.

lines in knowledge and no tariff walls to prevent us from reaping the fruits of our scholars' labours abroad."⁹⁵ According to Misener, there was a supply of talented Canadian women, but few positions at Canadian universities were open to women. Positions were opening at American universities with the growth of separate women's colleges and the expansion of recently-established universities in the west.⁹⁶ Misener consoled CFUW members by implying that Canadian scholars working in the United States still challenged assumptions on the quality of Canadian university training, and the abilities of university women.

Women who remained in Europe also faced problems when seeking university positions. Dorothea Sharpe looked for an opening while she was engaged as a sub-editor by Encyclopedia Britannica, but the situation was not promising. She explained that the year before only two junior philosophy posts were advertised, "and they were both given to elderly males. However," she wrote optimistically, "the desired may turn up."⁹⁷ She was invited to Oxford to teach Greek and Medieval Philosophy, and in 1948 she began teaching Medieval Politics at the London School of Economics.⁹⁸

CFUW members were pleased when recipients found outlets for their knowledge and skill when not engaged by Canadian universities. Eleanor Silver

⁹⁵Geneva Misener, "Report of the Scholarship Committee," The Chronicle, 1931, p. 31.

⁹⁶Rosalind Rosenberg, Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 26-7.

⁹⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Dorothea Sharpe to Mrs. Grant, 18 March 1928.

⁹⁸Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Scholarship Committee Report, 1936"; "Scholarship Committee Report, 1949"; Susan Vaughan "Notes on Our Scholars," circular letter, 1925.

Dowding, who used the scholarship to attend the University of London, completed her doctoral studies at the University of Manitoba in 1931. She worked as a research assistant for the Dominion Experimental Farm in Edmonton. She continued her research in mycology at the Provincial Laboratory and presented papers at international microbiology conferences. Periodically she lectured in mycology at the University of Alberta. She received research grants from the Banting Research Foundation and the National Research Council. She was also employed as a medical mycologist at the Provincial Laboratory of Public Health, Alberta, and was the associate editor of the *Canadian Journal of Microbiology*.⁹⁹ Although she did not hold an academic post, Dowding was able to continue original research and prove the abilities of women in this capacity.

A number of the fellowship recipients accepted positions as teachers in high schools and hoped that such work was temporary. E.B. Abbott taught at Branksome Hall, a ladies' college in Toronto, and classified her efforts to find university employment as "useless" because of the depression.¹⁰⁰ Eventually, Abbott did find temporary positions with the French Department of Victoria College.¹⁰¹ Mary White taught at Riverbend School in Winnipeg, Elmwood School in Ottawa, Mount

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1936"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1939"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1940"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1941"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1949"; *Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from E.B. Abbott to Dr. Misener, 25 May 1932.

¹⁰¹*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from E. Beatrice Abbott to Dr. Cameron, 22 February 1935.

Royal College in Calgary, and Moulton College. She found temporary lectureships at Queen's and McMaster Universities. Ten years after accepting the CFUW scholarship, she secured a position as lecturer at Trinity College. She eventually became Head of the Graduate Department of the Department of Classics of the University of Toronto.¹⁰² The CFUW Scholarship Committee may have been disappointed by the inability of their scholars to find university positions immediately, but they found solace when winners taught at high schools. Members rationalized that recipients were doing service to the nation by "bringing their higher scholarship to that larger field of influence, the high schools."¹⁰³

Hope for their scholars' ability to change the composition of the work force was not limited to universities. Members also saw a need to advance qualified women in the civil service. The scholarship for 1926 was awarded to Alice Wilson, an employee of the federal government. There were difficulties in securing permission from her supervisors for a leave of absence to go to the United States, but she left Ottawa to pursue doctoral studies in palaeontology. The CFUW not only hoped that the scholarship would help Wilson as a scientist, but that she would be the catalyst by which other positions in the civil service were opened to women.¹⁰⁴

Although the federal government attempted to restrict the employment of women in the civil service, some positions were open to university women. Most of

¹⁰²Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975.

¹⁰³Geneva Misener, "Report of the Scholarship Committee," The Chronicle, 1931, p. 31.

¹⁰⁴Mabel Thom, "Report of the Scholarship Committee," The Chronicle, 1926, p. 26.

these jobs involved low-paying and routine clerical work.¹⁰⁵ In 1920, Elsinore Macpherson recognized that the positions to which women were promoted were usually associated with child welfare departments, but some opportunities for women were opening in the fields of science and technology.¹⁰⁶ Wilson's success was one means to advance women into the higher echelons of the civil service.

Wilson and the CFUW challenged long-held beliefs of women's unsuitability for the public service. In his 1929 study of the Canadian civil service, Robert MacGregor Dawson discussed women's employment in the federal government. During the 1920s, women were not overtly restricted to clerical positions, but job reclassification ensured they occupied select positions. According to Dawson, the primary concern of government officials rested on one question, "Is a woman as efficient a civil servant in all respects as a man?"¹⁰⁷ Dawson expressed the opinion of many civil servants when he insisted that women were able to fill certain positions, most of which were in the fields of child welfare, education, poor relief, and public institutions, but the capabilities of men were of a superior quality. Dawson explained:

Men are usually better suited and equipped for administrative, supervisory, technical, and professional duties, and they generally show themselves more capable of sustained work, more likely to remain long in the service, and more adaptable and ready to meet emergencies

¹⁰⁵Prentice, et al., Canadian Women: A History, pp. 224-5.

¹⁰⁶Of the 438 women graduates Macpherson surveyed, 47 were employed in the civil service, mostly as clerks (p. 28). Many of these women expected to lose their positions once the special war departments were closed. Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," pp. 28, 36, and 83.

¹⁰⁷Robert MacGregor Dawson, The Civil Service of Canada (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 193.

calling for rapid decisions and the assumption of responsibility.¹⁰⁸

For these reasons Dawson recommended women be excluded from senior positions, except in extraordinary cases. However, Dawson added that eventually women would find greater opportunities within the civil service once the most talented and qualified women proved the abilities of women generally. He theorized that men's hostility and women's inabilities in leadership and business would gradually diminish, and talented women could be promoted to the highest ranks of the civil service. Thus he explained:

The promoted few must act as pioneers for their sex, and if they have been wisely chosen they should break down more prejudice than pages of argument. Women's incapacity in certain kinds of work will tend to diminish also.¹⁰⁹

Dawson's advice was late in coming. This was the tactic of the CFUW long before his text was published in 1929. These were the principles which encouraged the CFUW to offer Alice Wilson the 1926 scholarship.

When she applied for the CFUW scholarship, Alice Wilson was a fifteen-year employee of the Palaeontology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada. She began as a temporary museum assistant, and was promoted to Assistant Invertebrate Palaeontologist. Repeatedly her requests for absence with pay for educational purposes were refused, even when she suggested research topics which would assist the Survey. According to her letter of application to the CFUW, these early requests for leave were denied because a doctorate degree made women eligible for the

¹⁰⁸Dawson, The Civil Service of Canada, p. 193.

¹⁰⁹Dawson, The Civil Service of Canada, p. 194.

highest positions in the Survey.¹¹⁰ In 1926, the first year she was permitted by employers to apply for the scholarship, the CFUW recognized her abilities and awarded her the travelling scholarship.¹¹¹ Writing to Wilson to inform her of her success, Mabel Thom could not withhold her excitement:

I feel that the scholarship was designed to fit into the plans of such as yourself, who have done so much for other Canadian women. We make no conditions for the future in giving the scholarship, but I am very gratified that there is little doubt of your returning to Canada and continuing to contribute to the intellectual life of our young country.¹¹²

Unfortunately, Wilson's supervisors at the Survey did not share Thom's enthusiasm. They began to create obstacles to obstruct Wilson's plans to accept the scholarship to study at the University of Chicago. Supervisors argued that Wilson could not leave without a replacement and her absence would delay the scheduled identification of field researchers' findings.¹¹³ They claimed that she could not transfer her work to a university as she offered. Her employers also stated that there was no need for Wilson to seek the advanced degree. Her education was adequate to satisfy the demands of her present job. As a woman she would be unable to advance further,

¹¹⁰NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Alice Wilson to Mabel Thom, 23 January 1926.

¹¹¹Barbara Meadowcroft, "Alice Wilson, 1881-1964: Explorer of the Earth Beneath Her Feet," in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. by Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990), pp. 207-211.

¹¹²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Mabel Thom to Alice Wilson, 1 March 1926.

¹¹³Ibid., vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Alice Wilson to Mabel Thom, 7 March 1926.

with or without a doctorate.¹¹⁴

Along with the request for leave, Wilson submitted a list of ten points in her favour. This list included a detailed employment history and a summary of her contributions to the Palaeontology Division. She noted that a number of men obtained leave to prepare for the doctorate degree, including another Assistant Palaeontologist. These men were not hounded by arguments concerning the need for replacements or substitutes.¹¹⁵ Wilson suggested a compromise of a leave without pay for six month periods interrupted by regular terms at the Survey. The Director of the Survey replied that such an extended leave was inadvisable as it "was not in the interest of the Department."¹¹⁶

The CFUW was immediately called into action to assist Wilson. Members of the Scholarship Committee wrote to individuals whom they believed could assist. Susan Vaughan sent a telegram to the President of the University of Toronto, Mabel Thom wrote to Charles Dunning, M.P., Geneva Misener contacted Minister of Mines Charles Stewart, and Rosalind Young consulted Reginald Brock, the Dean of Arts and geologist of the University of British Columbia. Mabel Thom explained that committee members "felt very strongly about the aspect of the matter as it affected the economic position of Canadian women scholars. We seldom have so splendid a

¹¹⁴Meadowcroft, "Alice Wilson," p. 212.

¹¹⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, Alice Wilson, "Memorandum re application for leave of absence to use scholarship award of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 1926" (no date).

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, memorandum from Alice Wilson to Dr. W.H. Collins, 17 April 1926; memorandum from Dr. W.H. Collins to Alice Wilson, 19 April 1926.

case to push for further scope for women."¹¹⁷ As a result of CFUW's lobbying efforts, the Minister of Mines, Charles Stewart, agreed to provide a replacement for Wilson, thus leave without pay for six month periods was possible. Wilson was careful to inform the Scholarship Committee that the replacement was not appointed to undertake any of her work, but rather to deceive the CFUW into thinking the matter was settled in her favour. Had no appointment been required, a stronger argument for leave with pay could have been mounted. Wilson believed that the appointment of a substitute "was a half-truth, used as a ruse, successfully, to cut off my support from the outside." However, she considered her limited success a major development which set a precedent for future women in the civil service.¹¹⁸

In the midst of these negotiations, Alice Wilson wrote to Mrs. Wheeler of the CFUW to express her deep-felt gratitude. She was aware of the burden of responsibility the CFUW scholarship carried:

Indeed I feel honoured that the Federation has stood behind me in an endeavour which up to now I have been trying to carry out alone, but I also feel an added responsibility -- I trust and hope that I can be worthy of your trust.¹¹⁹

The responsibility was that of forging new paths for professional women. When she applied for the scholarship, Wilson was aware that an advanced degree was unlikely

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Mabel Thom to Alice Wilson, 14 June 1926.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Alice Wilson to Susan Vaughan, 15 June 1926; letter from Alice Wilson to Mabel Thom, 4 July 1926.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Alice Wilson to Mabel Thom, 3 April 1926.

to affect her professional ranking. However, she felt that she needed to "create a precedent for any other woman who might fill the position under a later regime." She believed that by receiving a degree in geology she could effect a change or offer a challenge to the status of women in the civil service. Thus she wrote:

In the present instance the technical grading of the position for a woman is secured and it is desired to place it upon as high a footing as possible. If it is not possible to do that now it will probably be delayed many years, possibly another generation.¹²⁰

This opinion was shared by the members of the CFUW who agreed that Wilson's progress in the civil service would open a variety of positions which were unavailable to women.¹²¹ CFUW members hoped that Wilson's career proved university women's suitability for the civil service. In 1930 the CFUW reasserted its intention to advance the position of women in the public service with the proposal that the Vocations Committee co-operate with Alice Wilson to achieve this end.¹²²

¹²⁰Ibid., vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from Alice Wilson to Mabel Thom, 23 January 1926.

¹²¹Mabel Thom, "Report of the Scholarship Committee," The Chronicle, 1926, p. 26. Wilson's struggles at the Geological Survey and the difficulty to have her skill, knowledge and education recognized are examined by Barbara Meadowcroft, "Alice Wilson, 1881-1964: Explorer of the Earth Beneath Her Feet" pp. 205-217. A less detailed biography is found in the CFUW's study of notable Canadian women, The Clear Spirit, Anne Montagnes, "Alice Wilson" in The Clear Spirit: Twenty Canadian Women and their Times, ed. by Mary Quayle Innis (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966).

¹²²NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes 1930, p. 112. In 1935, a Civil Service Commission advertisement restricted applicants to the Grade Four Clerkship position to university men. The job description requested applications from "young men of established capacity" who were university graduates, under 26 years old, and British subjects. In response to this advertisement, the CFUW sent letters objecting to the "discrimination against women" to the Prime Minister, Leader of the Opposition, J.S. Woodsworth, Agnes McPhail, and Cairine Wilson. The issue was raised in the Senate and House of Commons. The Civil Service Commission responded that the advertised position was not suitable for women. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, clipping from a pamphlet dated April 8, 1935; unsigned letter, circa 1935.

Fellowship recipients enthusiastically extolled the virtues of the CFUW's work.¹²³ For Isobel Jones, the money offered her the opportunity to consult with the experts in her field and gave her access to valuable libraries and archival holdings.¹²⁴ Dixie Pelluet reported that she found one year too short to complete the requirements for the degree, but she wrote that it was "ample time in which to gain valuable experience in all sorts of ways and I think that I have profited most in this direction."¹²⁵ Five years after her scholarship tenure, E. Beatrice Abbott wrote a lengthy expression of her gratitude and commended the CFUW for its foresight and effort to promote women's advanced education:

I realize much more now than I did five years ago what a wonderful thing the Federation is doing for the women students of Canada in offering them scholarships and bursaries to enable them to continue their studies. The pity of it is that not more women can share in the widening experience and interest that such opportunities offer. It is my hope that I can repay my debt to the Federation by devoting all my energies to my students and trying to give them the kind of interest in their reading and studies and discussions that will increase their ability to live fully.¹²⁶

In recognition of their appreciation of the CFUW's contributions and in support of its goals, many of the recipients joined the CFUW and were elected to positions of considerable authority. Seven of the eight winners who returned to

¹²³*Ibid.*, vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, letter from Mary White to Dr. A.V. Douglas, 1 September 1933.

¹²⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letter from Isobel Jones to Mrs. Gillies, 11 February 1922.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1911-1928, letters from Dixie Pelluet to Mrs. Wheeler, 10 April 1923 and 23 June 1923.

¹²⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 9, Fellowships: Applications and Correspondence 1929-1935, letter from E. Beatrice Abbott to Dr. Cameron, 22 February 1935.

Canada served on the Scholarship Committee.¹²⁷ Cameron and Saunders were both appointed convenors of the committee. Alice Wilson offered her time and talent by editing The Chronicle.¹²⁸ The winners' inclination to work for the CFUW, specifically the Scholarship Committee, may be attributed to a sense of obligation to the organization and dedication to its goals. Their reputations as credible academics made them suitable judges of applications received from aspiring candidates. The recipients' sense of obligation may have motivated their national work, but also represents the winners' commitment to the ideals of the CFUW and its work to advance women in post-secondary education.

The CFUW members were proud of the opportunities they offered Canadian women in the form of the scholarship. They believed that "no activity of the Federation is better justified than this of the yearly choice and subsidizing of a representative scholar."¹²⁹ With their faith in a meritocracy, members thought that talented and educated women could succeed in academia if assisted by scholarships. They were not only supporting individual talented women, but attempting to effect a change in male institutions. They presented their work on behalf of university women as a national service. The first published report of the Scholarship Committee

¹²⁷Winners who served on the Scholarship Committee were: Blakey (1934-40), White (1933-36), Gregory (1946-49), Pelluet (1940-9), Saunders (1949-52), Dowding (1945-52), Sharpe (1950-53) and Cameron (1928-31, 1934-7).

¹²⁸Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowships: Profiles of Winners 1921-1975; Ibid., vol. 10, Fellowship Committee 1921-1951, "Annual Reports of the Scholarship Committee, 1936"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1940"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1941"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1943"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1949"; "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1951".

¹²⁹Ibid., vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1925.

reiterates this ideal by stating that the CFUW "feels that no better work than this can be done to further the great cause of higher education in Canada."¹³⁰ Funds of the CFUW were limited, but the supply of talented women seemed unending. The CFUW was pressured to assist as many promising women as possible. It was hoped that the recipients could finish quickly and find positions at Canadian universities where they could help aspiring women while challenging the persistent stereotypes haunting female academics.

¹³⁰No author, "The Federation Scholarship," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 33

CHAPTER FOUR

"The Advancement of Women in all Branches of Employment"¹

The Vocations Committee

Canadian Federation of University Women believed that there were innumerable career possibilities for the university graduate. For many graduates, the greatest problems were finding an appropriate and interesting vocation, and getting male employers to consider their qualifications and dedication. The CFUW began its vocational work by briefly studying employment options for women, and suggesting ways for CFUW affiliates to bring this information to local graduates. The Vocations Committee aspired to establish an information and placement bureau supported by a national network of local university women's clubs and alumnae societies. An early attempt to establish such an employment bureau in Toronto was supported by the CFUW. Although it was unable to address the problem of male employers' unwillingness to hire women, the Vocations Committee was the CFUW's attempt to offer direct assistance to a great number of university women.

The Vocations Committee had great aims, and its recommendations reflected these goals. Unfortunately, the correspondence between members of the committee and individuals outside the CFUW was not preserved. The records of the committee

¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, circular letter sent to local clubs, no author (probably Laila Scott), circa 1930.

are limited to the reports published in The Chronicle for 1920 and 1926. There were no reports submitted to conferences of 1923 and 1928. From 1929, the interests of the Vocations Committee were absorbed by the vocations bureau, but the bureau was not administered by the CFUW, and its records are not among the CFUW archival holdings.

The Vocations Committee envisioned its work as twofold. It was commissioned to study occupations open to the university woman. Such a study, the CFUW asserted, would reveal innumerable career possibilities and offer expanded opportunities to university women.² The second phase of the committee's work was to inform qualified women of available positions. During the CFUW's early years, members discussed the possibility of establishing a national placement bureau. Such a project was too expensive, so executive members continued to encourage CFUW branches to undertake vocational work locally. Late in the decade, the CFUW offered financial assistance for the operation of a placement bureau on behalf of university women. This bureau was unable to overcome financial difficulties and it eventually closed, at which point the Vocations Committee returned its attention to researching and providing vocational information. This double-faceted approach fulfilled the CFUW mandate to improve university women's career opportunities, and provided services which were generally acknowledged as essential for Canadian women's professional advancement.

One of the greatest contradictions of the 1920s was the expanding sphere for

²Ibid., vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mrs. G.L. Lennox to Miss Reid, 29 September 1919.

women's employment which was matched by the restrictions on women's chances for advancement.³ A wide variety of vocations were opening, but limited advancement, characteristic of such acceptable occupations as teaching, was also prevalent in such newer vocations as office work. In the 1920s, there remained male occupations which resisted women's entry and placed limitations on women's potential for promotion.⁴

Members of the CFUW advocated women's entry into all occupations; they did not limit their concept of the professions to those which were represented as complementary to women's supposed nature.⁵ They did not rely on maternalist arguments of women's suitability for particular types of work such as nursing or teaching. Professions for the CFUW included all white-collar occupations for which university women were trained and talented.

With their faith in a meritocracy, in which qualified women chose careers according to personal interest, and were rewarded for skill and experience with appropriate pay and promotion, CFUW members believed that university women's career opportunities would explode in the 1920s.⁶ University women only had to

³Alison Prentice, et al., Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988) p. 240; Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 51; Graham Lowe, "Women, Work and the Office: The Feminization of Clerical Occupations in Canada, 1901-1931," The Canadian Journal of Sociology, V (Fall, 1980), 361-379.

⁴Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 51 and 67.

⁵Wayne Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle for the World": The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, 1877-1914," in A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s, ed. by Linda Kealey (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979), pp. 27-31 and 39.

⁶Veronica Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920's," in The Consolidation of Capitalism, 1896-1929: Readings in Canadian Social History, Volume 4, ed. by Michael Cross and Gregory S. Kealey (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1983), pp. 169-70.

prove themselves in each field to be accepted. Therefore, the first mandate of the CFUW was to unveil the innumerable careers in which university-educated women could prove their abilities. Thus, Gertrude Lennox explained, "So many more vocational opportunities should be open to the university women than now seem available. If these surveys, ..., should be successful, then we feel that added opportunities for women will naturally arise."⁷

The CFUW believed that there was a general need for vocational guidance for women, and realized that most information available did not fit the needs of university graduates. Vocational guidance was becoming increasingly important, especially for middle-class women who were entering the workforce in greater numbers, often as an interlude before marriage. University education and vocational training were intended to prepare women for occupations, but many women remained unaware of their career choices.⁸ Some publications offered Canadian women vocational advice, such as Marjory MacMurphy's The Canadian Girl at Work: A Book of Vocational Guidance, but these were usually directed at a young readership and not mature university graduates.⁹ The need for career counselling for university women was brought to the attention of Canadian women in the popular magazine Chatelaine, in which the dean of women of the University of Manitoba

⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mrs G.H. Lennox to Helen Reid, 29 September 1919.

⁸Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled, p. 42; Nicole Neatby, "Women at Queen's in the 1920s," Historical Studies in Education, I (Spring, 1989), 54.

⁹Marjory MacMurphy, The Canadian Girl at Work: A Book of Vocational Guidance (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1919).

repeated students' often asked question, "After University--What?"¹⁰ Therefore, in providing guidance counselling, the CFUW was not only filling its own mandate of promoting university women's career advancement, but was also responding to a generally-recognized need.

The first report presented by the Vocations Committee to the triennial conference was intended to inform CFUW members about women's career options so that conference delegates could return to their communities and offer career counselling locally. This report, however, was produced with difficulty. The Vocations Committee's first convenor, Dr. Helen MacMurchy, denied that she had accepted the nomination to head the committee.¹¹ On short notice, Elsinore Macpherson was asked to replace MacMurchy. Macpherson had recently completed a thesis entitled "Careers of Canadian University Women" to fulfil the requirements for the Masters degree in political economy at the University of Toronto. Her aim in this 1920 study was to determine what effect university education had on women's employment status, and to encourage women to seek diversified opportunities.¹² Notified of her appointment as Vocations Committee convenor in March, Macpherson had little time to prepare an original study for the August triennial conference, and her first report was a summary of her thesis.

¹⁰Ursilla N. MacDonnell, "After University--What?" *Chatelaine*, (June, 1931), 14.

¹¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, "Minutes of Organization Meeting, Fort Garry Hotel, Winnipeg," 27 August 1919; *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, Margaret McWilliams, "President's Memorandum for the Executive Members of the National Federation of University Women," 13 March 1920.

¹²Elsinore Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1920), p. 1.

In her first report to the CFUW, Macpherson offered a brief overview of occupations in which university women were found. Her discussion ranged from examining the popular female employments of teaching and nursing to endorsing women's full participation in male-dominated occupations of banking, actuary work, and law. She challenged Canadian university-educated women to seek the highest positions possible in these fields. The occupation for which Macpherson projected the greatest expansion was social work. She stressed that professional social work was a growing field which employers increasingly considered a necessity. Macpherson believed that social work included not only the welfare work in settlements, child welfare, and mental hygiene, but also included businesses, hospitals, stores, and factories where pioneers of industry were beginning to use trained social workers.¹³

Unlike other publications offering vocational advice to women, Macpherson's report specifically analyzed the position in the workforce of university-educated women. Although Macpherson recognized limitations on women's advancement, she encouraged women to seek positions in which they could prove the abilities of university women. In contrast, Alice Vincent Massey's vocational guidance text, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada which was published to assist British women emigrating to Canada, did not encourage women to enter professional occupations in which they would be in direct competition with men. Like Macpherson, Massey was aware of sex-barriers, but she responded more conservatively. Although Massey did not dissuade women from entering professions

¹³Elsinore Macpherson, "Opportunities for University Women in Canada," The Chronicle, 1920, pp. 16-8.

such as university teaching and banking, she did warn that careers in these professions would be more difficult than in occupations in which women were readily accepted.¹⁴ Macpherson, however, believed that there was no need for such warnings, but that the university woman should serve as the pioneer in these fields, and she promoted this as "a remarkable opportunity" for the university woman.¹⁵ Macpherson was optimistic about the widening field of opportunities for women and firmly believed that women were "given a fair chance in competition with men, and that, when opportunity was slow in coming, it was usually because they had not proved their ability."¹⁶

In her report, Macpherson discussed only a few occupations, but she diagnosed problems affecting women in the employment structure. She needed to advise CFUW members of such problems so they would be aware of them when they offered vocational advice locally. Macpherson characterized women's options as "great and increasing," but she criticized the discrepancy of salaries between male and female employees.¹⁷ In her view, the lower wages offered to women were dangerous because they segregated the professions into two categories: the higher paid for men, the lower paid for women. She explained that the lower wages for occupations in which women were clustered dissuaded men from entering these occupations. She

¹⁴Alice Vincent Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada (J.M. Dent and Sons, 1920), pp. 15, 54-5, and 58.

¹⁵Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," p. 107.

¹⁶Macpherson, "Opportunities for University Women in Canada," p. 14.

¹⁷Macpherson, "Opportunities for University Women in Canada," p. 14.

warned that if this segregation continued, there would be grave results:

[An] artificial standard is set up, instead of the ideal one by which each worker should do the thing for which he is fitted; and an arbitrary division of the sexes is made by which one profession is in the hands of one sex and another in the hands of the other.¹⁸

In her report to the CFUW, Macpherson reiterated the need for an equal pay policy to "safeguard" the interests of qualified women.¹⁹ She recognized that the principle of equal pay could reduce pay differentials only if women and men were integrated into the same occupations.

After Macpherson's 1920 report, the Vocations Committee no longer surveyed occupations open to university women. Macpherson's study was available for students and members of the CFUW to consult. The onus was placed on CFUW members to spread this knowledge.

For the rest of the decade, the reports of the Vocations Committee tried to devise means by which CFUW members could bring vocational information to university-educated women. Studies of women in paid employment were not helpful unless graduates were aware of them. With this in mind, the convenors of the Vocations Committee repeatedly asked local associations to provide career advice to university women by organizing conferences and lectures on vocational opportunities for recent graduates, or by establishing employment bureaus administered by

¹⁸Macpherson, "Opportunities for University Women in Canada," p. 14.

¹⁹Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," pp. 14-5.

volunteers of alumnae associations and local university women's clubs.²⁰ The CFUW wanted each university to operate a bureau of appointments and local branches were asked to lobby for this end. CFUW executives also envisioned the founding of a central national bureau for professional women capable of placing women across Canada.²¹ Until such a professional women's bureau could be established, the CFUW considered the possibility of co-operating with the Employment Service of Canada. This government agency, however, did not provide adequate information for professional women and men. The idea of a CFUW-administered employment bureau was conceived as early as 1920, but it was not until 1930 that such a bureau was given CFUW financial support.

The first proposal to co-ordinate nationally the vocational services offered by university women's clubs and the alumnae societies was unsuccessful. In 1920, the convenor of the Vocations Committee called for the women in each major town or city to establish a local vocations committee to collect information on positions for university women. The ultimate goal of these efforts was to create a national information network to put university women in contact with employers who had suitable positions available.²² Eventually, this grandiose vision was abandoned and the Vocations Committee asked for one member of each local branch to act as a

²⁰NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1920, p. 20; *ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1921, p. 1.

²¹*ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1920, p. 22.

²²*ibid.*, vol. 8, Education: Early Women Graduates, Agnes M. Cooper, "The Federation of University Women in Canada," Alumnae News (Queen's University Alumnae Association), 10 December 1921, p. 17.

secretary and serve as a clearinghouse for local employment information. Local secretaries were advised to maintain close contact with the CFUW Vocations Committee, deans of women, and the already-established government employment bureau.²³ Few clubs seemed to accept this directive, but local independent initiatives continued.

The need for a placement bureau for professional women was generally recognized by CFUW members and other commentators. M.L. Bollert, Dean of Women of the University of British Columbia and CFUW member, tried to bring this need to the attention of the NCWC in 1923.²⁴ Alice Vincent Massey's Occupations for Trained Women in Canada began with a discussion of the necessity for an employment service for trained women comparable to the government employment service. She believed it was a disadvantage to all of the community not to have such a bureau, and its absence retarded national development:

There is nowhere in Canada a good Employment Bureau for educated women, and a continual wastage occurs through capable girls drifting into idleness for want of information regarding types of work available. Hundreds enter the teaching profession, not because they are specially gifted to teach but because there is no means of finding work suited to their gifts.²⁵

According to Massey, Canadian women were not involved in the variety of professions that American and British women enjoyed because few Canadian women

²³Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1926, p. 81.

²⁴Margaret Lewis, "Professions and Employment for Women," National Council of Women of Canada Yearbook, 1923, p. 65.

²⁵Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, p. 12.

were aware of any profession other than teaching. A placement bureau could rectify this problem:

The needs of trained women must be met by an Employment Bureau especially created for them, under the direction of an educated personnel (preferably university graduates) ... such a bureau must be established if trained women are to have opportunities in Canada and if Canada is to have the advantage of their services.²⁶

The importance of a placement bureau for professional women was also emphasized by CFUW executives. Kenneth Haig, journalist and convenor of the CFUW Publications Committee, believed that vocational guidance and placement services were "becoming increasingly recognized as public responsibilities." To prepare women for careers and to help place them in satisfying posts, ones in which they used their talents and education to their fullest potential, was a national service. Writing in a Winnipeg newspaper under the pseudonym Alison Craig, Haig explained,

Every individual who is working at the job for which he is best fitted is by that much increasing the national wealth, financially, creatively, humanly.²⁷

The desire to establish a placement bureau to serve university-educated women may have been an implicit acknowledgement that women lacked the informal networks and access to information required to locate openings upon which male students relied, but took for granted. CFUW executives believed that employers needed to be persuaded to hire university women, but they could offer no greater

²⁶Massey, Occupations of Trained Women in Canada, p. 14.

²⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, Alison Craig, "University Women in Conference -- Survey of a New Organization," clipping from an unnamed Winnipeg newspaper, circa August 1921.

persuasion than the power of suggestion. Unfortunately, a bureau could only serve as a link between qualified university women and potential employers, and its suggestions could easily be ignored. The CFUW had no recourse to confront employers who refused to hire a candidate on the basis of her sex. The CFUW's proposal for placement service offered no real challenge to employers' assumptions, and the CFUW continued to rely on the success of individual women to prove the competence of all university-educated women.

The idea for a national employment bureau remained in abeyance from 1920 until the 1928 triennial conference. The proposal for an employment bureau was revitalized and the Vocations Committee was asked to prepare a report on the feasibility of the proposition. Letters were sent to the affiliated branches which asked what members were willing to do on behalf of a vocations bureau. Locals were asked if they were willing to help locate openings for graduates and report them to the central office, lobby for the employment of women in the higher branches of civil service and university faculties, and generally "advocate the advancement of women in all branches of employment on an equal basis with men?"²⁸ The executive council approved the temporary appointment of an unidentified American expert to study vocational opportunities of women in Canada, but there exists no record of a final appointment. University women's clubs and alumnae associations were asked to examine the situation in their own communities. The results of these studies were to

²⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, circular letter sent to local clubs, circa 1930, no author (probably Laila Scott); *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, letter from Mary Bollert to Laila Scott, 19 September 1928; *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, President's Report, 1928-89.

construct the foundation on which to establish a national employment bureau. The Hamilton University Women's Club pledged \$75 to the plan and appeals for financial assistance were sent to other CFUW affiliates.²⁹ The aims of the bureau were carefully described to the local associations:

Miss Scott, the President and her executive feel that there is great need for the establishment of a bureau which would help University trained women to secure positions. After much discussion we have decided to try to establish, in a small way, a bureau, which would investigate the present openings, try to interest more employers in employing university women, and act generally as a clearing house, relating jobs and available people.³⁰

After further research, the Vocations Committee decided against establishing an independent CFUW vocational bureau, probably because it would prove too expensive and difficult to administer on a national scale.

Two women, True Davidson and Margaret MacKenzie, were already trying to establish an employment service to give undergraduate women of the University of Toronto vocational guidance and what they termed "scientific assistance in securing employment."³¹ The CFUW executive saw an opportunity to co-operate in this venture rather than establish a separate bureau with a similar clientele. Margaret MacKenzie was invited to the CFUW executive conference to explain the objectives of the bureau. Recognizing their common goals, MacKenzie proposed that the

²⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1929, pp. 3-4; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Jean McRae to local club presidents, March 1930.

³⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Jean McRae to local clubs, March 1930.

³¹*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from True Davidson and Margaret MacKenzie to Laila Scott, 11 April 1930.

CFUW co-operate in this effort. The original plan was to register senior University of Toronto students, but Davidson and MacKenzie agreed to register a limited number of graduates regardless of their university affiliation if the CFUW lent financial assistance.³² The CFUW resolved to support the bureau proposed by Davidson and MacKenzie.³³

The directors of the bureau and the CFUW agreed that their undertaking was an experiment, and Toronto was the suitable location for testing the plan. Supporting such a Toronto-based experiment was uncharacteristic for the CFUW which had avoided regionalism in its administration and aims throughout its first decade. However, the Toronto project proposed by MacKenzie and Davidson allowed the CFUW to partake in an experiment locally without assuming all the risk and the administration costs of an independent venture. Newspapers inaccurately reported that Toronto was chosen because it was a university centre as well as the headquarters of the CFUW.³⁴ The CFUW subscribed \$435 for the experiment.³⁵

The bureau received the financial backing of some CFUW affiliates, but many of the local university women's clubs and alumnae associations were not supportive of the endeavour. Although CFUW executive members claimed that the lack of

³²Ibid., vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, letter from True Davidson and Margaret MacKenzie to Laila Scott, 11 April 1930; Ibid., vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, "Report of the Vocations Bureau 1930-31"; Ibid., vol. 26, *Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944*, *Executive Meeting Minutes*, 1930, p. 4.

³³Ibid., vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, "Report of the Vocations Bureau, 1930-1."

³⁴Ibid., vol. 28, *Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943*, "Bureau to Aid University Women will Carry on Here," circa 1929, clipping from an unnamed Toronto newspaper.

³⁵Ibid., vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, "Report of the Vocations Bureau, 1930-1."

support was caused by the depression,³⁶ it was primarily the Toronto basis of the bureau, and its focus on graduates of the University of Toronto, which limited support from CFUW branches. Winnipeg club members refused to offer monetary assistance with the explanation that they had heavy financial obligations to a loan fund for local undergraduates. More importantly, Winnipeg members were too far away to benefit from this initiative, but they promised to assist such a bureau when it operated nationally.³⁷ Other Clubs had similar concerns about the project, including the Ottawa University Women's Club.³⁸

True Davidson and Margaret MacKenzie believed they were filling a void when they established the vocations bureau, and they were supported by the CFUW in this opinion. True Davidson asserted that Canadian universities did a great disservice to female students by not providing adequate vocational guidance. According to Davidson, many university women chose their profession based on their personal inclinations and economic circumstances, but many were ill-prepared for their careers. Davidson argued, "there is no one in greater need of vocational training and guidance" than university women.³⁹ MacKenzie and Davidson proposed to

³⁶Ibid., vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Laila Scott to Mrs. Thom, 19 July 1930. The following affiliates offered pledges to the bureau: Edmonton (\$25), Hamilton (\$50), Kitchener-Waterloo (\$10), London (\$15) Saskatoon (\$10), Toronto (\$75), McGill (\$100), Queen's (\$50), and the University of Western Ontario (\$5). Ibid., vol. 21, Treasurer 1919-1937, "Financial Statement, 1929-30."

³⁷Ibid., vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Evelyn Rowland to Jean McRae, 22 May 1930.

³⁸Ibid., vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Mabel Thom to Mrs. MacKenzie, no date.

³⁹Ibid., vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, True Davidson, "Uncharted Seas," University of Toronto Monthly, n.d.

rectify this situation through the work of the vocations bureau. They believed that their clientele would include recent graduates without clear professional aspirations, women engaged in unsatisfactory jobs, women seeking to change their profession, married women returning to work, and freelance workers seeking contacts.⁴⁰ The bureau promised to advance the position of women in industry, in the civil service and in universities by recommending those women who were most qualified and could earn the respect of male employers. These women would reflect favourably on female graduates as a whole. In this way the bureau would uncover new opportunities, and it would establish contact between qualified women and suitable employers.

Much of the directors' time was spent contacting potential employers, advising applicants on letter writing, interview etiquette, and appropriate dress. The bureau charged each candidate two dollars and her first week's salary if a placement was made.⁴¹ In its first year, 180 women paid the registration fee. Another 180 women were registered without paying the fee because they could not afford it, or the directors believed there was little possibility of placing these women. Most of the registrants were undergraduate women to whom the bureau offered valuable professional counselling. In its first year, the bureau received eighty-seven employers'

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from True Davidson to local club presidents, n.d.

⁴¹Employers were suspect of the bureau's placement fee. Companies feared they would be blamed if the women did not pay the fee. One Toronto firm blacklisted the bureau because of it. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, "Annual Report--Vocations Bureau--CFUW--1930-1," no author, (probably True Davidson).

requests, forty-eight of which were successfully filled.⁴²

The bureau began with a proposed three-month trial period, but the directors tried to carry on their work for one year despite financial difficulties. Toronto newspapers boldly asserted that the bureau was so successful in its first three months that it was "to be carried on as a permanent institution."⁴³ With the initial support from the CFUW, the placement and registration fees were enough to maintain operations. After three months, however, the CFUW's contribution of \$435 was gone, and the bureau was in dire straits financially. CFUW executives ended the support for the bureau because it was too great a strain on their budget, but Davidson and MacKenzie continued with their work.⁴⁴ With the financial difficulties, the directors were tempted to place women in any available post just to get the placement fees, regardless of the skills, preferences or character of the candidate.

Davidson warned that great problems would arise if the experiment was abandoned with so many candidates registered. She insisted that the publicity the bureau received would be lost, and closing the operation would do irreparable damage to future attempts to establish such a service.⁴⁵ The directors proposed

⁴²Over one-half of the employers' requests were filled, but the records do not indicate how many of the 360 women registered were placed. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, "Annual Report--Vocations Bureau--CFUW--1930," (probably True Davidson).

⁴³*Ibid.*, vol. 28, *Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943*, "Bureau to Aid University Women will Carry on Here," newspaper clipping from an unknown Toronto Newspaper, undated.

⁴⁴Laila Scott, *History of the Canadian Federation of University Women, 1919-1949* (Canada, 1950), p. 8.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, "Annual Report--Vocations Bureau--CFUW--1930-31," no author (probably True Davidson).

several financial restructuring schemes including obtaining support from other organizations, acquiring sponsors willing to contribute \$500 each, and a revised management administrative plan to employ part-time and junior staff.⁴⁶ These proposals did not receive the financial support to be enacted. However, the Vocations Committee suggested the CFUW pledge three hundred dollars to the bureau, and after extensive debate the delegates at the triennial conference of 1931 approved the contribution to the bureau "if in the estimation of the executive, the fund permits this expenditure."⁴⁷ The opinion of the local associations was voiced at the triennial conference by Susan Vaughan who stated that the CFUW endorsed the work of the bureau, but explained that the expenses involved in its operation were too great.⁴⁸ The plea from Davidson and MacKenzie was heard, however, and a grant was made by the reluctant members of the CFUW executive.⁴⁹ Local clubs were asked to offer additional support by finding sustaining members. The general consensus of the CFUW members was that the bureau did offer valuable service to university women,

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Margaret MacKenzie to Mabel Thom, 11 May 1931; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from True Davidson to local club presidents, undated; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, "Annual Report-- Vocations Bureau--CFUW--1930," no author (probably True Davidson) and "Report of the Vocational Committee, August, 1931."

⁴⁷\$1500 was to be raised from sustaining members who were asked to contribute \$25 each, and from registration fees which were estimated at \$700. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Conference Minutes, 1931, p. 122; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, "Report of the Vocational Committee," August 1931.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1931, p. 122.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Mabel Thom to Margaret MacKenzie, 15 December 1931.

but it was a great burden.⁵⁰

Despite glowing reports of the vocations bureau's undertakings, the bureau was unable to continue its operations. Success was unlikely, given the limited budget and inadequate support from the CFUW. The Vocations Committee of the CFUW finally abandoned the project in December 1931. The depression made the operations of the bureau difficult to maintain, and only two sustaining members were secured. The Vocations Committee recommended that the CFUW provide a grant to allow the bureau to notify employers of its closing, reimburse the sustaining members, and return money to registrants.⁵¹ Committee members tried to maintain the work of the bureau in a modified form. They attempted to place women who registered with the placement service, and employers were asked to report vacancies directly to the convener of the Vocations Committee. The committee did not accept any more registrants, but focused its efforts on placing those who had originally enlisted with the bureau. Once this work was completed in 1932, the members turned their attention to studying the position of women in various occupations, researching the professional courses open to women, and finding sustaining members for a new bureau to be established in the future.⁵²

⁵⁰Sixty sustaining members were required. As a guideline the directors of the bureau suggested clubs with over three hundred members recruit ten sustaining members, clubs with two hundred members find seven sustaining members, and clubs with under seventy members secure one sustaining member. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1931, pp. 120-122.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Margaret MacKenzie to Mabel Thom, 11 December 1931.

⁵²*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, telegram from Margaret MacKenzie to Mabel Thom, 21 December 1931; telegram from Mabel Thom to Margaret MacKenzie, 22 December 1931; letter from Margaret MacKenzie to Mabel Thom, 30 December 1931; "Annual Report of the Vocations Bureau,

True Davidson, who had carried on the work of the bureau on a non-paid half-time basis since August, was angered by the CFUW's decision to abandon the project. She insisted that to disband the bureau wasted the work which had been done. With appropriate funding, she believed that the bureau could continue offering this national service. However, she was disillusioned about the success such a bureau could have. Many of the appointments she secured were temporary. She was also annoyed when women she placed left their positions, and she described university women as "finicky and [having] little sense of loyalty." Davidson even questioned the quality of candidates who sought the bureau's assistance, and she suggested that qualified candidates who were serious about their work found positions without the bureau's help. Despite her frustration, Davidson believed that the bureau provided a valuable service and would prove itself invaluable if it was adequately staffed and funded.⁵³

It was difficult for the CFUW to rally behind the Davidson and MacKenzie project. The CFUW had originally endorsed the project because executive members knew that an independent CFUW effort would be too heavy an expense for the CFUW's budget. As the MacKenzie and Davidson project proved more problematic and more costly than hoped, the executive members began to express concerns about the CFUW's involvement in the enterprise.

Throughout its first decade, executives of the CFUW were very cautious to

1932."

⁵³*Ibid.*, vol. 25, *Vocations 1926-1949*, letter from True Davidson to Mabel Thom, 11 December 1931.

avoid regional domination in its administration and interests. the CFUW's support of the Toronto-based vocations bureau was uncharacteristic, but was acceptable as a trial for a national program in the future. Its Toronto orientation was one of the main reasons the bureau was unable to earn the support of most of the CFUW affiliates. To harness CFUW support, however, the directors of the bureau submitted a report to the 1931 Chronicle which emphasized the diverse clientele of the bureau:

Although most of our actual placement is done in Toronto and the vicinity, our placements include graduates and undergraduates of fifteen different universities and ladies' colleges, the colleges of the faculties of Toronto University not being counted separately.⁵⁴

Despite this assertion on behalf of the bureau, the affiliates of the CFUW continued to regard the bureau as a Toronto-oriented initiative. The operation of the bureau did not promote the national spirit regarded by members as a perquisite of the CFUW, and its Toronto focus created some resentment among the affiliated branches. CFUW members recognized that the bureau was only of assistance to the CFUW if it was able to place women across Canada, and such a national effort would warrant greater financial assistance from all CFUW affiliates.⁵⁵

The bureau was set up to help different women than those whom the CFUW regarded as a priority. The first vice-president claimed that the CFUW needed to remain committed to finding positions for women returning from abroad upon completion of post-graduate studies, and assisting the scholarship winners to find

⁵⁴No author, "Case Book of the Vocational Bureau," The Chronicle, 1931, p. 50.

⁵⁵Ibid., vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Mabel Thom to Mrs. MacKenzie, n.d.

university posts.⁵⁶ MacKenzie and Davidson, who struggled to place women in schools, offices and stores, were unable to place women in university positions. Davidson and MacKenzie's original plan was to assist undergraduate women of the University of Toronto, but the CFUW was more interested in serving its already vast clientele of graduate women across Canada.

In the midst of the financial difficulties, the CFUW members began to question whether or not the bureau's directors had the same priorities as the CFUW. It was not a project devised by the CFUW members, but was financially backed by them. The directors of the bureau were not well-known members of the CFUW, and because they had not demonstrated their commitment and their skills, they did not gather the full support of the CFUW members.⁵⁷ The economic constraints of the depression also made the local branches of the CFUW disinclined to support such a costly venture. Because of the leadership, regional orientation and financial burden of the bureau, it could not muster the support of the CFUW's membership.

The Vocations Committee's goals were aimed at directly assisting individual university women. Conscious that their interest in university women's vocational

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Mabel Thom to Mrs. MacKenzie, n.d.

⁵⁷True Davidson was the sole director of the bureau after MacKenzie left for China in 1931. The University Women's Club of Toronto protested Davidson's involvement in the CFUW's Vocations Committee. Her membership in the Toronto club had lapsed. True Davidson was underpaid for her work with the bureau and she could not afford membership dues. She preferred to work as an employee of the CFUW rather than as an officer. She told Mabel Thom that if she was awarded a sufficient salary, she would immediately pay the fees of the Toronto club, but she preferred not to resume her membership but wanted to keep the position of director above membership squabbles. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Vocations 1926-1949, letter from Margaret MacKenzie to Mabel Thom, 17 September 1931; "Minutes of the Vocations Committee Meeting," 2 October 1931; letter from True Davidson to Mabel Thom, 28 November 1931).

opportunities could be perceived and criticized as self-serving, members of the CFUW emphasised the national benefits derived from university women working. Kenneth Haig publicly justified and endorsed the assistance of university women as an honourable practice:

It may be argued that any service given here is given here by University women to University women. That is not, in my judgement a criticism but a commendation. Service should begin at home.⁵⁸

At the same time, however, she linked service to university-educated women with service to the community. Macpherson offered a concrete argument in favour of university women working which appealed to the growing consumerism of the 1920s. She stressed that employed women "were an asset to the country, and not a liability." Women with salaries could buy more consumer products and increase "the demand for labour in the country."⁵⁹ Members of the CFUW, however, were more comfortable referring to their vocational work as a means to build a stronger nation by harnessing the skills of all educated and talented workers. To offer talented women the opportunity to realize their potential through rewarding and respected employment was to build a stronger national workforce.

The Vocations Committee began its work by offering an overview of women's vocational options, but spent much of the decade trying to devise plans to provide university women with this information. Although the CFUW supported a vocations

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, Alison Craig, "University Women in Conference -- Survey of a New Organization," newspaper clipping from an unnamed Winnipeg newspaper, circa August 1921.

⁵⁹Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," p. 7.

bureau for a brief period, the responsibility to inform university-educated women of their career options lay with the local associations. The CFUW encouraged women to seek opportunities in all fields of employment and firmly believed that the success of one university woman in these fields promised the general advancement of all educated women.

CHAPTER FIVE

"Education in All Its Phases"¹

The Education and Library Committees

The Canadian Federation of University Women's efforts to reconcile the dual goals of serving society and assisting university-educated women were balanced in the work of the Education and Library Committees. These committees focused on national and provincial standards imposed on publicly-funded schools and libraries. Their reports offered suggestions which promised to improve these facilities nationally, but they also considered the employment situation and future opportunities in educational institutions for university-educated women.

The Education and Library Committees provided CFUW members with information concerning teaching and library administration. Both libraries and schools were provincially and municipally administered, therefore, university-educated women who co-operated locally and regionally could mount effective lobbying efforts. The CFUW committees provided information and suggested activities for the affiliated branches, but the CFUW did not undertake any projects on a national scale.

The CFUW shared an interest in education with a number of national

¹Margaret McWilliams, History of the Canadian Federation of University Women (Canada, 1950), p. 4.

women's volunteer organizations. Educational reform was an acceptable activity of many women's associations in which members asserted that they should extend their maternal interests to assist all children. Also, as Nancy Sheehan indicates, many clubwomen were teachers or had once been employed within the education system.² For the CFUW, the latter factor was one motivation for the members' interest in education. CFUW members assumed their university education legitimized their attention to all educational issues.

Many national women's associations interested in educational issues recommended legislative changes to the curriculum of publicly-funded schools. The goals of these women's volunteer associations, such as the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the National Council of Women of Canada, were not shared by the members of the CFUW. These associations theorized that the classroom was the most promising forum to introduce their reform message to the community.³ The CFUW did not contribute dramatically to the discussions on curricular changes, but chose to concentrate on the working conditions of teachers and the status of the teaching profession.

The early years of the Education Committee were guided by the interests and expertise of Geneva Misener. Misener was the first advisor to women students at the University of Alberta and a professor of Classics. She was an active member of the

²Nancy Sheehan, "Women's Organizations and Educational Issues," Canadian Woman Studies/ Les Cahiers de la Femme, VII (Fall, 1986), 90.

³Sheehan, "Women's Organizations and Educational Issues," 90; Nancy Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada 1900-1945," Historical Studies in Education, II (Spring, 1990), 307-321.

CFUW executive throughout the 1920s and exerted considerable influence on the CFUW's work. Misener was concerned with the situation of university-educated women employed within the education system, both in publicly-funded schools and at universities. Her reports assessed women's career options and how to improve them. Her own experiences as a university faculty member fostered her interest in women's position in academia. Her interest in the publicly-funded school system was likely influenced by her contact with young university women, one third of whom chose teaching as a career.⁴ With Misener's departure from the Education Committee in 1923, there is a noticeable shift in the committee's studies. The convenors who succeeded Misener, Rosalind Watson Young and Myrtle Lewis, had more diverse concerns, and were especially interested in the use of modern technology in schools. Their reports are not preoccupied with professional opportunities for university-educated women.

The Chronicle, 1920 offers the most complete report on education undertaken by CFUW members. When Misener first convened the committee, she planned to study three main subjects: rural high schools, education of the immigrant, and the academic and social status of the teacher.⁵ In the post-war period, these three issues were topics of concern for many Canadian citizens.⁶ The committee became

⁴Geneva Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 13.

⁵Geneva Misener, "Survey of Educational Conditions in Canada," The Chronicle, 1920, p. 5.

⁶Robert M. Stamp, "Education and the Economic and Social Milieu: The English-Canadian Scene from the 1870's to 1914," in Canadian Education: A History, ed. by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), pp. 298-305; Robert S. Patterson, "Society and Education During the Wars and their Interlude: 1914-1945," in Canadian Education: A History, ed. by J. Donald Wilson, Robert M. Stamp, and Louis-Philippe Audet

engrossed with the status of teachers and their influence, and it did not manage to progress beyond this subject.

The first report concentrated on the rural school system and encouraged changes to improve accessibility to high schools. Like many critics of the 1920s, the Education Committee maintained that introducing the municipal system and consolidated schools would improve access to high schools. Rural children were often educated in one room school houses which did not offer secondary school instruction and were characterized by inadequate curriculum, poor facilities, and inexperienced teachers who received low pay and little supervision. Consolidation promised to improve high school education in rural areas by building graded, modern high schools, attended by students from adjacent school districts. Teachers at consolidated high schools would be better qualified than the generally poorly trained and often inexperienced rural teachers. The community would reap the benefits of better quality education by employing well-trained teachers who were properly supervised.⁷

Many advocates presented consolidation as a means to introduce vocational training to high school students,⁸ but the CFUW did not concentrate on this aspect of the proposal. For the CFUW, consolidation created more career options for university-educated women. Central high schools were established which needed

(Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1970), p. 363.

⁷Patterson, "Society and Education During the Wars and their Interlude," pp. 369, and 382.

⁸David C. Jones, "The Strategy of Rural Enlightenment: Consolidation in Chilliwack, B.C., 1919-1920," in Shaping the Schools of the Canadian West, ed. by David C. Jones, Nancy M. Sheehan, Robert M. Stamp (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1979).

qualified teachers. Seven out of nine provinces required secondary school teachers to hold university degrees in addition to pedagogical training from a normal school or the Ontario College of Education.⁹ University-educated women could replace rural school teachers who were often described as inexperienced, young, and transient, and consolidation would remove many of the unqualified "permit" teachers who were certified by provincial governments during the war.¹⁰ Misener estimated that from 20 to 50 percent of teachers held only second-class teaching certificates, and she implied they were inferior educators.¹¹ Misener carefully related her proposed changes to the educational system with improvements in the quality of teachers and their working conditions. She guaranteed that the overall academic benefit of these changes would be felt by all of the community despite the costs incurred.¹²

Misener's report also called for improvements within the teaching profession. A fair pay schedule was on the agenda as were higher qualifications for teachers. The committee suggested that pay schedules should take into account factors such as the cost of living, the value of the teacher to the community, cost of the teacher's

⁹New Brunswick required one year of normal school to teach high school, and Prince Edward Island demanded two years' attendance at Prince of Wales College. Robin S. Harris, A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p. 296.

¹⁰Jones, "The Strategy of Rural Enlightenment," p. 137; Patterson, "Society and Education During the Wars and their Interlude," p. 362.

¹¹Misener, "Survey of Educational Conditions in Canada," The Chronicle, 1920, p. 11.

¹²Misener, "Survey of Educational Conditions in Canada," The Chronicle, 1920, pp. 5-13. Prior to World War One, consolidation was tried in communities of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, but residents did not consider it successful. Consolidation projects were more successful on the prairies. Stamp, "Education and the Social Milieu," pp. 298-300.

education, remuneration in other work and her academic standing. The CFUW endorsed a policy of equal pay for male and female teachers for equal work performed, although the plan specified that married male teachers should be entitled to an additional family allowance.¹³ The CFUW endorsed the idea of married women working, but they did not consider a family allowance for married female teachers. Members were aware that only in rare cases were married women permitted to continue teaching. The CFUW neglected to address the special needs of single women with dependents, such as daughters responsible for their parents' welfare and widows with children.

Ideally, equal pay would end the underbidding of women, more men would enter teaching, and the status of the occupation would be raised. The committee accepted the prevailing assumption that the presence of men ensured the status of an occupation. Because of their belief in the equality of women and men, CFUW members rejected sex-based differentiations in employment. They argued that to ensure the pay and prestige of teaching, women and men had to be integrated within its ranks. Although men comprised approximately 50 percent of high school teaching staffs, it was feared that men were leaving the profession. Administrators were convinced that low wages encouraged men to find more prosperous careers. As women became more visible within the profession, it lost prestige, and men were

¹³Misener, "Survey of Educational Conditions in Canada," p. 12; NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 7, Education 1924-1955, letter from Gertrude Lennox to Mabel Thom, 2 October 1920.

deterred from entering.¹⁴ Geneva Misener, and Elsinore Macpherson, the Vocations Committee convenor, knew that women's bargaining power was undermined because women's restricted career options resulted in overcrowding in the teaching profession. Lower wages for teachers, as a female occupation, were justified by school boards which reasoned that women were temporary employees and were often supported by their families. The committee believed that there was little chance of increasing the average salaries offered to women teachers because employers knew women had few other vocational options and there were always women available to fill vacancies. Thus, there was a danger that teaching would become a female caste characterized by low status, poor pay, and limited advancement. However, with men entering and remaining in teaching, it would not become a sex-typed occupation, and overall salaries would increase.¹⁵

It is not surprising that CFUW members endorsed recommendations for higher educational standards for teachers. Of the CFUW's membership in 1921, 353 of 909 members were teachers. In 1923, there was a proportionate increase to 409 of 1313 members, or 36 percent of the membership.¹⁶ Many of the other members were former teachers who maintained an interest in educational issues. As a group of well-educated women, CFUW members wished to impose professional standards

¹⁴Susan Gelman refers to the "pressing shortage of male teachers" in Ontario in the early twentieth century. Susan Gelman, "'The 'Feminization' of the High Schools'? Women Secondary School Teachers in Toronto: 1871-1930," Historical Studies in Education, II (Spring, 1990), 130 and 126-7.

¹⁵Elsinore Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1920), pp. 11 and 15.

¹⁶NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, membership vocational surveys, 1921 and 1923.

on an occupation in which they were interested and well represented. For members who were teachers, the CFUW may have been regarded as an association through which they expressed their frustrations with the education system and their working conditions.

Through the CFUW, university-educated teachers gained the support of other educated women not directly involved in the profession. CFUW members recognized the strength of their solidarity. They were reminded of their obligation to university-educated teachers by president M.L. Bollert who announced, "Teachers' salaries are still inadequate. This whole question should be gone into by those outside the profession and agitation come from them."¹⁷ CFUW affiliates lobbied municipal and provincial governments on behalf of university-educated teachers. In 1928, the University Women's Club of Vancouver endorsed the Vancouver Women's Teachers Association's resolutions for equal privileges and pay as well as equal consideration for promotions to principal and inspector positions.¹⁸ An organization which was not a professional association could have greater success securing the support of public opinion.

Although the CFUW was not a professional association, it shared many features with such organizations. Throughout the 1920s, Canadian and American women established professional associations to voice the career concerns specific to

¹⁷Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 91.

¹⁸Phyllis Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982 (Vancouver: University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1982), p. 37.

women in particular white-collar occupations.¹⁹ The CFUW was not unlike the Canadian Women's Press Club in its aims being both social and professional. Both groups advocated for changes within their professions which would improve conditions for society at large.²⁰ The CFUW maintained that students, and their communities, benefitted when stricter teachers' qualifications were introduced and work environments were improved. Higher standards for teachers meant that more effective educators contributed to national growth and wealth.

CFUW members hoped they could get a more sympathetic hearing from municipal and provincial officials than could a teachers' association. However, many of the CFUW's aims, for example equal pay for teachers, were expressed earlier by teacher's associations, including those of Saskatoon and Toronto.²¹ Teachers' low pay and prestige were matched by other problems ranging from inadequate facilities and equipment, isolation, and minimal supervision.²² The CFUW was concerned with the quality of education offered in Canadian schools, but it presented improvements to teachers' working conditions, prestige, and pay as a panacea for the

¹⁹Joan Jensen and Lois Scharf, "Introduction," Decades of Discontent: The Women's Movement 1920-1940 (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1990), p. 7; Gail Brandt, "Organizations In Canada: The English Protestant Tradition," Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, ed. by Paula Bourne (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985), p. 86.

²⁰Susan Jackel, "First Days Fighting Days: Prairie Presswomen and Suffrage Activism, 1906-16," in First Days Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba History, ed. by Mary Kinnear (Regina: University of Regina Press, 1987), p. 61.

²¹Women teachers organized in all provinces except British Columbia. Maria Apolonja Kojder, "In Union There Is Strength: The Saskatoon Women Teachers' Association," Canadian Woman Studies/ les Cahiers de la Femme, VII (Fall, 1986), 82; Alison Prentice, "Themes in the Early History of the Women's Teachers' Association of Toronto," in Women's Paid and Unpaid Work: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives, ed. by Paula Bourne (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1985), p. 108.

²²Jones, "The Strategy of Rural Enlightenment," pp. 136-7.

shortcomings of the education system.

The Education Committee's interest in teaching was not limited to the publicly-supported education system, but extended to university-educated women's access to positions at Canadian universities. Believing that the situation at the University of Toronto was representative of all Canadian universities, Misener complained that women were under-represented on Canadian university faculties. Only five or six percent of university teachers were women, and without the faculties of nursing and domestic science, this number was reduced to only one percent. For committee members this was inappropriate at a time when they believed that almost fifty percent of arts undergraduates were female.²³ The statistics compiled for the Canada Year Book, 1921 indicate that female students at Canadian universities represented 32.1 percent of undergraduates enrolled in the faculty of arts, and female instructors and professors comprised 14 percent of teaching staffs. The figures published in the Canada Year Book, 1921 do not reflect the composition of university faculties because they do not distinguish between women employed as professors, and those in the subordinate positions of assistants, lecturers, and demonstrators to which many qualified women were relegated. Some universities fared worse than Misener's case study of the University of Toronto; seven Canadian universities of a total of

²³According to Misener, 47 percent of arts students were women. If all undergraduate courses are included, only 29 percent of students were women. Misener's stated that there were 995 women and 1,133 men enrolled in arts. Women were not equally represented in other undergraduate programs such as medicine, in which there were 75 women and 997 men. Only one woman was enrolled in applied science, although there were 820 men, and in forestry no women and 62 men were enrolled. In social service women outnumbered men, with 193 female and 17 male students. Geneva Misener, "Report of the Education Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 13.

twenty-three did not engage any women on their faculties in 1921.²⁴

As a female university professor, Misener was aware of the difficulties face by women employed at universities. What Misener referred to as the "conditions which limit our progress" varied according to university, but all had the same result of limiting women's careers in academia.²⁵ Women who were employed at Canadian universities faced innumerable obstacles including lower salaries than their male peers and limited upward mobility, despite their talent and knowledge.²⁶

Careers of female academics were often hindered by the personalities and opinions of university officials who were hesitant to accept women's qualifications.²⁷ Aware of these tendencies, Misener asked university officials to what extent the "prejudice of governing bodies of schools and universities have operated in discouraging women in the pursuit of higher education or of advancement in their professions?" She further asked how these "professional limitations" could be removed.²⁸ The CFUW maintained that women's skills in teaching and research

²⁴Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1921 (Ottawa: F.C. Acland, 1922), pp. 156 and 158-9.

²⁵Geneva Misener, "Report of Educational Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 13.

²⁶Even Carrie Derick's career at McGill was obstructed. Margaret Gillett, "Carrie Derick (1862-1941) and the Chair of Botany at McGill," in Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science, ed. by Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley (Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990).

²⁷Judith Fingard, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty Women Before 1950," Dalhousie Review, LXIV (Winter, 1984-5), 687-703.

²⁸Misener, "Report of the Educational Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 14.

were equal to those of men.²⁹ To improve women's access to university positions, university-educated women had to prove their abilities. It was to assist in this process that the CFUW offered the travelling scholarship.

Reports submitted by later convenors placed little emphasis on the careers of university-educated women engaged as teachers either in publicly-funded schools or in universities. Instead, the committee's recommendations were intended to directly benefit students and the communities. The 1926 Education Committee gave convenor Rosalind Watson Young the opportunity to discuss educational issues which affected all citizens, and not only school children or teachers. In her report to the 1926 triennial conference, Young recommended the appointment of qualified women to the Department of Health Advisory Council, the improvement of school libraries, the creation of a film censorship board, the establishment of little theatres in small communities, and instruction in fine art in public schools.³⁰ The 1931 committee, convened by Myrtle Lewis, offered a brief report on imposing national standards on provincially-administered school systems. The committee recommended lengthening the school year, introducing a core of mandatory courses, and establishing a minimum passing grade of fifty percent. The rest of the report discussed results of experiments in Britain and America testing the uses of radio in schools. The committee

²⁹Geneva Misener, "Report of the Education Committee," The Chronicle, 1923, pp. 13-19. Macpherson surveyed 438 graduates not employed as teachers. Of these, 68 women were engaged in "university work." These women were demonstrators, lab assistants, and researchers, but Macpherson did not indicate how many held posts as professors. Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," p. 29.

³⁰Rosalind Watson Young, "Report of the Committee on Education," The Chronicle, 1926, pp. 18-22.

recommended that federal and provincial governments establish committees to study the educational possibilities of radio in Canada.³¹ The convenors emphasised the general benefits of their proposed changes, but neither Young nor Lewis considered the probable effects of their recommendations on the working conditions of teachers. Rather than reducing the workload of teachers and ameliorating their working conditions, the 1926 and 1931 committees' recommendations promised to add to the responsibilities of teachers and increase their burdens considerably through shorter summer holidays and the introduction of new subjects with which the teacher, although a university graduate, could be unfamiliar.

After 1923, the Education Committee placed little emphasis on women's career choices, but occasional comments regarding women's career options do indicate the beliefs particular to each convenor.³² The policies of the CFUW encouraged women's acceptance in the male-dominated spheres of university, politics, and business but some members did see benefits to women pursuing research and scholarship "along feminine lines," such as domestic science.³³ One member wrote

³¹Myrtle Lewis, "Report of the Education Committee," The Chronicle, 1931, pp. 35-47. The convenor of 1928 did not submit her report on women's pioneer work in education to the conference. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes 1928, p. 97.

³²One executive member believed that Misener had exhausted the topics she studied. In 1924, Susan Vaughan sent a circular letter asking other members of the executive what direction they believed the Committees of Libraries and Education should take in the future. Vaughan wrote, "It may be that former committees have exhausted the possibilities of investigation at this time, and that these committees may be diverted to other tasks." Neither of these committees were disbanded at this time, but a change is evident in the reports of the Education Committee. Ibid., vol. 15, President 1920-1950, circular letter from Susan Vaughan, March 1924.

³³Rosalind Watson Young, "Report of the Education Committee," The Chronicle, 1926, p. 21.

in 1926 that:

no avenue of constructive work should be closed to women, it is an undoubted fact that some occupations are more eminently suited to women than others, and we welcome their advent in those that are especially concerned with the betterment of social and economic concerns for women and children.³⁴

One report submitted by Young suggested that a woman's training should prepare her for her role as "purchasing agent" of the home.³⁵ She believed that traditional university programs were designed for men and did not satisfy the needs of all women. She claimed that most women were not suited for academic or professional careers, and they should be trained by their university education for their probable occupation, that of home-maker.³⁶

Young was a member of the University Women's Club of Vancouver which, in its early years, was the scene of an active debate over the validity of home economics as a degree program. The founder of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, Evelyn Farris, wanted the university to be dissociated from traditional sex roles and divisions of labour. Under her direction, early membership regulations of the University Women's Club of Vancouver did not recognize home economics degrees. Furthermore, she maintained that practical training, including home economics, should not be introduced at the university level, but the university should be the preserve of liberal education. Other members of the Vancouver club were

³⁴NAC, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Jean Scott Drummond, "Report of the Membership Secretary, 1926," p. 2.

³⁵Young, "Report of the Education Committee," The Chronicle, 1926, p. 21.

³⁶Young, "The Report of the Committee on Education," The Chronicle, 1926, pp. 20-1.

supportive of the practical utility of university education and supported vocation-oriented courses at the university level. Reinforcing sex-roles in university curriculum was not a source of concern for other members of the club. During the 1920s, the Vancouver club lobbied for a home economics degree program at the University of British Columbia. The meetings at which this issue was discussed were not attended by Evlyn Farris.³⁷ Young was among many women who sought to improve the status of home-making and the scientific administration of the home. As she explained, home economics was no longer sewing and cooking, but it was "an art, a craft and a business, a business having the largest turn over in the world."³⁸ She endorsed not only university science degrees in home economics, but the addition of domestic science to the high school curriculum.³⁹ Young's argument that domestic science was a respectable and worthwhile area of study for university women was probably received enthusiastically by some CFUW members. In 1923, there were six members with bachelors degrees in home economics, and in 1929 there were three members who were home economics supervisors, as well as thirteen dieticians.⁴⁰ In 1926, the women who held a Bachelor of Home Economics degree represented 1.11 percent

³⁷Lee Stewart, "It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990), pp. 43-48; Maureen Sangster Chestnutt, "Origin and Development of Home Economics Instruction in British Columbia from 1870 to 1951" (unpublished M.Sc., California Polytechnic State University), p. 19.

³⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 7, Education 1924-1955, Young, "Report of the Committee of Education, 1924-5."

³⁹Ibid., vol. 7, Education 1924-1955, Young, "Report of the Committee of Education, 1924-5."

⁴⁰Ibid., vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, vocational statistics, 1923 and 1929.

of the membership.⁴¹

Opinions on the home economics issue were rarely voiced by other members of the CFUW, and the emphasis of the CFUW discussions was continuously placed on women's ability to choose and excel in the male professions. The majority of CFUW members believed that university-educated women should have access to all professions. The CFUW was eager to support any member who wished to pursue a profession in which women were under-represented or not yet accepted. Elsinore Macpherson insisted that an individual's occupation should be determined by ability and preference, and not according to sex. For Macpherson, categorizing certain lines of work as suitable for women was futile. Education, and not sex, determined the appropriate employment for an individual.⁴²

To bring about changes in the education system, the CFUW urged members to stand for election to local school boards and governing bodies of universities.⁴³ Members believed that by serving on such administrative boards, their greatest influence as educated women was felt. Other women's organizations encouraged members to stand for local elections, often on the basis of their maternal interest to ensure that their children received the best education. Such was the argument of the Toronto Home and School Council which nominated women candidates for school board elections from 1918 to 1925. The Home and School Council stopped backing

⁴¹*Ibid.*, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, Questionnaire from the IFUW, 1926.

⁴²Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," pp. 16 and 41.

⁴³NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 11, History of CFUW 1901-1976, letter from Mrs. G.L. Lennox to Miss Reid, 29 September 1919.

candidates when it was accused of using school board elections to fight for women's voting rights, and not working on behalf of children. The Home and School Council asserted that it represented all women, but the CFUW made no such claim. As educated women, members believed they were capable and insightful critics of the education system.⁴⁴ In 1929, one CFUW member from Vancouver listed her occupation as a school trustee, and other members were nominated and served on school boards as well.⁴⁵ Local associations lobbied for the appointment of women's representatives on university senates and boards of governors, and some members served on these administrative and policy-making bodies. Vancouver and Edmonton University Women's Clubs and the Alumnae Association of the University of New Brunswick worked for the appointment of CFUW members to such positions.⁴⁶ Evelyn Farris served on both the senate and the board of governors of the University of British Columbia.⁴⁷ Margaret McWilliams served on the Council of the University of Manitoba from 1917 to 1933, and she resigned to protest women's inadequate

⁴⁴Kari Dehli, "For Intelligent Motherhood and National Efficiency: The Toronto Home and School Council, 1916-1930," in Gender and Education in Ontario, ed. by Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1991), pp. 152-3.

⁴⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, membership records, 1929.

⁴⁶Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982, p. 5; Linda Squires Hansen, Those Certain Women: A History of the Associated Alumnae, U.N.B. (Fredericton: Associated Alumnae of U.N.B., 1982), p. 27; Marjory W. Buckley, As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton, The First Sixty Years (Edmonton: Spartan Press, 1973), p. 9.

⁴⁷Tami Adilman, "Evelyn Farris and the University Women's Club," in In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C., ed. by Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), pp. 147-64.

representation on these bodies.⁴⁸

According to Veronica Strong-Boag, many women's organizations were active in nominating and campaigning for candidates seeking election to city councils as well as school, library, and park boards. Women's volunteer organizations gave many successful female candidates experience and prepared them for the political culture of local government. Women's organizations provided publicity and the confidence to win local elections.⁴⁹ CFUW members were encouraged to seek positions on city councils, and although they received little support on the national level, many of the local branches were active participants in local politics.⁵⁰ Margaret McWilliams was one of the CFUW members elected to city council. The Winnipeg Local Council of Women chose McWilliams to run in the 1933 election, and she was encouraged by the University Women's Club of Winnipeg. McWilliams held the office throughout the 1930s.⁵¹

Although CFUW affiliates were active locally, president Laila Scott believed that women, especially university-educated women, were not active enough in politics. She was frustrated by the apparent lack of interest, so she encouraged university-

⁴⁸Mary Kinnear, Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist, (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), pp. 67, and 89.

⁴⁹Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 203.

⁵⁰Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982, p. 16.

⁵¹Mary Kinnear, "Post-Suffrage Prairie Politics: Women Candidates in Winnipeg Municipal Elections, 1918-1939," Prairie Forum, XVI (Spring, 1991), 45, and 48; NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, Mrs. Lindal, "Report of the Committee on the Legal and Economic Status of Women, 1935-6."

educated women to involve themselves in politics at all levels. She attributed the absence of women in politics to Canadians' conservatism and women's immobility. Speaking before the 1931 triennial conference, she argued that the under-representation of women in federal and provincial politics was the result of Canadian women accepting the status quo. She tried to rally members into public action:

Do you doubt that the women of Canada are partly responsible for this? Let us, as members of this Canadian Federation, do our part in changing the state of affairs, in obtaining for our gifted women scope for the exercise of their abilities, and opportunities for them to make their contribution to the welfare of Canada and of humanity.⁵²

Scott saw potential for university-educated women willing to use their talents in public life. Other commentators criticized unfulfilled promises of women's enfranchisement. In *Chatelaine*, Gratten O'Leary maintained that women were unable to rid politics of its corruption as some suffragists had claimed. The pressure of women's vote had minimal effect on the framing of policy and the budget. O'Leary concluded that the control of politics remained in the hands of men, with few women elected or holding influential positions in the federal civil service.⁵³

Many Canadians who addressed the issue of women's participation in politics

⁵²*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, Laila Scott, "1931 Address to the CFUW Triennial Conference." References to federal politics were rare, but the CFUW encouraged qualified women to participate in all levels of elected government. The CFUW passed a resolution in favour of women's appointment to the Senate in 1920. In 1930, the CFUW sent a letter to congratulate the newly appointed Senator, Cairine Wilson. The CFUW also supported an unsuccessful campaign for Dr. Helen MacMurchy's nomination to the Senate. *Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, Margaret MacLennan, "In Favour of Resolutions, 1919-1969," p. 2; *Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1921, p. 10; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1930, p. 107; *Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, B.E. Barnett, "Report of the Corresponding Secretary, 1931-34."

⁵³Gratten O'Leary, "Is Women's Suffrage a Success?" *Chatelaine*, (September, 1930), pp. 12 and 52.

assumed that "most thoughtful women ... have shown reluctance or indifference" to politics.⁵⁴ In the Dalhousie Review of 1922, W.E. Maclellan expressed a commonplace notion regarding women's disinclination to political participation. His editorial asserted,

Everyone knows and admits that women are just as intelligent--on the average--as men, and just as capable--on the whole--of exercising the franchise wisely. But it is equally well known that most of them are not politically disposed, and that they are not inclined, for one reason or another, to give the needful thought and study to public affairs that they may be qualified for voting.⁵⁵

For many political commentators, women's apathy to politics beyond the local level was met with relief. However, for Laila Scott, women's inactivity was not due to women's disposition, and she argued that more university women needed to be conscious of their political influence. The university women's clubs provided support for women willing to serve their society through active participation in politics, but the most successful of the members' political efforts remained at the local level.

The CFUW executive was aware that not all university women wanted to be involved in politics, but many wanted to use their education to improve public educational facilities. The CFUW Library Committee encouraged members to seek positions on library boards where their university education was an advantage for directing the local libraries' services and choice of collections. Also, members with less public ambitions were reminded that their volunteer work at libraries enlightened

⁵⁴W.E. Maclellan, "Women and Votes," Dalhousie Review, I (January, 1922), 419.

⁵⁵Maclellan, "Women and Votes," p. 419.

the minds of children.⁵⁶ According to the Library Committee, the greatest potential for university women to influence their communities was found when they chose librarianship as a career. The library was an institution of growing influence, and the Library Committee sought ways to involve university-educated women in its development.

The CFUW wanted to improve the nation's libraries in order to improve education in Canada and to create a position for the university-trained woman which commanded respect. Not only did libraries spread the influence of good literature, they also improved the career options for university-educated women. As often as the CFUW recommended improvements in library collections and government regulations, it called for higher pay and better training for library staff.⁵⁷ The CFUW wanted library work to be professionalized, and it believed with changes in employment conditions and mandatory training programs, university women would be attracted to the occupation.

The 1920s witnessed a surge in interest in what educated middle-class Canadians considered the educational services of the public library. This interest in library services may have been fostered by the activities of the Carnegie Corporation. American industrialist Andrew Carnegie had established grants for the construction of 155 libraries in Canada at a total cost of over three million dollars. By 1919, 144

⁵⁶NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943, Report of the Fifth Triennial Conference of the Canadian Federation of University Women, "Presented at Queen's Alumnae, 1931"; Mabel Durham, "Report of the Library Committee," The Chronicle, 1926, pp. 23-4.

⁵⁷Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Committee on Libraries," The Chronicle, 1923, pp. 20-7.

libraries had been erected with this funding.⁵⁸

The first convenor of the Library Committee was Jessie Montgomery. Montgomery was a graduate of the University of Alberta who had served as president of the Edmonton University Women's Club. She was the librarian for the University of Alberta Extension Department.⁵⁹ Many members of the CFUW were familiar with the standards of Canadian libraries from a professional perspective and from volunteer activities. Two Toronto club members, Winnifred Barnstead and Bertha Bassam were pioneers in the procedural standardization of library work and the founding of Ontario Library School, later the Library School of the University of Toronto.⁶⁰ Other CFUW members were less renowned but still active as professional librarians. In 1921, 23 members were employed as librarians, and this grew to 37 in 1923, and reached a peak with 45 in 1929.⁶¹ Many were also active in community libraries in a volunteer capacity, either as members of CFUW affiliates, or through other volunteer associations which were concerned with the literary

⁵⁸Dominion Bureau of Statistics, The Canada Year Book, 1919, (Ottawa: Thomas Mulvey, 1920) p. 169.

⁵⁹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943, "Say Librarians in Canada are not well paid," Winnipeg Tribune, circa August 1921.

⁶⁰University Women's Club of Toronto, 75 Years in Retrospect: University Women's Club of Toronto 1903-1978 (Toronto: Hunter Rose Company, 1978), p. 36-7; Bertha Bassam, The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto and its Predecessors, 1911-1972 (Toronto: Faculty of Library Science, University of Toronto, 1978), p. 24.

⁶¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 14, Membership 1921-1940, membership reports, 1921, 1923, and 1929.

benefits of Canadian libraries, such as the IODE and the WCTU.⁶²

Characterizing the library as an educational institution was not unique to the members of the CFUW, but this was a concept CFUW members accepted wholeheartedly. Such a description of the library was presented in 1886 by the Chief Librarian of Columbia University. In his address to the American Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Melvil Dewey stressed the widespread educational significance of the library. He emphasized that libraries were an essential segment of the educational system which allowed adults to continue learning after leaving school. As an accessible educational facility, the library circulated great printed works, and cultivated an enlightened population.⁶³ Throughout the 1920s, Canadian educators accepted this appraisal of the library's services regarding it as a major component of the adult education system.⁶⁵ The CFUW endorsed this philosophy, and was eager to have the library generally acknowledged as an institution crucial to the education of Canadian citizens. The Library Committee often announced that "the public library is becoming a popular university."⁶⁶ The CFUW was anxious to support the growth

⁶²Buckley, As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton, The First Sixty Years, p. 12; Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982, p. 19; Alumnae Society, McGill University, The History of the Alumnae Society of McGill University, 1889-1959 (Montreal: 1959), p. 8.

⁶³Dewey describes the educational system as a tripod with the church and the school creating two of the arms of education, supported by the library. Melvil Dewey, Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women (New York: New York Association of Collegiate Alumnae, 1886), p. 3, 9, and 17.

⁶⁴Patterson, "Society and Education During the Wars and their Interlude," p. 367.

⁶⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1924-1943, A.K. MacGregor, "Report of the Fifth Triennial Conference of Canadian Federation of University Women," presented to the Queen's Alumnae Association, 1931.

of public libraries as a tool for advancing the education of adults and children.⁶⁷

Of the work undertaken by the Library Committee in the 1920s, the first study by Montgomery proved to be the most extensive and it introduced many of the themes raised by later convenors. Montgomery wanted to extend library service and introduce mandatory professional training for library staff. She wanted to raise the community's awareness of the use of the library and make it a generally-accessible educational facility. Most of these goals were repeated in the submissions of her successors.

The Library Committee evaluated provincial legislation which directed library services. Montgomery was harsh in her appraisal of the legislation, stating that most provinces did not adequately govern the administration of this public institution. The legislative initiatives of Ontario and British Columbia were hailed as models for other provinces. All provinces were called on to adopt better funding and more directive legislation to improve the educational and entertainment value of public libraries. For Montgomery, provincial legislation was the antidote for the problems ailing Canadian libraries. As a possible branch of provincial departments of education, she suggested that the administration and staffing requirements of libraries would be standardized and improved. Provincial guidelines could even advance the standardization of library

⁶⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928; *Ibid.*, vol. 7, Education 1924-1955, Rosalind Young, "Report of the Committee on Education, 1924-25," p. 1; *Ibid.*, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969 Bulletin No. 10, Report of the Twelfth Council Meeting, Madrid, 1928, p. 56; Mabel Durham, "Report of the Library Committee," *The Chronicle*, 1926, p. 28.

procedures such as cataloguing, classifying, and record keeping.⁶⁸ After 1923, convenors did not emphasize the need for provincial legislation, as Montgomery's reports seemed to have dealt with all aspects of the issue, and the affiliates were left to their own initiative to lobby provincial governments for library regulations.⁶⁹

Throughout the 1920s, the reports of the Library Committee called on CFUW members to promote the value of the library as an educational facility before the general public. According to reports submitted to the IFUW, the onus was on local associations to study the library "as an integral part of the education system in Canada" and raise the community's awareness of the benefits of extended library service.⁷⁰ Implicit in this approach was the idea that if the general public was aware of the library's value, public opinion would encourage greater government spending. Public libraries depended on municipal grants, but local residents had to support such expenditures.⁷¹ Alice Vincent Massey stressed what CFUW members already knew: "The general public does not yet understand the need of trained and well paid workers in libraries and all public libraries draw their funds from municipal grant."⁷²

⁶⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1923," p. 15.

⁶⁹There is no evidence in the CFUW records that affiliates undertook such lobbying efforts.

⁷⁰Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 10: Report of the Twelfth Council Meeting Madrid, 1928, p. 56.

⁷¹Such an argument was used by the promoters of the Ontario Library School who wanted mandatory training for librarians. They asserted that taxpayers funded the library, therefore they deserved the best quality service. Bassam, The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto, p. 13.

⁷²Alice Vincent Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1920) p. 46.

Based on her study of libraries in Canada, Jessie Montgomery estimated that 48 percent of the Canadian population did not have access to public or association libraries.⁷³ For the members of the CFUW, this represented a serious failure. Montgomery's study and recommendations offered means to redress this situation and improve access to this educational facility. Montgomery outlined a plan for a proposed library system which made libraries accessible to rural populations by expanding the services of travelling libraries. Local clubs were asked to consider this proposal and undertake implementing the system.⁷⁴ The plea for the assistance was followed the next year not with reports of the success of the local clubs' efforts, but with a reiteration that library service in remote areas was inadequate.⁷⁵ Greater awareness of the cultural influence of the library made the need for well paid and well trained librarians an accepted notion.

Recommendations proposed by the Library Committee were often vague and placed initiative in the hands of local executive committees. In 1923, a circular letter was sent to branches in which they were asked to "make a definite study of the value of the library to the community and of the responsibility of the community for library

⁷³Montgomery divided Canadian libraries into four groups: (1)government libraries, including departmental and legislative libraries, (2)university and college libraries, (3)association libraries, and (4)free public libraries. The latter two groups accounted for 523 of the 659 libraries in Canada. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Committee on Libraries," 1923, p. 3.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, "Tentative Agenda for Triennial Conference," 1923, p. 49.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1924-26," pp. 3-4.

service."⁷⁶ Procedures for such a study were not provided. Again, in 1926, the branch associations were reminded of the need for an "awakening of public opinion."⁷⁷

Librarianship was an acceptable career for educated, middle-class women, but in the 1920s there was a shortage of qualified librarians.⁷⁸ In 1886, Melvil Dewey portrayed librarianship as a suitable career for university educated women and stated that the general qualities of a librarian could be held by men or women. These qualities were "accuracy, executive ability, and above all, earnestness and enthusiasm." He explained that college women were qualified because they came from the best social class, their university training gave them a general education, and proved their ability to engage in sustained intellectual activity. University women were able to complete work with precision.⁷⁹ Alice Vincent Massey's study published in 1920, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, warned readers that training was not available for librarians in Canada. Many women who wished to enter library work went to the United States for professional training but did not return to Canada.⁸⁰

The variety of occupations within library service was one of the features of the

⁷⁶Ibid., vol. 15, President 1920-1950, circular letter to all clubs, no author (probably Montgomery), October 1923.

⁷⁷Ibid., vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1924-26," p. 4.

⁷⁸Bassam, The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto, p. 19.

⁷⁹According to Dewey women received lower salaries than men for four specific reasons: women were generally in poorer health than men, women had an inferior business sense, women were temporary employees, and women were less adaptable as employees and often required additional assistance. Dewey, Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women, pp. 20-2.

⁸⁰Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, p. 12.

budding profession emphasized by Massey and the CFUW Library Committee. Librarians were not limited to public libraries, but could find satisfying posts to suit their interests and education in numerous institutions such as medical, legislative, corporate, law, and university libraries.⁸¹ For those who did seek positions in public libraries, the diversity of the work was interesting and offered an opportunity for university women to extend their influence to all members of the community.

Montgomery considered library service as an attractive career for many university women, but she was aware of the difficulties associated with the profession. She explained suitable remuneration was rare for librarians, but chief librarians in large cities were awarded salaries of \$2,400. She also warned, however, that librarians in rural districts often worked only part time and were paid as little as 35 cents an hour, "less than was paid to a charwoman."⁸² Elsinore Macpherson, convenor of the Vocations Committee, wrote that library service "has been described as one of the poorest paid occupations with the most devoted band of workers."⁸³ To redress this situation, the convenor of the Library Committee called on the CFUW members to

⁸¹Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, pp. 46-7.

⁸²Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1923," The Chronicle, 1923, p. 24; NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Committee on Libraries," 1923. Alice Massey offered statistics regarding salaries in specific urban centres, but she did not indicate whether the salaries she recorded were awarded to men or women. Employees salaries at public libraries in Toronto ranged from \$500 to \$1200 per year, Montreal from \$420 to \$900 per year, Ottawa from \$400 to \$800 per year, and in Winnipeg supervisors received \$900-\$1200 per year and general clerical staff \$600 to \$850. Although the range of salaries for librarians seemed great and implied possible advancement, Massey added a breakdown of the number of librarians which fell into three salary ranges in Ontario: 2 librarians received \$1,500 to \$2000 per year, twenty received \$1000 to \$1500 per year, and sixty-five received \$700 to \$1000 per year. Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, pp. 46-7.

⁸³Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," p. 55.

work for legislation to improve the working conditions of librarians which included an appropriate pay schedule.⁸⁴

CFUW members who considered librarianship a suitable occupation for university-educated women were concerned by the record of poor qualifications of those employed in the occupation. Only Ontario offered courses in library administration, and British Columbia required senior librarians have one year of specialized training in the United States. In other provinces, Montgomery discovered academic qualifications of librarians were far from satisfactory. The majority of people employed in public and association libraries across the country were not high school graduates and a minority held university degrees.⁸⁵ Although members of the CFUW regarded librarianship as a suitable career for many university graduates, the occupation needed to be professionalized, with better pay, prestige, and qualifications.

Committee members believed that a well-trained and dedicated librarian was able to rectify many of the shortcomings in the library system and offer better services than a poorly trained employee. The best educational advantage of the library was realized if undertaken by a librarian with a general university education

⁸⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1923," p. 15.

⁸⁵Montgomery argued that 13 percent of librarians had university degrees, 41 percent had completed high school, and 53 percent had not even completed grade twelve. Only 22.8 percent of librarians had specialized training. Unfortunately, Montgomery did not explain how she arrived at these percentages, and they do not make complete sense. Although the exact figures she offers are questionable, they do emphasize her contention that few librarians met what she regarded as suitable qualifications for a librarian. *Ibid.*, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Jessie Montgomery, "Report of the Committee on Libraries, 1923," p. 9. Training facilities in Canada were limited to short library courses available in Toronto (2 months), Victoria (six months to train for senior positions in B.C. libraries), and Winnipeg, attendance at the latter being restricted to the Winnipeg general library's assistants. Massey, Occupations for Trained Women in Canada, p. 47-8.

and a technical course which developed the skills required to service the community's needs. The librarian's skills were evident in the selection of reference material and the collection of juvenile, youth and adult literature.⁸⁶ According to Dewey, the influence of a librarian was greater than that of a teacher. Her constituency was the whole community, the members of which she was in constant contact, "helping and elevating their lives and exerting a far-reaching influence for good not to be exceeded in any profession open to women or men." The librarian introduced patrons to the everlasting influence of great literature. The library offered an educational service, but the success of a library depended on the training, abilities and dedication of staff.⁸⁷ Marjory MacMurchy proclaimed that the librarian's responsibilities were so great that she could become "one of the most useful and influential citizens of the community."⁸⁸

The CFUW suggested librarianship as a challenging career for interested university-educated women and men, but Montgomery warned that technical training was also required to ensure the highest professional standards and the most favourable working conditions for librarians.

The library profession in Canada today stands where the teaching profession stood twenty years ago. There is still a tendency even among those who ought to know better to think that anyone can be a librarian. The result is that librarians are as professionals underpaid

⁸⁶NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Montgomery, "Report of the Committee on Libraries- 1923," p. 6.

⁸⁷Dewey, Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women, pp. 18, 10, and 23-4.

⁸⁸Marjory MacMurchy, The Canadian Girl at Work: A Book of Vocational Guidance (Toronto: A.T. Wilgress, 1919), p. 75.

and until the remuneration offered is sufficient to attract both men and women, the ranks of the profession will be filled with inefficient workers and the service will be poor.⁸⁹

Mabel Sterling reported to the 1931 triennial conference that Canadian universities were introducing library programs, many of which had high entrance requirements.⁹⁰ All Library Committee reports emphasized the success of projects across the country which were directed by librarians who were university graduates equipped with library training.⁹¹

Reports read before the CFUW and vocational guidance literature directed at university women emphasized the possibility of library work as an alternative to teaching. While many university graduates considered teaching as the most suitable and safest career choice, others were concerned by the overcrowding of the teaching profession and the over-representation of women in this field. Elsinore Macpherson's study of university graduates showed that teaching dominated as a career choice.⁹² It was feared that many women entered teaching even though they were not suited to it by talent or interest. In 1931, Ursilla MacDonnell's article in Chatelaine, asserted "teaching is still the most trust-worthy, as it was for so long the only profession" and

⁸⁹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1923," p. 14.

⁹⁰Mabel Sterling, "Report of the Library Committee," The Chronicle 1931, p. 18.

⁹¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Mabel Sterling, "Report of the Library Committee, 1931," p. 2.

⁹²Macpherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," p. 1. Of the 3,751 graduates she contacted, 1,046 did not reply, 1,139 were married, 1,002 were teaching, and 573 were engaged in other occupations. Macpherson predicted a decline in the percentage of university women entering teaching. According to Macpherson, greater opportunities created by the war and a change in attitude towards women's education, would distract many women from teaching (pp. 23-4).

"the mainstay of the graduate."⁹³ Texts offering career advice stressed that university women had to look for other openings.⁹⁴ CFUW members regarded librarianship as a expanding alternative to teaching. The 1931 report stressed that, "The fact that the teaching profession has been overcrowded has doubtless stimulated an interest in librarianship" not only among teacher-training institutions, colleges and universities, but among the university women as well.⁹⁵

Montgomery and her successors considered the CFUW's greatest work was to raise the public's appreciation for the educational value of the library. Communities were better served with improved facilities and qualified staff. Therefore, acceptable standards of education, salary, and prestige for librarians were required to attract qualified university women to the profession. The connection Montgomery saw between these goals is evident in the conclusion of her 1926 report:

In conclusion, it would seem to your committee that the greatest need in regard to library work in Canada to-day is the awakening of public opinion to

- (1) the educational value of library service.
- (2) the necessity for higher standards in library work and library training. Until we have such an awakened public opinion, librarianship as a profession can make little progress.⁹⁶

The Library Committee was established to consider the conditions of public libraries

⁹³Ursilla N. MacDonnell, "After University--What?" *Chatelaine* (June, 1931), p. 39.

⁹⁴See for example, Kate Holladay Claghorn, "The Problem of Occupation for College Women. A Paper Presented to the Association of Collegiate Alumnae," *Educational Review* (March, 1889), 217-230.

⁹⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Mabel Sterling, "Report of the Library Committee, 1931," p. 1.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 13, Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957, Montgomery, "Report of the Library Committee, 1924-6," p. 4.

in Canada, as well as the employment situation of librarians. As libraries expanded across Canada, new opportunities for university-educated women opened. University women staffing libraries would exercise greater influence over the education of the country at large, and would increase the educational value of the library.⁹⁷ This satisfied the two criteria of the CFUW's work in assisting the university woman and the community at large.

Both the Education and Library Committees were established to assume dual functions: to improve educational facilities, and to explore employment conditions and options for university-educated women. The CFUW advocated that the appointment of well-educated women as teachers and librarians was a service to society. Staffed by educated and talented women, schools and libraries could reach their full potential. The CFUW's involvement in these areas of education also promised to improve conditions of employees in schools and libraries, and to accelerate the process of professionalization which was advancing in the teaching occupation and had barely begun in librarianship. The members of the CFUW regarded both schools and libraries as areas of education in which all Canadians were affected, and in which university women should be involved.

⁹⁷Ibid., vol. 13, *Libraries and Creative Arts 1923-1957*, Montgomery, "Library Report, 1924-6," pp. 4-5.

CHAPTER SIX

"Promoting International Unity and Unbreakable Peace"¹

The International Connection

From the date of its inception, the Canadian Federation of University Women was interested in forming bonds with university-educated women worldwide. By joining the International Federation of University Women, the CFUW exerted Canadian women's autonomy, and at the same time confirmed that they were part of an international intellectual community. The CFUW used the peace rhetoric of international co-operation and friendship to remind Canadian university women of their duties as members of an international class of educated citizenship. The Committee on International Relations, the CFUW's liaison to the IFUW, tried to ensure that all members of the CFUW felt that they were part of an international network of university women. Despite its enthusiastic verbal support of international peace and co-operation, the CFUW did not administer any national programs to encourage such goals. The CFUW supported the principles of the IFUW projects, all of which were intended to assist individual women and at the same time promote international goodwill. However, the CFUW was not financially secure enough to offer regular or substantial monetary support.

¹This was Margaret McWilliams' summary of the IFUW's goals. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "University Women to Be Represented," Regina Leader, 1 May 1922.

To a small extent, the CFUW contributed to the upsurge of peace activism which occurred in Canada during the mid-1920s. The greatest supporters of this movement were women working within mixed organizations or in separate organizations, including the conservative National Council of Women and the more radical Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Most Canadians active for peace in the 1920s hoped the League of Nations' program of international arbitration and conciliation was the means to ensure lasting peace.² Throughout its first decade, the CFUW endorsed the League of Nations, and used the rhetoric of international co-operation and world-mindedness, but this rarely translated into action on a national level.³ Although the CFUW encouraged its affiliates, the CFUW did not become actively involved in the relatively non-controversial issue of the demilitarization of publicly-funded school curriculum which united other peace-oriented organizations.⁴ Peace, or more specifically, international

²Thomas P. Socknat, Witness Against War: Pacifism in Canada 1900-1945 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 90, 111, and 121-2; Donald M. Page, "The Development of a Western Canadian Peace Movement," The Twenties in Western Canada, ed. by Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1972), pp. 85-6.

³Lobbying the federal government on peace issues was rare for the CFUW. The 1928 triennial conference considered a motion which requested that Canada, as a member of the League of Nations, submit international differences to the Permanent Court of International Justice for arbitration. This resolution was not carried and the subject was not raised again. In 1931 the CFUW did carry a motion to sign a peace petition as an association. Unfortunately, the nature of the peace petition is not explained, and it was probably penned by the League of Nations Society. The Committee on International Relations report for the years 1931-34 states that the CFUW was represented when Disarmament Petition was presented to Premier Bennett in 1932. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 97; Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1931, p. 124; Ibid., vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Laila Scott, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1931-34," p. 2.

⁴Socknat, Witness Against War, pp. 111-15 and 121-2. Strangely, Margaret McWilliams reported this as being one of the CFUW's main activities for 1928. This was not undertaken at the national level, but may have been discussed by CFUW affiliates. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 12,

co-operation, was a non-controversial issue which justified Canadian women's involvement in an international organization seeking to advance the position of university women in academia and influence international politics.

No single issue united women as did the suffrage campaign of the pre-war period. In the 1920s, peace became an issue around which organized women rallied nationally and internationally. Nancy Cott cautiously posits, "international peace was, arguably, the major item of concern among organized women in the 1920s."⁵ Working for world peace led to the creation of cross-cultural links which united women in international organizations. For Canadian women, the strength and number of international connections grew in the decade following World War One, to become the most notable characteristic of Canadian women's associations of the 1920s.⁶ The international perspective and networks were the factors which led to the founding of the IFUW.

The idea of an international federation originated with British and American women.⁷ In 1918, Caroline Spurgeon and Rose Sidgwick of Britain discussed

International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1928," p. 8.

⁵Nancy Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), p. 94 (emphasis in original).

⁶J. Stanley Lemons, The Woman Citizen: Social Feminism in the 1920s (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1973), p. 211; Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: The Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 190.

⁷Published IFUW sources vaguely credit "someone in Canada" for originally suggesting creating the international organization of university women. This may be a reference to the University Women's Club of Toronto's early contact with British women and the AACA, but there is no reference to this in the CFUW papers. Virginia Crocheron Gildersleeve, Many a Good Crusade (New York: MacMillan Company, 1954), p. 127; Winnifred Macdonald, Footprints of Kate Edger: A History of the New Zealand Federation of University Women, 1921-1981 (Auckland: New Zealand Federation

founding an international association of university women with Virginia Gildersleeve, Dean of Barnard College, Columbia University. When the proposition was made to the BFUW and the AACA,⁸ each formed a Committee on International Relations, the representatives of which met informally in July 1919 to draft a constitution for the proposed IFUW.⁹

The CFUW was not yet formed, but two Canadian women attended the organizational meeting of the IFUW. Miss Hurlbatt and Miss Wrong were questioned about the status of university women's organizations in Canada, and the possibility of a Canadian affiliation.¹⁰ Hurlbatt informed the delegates that Canadian university women wanted to organize nationally and were eager to join the proposed international federation. She believed their efforts were hindered by the few women graduates and great distances. To expedite the organization of the CFUW and interest Canadian women in an international organization, Hurlbatt encouraged British and American representatives to visit Canadian university women's clubs and

of University Women, 1982), p. 16.

⁸In 1921, the AACA and the Southern Association of College Women united to form the American Association of University Women (AAUW). Macdonald, Footprints of Kate Edger, p. 17.

⁹Gildersleeve, Many a Good Crusade, pp. 127-131; Macdonald, Footprints of Kate Edger, pp. 15-17; Edith C. Batho, A Lamp of Friendship: A Short History of the International Federation of University Women, 1918-1968 (International Federation of University Women, 1968), p. 4.

¹⁰Although Batho mentions a Miss Hurlblatt attended this meeting, it was probably Ethel Hurlbatt. Hurlbatt was a member of the London Society of the BFUW. She was a graduate of Somerville College, warden of Royal Victoria College, McGill, 1907-1929, and an active member of the McGill Alumnae Society. Miss Wrong is not identified, but is probably Margaret Wrong, Dean of Women at the University of Toronto, 1916-1921. Alumnae Society, McGill University, The History of the Alumnae Society of McGill University, 1889-1959 (Montreal: 1959), p. 4; Batho, A Lamp of Friendship, p. 4; Anne Rochon Ford, A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto 1881-1984 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), p. 21.

alumnae associations.¹¹

Canadian women were inspired by the presentations of visiting proponents of the plan, Dean Gildersleeve and Dr. Winnifred Cullis.¹² Canadian advocates, including May Skinner, also visited university women's clubs and alumnae associations to inspire a sense of internationalism, and to remind Canadian graduates that an international union needed the support of the greatest number of university women "whose union must have a molding [sic] influence on the future of the women of the whole world state."¹³ By the time graduates met to form the CFUW in 1919, there was little doubt that a Canadian university women's federation would join an international organization. Reminiscing about the CFUW's inception meeting, Jessie Dykes wrote:

National Federation is but the step towards its logical conclusion, International Federation, and there was no doubt in the minds of any of those present but that we must have International Federation, that by such Federation University Women would increase their strength, their influence and consequently their usefulness.¹⁴

The first IFUW meeting was held in 1920 with eight national federations represented,

¹¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, Ethel Hurlbatt, "Report on the International Federation of University Women," November 1919. This letter is incorrectly dated November 1929.

¹²*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, letter from G.H. Lennox to Miss Skinner, 24 November 1919; *Ibid.*, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, AACA, "Meeting of the General Committee on International Relations, October, 22, 1919," p. 1.

¹³*Ibid.*, vol. 18, Secretaries: Corresponding Executive and Press, 1919-1969, letter G.H. Lennox to May Skinner, 24 November 1919.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, Jessie Dykes, "Report of the International Conference of University Women Held in London July 1920," p. 1.

including Canada, joined by delegates from seven nations in which associations were not yet established.¹⁵

The IFUW projected working for great goals and fostering international understanding, and this persuaded the CFUW to affiliate. Participation in a successful international organization was a source of pride for the young CFUW. It was used to attract more women to the national organization. The IFUW was presented as university women's best way to promote greater international tolerance. The CFUW affiliation ensured that Canadian women were represented in this attempt to model an organization of university women using the same principles of conciliation and cooperation as the League of Nations. Joining proved Canadian women's international spirit, and their desire to work according to these ideals.

Canadian women were pressured to join the IFUW to ensure Canadian interests were presented, and to assert Canadian university women's autonomy within an international organization. The Canadian government used League representation as a tangible sign of Canadian independence from American and British influence,¹⁶ and in a similar way, Canadian university women wanted to convince their British and American counterparts, and other nations' university women, that they were a mature, independent body deserving distinct representation in the IFUW. During the war, both the American and British associations canvassed the Canadian university women's clubs to join their organizations. In 1915, the BFUW wanted Canadian

¹⁵Batho, A Lamp of Friendship, pp. 4-5.

¹⁶John Herd Thompson, and Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp. 50 and 54.

women affiliates to form a relationship similar to that between the Federation of University Women of India and the BFUW. A similar request was sent to the Toronto club in 1917 by the AACA which desired to create a "Greater American" Association.¹⁷ When pressure to form a Canadian federation and join the international resurfaced in 1919, Canadian women wanted to assert their identity and autonomy in university women's international activities.

Canadian women were likely encouraged to join the IFUW by the guaranteed representation in the organization's council and the assurance that Canadian interests were voiced in IFUW's policies. According to the IFUW constitution, only one federation represented university women of each nation,¹⁸ and each had a Committee on International Relations to serve as liaison between the national and international organizations. The convenors of the Committees on International relations joined the president, former president, vice president, executive secretary, and treasurer to form the IFUW executive council. The Canadian Committee on International Relations was not formed until 1924, and Margaret McWilliams was its first convenor. The delay to establish the committee was not a cause of concern. The CFUW was confident that it was well represented in the executive council by McWilliams who served as IFUW first vice-president from 1920 to 1922.

¹⁷Batho, A Lamp of Friendship, p. 2.

¹⁸This policy did cause problems when both a Polish and a Ukrainian association applied for admission to the IFUW. The IFUW executive refused to amend the constitution to recognize separate cultural associations. Instead the executive emphasised the need for better understanding among university women of different cultures. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, letter from Theodora Bosanquet to Mary Bollert, 19 December 1927.

Although membership in the IFUW was a source of pride and a symbol of Canadian women's international spirit, CFUW executives were aware that many CFUW members felt distant from the IFUW's projects and goals. The CFUW tried to bring Canadian members into contact with the international body through the Committee on International Relations. The committee had representatives from each alumnae association and university women's club who were responsible for informing local affiliates of IFUW projects, and facilitating discussions on international events and world-mindedness. When this committee structure proved to be unmanageably large, it was changed in 1927. The new committee was comprised of regional representatives who continued to bring the internationalist message to all CFUW members.¹⁹ The committee structure focused on informing the local members of their role in promoting internationalism, and the local associations were the channel through which peace issues were addressed by university women. The Committee on International Relations was not a forum to organize united, national programs to promote peace in Canada.

The Committees on International Relations were responsible for directing IFUW projects on a national level. This encompassed all aspects of the IFUW's plan to develop international understanding and co-operation. The principal work of each association's Committee on International Relations was to ensure that communication within the IFUW was facilitated, assist projects requiring joint action, and disseminate

¹⁹Members of the Committee represented British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Ottawa, Montreal, Winnipeg, and Toronto. *Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Elsie Moore, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1924"; *Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1927."

information.²⁰ The CFUW committee believed that it had two main duties: to distribute information from the IFUW to CFUW affiliates, and send requested information to the IFUW.²¹ The CFUW Committee on International Relations was preoccupied with these tasks and did not attempt to undertake independent, national projects to encourage international understanding.

The CFUW and the IFUW presented their interest in international co-operation as university-educated citizens, and the organizations did not base their perception on the women's supposed maternal nature. Most peace-minded women of the World War One era relied on their experiences as women, or a maternalist vision, to explain their pacifist perspective. Historian Frances Early explains that many pacifists were neither wives nor mothers, but they still depended on their "complete life experiences as 'Women'" to present their arguments in favour of peace.²² Many organizations relied on women's traditionally prescribed character of moral superiority and pacific behaviour to present what Deborah Gorham labels "feminine pacifism."²³ Because the IFUW resisted such a relational identification, it

²⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 33, NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, Edith Hurlbatt, "Report of the International Federation of University Women," November 1919.

²¹*Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Laila Scott, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1931-4," pp. 1-2.

²²Frances H. Early, "The Historic Roots of the Women's Peace Movement in North America," Canadian Woman Studies/ Cahiers de la Femme (Winter, 1986), pp. 43 and 47.

²³Deborah Gorham, "Vera Brittain, Flora MacDonald Denison and the Great War The Failure of Non-Violence," in Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives, ed. by Ruth Roach Pierson (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 144; Berenice A. Carroll, "Feminism and Pacifism: Historical and Theoretical Connections," in Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives, ed. by Ruth Roach Pierson (London: Croom Helm, 1987), pp. 2, 7, and 15.

received harsh criticism from one CFUW member. Mrs. W.T. Hallam accused BFUW members of "aping man", focusing their attention too exclusively on the status of university women in the professions, and ignoring their responsibilities as child-bearers and home-makers. She asserted the British university woman was "becoming unsexed. She has lost her feminine charm, and is virtually a neuter."²⁴ Hallam also criticized the IFUW conference as a forum for "stirring up of sex antagonism."²⁵ As with many American associations formed in the 1920s, CFUW members did not depend on their identification as women to justify their interest in pacifist issues, but defined themselves as university graduates who were able to offer a new perspective to politics as educated observers, and in the Canadian case as recently-enfranchised citizens.²⁶

IFUW promoters described the organization as "a league of women linked together by a common aim and a common understanding."²⁷ Shared concerns and

²⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "Our University Women 'Aping Man'", London Times, August 1922. The notion that education and feminism unsexed women was repeated by critics of feminism. William Tait wrote in 1930 that "One of the most notable aspects of feminism is the tendency of the female to become more and more masculine and the male to become more feminine." Later in his article he added that the "more educated and scientific women ... are frequently, as it were, unsexed." William D. Tait, "Some Feminisms," Dalhousie Review X (April, 1930), 52 and 56.

²⁵NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "Modern Woman in England Now Seems Coarser," unnamed Ottawa newspaper, Aug. 1922. Other CFUW members defended British women for their demeanour, and reminded Hallam that the majority of women at the IFUW conference were self-supporting women without dependents. Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "Mrs. Sykes, of Ottawa, Answers Mrs. Hallam," Winnipeg Free Press, August 1922; Ibid., vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "International Scholarships Aim of University Federation," Winnipeg Tribune, 22 September 1922.

²⁶Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism, p. 95-7 and 244.

²⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, Caroline Spurgeon, "A World Sisterhood," July, 1922.

a network of international friendships led many women's organizations to create international associations in the 1920s.²⁸ Often, such associations relied on class-based trust shared by bourgeois or middle-class women.²⁹ For IFUW members, this class-based identification was supplemented by what they considered their special experience of receiving university training. University education allowed them to consider issues and relationships with both objectivity and sympathy. Every university woman was equipped with the ability to evaluate and respect the opinions and cultures of others, and use what Margaret McWilliams called the understanding mind. Caroline Spurgeon summarized McWilliams' description of the understanding mind in a 1922 publication:

the understanding mind, the dispassionate impersonal mind, balanced and slow to judge, the mind that by sheer force of its own convictions is tolerant of the convictions of others, believing that they may be well based and certain of the honesty with which they are held.³⁰

According to the members of the IFUW, this type of understanding, if demonstrated by national governments, would result in goodwill, co-operation, and international peace.

Membership in the IFUW gave Canadian women an opportunity to interact with university-educated women from around the world. The IFUW united women

²⁸Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History of Canada," Canadian Historical Review, LXXII (December, 1991), pp. 463-4.

²⁹Edith F. Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. by Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977), pp. 327-8.

³⁰NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, Caroline Spurgeon, "A World Sisterhood," July 1922, p. 71.

from within the British Empire with American women, and was successful in affiliating organizations throughout Europe, including France, Germany, Finland, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Rumania, Greece, Spain, and Portugal. By 1932, there were thirty-four national associations affiliated with the IFUW, including the national association of Mexico which joined in 1927.³¹ Often, the most respected of these women were residents of Eastern, Central or Southern European countries which Canadian immigration policy and public opinion regarded as inferior to British stock.³² Members of the CFUW were able to overcome ingrained prejudice and extend tolerance to university women of other nations, largely because these women represented an elite with the common experience of university training and an understanding mind.

There was a vague sense in the 1920s that universities were international institutions, the workers of which were members of a large intellectual community. Membership in the IFUW made Canadian women part of this community. This community thrived on its heterogeneity of composition, and on the members' common search for knowledge. Their international education led many academics to believe in an internationalist intellectual community. Carl Berger identified such a spirit of international intellectualism in his discussion of Canadian historical writing of the 1920s in which he writes, "The expatriate experience underlined and confirmed

³¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, "List of National Associations and Clubhouses of the International Federation of University Women," circa 1932.

³²Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, ed. by R. Douglas Francis and Donald P. Smith (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston: of Canada Ltd., 1990), pp. 194-5.

the notion of the international community of letters and scholarship and the conception of the university which transcended national peculiarities."³³ The university perpetuated this community. Their cosmopolitan atmosphere made universities a forum for international co-operation. They gave community members the training for an understanding mind, knowledge of other peoples, and a sharing of similar experiences. J.B. Brebner wrote in 1931 that despite the superficial differences among universities, they were institutions devoted to "a singleness of purpose" and exposed students to "the whole world's heritage of thought and knowledge."³⁴ Canadian women, even those who had not continued with graduate studies or attended universities outside Canada, were exposed to the international community through their studies and their relationships with professors and students. Canadian women identified themselves with this community, and IFUW membership gave them a sense of contributing to the development of this international intellectual community.

One of the greatest responsibilities of belonging to the international intellectual community was to ensure its survival by facilitating intellectual co-operation. For IFUW members, intellectual co-operation was the root of international understanding. They considered their efforts to enhance international co-operation

³³Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 142.

³⁴J.B. Brebner, "Oxford, Toronto, Columbia," Columbia University Quarterly, XXIII (September, 1931), 239.

as "one step forward in the development of a mental disarmament of the world."³⁵ The IFUW created a committee on intellectual co-operation to work with the Institute of Intellectual Co-Operation of the League of Nations which was established to facilitate the interchange of knowledge in all disciplines. Other IFUW committees were intended to enhance intellectual co-operation, including the short-lived Committee on Language of International Communication which explored the uses of Esperanto.³⁶ These projects were intended to assist intellectual co-operation within the community. As a community of academics, it had a tradition of being male-dominated, but the IFUW tried to give university women strong representation within the community. The IFUW wanted to give intellectual women a chance to develop informal but important networks which offered support and access to knowledge, all of which male community members took for granted.

Canadian women believed they belonged to an intellectual community, and they also understood the responsibilities this involved. The CFUW contributed to the efforts of other Canadian women's organizations concerned with teaching world-mindedness, but the CFUW focused its attention on university women. Teaching tolerance began within their own ranks, and they believed they could influence others

³⁵From an address by Kristine Bommevie a member of the IFUW and a delegate to the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, Occasional Paper No. 6, April, 1927, p. 12.

³⁶Other committees were suggested but not formed. One suggestion was received that a committee study the revision of school textbooks, but the executive decided that this had already been done by other organizations. A placement bureau for university women and an international registry of professional women were considered by the executive council as well, but the work involved in these projects was considered too extensive to be tackled. Ibid., vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, "International Federation of University Women, Minutes of the Eighth Council Meeting, July, 1925," pp. 10-11.

as teachers and in other capacities. As members of their nation's intelligentsia, university-educated women were obliged to influence public opinion favourably and encourage world-mindedness. Only with public support could international politicians maintain world peace.³⁷ As one German delegate to the 1929 conference explained, the work for international understanding was university women's "duty to humanity, a duty which included their attitude to other nations, to war and peace."³⁸

The IFUW's central projects were presented as a means to develop international understanding and sympathy among university women worldwide, and it was hoped university women would positively affect public opinion in their own countries. IFUW projects also offered individual women an opportunity for academic or professional advancement, and new and worthwhile experiences. Jessie Dykes reported that the efforts of the IFUW were intended to assist university women

it was most inspiring to realize that here were assembled university women from all five continents, eager to forward the cause of women all the world over.³⁹

Dykes continued her report by reminding CFUW members of the greater good gained by working for university women:

to promote understanding and friendship between the university women of the nations of the world, and thereby to further their interest and development between their countries [sic] sympathy and mutual

³⁷Alfred Zimmern, Learning and Leadership: A Study of the Needs and Possibilities of International Intellectual Co-operation (London: Oxford University Press, 1928), pp. 10-3.

³⁸NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 11, Report of the Fifth Conference, Geneva, Aug. 7-14, 1929, p. 60.

³⁹Jessie Dykes, "Report of the International Conference of University Women Held in London, July, 1920," The Chronicle, 1920, p. 20.

helpfulness.⁴⁰

By working on behalf of women, the IFUW encouraged international understanding and tolerance.

The IFUW's goals were summarized in one sentence: "Understanding and toleration are two strong factors which make for friendship, and these the International Federation desires to foster."⁴¹ Fostering such friendships needed to begin within the IFUW. Although the IFUW goals seemed to concentrate on promoting international goodwill and peace, members rarely discussed the causes and effects of war. The IFUW Committee on Careers for Women in Industry, Trade and Finance was convened by Spurgeon in 1924 to assess women's access to these realms. Spurgeon asserted that war was the result of economic forces and not political power, and she insisted that women needed to be engaged in influential levels of international finance, industry, and resources to ensure their representation in international politics.⁴² However, such analyses of war were not made by other members.⁴³ Members decided that discussing issues directly associated with peace

⁴⁰Jessie Dykes, "Report of the International Conference of University Women Held in London, July, 1920," The Chronicle, 1920, p. 20.

⁴¹Ibid., vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, IFUW promotional pamphlet, circa 1922.

⁴²Ibid., vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, Caroline Spurgeon, "The Desirability of Opening Up Careers for Educated Women in the Higher Branches of Industry, Trade and Finance," Occasional Paper No. 4, February 1925, pp. 6-9; Ibid., vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, IFUW, Occasional Paper No. 3, March 1924, pp. 8-14.

⁴³By contrast, the more radical WILPF combined feminist pacifism with "a democratic socialist analysis of the cause and prevention of war" and called for changes to "the structural causes of war." No such analysis was part of the CFUW's peace discourse which was limited to discussing international goodwill and intellectual co-operation as the means for ensuring peace. Beverly Boutilier, "Educating for Peace and Co-Operation: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Canada, 1919-1929" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1988), p. 4.

would result in disagreement and hostility within the IFUW.⁴⁴ Discussions of war and means to promote peace were likely to cause disagreements, as many IFUW members may still have been sensitive and accusatory over World War One, but even among European pacifists, differences in analysis and approach could prove divisive.⁴⁵ To ensure co-operation and consensus within the IFUW, the executives chose non-controversial results-oriented projects for which members could work regardless of cultural, linguistic, religious, or national differences.⁴⁶ Therefore, the IFUW united women to work for scholarships, teacher's exchanges, and clubhouses, all of which were practical projects to assist university-educated women. The IFUW assumed that if university women of different nations were given opportunities to interact, either as conference delegates, tourists, international scholarship winners, or exchange teachers, they could develop international understanding, tolerance and friendships which affected their own point of view, and that of all the people with whom they came in contact.

The CFUW supported the principles on which IFUW projects were based, but Canadian women were slow to offer financial assistance. CFUW members already paid considerable dues for alumnae society and university women's club membership,

⁴⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, IFUW, Occasional Paper No. 1, September, 1922, p. 9.

⁴⁵For a survey of the diversity of the pre-war pacifist activities of European women, see Sandi E. Cooper, "Women's Participation in European Peace Movements: The Struggle to Prevent World War I," in Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives, ed. by Ruth Roach Pierson (London: Croom Helm, 1987).

⁴⁶Gildersleeve, Many A Good Crusade, p. 139; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Peace-Making Women: Canada, 1919-1939," in Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives, ed. by Ruth Roach Pierson (London: Croom Helm, 1987), p. 181.

and many were involved in expensive local activities such as scholarships and charitable work.⁴⁷ Canadian members also paid CFUW dues, IFUW dues, and made regular contributions to the CFUW scholarship fund. Therefore, the CFUW executive was unwilling to further tax the membership, especially for projects which often did not have immediate results or affect Canadian women. The CFUW was not as well-organized and financially secure as the AAUW, which served as the great financial backbone to many IFUW projects.⁴⁸ The CFUW had little money left in its general account once administrative expenses were paid, and the executives seemed to be unwilling to use this money for IFUW projects. The general account could be required to meet unforeseen expenses, or could finance another project which directly assisted Canadian women.⁴⁹ For the CFUW, it was easier to use the rhetoric of international co-operation than to offer substantial financial contributions to the IFUW projects. Members were reassured, however, that their local efforts were important for realizing IFUW goals.

⁴⁷Vancouver women paid a \$3 membership fee, Edmonton \$3, Hamilton \$2, and the Montreal University Women's Club had a \$25 initiation fee and \$15 annual fee. Phyllis Reeve, 75th Anniversary: History of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1907-1982 (Vancouver: University Women's Club of Vancouver, 1982), p. 4; Marjory W. Buckley, As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton, The First Sixty Years (Edmonton: Spartan Press, 1973), p. 13; Alice Lamoureux, et al. University Women's Club of Hamilton: 60th Anniversary 1925-1985 (Hamilton: University Women's Club of Hamilton, 1985), p. 4; Catherine Holland Joyce, The First Forty Years: A Short History of the University Women's Club of Montreal, Incorporated, 1927-1962 (Montreal: University Women's Club of Montreal, 1967), p. 18.

⁴⁸Americans founded a fellowship in honour of Rose Sidgwick who died in 1918. The AAUW also absorbed many of the administrative costs of the IFUW in the early years. Gildersleeve, Many a Good Crusade, pp. 135-6; Batho, Lamp of Friendship, p. 9.

⁴⁹There was usually little money available once administrative costs were paid. For many years, less than one-hundred dollars remained in the accounts, but as the decade progressed the CFUW did establish a firm financial footing. NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 21, Treasurer 1919-1937, "Triennial Statement of General Fund," 1924-26.

The project which demanded the greatest commitment and the combined energy of all IFUW members was the one-million dollar endowment fund established to support thirty annual fellowships.⁵⁰ An international scholarship which gave some university women an opportunity for further study could also nurture internationalism in learning and revitalize the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the university.⁵¹ According to the IFUW, a scholarship not only equipped a woman with the qualifications required to hold high academic positions, but also exposed her to a new culture which gave her the opportunity to develop an international mind and to promote cross-cultural friendships.⁵²

Although the CFUW claimed it was "in sympathy with the proposed plan" and the goals of the endowment fund were so closely related to those of the Canadian travelling scholarship, the CFUW did not immediately lend its financial support to the endeavour.⁵³ The CFUW made no comment on the suggestion that each member donate one day's salary to the fund or to the proposal to publish an international

⁵⁰The plan allotted one half of the money raised for women from countries which donated to the fund, and the total awards for each country was proportionate to the national association's contribution. The remaining fifty percent of the fellowship fund was awarded on the basis of individual merit. *Ibid.*, vol. 28, Scrapbook: Press Clippings 1919-1923, "Scholarship Funds Discussed at Meeting," *Winnipeg Tribune*, August, 1923; *Ibid.*, vol. 21, Treasurer 1919-1937, "Some Notes on Financial Matters from the Third Triennial Conference of the Canadian Federation of University Women's Clubs, August 25-7, 1926."

⁵¹*Ibid.*, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 11, Report of the Fifth Conference, Geneva, August 7-14, 1929, pp. 50-1.

⁵²*Ibid.*, vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, Ellen Gleditsch, "The Need and Value of International Fellowships for Research," Occasional Paper No. 5, March 1926, pp. 20-1.

⁵³*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, CFUW Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1923; CFUW Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1924, p. 64.

cookbook.⁵⁴ The fund was established in 1923, but it was not until 1926 that the CFUW was able to contribute with a donation of \$300, followed with \$500 in 1931.⁵⁵ The CFUW Committee on International Relations tried to provide non-monetary assistance by sending information to university registrars, deans of women, and the Associated Press to ensure the scholarships were well-publicized. In response to a request from the IFUW, the CFUW also forwarded a list of Canadian scholarships for an IFUW publication on the availability of international scholarships for women.⁵⁶

IFUW by-laws required national associations to forward the names of suitable scholarship candidates to the IFUW headquarters.⁵⁷ A committee chaired by Carrie Derick of McGill was established to consider Canadian applications.⁵⁸ However, no names of Canadian candidates were forwarded to the IFUW. This seems to be largely a result of a lack of confidence in the abilities and level of scholarship of Canadian

⁵⁴The suggestion of the cookbook was the source of some disagreement among the national associations. The idea originated with members of the British federation and was endorsed by French members, but the German-speaking affiliates considered the project to be "a possible blow to the dignity of academic members." *Ibid.*, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "University Women at Vienna," *Time and Tide*, 5 August 1927, p. 721; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1925, p. 72.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, *Bulletin No. 9, Report of the Eleventh Council Meeting, Vienna, 1927*, p. 41; *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1931, p. 124.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 96; *Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1928," p. 3.

⁵⁷NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 33, IFUW Constitution and By-laws 1920-1959, "Constitution and By-laws: Revision adopted by the Fourth Conference, Amsterdam, August 2, 1926," p. 7.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1927, p. 4.

women academics. When two residence scholarships were announced for Crosby Hall in 1927, the convenor of the Committee on International Relations regretted that there were no applications, and she believed she was unable to offer names of qualified individuals. McWilliams was convinced that few Canadian women followed research work to the same level as English and European women. She explained to CFUW members that she was reluctant to offer the names of Canadian scholars before the CFUW contributed to the endowment fund, but she hoped a Canadian would be selected for an IFUW junior scholarship.⁵⁹ It is possible that McWilliams believed a Canadian woman who qualified for the IFUW scholarship was a world-class scholar who would better serve the CFUW purposes if she held the CFUW scholarship. Her abilities and achievements would then be shared by the CFUW, and would reflect favourably on the Canadian organization.

IFUW executives wanted to facilitate exchange programs for teachers as a way to develop and enrich education internationally, and to inspire tolerance among educators and students.⁶⁰ Teachers were considered a great influence on the community. As one IFUW publication explained, teachers had extensive contact with so many young minds that they were able to "mould the thought and character of their nation."⁶¹ Interchanges promised to influence the teacher, her students abroad,

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 12, *International Relations 1920-1976*, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1928," p. 2; *Ibid.*, vol. 12, *International Relations 1920-1976*, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1927," pp. 2-4.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, vol. 36, *IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969*, Bulletin No. 11, Report of the Fifth Conference, Geneva, August 7-14, 1929, pp. 50-1.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, vol. 35, *Pamphlets 1922-1971*, Occasional Paper No. 6, April 1927, p. 23.

and her students at home. During her term abroad, a teacher interacted with students of another country, revealing to them the subtle differences and similarities of their cultures. Upon her return to her community, she enlightened her students about a different culture and encouraged greater tolerance of cultural diversity. Some IFUW members argued that "no other method of propoganda could be so successful" as an interchange of teachers.⁶² The IFUW studied the possibility of organizing interchanges of secondary school teachers and had plans to extend the interchange program to include other types of intellectual workers such as museum curators, scientists, and librarians.⁶³ Interchanges allowed intellectual workers the opportunity to exchange knowledge and methods, and to encourage intellectual co-operation.

Eventually it was decided that an exchange program administered by the IFUW was impractical, but the IFUW executive recommended that teachers travel privately and national federations co-operate to organize exchange programs.⁶⁴ National associations attempted to organize exchanges of teachers; the BFUW and AAUW arrangements for such a program were reported as successful.⁶⁵ The AAUW was much larger and better organized than the CFUW and commanded a greater budget for such undertakings. The CFUW did not establish a committee to

⁶²Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 4, Report of the Second Conference, July 1922, p. 58.

⁶³Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Resolutions Adopted at the Twelfth Council Meeting, September, 1928," p. 3.

⁶⁴Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Minutes of the Eighth Council Meeting, July, 1925," p. 10.

⁶⁵Ibid., vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, Occasional Paper No. 6, April 1927, p. 21.

consider the IFUW's suggestion for interchanges, but assumed that the provincial educational administration in Canada limited any attempt to organize interchanges. The CFUW's involvement in this particular endeavour was limited to providing the IFUW with information on other Canadian organizations which arranged international teachers' exchanges.⁶⁶ The CFUW may have been deterred by the amount of work involved in arranging such an exchange and the expenses of paying for program participants' transportation may have seemed a daunting addition to the already strained budget of the CFUW.

According to IFUW executives, the best way for university women to interact was for them to reside together. National associations opened clubhouses in large university centres for visiting university women. The American University Women's Club of Paris, donated by Mrs. Whitelaw Reid in 1922, was open for American, British, and French women studying in Paris.⁶⁷ Other clubhouses were opened to university women in Rome, Athens, Brussels, New York, Washington, and Baltimore and special arrangements could be made for university women visiting Budapest, Copenhagen, Berlin, Florence, and Vienna.⁶⁸ Eventually, Canadian cities were added to this list. However, Canadian clubhouses were not established by the CFUW, but were founded by local university women's clubs. In 1927, the CFUW proudly

⁶⁶Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 11, Report of the Fifth Conference, Geneva, Aug. 7-14, 1929, p. 124.

⁶⁷Ibid., vol. 35, Pamphlets 1922-1971, "The American University Women's Paris Club," pamphlet, n.d.; Gildersleeve, Many A Good Crusade, p. 140.

⁶⁸Ibid., vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1928," p. 5.

announced the opening of a clubhouse in Montreal and welcomed members of the IFUW to visit the residence.⁶⁹ Although the CFUW made this invitation in its annual report to the IFUW, the Montreal University Women's Club which established the clubhouse was not a member of the CFUW.⁷⁰ In 1930, a second Canadian clubhouse was opened by the Toronto University Women's Club.⁷¹ The CFUW executive encouraged Canadian women to take advantage of the hospitality extended by university women across the United States and Europe. They could obtain letters of introduction from the convenor of the Committee on International Relations or the CFUW president.⁷² Canadian women travelling abroad and using the facilities offered by other national associations could experience the meaning of true internationalism.

The grandest scheme for a clubhouse was undertaken by the BFUW, and received considerable assistance from the CFUW. British women restored historic Crosby Hall, a five-hundred year old building which was once the residence of Richard of Gloucester and Catharine of Aragon, and stood on the property of Sir

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Report of the Canadian Federation of University Women, June 1927," p. 2.

⁷⁰The Montreal University Women's Club was formed in 1926, but the association did not affiliate with the CFUW until 1935. The clubhouse served as a residence for single professional women, and members of the CFUW and IFUW were invited to visit. Catherine Holland Joyce, The First Forty Years: A Short History of the University Women's Club of Montreal, Incorporated, 1927-1962 (Montreal: University Women's Club of Montreal, 1967), pp. 6-7, 20.

⁷¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 12, Report of the Fifteenth Council Meeting, Prague, July 1930, p. 67.

⁷²*Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, CFUW Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1928, p. 96.

Thomas More.⁷³ Crosby Hall was renovated and enlarged to serve as a residence for women studying in London. The CFUW pledged £1000 to furnish the "Canada Room", but meeting the pledge became a challenge for the CFUW.⁷⁴ When the offer was first made, the CFUW executive assumed that members would eagerly donate for such a project, and there would be no need to draw from the CFUW's general account. However, the completion of the pledge was slow in coming. Most of the money was raised by private donations and by the efforts of the local university women's clubs and alumnae associations. The CFUW experienced financial complications, largely the result of a waning membership, which made completing the donation to Crosby Hall difficult.⁷⁵ The account was finally paid when a special one-dollar levy was placed on each member, to which was added \$350 from the CFUW's scholarship fund. Once the pledge to Crosby Hall was satisfied, the treasurer reported that the CFUW was on firm financial ground.⁷⁶ The Canadian contribution of £1000 represented one tenth of the total amount raised by the BFUW for the restoration of Crosby Hall.⁷⁷ The CFUW may have been enthusiastic over the Crosby Hall

⁷³Jane Berton and Claire Coates, Calendar/ Calendrier, 1981-2 (Canadian Federation of University Women, 1980), n.p.; Macdonald, Footprints of Kate Edger, p. 38.

⁷⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, "IFUW Report of the Fourth Conference Amsterdam, 1926," p. 132; Ibid., vol. 21, Treasurer 1919-1937, CFUW Treasurer's Report, 1926-28; Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Report of the Canadian Federation of University Women, June 1927, Vienna," p. 2.

⁷⁵Membership in 1926 was only 1,780 which was a drop from the 1923 membership of 1,820, despite the addition of nine clubs in the three year period. Susan Vaughan, "Address of the Retiring President at the Triennial Meeting August 25th to 27th, 1926," The Chronicle, 1926, p. 11.

⁷⁶Laura E. Newman, "Treasurer's Report," The Chronicle, 1928, pp. 13-4.

⁷⁷Berton and Coates, Calendar/ Calendrier, 1981-2, n.p.

project because of the probability that Canadian women would use the residence. Many of the Canadian scholars, including CFUW scholarship recipients, attended British institutions for graduate studies. Many Canadian women could live at Crosby Hall while studying in London, or visit briefly while en route elsewhere. Personal friendships and other nostalgic ties may have furthered the desire to give, since many Canadian members were graduates of British universities. The persistent imperial identification of many Canadians was probably the greatest element which inspired CFUW members to support this project more than other IFUW proposals.⁷⁸

CFUW members were reminded of their achievement and its international importance when CFUW member Enid A. MacGregor described her stay at Crosby Hall. MacGregor explained to CFUW members that everyday events became moments of great importance in furthering both personal friendships and international sympathy, and even meals afforded opportune times for challenging assumptions and replacing them with a new found appreciation of international diversity: "Those meals had a trick of battering down one's racial prejudices in a very thorough-going fashion." To conclude her report, she expressed her faith in personal intercourse as a means to further international understanding with the exclamation, "If only statesmen could discover some such means of promoting world fellowship!"⁷⁹ MacGregor's experience reminded other members of the value of their hard work and financial contributions to Crosby Hall, and gave CFUW members a sense of

⁷⁸Thompson and Seager, Canada 1922-1939, p. 40.

⁷⁹Enid A. MacGregor, "Crosby Hall Impressions," The Chronicle, 1928, pp. 30-1.

nurturing the international spirit among university women.

The IFUW tried to organize concrete projects to unite the membership, but the executive also wanted to ensure university women's participation in international politics. To advance the influence of women in international politics, the IFUW cooperated with other international women's organizations to achieve shared goals. Concerned about women's representation on the councils and committees of the League of Nations, delegates of international women's organizations created the Joint Standing Committee of Women's International Organizations for Securing Appointment of Women to Expert and International Committees of the League of Nations.⁸⁰ Through this committee, the IFUW tried to make nominations to such bodies as the Consultive Economic Committee, the Mandates Committee, and the Advisory Committee on Traffic of Women and Protection of Children. The Joint Committee also lobbied for women delegates to be appointed to the Conference for the Codification of International Law.⁸¹ Eventually, the Joint Committee was successful and had eight delegates attend the Conference, some of whom were members of the IFUW.⁸²

The CFUW may have been attracted to the IFUW's promise to lobby for

⁸⁰Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," pp. 340-41.

⁸¹NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "International Federation of University Women: Minutes of the Eighth Council Meeting, 1925," p. 2; Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Draft Minutes of the Twelfth Council Meeting, Madrid, 1928," pp. 10-11; Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 13 Report of the Sixteenth Council Meeting, Wellesley, April 1931, p. 27.

⁸²Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 12, Report of the Fifteenth Council Meeting, Prague, July 1930, p. 38; Hurwitz, "The International Sisterhood," pp. 340-1.

university women's representation in the League of Nations proceedings, and they may have wanted to guarantee that a distinctly Canadian perspective was presented. However, the Canadian voice was often reduced to a whisper, primarily due to the convenor's lack of confidence in professional Canadian women. The IFUW called on national associations to recommend members for nomination to League committees and councils. The CFUW tried to offer its help on occasions when the committee was sure that Canadian candidates were of the highest quality. The CFUW was eager to send the names of non-medical women knowledgeable about infant death and maternal mortality to be corresponding members of a sub-committee of the League of Nations when requested by the IFUW in 1928.⁸³ However, the CFUW executive was not always eager to recommend Canadian women, fearing that the Canadian nominees would not be of the same stature as candidates presented by other national associations. The CFUW Committee on International Relations decided not to nominate a Canadian woman for the International Institute of Private Law. Committee members felt that no Canadian woman was as distinguished as the other members who were appointed to the Institute, so no names were sent.⁸⁴

Although the IFUW fought for university women's representation in international politics, the CFUW was rarely moved to lobby the Canadian federal government as a national association. The only public lobby presented by the CFUW

⁸³*Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1928," p. 7.

⁸⁴NAC, CFUW Records, MG 28, I 196, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report on the Committee on International Relations, 1927," p. 4.

concerned laws governing the citizenship of married women. These laws were of concern to many university women, and in this case a public campaign by the IFUW was not controversial or likely to cause division within the international association, and work on behalf of legal amendments allowed CFUW members the opportunity to partake in a combined effort to effect a change on women's legal status. Laws in most countries defined a woman's nationality based on that of her husband. The IFUW argued that a woman should be able to retain her citizenship and only adopt the citizenship of her husband if she chose to do so. The IFUW executive wanted the same citizenship laws which applied to men to apply equally to women.⁸⁵ When the agenda of the League of Nations' Conference for the Codification of International Law was announced and the nationality of married women was proposed for discussion, the IFUW urged its national affiliates to lobby their governments to include women in the delegations sent to the conference. National associations were called on to do everything in their power to have the IFUW's opinion presented to the conference.⁸⁶ The CFUW responded by presenting the IFUW's position to the Canadian government. In 1926, the CFUW sent a letter to the Undersecretary of State requesting that the nationality of married women be raised for discussion at the

⁸⁵Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 12, Report of the Fifteenth Council Meeting, Prague, July 1930, p. 38.

⁸⁶According to the IFUW's publication, most of the national associations were in accord with the IFUW's stance on the nationality of married women. Unfortunately, the publication does not discuss any differences in opinion. Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 12 Report of the Fifteenth Council Meeting, Prague, July 1930, p. 38; Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, IFUW Council Minutes, 1924; Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Draft Minutes of the Twelfth Council Meeting, 1928," p. 11.

next Imperial Conference.⁸⁷ The CFUW also reported that its delegation to the Secretary of State had "a sympathetic hearing" when it presented its report on the nationality of married women. Although national federations were asked to form committees to study the laws relating to this issue in their country, the CFUW did not do so, but local affiliates studied the situation in Canada and submitted their reports to the IFUW. The IFUW used these studies to publish a treatise on laws respecting the nationality of married women.⁸⁸ On March 14, 1930, a joint demonstration of international women's associations was staged at the Hague and was attended by the IFUW president. The demonstration supported the resolution concerning married women's citizenship. The CFUW donated money for a watching delegate to the Committee of Women's Organizations at the Conference on the Codification of International Law. The convenor of the Canadian Committee on International Relations, Catherine Mackenzie, explained that CFUW members "were very glad to be able to share in the Demonstration held at the Hague through a contribution our Federation made."⁸⁹ Beyond these limited effort, the CFUW did not undertake extensive lobbying campaigns, but devoted itself to studying educational issues of concern to university women and advocating Canadian women's career advancement.

⁸⁷Ibid., vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, CFUW Triennial Meeting Minutes, 1926.

⁸⁸Ibid., vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, C.I. Mackenzie, "Committee on International Relations, 1931," pp. 5-6; Ibid., vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, IFUW Council Minutes, 1924.

⁸⁹Unfortunately, the contribution mentioned is not explained. It may refer to their support for the demonstration organized by the International Council of Women, but probably refers to the CFUW's financial support for the watching delegate. Ibid., vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 12, Report of the Fifteenth Council Meeting, Prague, July, 1930, p. 66.

Although the CFUW was unable to offer large contributions to the scholarship, clubhouses, and exchange projects, the Committee on International Relations did arrange for less costly means to bring the spirit of internationalism to CFUW affiliates and encourage international understanding. Throughout the 1920s, numerous esteemed university women, mostly from the United States, were present at the triennial conferences and spoke on issues of concern to their national organizations. In 1923, American, Danish, and Italian representatives spoke at national and local CFUW meetings.⁹⁰ CFUW executives were also invited to attend the conferences of other national associations.⁹¹ The CFUW eagerly contributed to a fund created by American women to purchase radium for Mme. Curie, and hosted a luncheon at which the scientist was presented with an illuminated address.⁹²

Of greatest importance for ensuring international understanding was the need for accurate and objective information. To provide accurate information about the CFUW and Canadian graduates' interests, The Chronicle was sent to the executive offices of thirty IFUW affiliates.⁹³ Other national federations sent their reports to

⁹⁰A representative of the Danish Federation spoke at a meeting of the Winnipeg Club. Princess Santa Borghese of Italy and Dean Gildersleeve were guests of the Alumnae Association of McGill. The Education Secretary of the AAUW spoke before the CFUW triennial conference about the educational survey undertaken by the AAUW. *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, "Copy Circular letter sent to all Officers and Clubs," October 1923.

⁹¹*Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, "Copy Circular letter sent to all Officers and Clubs," October 1923; *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, letter from Susan Vaughan to Mrs. Wheeler, 9 April 1924.

⁹²Berton and Coates, Calendar/ Calendrier, 1981-2, n.p.

⁹³*Ibid.*, vol. 26, Minutes: Executive and Council 1920-1944, Executive Meeting Minutes, 1929, p. 2.

CFUW executive members.⁹⁴ The CFUW also responded to a request from the IFUW to provide a list of book titles which best reflected Canadian life and people. Using the suggestions of the local university women's clubs and alumnae societies, Margaret McWilliams sent a list of six titles.⁹⁵ The Chronicle and the book list provided reference material for other university women seeking information on Canada and its university graduates.

According to the IFUW, the greatest work of the national associations was to distribute "unbiased and accurate information about disarmament."⁹⁶ In response to this advice, the CFUW encouraged its affiliated branches to lobby for teaching of peace in publicly-funded schools and to hold regular current events classes for members. Local meetings of university women were encouraged to study international relations and current events in an effort to inform university women and stimulate an interest in international affairs. This suggestion was not well received by the local

⁹⁴For example, in 1925 annual reports were received from the American, Australian, and New Zealand associations of university women. *Ibid.*, vol. 25, Minutes 1919-1933, CFUW Executive Meeting Minutes, 1925, p. 72; *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, "Copy Circular letter sent to all Officers and Clubs," October 1923.

⁹⁵The list McWilliams sent in 1927 contained the following titles, many of which emphasized Canada's British heritage:

- 1) Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, Department of Trade and Commerce
- 2) Canada: The Empire of the North, Agnes Laut
- 3) Builders of the Canadian Commonwealth, George H. Locke
- 4) Canadian Footprints, M.O. Hammond
- 5) The Poems of Archibald Lampman
- 6) British America, John Buchan

Occasionally, the CFUW revised this list. *Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, letter Caroline Spurgeon to McWilliams, 20 December 1926; *Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, letter Margaret McWilliams to Caroline Spurgeon, 19 July 1927.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, vol. 33, IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943, "Personalities and Transactions: IFUW Council Meeting, Wellesley, Mass. 1931," p. 3.

associations and according to McWilliams, only the Toronto and Winnipeg clubs held regular current events meetings.⁹⁷ However, no nationally-organized campaign to encourage international goodwill was developed by the CFUW, and most peace activity of Canadian university women was undertaken by the university women's clubs and alumnae societies.

Local initiatives were intended to interest Canadian women in the international spirit, but members who attended the IFUW conferences were the keenest supporters of the IFUW's methods and endorsed the idea that goodwill and co-operation among university women promoted the same spirit among nations. Delegates reminded CFUW of the importance of membership and attendance at IFUW conferences. Jessie Dykes' report on the first conference summarized the promise and hope that was placed in the co-operation of university women. While describing the proceedings of this first conference, Dykes presented the understanding mind at work:

Thanks to the many opportunities afforded for social intercourse, the delegates became, as far as was possible in so short a time, really acquainted with one another, learning to appreciate one another's point of view. There was keen discussion, much difference of opinion, but no break in the harmony of the whole proceedings, a feeling of interest, sympathy and understanding was aroused which nothing can destroy, an understanding of incalculable value in forwarding the peace of the world.⁹⁸

Unfortunately, few CFUW members witnessed the work of the understanding mind

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, vol. 12, *International Relations 1920-1976*, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1928" p. 8.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, vol. 33, *IFUW Correspondence and Reports 1919-1943*, Jessie Dykes, "Report of the International Conference of University Women Held in London July 1920," p. 2.

at an IFUW Conference.⁹⁹

The CFUW members were unable to offer assistance to many of the projects of the IFUW, but they took pride in their efforts to encourage international understanding. The Committee on International Relations was preoccupied with providing the IFUW with information, but also with ensuring that CFUW members felt part of a larger network of university women working together for peace and international understanding.

⁹⁹For example, at the 1922 Conference, there were five members present as CFUW delegates, and another thirty members attended the meetings but did not have voting power. In 1924 and 1929, only fourteen members of the CFUW attended each conference. *Ibid.*, vol. 36, IFUW Bulletin 1920-1969, Bulletin No. 4, Report of the Second Conference, July 1922, p. 13; *Ibid.*, vol. 12, International Relations 1920-1976, Margaret McWilliams, "Report of the Committee on International Relations, 1924," p. 4; *Ibid.*, vol. 15, President 1920-1950, letter Laila Scott to local club presidents, 7 December 1929.

Conclusion

Recent examinations have dismissed the once dominant assumption that the demise of feminism began in the 1920s. These studies indicate that there was great diversity of feminists' interests and goals in the interwar period, although the full extent of this diversity has not yet been explored. The variety of feminists' interests resulted in the formation of numerous women's associations which were established to express concerns specific to particular groups of women. The Canadian Federation of University Women was founded in 1919 to unite a select group of Canadian women, university graduates, and to address their specific concerns.

One expression of feminism in the interwar period relied on women's individual rights and their equality with men. The CFUW was deeply committed to the principle of individual equality and directed its energy toward having university-educated women fully accepted in academia and the professions. The CFUW relied on the power of suggestion and on the proof of women's success to encourage changes in these male-dominated institutions. In the United States, individualist feminists sought recourse in legislative changes and fought for the equal rights amendment to end limitations on women. Canadian women did not have the radical political tradition upon which American women drew, but sought conciliatory means to introduce changes to the composition of the white-collar workforce.

The CFUW relied on having women accepted in all areas of public activity based

on their similarity and equality with men. In contrast to other organizations, the CFUW did not accentuate, or discuss, the special reproductive and cultural roles to which society seemed to limit women. Therefore, the CFUW was less successful in attracting women who wished to justify their public activism on women's distinct biological and social responsibilities. Instead, the CFUW attracted a large proportion of single professional women, possibly because it respected and encouraged women's participation in the workforce and credited their work as contributing to national development.

Throughout its first decade, the CFUW tried to improve educational and professional opportunities for university-educated women, and relied on the success of individual women to prove their abilities and confront the persistent discrimination which limited their advancement. Through the scholarship and vocational services, the CFUW tried to provide individual women with the knowledge to fill certain positions. The CFUW, however, was unable to recognize the causes of the systemic discrimination which restricted university-educated women's general access to, and promotion within, the university structure, the civil service, and the professions in general. Members consistently argued that university women only needed to prove themselves to be generally admitted and promoted on the basis of merit.

The women who founded the CFUW, and directed its first decade of activities, shared a deeply-felt urge to repay society for the privileges they had received. This was a class-based sense of obligation nurtured by the university atmosphere. CFUW members satisfied this responsibility to society by improving the educational and professional opportunities for university-educated women. They understood their goals for women and

society to be complementary. By striving for improved working conditions, pay, and prestige for teachers and librarians, CFUW members believed that they could enrich the publicly-funded educational facilities which in turn could serve their communities more effectively. The CFUW travelling scholarship and vocational services provided employers, including universities, with a larger pool of potential employees from which the best could be chosen, regardless of sex. It was through their assistance to university-educated women that CFUW members believed they made their greatest contribution towards building Canada.

The CFUW wanted to expand many of its undertakings, but the organization's budget constrained such ambitions. The CFUW was forced to remain cautious about its expenditures throughout the decade. Its most important project, the scholarship, was often criticized by members who considered it inadequate, while other projects, including contributions to the vocations bureau and to IFUW administered projects, did not receive the degree of financial assistance which the CFUW would have liked to provide.

The executive considered the CFUW's responsibility was to provide university women's clubs and alumnae associations with up-to-date information on topics of concern. The Chronicle and the triennial conferences each served as a medium for providing CFUW members with such information. The standing committees of the national association usually recommended that university women's clubs and alumnae societies work toward implementing the changes suggested by the committee reports, but the extent to which such recommendations were carried out depended on the initiative and interest of the affiliates. Therefore, it is possible that many of the CFUW's aims were not

presented to university officials or members of provincial and municipal governments.

The affiliates of the CFUW were obliged to co-operate with the national organization in its general work, but each organization had its own mandates and activities. The projects of each university women's club and alumnae association were influenced by local leadership and conditions, and often concentrated on undertakings very different from those recommended by the national executive. CFUW affiliates were active in reform-oriented projects or were often preoccupied with study groups which offered social and cultural enrichment to members.

The concrete projects of the CFUW seemed limited to the scholarship and a failed employment placement service, but the intangible qualities of the CFUW were of great significance to members. The CFUW linked university women nationally, with the exception of French-Canadian graduates, and successfully avoided the divisive regionalism which plagued other national women's associations. The CFUW also introduced Canadian women to an international alliance of university women which allowed them to understand their efforts as part of a greater attempt to promote international peace and facilitate intellectual co-operation. Even though few Canadian women were involved in the IFUW's projects, the CFUW's participation in an international intellectual co-operative effort was a source of great pride.

Although the primary goal of the CFUW was to promote the public role of university-educated women, an integrally related goal was to promote Canadian learning and nationalism. Of utmost importance to the CFUW was ensuring that women were represented in the leadership of the Canadian intelligentsia which was developing in the

interwar period.¹ Although the employment situation for university-educated women did result in some disappointment for the CFUW when scholarship holders did not return to Canada, they mitigated their discouragement by reminding themselves that these scholars were nevertheless proving the abilities of women. The CFUW took further consolation in the fact that their scholars' success abroad reflected well on the quality of Canadian university training. Affiliation with the IFUW was intended to promote international understanding among university women, but to the CFUW, membership was regarded as an opportunity to express Canadian autonomy and to offer a distinct Canadian contribution to the international intellectual community.

¹John Herd Thompson, and Allen Seager, Canada 1922-1939: Decades of Discord (McClelland and Stewart, 1985), pp. 158-9.

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