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**"A FEELING OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF WOMEN FOR WOMEN":
THE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S CLUB OF OTTAWA, 1910-60**

By

Laurie J. Smith

**Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
M.A. degree in History**

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2002 Laurie J. Smith



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ABSTRACT

Title: "A Feeling of the Responsibility of Women for Women": The University Women's Club of Ottawa, 1910-60

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Degree: M.A. (History)

This thesis examines the first fifty years of the University Women's Club of Ottawa, an organization that brought together women graduates of different universities at a time when women were not admitted to post-secondary education in Ottawa. Previous studies of women's voluntary organizations have concentrated on the period prior to 1930. Using the later period of 1910 to 1960, this thesis examines the changing demographics, mandate and related activities of the UWCO during the war, interwar and postwar periods. Drawing almost entirely on internal records, the thesis shows how the club's focus was increasingly externalized, at the same time as it underwent dramatic changes in demography and size. Club members identified first with their status as university graduates, and later in terms of gender. Both world wars served as watersheds in terms of mandate and activities. The thesis provides significant data to allow comparisons with other groups during this period.

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Introduction

On April 14, 1910, fifty-four women gathered in the meeting hall of the Carnegie Public Library in Ottawa. Graduates of the University of Toronto, Queen's and McGill, they came together with the intent of forming a university women's club in Ottawa. Some had been members of the University Women's Club of Toronto, founded in 1903, and others were familiar with the Vancouver or Edmonton clubs, formed in 1907 and 1909, and with university women's clubs in American cities. The first woman to earn a degree from a Canadian university had graduated thirty-five years previously, and significant numbers of women had been graduating from Canadian universities for the last twenty years.¹ Another ten years would pass before national and international federations of university women were formed, and it would be another forty years before Ottawa women could attend university in their own city, but the concept of women gathering to form a voluntary association was not new. North American women had been organizing themselves into societies with social, religious, charitable, educational and reformist aims for more than a hundred years and the late nineteenth century had witnessed a burgeoning of both nationally and locally-organized women's groups across Canada.

The University Women's Club of Ottawa ("UWCO") was founded with a combination of social, educational and charitable purposes. Over the next fifty years, the women of the UWCO would listen to monthly speakers, form study groups, arrange public lecture series, hold dinners, teas and luncheons, raise money, give scholarships, donate time and money to local, national and international causes, suggest and accept public appointments, run for elected office and support the campaigns of other women, and lobby governments at the local, provincial and federal levels for legislative and administrative change. Between 1910 and 1960, the constitution, organization and activities of the Club would shift in content and focus, as the needs and aspirations of its members changed – indeed as the membership itself changed. Founded just prior to the achievement of women's enfranchisement, by 1960 the UWCO sat on the cusp of a new era for women.² This thesis will examine the activities, organization and membership of

¹ Grace Annie Lockhart was the first woman to earn a university degree in the British Commonwealth when she graduated from Mount Allison University in New Brunswick in 1875.

² Later historians and feminists would characterize these two points in time as the first and second 'waves' of the Canadian women's movement. The 'first wave' began in the late nineteenth century and ended with the enfranchisement of women federally and in most provinces by 1920. The 'second wave' began in 1960 with the formation of Voice of Women, a national peace and disarmament group based in Ottawa [per Barbara L. Marshall, "Studying the Second Wave:

the UWCO between 1910 and 1960, in order to analyze how, why and for what purpose educated middle-class women worked in and through this voluntary association in mid-twentieth century Canada.

Substantial work has been done on the history of Canadian women's associations in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. In 1980, Canadian sociologist Gillian Weiss criticized early women's historians for ignoring the activities of non-suffrage women's organizations, and challenged them to examine "the role of women as an integral part of the society in which they existed" by studying the aims, techniques and achievements of voluntary organizations.³ In 1984, American historian Anne Firor Scott remarked on the 'invisibility' of American women's voluntary associations to historians, who had been reluctant to view them as a significant vehicle for women's participation in public life.⁴ In the past twenty years, both of these criticisms have been answered by numerous studies exploring in some detail the many causes and areas of interest to which women collectively and voluntarily devoted their time and talents. Included in this group are excellent studies of the National Council of Women of Canada⁵, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union⁶, the Ontario Women's Institutes⁷, the Imperial Order

Recent Work on the Canadian Women's Movement," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Winter 1994-95) 162].

³ Gillian Weiss, "Women and Reform in British Columbia: Some Preliminary Suggestions," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.* (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980) 279-284.

⁴ Anne Firor Scott, "On Seeing and Not Seeing: A Case of Historical Invisibility," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 71, No. 1 (June 1984) 7-21

⁵ Veronica Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1976) and "Setting the Stage": National Organization and the Women's Movement in the Late 19th Century," in *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, Trofimenkoff and Prentice, eds., (Toronto: 1977) 87-103; Lauren Jeffs, "Rushing Forth: An Introductory Examination of the Ottawa Local Council of Women 1894-1904," *Bytown Pamphlet Series No. 49* (Ottawa: The Historical Society of Ottawa, 1994); N.E.S. Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993).

⁶ Sharon Anne Cook, "'Continued and Persevering Combat': The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism and Social Reform, 1874-1916," (Ph.D. thesis, Carleton University, 1990); "'Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth': The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930," *Ontario History*, Vol. 86, No. 3 (Sept. 1994) 249-67; "Educating for Temperance: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Ontario Children, 1880-1916," *Historical Studies in Education*, Vol. 5 (Fall 1993) 251-77; "The Ontario Young Woman's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Female Evangelicalism, 1874-1930," in *Changing Roles of Women Within The Christian Church in Canada*, Marilyn Fardig Whitely and Elizabeth Muir, eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994) 502-39; and "Through Sunshine and Shadow": *The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

Daughters of the Empire⁸, and local chapters of each of these organizations, as well as studies of individual women who worked for and through voluntary organizations.⁹ Many of these studies terminate in the late 1920s, in some cases coinciding with a decline in the popularity of the particular organization. Three studies of this time period which have served as particularly useful precedents for the present thesis in terms of both subject and methodology are Gillian Weiss's 1984 Ph.D. thesis on six Vancouver women's organizations¹⁰, Dorothy Van Dyk's 1993 Master's thesis on the Ottawa Local Council of Women¹¹, and Wendy Hubley's 1993 Master's thesis on the Canadian Federation of University Women¹².

Weiss's thesis examined the organization, membership and activities of six Vancouver women's organizations, including the local University Women's Club, during the period before and after enfranchisement. Her prosopographies of each club showed that membership was not uniformly composed of middle-aged, middle-class, married women. Many women held membership in multiple clubs, and clubs often worked together to achieve their goals. Using minute books as her primary source, she found

⁷ Linda Ambrose, "What Are the Good of Those Meetings Anyway?: Early Popularity of the Ontario Women's Institutes," *Ontario History*, Vol. 87, No. 1 (Spring 1995) 1-19; Margaret Kechnie [sic], "Rural Women's Role in the "Great National Work of Home Building: The Women's Institutes in Early Twentieth Century Ontario," *Canadian Woman Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (summer 2000), 118-24.

⁸ Lisa Gaudet, "Nation's mothers, Empire's daughters: the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, 1920-1930 (M.A. thesis, 1993, Carleton University)

⁹ Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canadian Feminism in the 1920s: The Case of Nellie L. McClung," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4 (Summer 1977) and Strong-Boag's introduction to Nellie McClung, *In Times Like These* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); Tami Adilman, "Evelyn Farris and the University Women's Club," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980); Susan Walsh, "The Peacock and the Guinea Hen: Political Profiles of Dorothy Gretchen Steeves and Grace MacInnis," in *Not Just Pin Money*, Barbara Latham and Roberta Pazdro, eds., (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984) 365-379; Franca Iacovetta, " 'A Respectable Feminist': The Political Career of Senator Cairine Wilson, 1921-62," "Amelia Turner and Calgary Labour Women, 1919-1935" and "Thérèse Casgrain and the CCF in Quebec," in *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics*, Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster, eds., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Mary Kinnear, *Margaret McWilliams: An Interwar Feminist* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991) and "Margaret McWilliams and Her Social Gospel: The Formation of an Interwar Feminist," *Manitoba History* Vol. 22 (Autumn 1991), 30-34.

¹⁰ Gillian Weiss, " 'As Women and As Citizens': Clubwomen in Vancouver 1910-28," (Ph.D. thesis, UBC, 1984); and Gillian 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 B.C.*, Barbara Latham and Roberta Pazdro, eds., (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984) 199-209.

¹¹ Dorothy Van Dyk, *Producing Force Among the Women of Ottawa: The Ottawa Local Council of Women, 1894-1930* (M.A. thesis, 1993, Carleton University).

¹² Wendy Hubley, "To Make Intelligent Beings Yet More Intelligent: The Canadian Federation of University Women, 1919-1931," (M.A. thesis, 1993, Carleton University).

that a successful suffrage campaign was followed by campaigns for legislation to improve the lives of women and children. The women also focused on self-education to prepare women for a greater public role, and their work culminated in the construction of a long-dreamed-of women's clubhouse. Weiss' study ended in 1928 when, after realizing most of their goals, the clubs seemed to have lost their sense of direction, and either disbanded or declined.

Van Dyk examined a women's organization that remained vibrant and active throughout the slightly longer time period of 1894-1930. Contradicting earlier historians who accused women's groups of stagnating after enfranchisement, and women of retreating to their private lives, Van Dyk found that the OLCW continued to be involved in a variety of local issues, including civic politics, and worked in partnership with city council. Van Dyk targeted, in particular, Veronica Strong-Boag's assertions that women retreated into the private sphere during this period, and showed that Ottawa women continued to operate, perhaps *moreso*, in a public sphere that included men¹³. As local and provincial governments assumed more of the welfare activities which had previously been women's responsibility, the OLCW responded by lobbying for female appointments to welfare bodies. Like Weiss, Van Dyk relied primarily on minute books and, with the help of biographical dictionaries, created a prosopography of the Ottawa Local Council of Women executive. Because the OLCW membership was comprised primarily of local women's organizations, Van Dyk was restricted in her ability to describe the women who belonged to these component groups, or to determine the extent to which they shared or supported OLCW positions, and she recommended further study of the component groups.

Hubley's thesis on the Canadian Federation of University Women explored the goals and philosophy of the organization during its first twelve years of existence. Founded in 1920, the CFUW membership is comprised of local university women's clubs. Relying primarily on the CFUW minutes and newsletter, Hubley found that the CFUW sought to improve educational and professional opportunities for other university women, in order to fulfill the obligation its members felt to society for their education. Both the national character of the organization and the nature of the primary sources relied upon by Hubley, restricted her ability to describe the university women who

¹³ Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Fall 1986) 32-52, and *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1988).

actually comprised the organization, and to discover whether recommendations and goals pronounced by the CFUW were ever carried out by local clubs. Consequently, Hubley recommended further study at the local level.

There have been fewer studies of Canadian women's voluntary associations in the period following 1930. Veronica Strong-Boag has urged the interpretation that women retreated to their private lives during the interwar and post-World War II periods. However, her studies of women's private lives during this period, draw primarily on contemporary newspaper and magazine articles and advertisements.¹⁴ Strong-Boag has been criticized for relying too heavily on prescriptive literature, with the result that "we tend to see women more from the outside and in terms of what they were meant to do more than what they did."¹⁵

Naomi Griffiths' monograph on the National Council of Women of Canada was commissioned by the organization in 1993 to commemorate the 100th anniversary of its founding.¹⁶ Griffiths attacked the misconception that during this 100-year period women's lives had no public component and women had no public voice, and attributed the cause and effect of this misconception to the overlooking of women's volunteer organizations. She documented in detail the changing political goals, lobbying tactics and membership of the organization. NCWC membership is comprised of other national women's organizations, and of local councils of women, both of which are themselves comprised of various local women's organizations. Therefore, as in Hubley and Van Dyk's studies, while Griffiths could describe the individual executive members, and the component groups, she was restricted in her ability to relate this to the views and position of individual Canadian women.

Other studies have examined the voluntary activities of local women's organizations in response to the exigencies of war or depression. These include Ruth Roach Pierson's work on women during the Second World War, Carol J. Dennison's study of Women's Institutes during the two world wars, Nadine Small's study of the I.O.D.E. during the First World War, and Mary Patricia Powell's study of the Vancouver

¹⁴ Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness", *The New Day Recalled*; and "Home Dreams: Women and The Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60," *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 72, No. 4, 1991.

¹⁵ Bettina Bradbury, "Women and the History of Their Work in Canada: Some Recent Books," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 28, No. 3 (Fall 1993) 163

¹⁶ N.E.S. Griffiths. *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993).

Local Council of Women during the Depression.¹⁷ These studies focused primarily on the work done by these organizations in the context of all war or depression work during the period, rather than on the organizations themselves or their individual membership. Barbara Roberts' article on women's peace groups in Canada provided a more long-term analysis of women's voluntary associations, within a particular philosophical framework.¹⁸ Her work traced both the existence and absence of such groups, and their organizational and operational tactics, beginning with post-World War One peace activists and ending with the anti-nuclear group Voice of Women in the 1960s. As well as discussing what motivated women of different generations to join such groups in the 1920s, 1930s and 1960s, she considered why women withdrew during the 1940s and 1950s.

More recently, a number of short studies have explored the public lives women chose to lead through voluntary organizations over longer periods, extending from the interwar period well into the postwar period. Amy Von Heyking looked at two Red Deer, Alberta, women's clubs between 1920 and 1970, to determine whether they engaged in political and social activism between the first and second waves of feminism. Heyking found that both clubs, a university women's club and a business and professional women's club, were primarily social groups, providing fellowship for women of like mind and talent. The university women's club focused on the education and social life of its members, taking a limited interest in community issues, and ignoring national women's issues. The business and professional women's club promoted women's issues during the Second World War, but in the postwar period its primary goal was to bring culture

¹⁷ Mary Patricia Powell, "A Response to the Depression: The Local Council of Women of Vancouver," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980) 255-78; Carol J. Dennison, "They Also Served: The British Columbia Women's Institutes in Two World Wars," in *Not Just Pin Money*, (Victoria: Camosun College, 1984); Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986); and Nadine Small, "The Saskatchewan IODE during WWI," in *Other Voices: Historical Essays on Saskatchewan Women*, David De Brou and Aileen Moffatt, eds., (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, University of Regina, 1995).

¹⁸ Barbara Roberts, "Women's Peace Activism in Canada," in *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989). This collection also contains articles on women's involvement in other political organizations, including the National Federation of Liberal Women of Canada (1928-73), women in the early CCF (1933-40) See also Beverley Boutillier's thesis "Educating for Peace and Cooperation: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Canada, 1919-1929," (M.A., Carleton University, 1988), in which she documented the organizational development and educational goals of the group during its shortlived existence in the 1920s, considering questions of gender and class "within the context of post-suffrage feminism".

and refinement to a unrefined community, by sponsoring local performances of professional music, theatre and dance groups. The character and size of the Red Deer community and the fact that each group existed for less than thirty years, may have been a significant factor in Heyking's findings. Would a similar conclusion be reached in a study of clubs in a larger city during this time period? D. Lorraine Andrews' studied the Calgary Business and Professional Women's Club between 1927 and 1947, but produced only a cursory examination of their goals and activities.¹⁹ Jody Baltessen and Shelagh J. Squire examined study and reading groups organized by Winnipeg women between 1900 and 1940, noting that less attention has been devoted to women's groups who were devoted to intellectual stimulation, than to those who organized for charitable or political causes.²⁰ They found that women used these clubs, not only for socializing and education, but also as an opportunity to engage in community activity and social reform, providing a "voice" to women who might otherwise be confined to the private sphere. Lisa Gaudet's study of the I.O.D.E. between 1920 and 1930 had found that the while the group retained its imperial beliefs, it adapted to the pacifist, isolationist and nationalistic sensibilities of the postwar period by supporting campaigns for child welfare, progressive education and the Canadianization of immigrants.²¹ Lorraine Coops's longer-term but less intensive study of a local IODE chapter between 1915 and 1965, similarly found that the chapter eventually broadened its imperialist objects to include educational and charitable, but not reform activities.²² Joan Sangster looked at the formation of left-wing housewives' groups between 1920 and 1970 and the lobbying and education efforts carried out by these groups, noting that the definition of what constituted a "women's issue" changed as the role of women changed.²³

Other studies have examined the activities and methods of twentieth century lay women's groups associated with religious organizations. Associations of laywomen must

¹⁹ D. Lorraine Andrews, in "Calgary Business and Professional Women's Club," *Alberta History*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter 1997) 20-25.

²⁰ Jody Baltessen and Shelagh J. Squire, "Winnipeg Women Getting Together: Study Groups and Reading Clubs, 1900-1940," in Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. McLean and Kate O'Rourke, eds., *Framing Our Past: Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001) pp. 10-14.

²¹ Lisa Gaudet, "Nation's mothers, Empire's daughters: the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: 1920-1930 (M.A. thesis, 1993, Carleton)

²² Lorraine Coops, "'Strength in Union': Patterns of Continuity and Change Within the Sir Robert Borden Chapter of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, 1915-1965," *Atlantis*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (1995), 77-85.

²³ Joan Sangster, "Consuming Issues: Women on the Left, Political Protest, and the Organization of Homemakers, 1920-1960," in Cook et al, *Framing Our Past*, pp. 240-247.

be distinguished from religious orders for women and missionary societies, both of which provided vocations for women and have been studied elsewhere. However, studies of laywomen's organizations can also be distinguished from the present study, on the ground that women in such groups were motivated to participate on the basis of their faith and acted within the particular constraints of their religious organization.²⁴

Numerous histories have described university women and their ideas and activities as students, but very little has been written on alumnae and their involvement in voluntary organizations or causes.²⁵ Alumnae studies tend to focus on paid employment, especially amongst academic women, despite the many female university graduates who engaged in public life without pay. One exception is Margaret Gillett's monograph on McGill women, in which she devotes a chapter to the alumnae organization and second wave women's movement at McGill.²⁶ The histories of many of

²⁴ Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, " 'Doing All the Rest': Church Women of the Ladies' Aid Society," in Cook et al., eds., *Framing Our Past*, pp. 18-21; Gloria Neufeld Redekop, *The Work of Their Hands: Mennonite Women's Societies in Canada*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996); Rachel Schlesinger, "Volunteers for a Dream," *Canadian Jewish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. 10, No. 1 (1988), 20-33.

²⁵ John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis*, 3-33; Lee Stewart, "Women on Campus in B.C.: Strategies for Survival, Years of War and Peace, 1906-1920," in Barbara K. Latham and Roberta Pazdro, eds., *Not Just Pin Money: Selected Essays on the History of Women's Work in B.C.* (Victoria: Camosun Press, 1984); 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); Lynne Marks and Chad Gaffield, "Women at Queen's University 1895-1906: A 'Little Sphere' All Their Own?" *Ontario History*, 78, 4 (Dec. 1986) 331-349; Michael Hayden, "Women and the University of Saskatchewan: Patterns of a Problem," *Saskatchewan History*, XL (Spring 1987), 74; Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University, 1895-1900," in Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society* (Montreal & Kingston, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 3-25; Judith Fingard, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Coeds 1881-1921," in Axelrod et al., *Youth, University*, 26-50; A.B. McKillop, "Marching As To War: Elements of Ontario Undergraduate Culture, 1880-1914," in Axelrod et al., *Youth, University*, 75-93; Keith Walden, "Hazes, Hustles, Scraps and Stunts: Initiations at the University of Toronto, 1880-1925," in Axelrod et al., *Youth, University*, 94-121; Barry M. Moody, "Acadia and the Great War," in Axelrod et al., *Youth, University*, 143-160; Nancy Kiefer and Ruth Roach Pierson, "The War Effort and Women Students at the University of Toronto, 1939-45," in Axelrod et al., *Youth, University*, 161-183; Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's During the 1920s," *Historical Studies in Education* 1 (Spring 1989), 53-68; Lee Stewart, *It's Up To You: Women at UBC in the Early Years* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990); and Alyson E. King, "The Experience of Women Students at Four Universities, 1895-1930," in Cook et al., *Framing Our Past*, pp. 160-165.

²⁶ Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981) 369-410. Judith Fingard, Margaret Gillett and Marianne Gosztanyi Ainley have examined the post graduate careers of women graduates, but not their voluntary activities. Judith 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

Canada's university women's clubs, alumnae associations and other women's organizations have been published by the groups themselves, but without any historical analysis, these accounts are useful primarily as primary sources.²⁷

These studies point to the need for primary research on the public life of women during the interwar and especially postwar years of the twentieth century, as they carried out unpaid work in and through the vehicle of voluntary associations. The excellent work done on nineteenth century and early twentieth century women's groups must be followed by similar studies of the goals, methods and achievements of voluntary women's associations, and the women who supported these organizations, during the succeeding portions of the twentieth century. The study of individual organizations which survived, or even thrived, over multiple decades, will produce useful analyses of the changes that occurred in women's philosophies, interests, and modes of operation throughout the twentieth century, as part of the larger social history of local and national communities. In particular, such longer-term study can provide insight into how shared experiences, such as war, might have altered the attitudes, interests and priorities of women's groups.

The University Women's Club of Ottawa is an ideal choice for the study of middle-class women in local voluntary organizations at mid-century. Founded in 1910 and still operating today as a chapter of the Canadian Federation of University Women, this group has maintained detailed records of its membership and activities, so that it is possible to trace the movement of women, ideas, programmes and projects within the structure of the Club. The extended time frame of fifty years permits the observation of both the decline and ascension of different activities, interests and methods of operation as well as the effect of intervening events such as war. The end date of 1960, while certainly not the end of the story, leaves the Club in readiness for the women's liberation

McGill," and Marianne Gosztanyi Ainley, "Last in the Field? Canadian Women Natural Scientists, 1815-1965," both in Ainley, ed., *Despite the Odds: Essays on Canadian Women and Science*, (Montreal: Vehicule Press, 1990).

²⁷Catherine Holland Joyce, *The First Forty Years: A Short History of the University Women's Club of Montreal, 1927-1967* (1966); Marjorie W. Buckley, *As It Happened: The University Women's Club of Edmonton: The First 60 years* (Edmonton: Spartan Press Ltd., 1973); *75 Years in Retrospect: University Women's Club of Toronto, 1903-1978*, (Toronto: UWCT, 1978); Linda Squires Hansen, *"Those Certain Women": A History of the Associated Alumnae of the University of New Brunswick* (Alumnae Association of UNB, 1982); Phyllis Reeve, *75th Anniversary of the Vancouver University Women's Club* (Vancouver: UWCV, 1982); *University Women's Club, Hamilton, 1925-1985*, (Hamilton: UWCH, 1985); Kathleen Barclay Bowley, *Annus Aureus: The Golden Year 1987: A History of the University Women's Club of Peterborough, Ontario, 1937-1987* (Peterborough: UWCP, 1987).

movement of the 1960s and 1970s. While the requirement that members hold a university degree restricted UWCO membership to a certain proportion of middle-class women, no other ideological contingency existed, leaving the organization relatively free to recreate itself as circumstances, and the goals and ideals of its members changed. The Club's changing mix of social, educational, benevolent and activist purposes permitted its membership considerable choice as to the directions in which it would move in over the next fifty years. Those choices, as exhibited through the Club's organization, activities and membership and methods of operation, provide a clear picture of educated middle-class women in organizational life in the mid-twentieth century.

The thesis relies virtually exclusively on the extensive written records of the UWCO, as preserved at the National Archives of Canada. The nature and extent of the available records was determined primarily by successive Archives Committees appointed by the Club, whose duties included not only writing Club histories and summaries of activities (many no longer extant) but culling papers which were considered irrelevant. As a result, there are many more extant documents from the postwar period than from earlier periods. The extant records used in the present thesis include the minutes of regular and executive meetings, various versions of the bylaws and constitution, annual and monthly reports of the Club and its committees and study groups, membership lists, completed application forms, guest books, annual dinner programs, yearly speaker programs, notices of meetings, correspondence, newsletters, press releases and newspaper clippings. While only meeting minutes, membership lists, application forms and dinner programs are extant for the earliest period of the Club's history, a wide variety of documents are extant for later periods. With the exception of the newspaper clippings, which were selected and saved by the Club, all records relied upon were created by Club members. As such, they are a product of the perceptions and biases of their UWCO creators and editors, and of subsequent Club members who chose to save these documents and not others. Rather than a disqualification, this serves to make these records even more valuable as evidence of the Club and its members.

The thesis is divided into three chronological chapters. The first chapter deals with the initial ten years of the Club, when much of the necessary organization was taking place. This chapter includes the Club's limited participation in suffrage and enfranchisement, as well as the disruption of the First World War. The second chapter

chronicles the interwar years of the 1920s and 1930s. The third chapter picks up once the Second World War is underway, and takes the Club through the post war period of the late 1940s and 1950s, ending in the spring of 1960. Each chapter contains a prosopography of the membership during that time period, and a description of the Club's organization and activities. The chapters are roughly parallel in content and structure, permitting an easier comparison of the shifts in focus that occurred from one time period to the next.

Chapter One – Keeping in Touch: 1910-20

The fifty-four women who gathered in the meeting hall of the new Carnegie Library in on April 14, 1910 had at least three things in common: they were women, they called Ottawa their home, and they were all university graduates. These three things were enough to bring them together to form a new club. New Brunswick's Mount Allison University had granted the first Canadian university degree to a woman in 1875, and most other Canadian universities had followed suit in the 1880s. Ottawa's only university was a Roman Catholic institution employing employed male clerics as professors and admitting only young men. Anglo-Protestant Ottawa families sent their sons and daughters to Queen's, McGill or the University of Toronto for an education.¹ By 1910, the pioneer female students of Canadian universities were middle-aged women and significant numbers of women graduates had attended university when the presence of women was becoming commonplace. In 1900, 11% of Canadian university students, and 13% of Ontario university students, were women.² By 1920, 17% of full-time Canadian university students would be women: 16.3% of undergraduates and a surprising 25% of graduate students were female.³

As the number of women graduates in Canada accumulated, they began to form gender-segregated clubs. Modeled on similar clubs in the United States, university women's clubs were founded in Toronto in 1903, in Vancouver in 1907 and in Edmonton in 1909. Unlike alumnae societies, which assembled women graduates of a single university, university women's clubs brought together women graduates of all universities, and were especially important in cities where there was no university. The founding of the UWCO in 1910 reflected the fact that there was now a critical mass of women university graduates in Ottawa.

¹ John H. Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1984)154.

² John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis*, 27; Marks, "Women at Queen's University," 336.

³ Based on figures provided in Urquhart and Buckley, "Series W340-438: Full-time university enrollment, by sex, Canada and by province, selected years, 1920 to 1975"; and confirmed by Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World," 53. The proportions were even higher at some schools: at Queen's University, 20% of the students were female in 1900. At McGill University, women made up one-quarter of all students in 1910-11, almost a third of arts students in 1914, and half of all students in 1917. [per Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks, and Susan Laskin, "Student Populations and Graduate Careers: Queen's University, 1895-1900," in *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education*, Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) 7; Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill*, (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981), 181].

At the Carnegie Library⁴, Mrs. S.J. McLean, a Sandy Hill resident in her mid-thirties, was appointed chair of the meeting, and Miss Muriel Shortt, a recent graduate of Queen's University, acted as secretary.⁵ Helen McLean, who had graduated from the University of Toronto with a B.A. degree in 1898, and was married to a senior civil servant, "spoke a few words about the advisability of forming a University Women's Club" and asked for others' opinions. Muriel's mother Mrs. Adam Shortt, who as Elizabeth Smith had been one of the first Canadian women to earn a medical degree, suggested that the group get right to the objects of the proposed club. Now 51, Mrs. Shortt had recently moved to Ottawa when her husband was appointed Commissioner of the Civil Service Commission, and was already active in both the Local and National Councils of Women.⁶ Mrs. Shortt asked for comments from Miss Marty, an Ottawa Collegiate Institute⁷ teacher in her late thirties, who had earned an M.A. from Queen's in 1893. Miss Marty suggested that the Club might serve as "as a social bond, as a center for the discussion of current news of University life, of questions of the day etc." and "as an organization to exert its influence where needed."⁸ Mrs. Shortt spoke of "the responsibility of women, especially University women, and urged the need for combined action, giving as

⁴ The Carnegie library was itself a symbol of women's work in the city. As early as 1895 the Local Council of Women had agitated for a free public library, but were repeatedly turned down by City Council, who regarded a library as a useless luxury. In 1901, under pressure from the LCW and their male relatives, the Mayor finally wrote to Andrew Carnegie, the noted Scottish-American philanthropist, and Carnegie responded with a \$100,000 grant, on the condition that the city provide land and an annual operating fund. The city eventually acquiesced and the library opened on the site at Metcalfe and Laurier Avenues on Monday, April 30, 1906. The chief librarian from 1912 to at least 1927 was W.J. Sykes, B.A., whose wife was a member of the UWCO. [per Robert Haig, *Ottawa: City of the Big Ears* (Ottawa: Haig and Haig Publishing Co., n.d.; and A.H.D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present*, (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1927).

⁵ Muriel Shortt had graduated from Queen's with a B.A. degree the previous year, and was living with her parents. In 1917, she would marry Roger Clark and operate a fruit farm in Vineland, Ontario. [<http://www.lib.uwaterloo.ca/discipline/SpecColl/archives/short2.html>].

⁶ Elizabeth Smith Shortt (1859-1949) attended Queen's University, Kingston, and received her medical degree at the Royal Medical College in 1884. She practiced medicine before marrying economic historian Adam Shortt in 1886 and lectured at Queen's University after her marriage. When she moved to Ottawa in 1908, she became active in the Local Council of Women, joining its executive and writing numerous pamphlets on social and health concerns of the LCW. In 1911, she was the first convener of the Public Health and Mental Hygiene Committee of the National Council of Women. She later convened the NCWC's Committee on Immigration, organized a committee to petition the Ontario government for Mother's Allowances, and was appointed vice-chairman of the Provincial Board of Mother's Allowances between 1920 and 1927. [<http://www.lib.uwaterloo.ca/discipline/SpecColl/archives/short2.html>].

⁷ Ottawa Collegiate Institute (later Lisgar Collegiate Institute) was erected on Lisgar Street in 1874. Until 1922, when Giebe Collegiate Institute was built, OCI was the only public secondary school in Ottawa. [A.H.D. Ross, *Ottawa Past and Present* (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Limited, 1927)]

⁸ National Archives of Canada. MG28 I 101, Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 1, and Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "Rough Draft of Minutes of First Meeting of Ottawa University Women to Form a University Women's Club of Ottawa". All subsequent references to Volumes refer to material in NAC MG28 I 101.

example the formation and organization of the National Council of Women".⁹ As she recorded each woman's comments, Miss Shortt was careful to note their alma mater. McGill graduate Mrs. W.J. Sykes, whose husband taught at the Collegiate Institute "spoke a few words in favour of such a scheme." Mrs. McLean described the University Women's Club of Toronto, stressing the advantages of being a club "of all Universities". University of Toronto graduate Miss Lily B. Emery, a 31-year-old government clerk who lived at home with her widowed mother, affirmed the advantages of the Toronto club and "hoped a similar club in Ottawa would do much good". Miss Annie LeRosignol, a graduate of University of Toronto's Victoria College, spoke on behalf of "those from Victoria who had felt rather lonely since leaving Toronto and would welcome such a club". University of Toronto graduates Mrs. Costigan and Miss Margaret Northwood, and American university graduates Mrs. Carter and Miss Haanel "all declared themselves in favour of it", and when Miss Marty moved that "The women graduates and alumnae of the City of Ottawa organize into a University Women's Club of Ottawa", the motion was carried unanimously. A committee with representatives from different universities was appointed to draw up a constitution and notices of the Club's formation were sent to local newspapers.

The following day, the constitutional committee met in Dr. Adam Shortt's library. His daughter Muriel later commented to her diary

They had a very lengthy discussion over the by-laws and constitution but finally agreed on one. Nearly everyone had some constitution with them and they had a great time. Mrs. Carter is very bright and clever. Mrs. XXXXX [sic] is the limit, absolutely.¹⁰

The next day, Saturday, the Club returned to the Carnegie Library. As Muriel Shortt told her diary "I had a great time getting down the amendments and helping Mrs. McLean remember them and keeping them disentangled. We had quite a time over it all".¹¹ In front of "a large attendance", Mrs. McLean was acclaimed as President "as Miss Marty would not run", Muriel Shortt was acclaimed as Secretary and a Treasurer, three vice-presidents and five councilors were elected. Again, there was some concern that all universities be represented on the executive. Muriel Shortt later confided to her diary:

McGill isn't as strongly represented as it should be and I wanted Winnifred McGill [McGill] put in but they were too slow. I think most of the executive are pretty good. There were so many more as good, too, but I suppose they can wait till another year.¹²

⁹ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "Rough Draft".

¹⁰ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "From the Diary of Muriel Shortt", Friday April 15th.

¹¹ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "From the Diary of Muriel Shortt", Saturday, April 16th.

¹² *Idem.*

The objects agreed upon and incorporated into the constitution were:

- (1) To keep members in touch with one another; (2) To incite members to continue to be students; and (3) To promote a feeling of the responsibility of women for women.¹³

The ordering of the objects suggests that the Club's priority in 1910 was to look after the social and educational needs of its members, and that the desire to benefit society was less important. Rather than exerting their influence wherever it was needed, as Miss Marty had suggested, the founding members chose to characterize and restrict their efforts by gender, promoting "a feeling of the responsibility of women for women". Maternal feminism has been identified by some historians as the ideological agent behind women's public actions and statements for this time period. Women and men traditionally operated in 'separate spheres', with the private sphere being the domain of women and the public sphere belonging to men. According to this historiography, maternal feminists justified the intervention of women in the public sphere on the strength of women's inherently superior moral nature, and the benefit to society of exposure to feminine traits. Rather than reflecting maternal feminism, the UWCO objects suggest that these women saw themselves primarily as university graduates, whose university education gave them particular responsibilities, both towards other women in society and themselves. In the minutes for these early years each woman is routinely identified, not only by name and marital prefix (Miss, Mrs. or Dr.), but by university, as if the university experience had become an essential part of each woman's identity. The intervention of these women in society was justified by their academic status, although it remained gender specific.

Membership in the UWCO was restricted to women graduates (and undergraduates with second year standing) of any recognized university or college. The annual membership fee was set at \$1.00 and meetings were held the third Saturday of every month at 8pm. An eleven-member executive, consisting of a president, three vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer and five councilors, was elected annually, with no one holding office for more than two years. In November 1910 the Club became an affiliate of the Ottawa Local Council of Women ("LCW"), and appointed annual representatives to the LCW. While these representatives were not part of the UWCO executive, they reported regularly to the club, and represented a valuable link with other women's groups in the city.¹⁴

Most of the available information about the first ten years of the Club is contained in the minutes of monthly and executive meetings. Minutes were recorded by the secretary, either at

¹³ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 6.

¹⁴ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities 1910-43, "Affiliations" and "Members of Committees".

the time of the meetings, or more, likely within a few days of the meeting from notes taken during the meeting. As such, these records are subject to the perceptions and memory of the secretary, as well as her conscious efforts to include or omit certain comments or portray them in a certain way, and their use as a primary source must take these factors into consideration. This individual influence is somewhat balanced, however, by the frequency and large number of minutes taken over the time period, and the fact that different women were in the position of creator each year. Taken as a whole, the minutes of meetings during the first ten years of the club reveal a group of women who clearly had experience in the club context. They were knowledgeable about the contents of club constitutions and familiar with meeting procedures. This is consistent with Alyson King's findings with respect to women university students at Toronto and Queen's universities between 1895 and 1930, where membership and experience in women's societies was seen as a necessary part of women's training for later life.¹⁵ While there was a core group of the most active women, a wide range of members made and seconded motions, and the motion format was used for virtually everything raised at meetings. After each lecture or performance, a Club representative would express the Club's appreciation in terms of a motion, concluding the requisite thank-yous by moving "a hearty vote of thanks", which would be duly seconded, unanimously carried, and carefully recorded in the minutes.

Three changes were made to the by-law and constitution during this period. The annual fee was raised from one to two dollars in 1916, and the following year provision was made for mid-year arrivals to pay a reduced fee. More significantly, in May 1917 the women voted to restrict Club membership to women who held a university degree, excluding undergraduates and women who had taken university courses but not earned a degree. This was a restriction the Club would continue to maintain for the next fifty years.¹⁶

For the first four years, members were recorded in an alphabetical register by the club secretary.¹⁷ Record-keeping was fairly simple: women who joined during 1910 were listed in one place; those who joined between 1911-14 were listed later, and those who left the club were simply crossed out. Because there were no application forms, joining the club must have been a fairly informal matter: you showed up at a meeting, had your name written into the book and were asked to pay the annual fee of \$1.00. As a result, the membership register may have been inflated beyond those who attended regularly: 113 women were recorded during 1910, but 45%

¹⁵ Alyson E. King, "The Experience of Women Students at Four Universities, 1895-30," in Cook et al, *Framing Our Past*, 161-165.

¹⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17. Undergraduate members who had joined prior to 1917 retained their membership.

¹⁷ Vol. 4, Membership Book I: 1910-14.

of these were later crossed off the register. Over the next three years, 54 more women's names were added to the membership register, but a third of these women had been crossed off by 1914. Unfortunately, record-keeping became even more lax during the period from 1911 to 1914, and much of the ancillary information on each member was never recorded. This reinforces the impression that admission to the club was still fairly informal. While individual omissions could be blamed on a particular secretary, this is less likely to explain omissions over a longer period, with a new woman in the position of secretary each year.

A new register of members was kept between 1915 and 1917, recording the same type of information as in the earlier register: name, prefix, degree, university, year of graduation and address. There are 148 members' names in this register: 128 copied from the old register, plus twenty new ones. By 1917, 20% had been crossed out. Record keeping continued to be uneven and some information is missing for many members. The three pieces of information which were most reliably recorded were the member's name, marital prefix and university, suggesting that record keepers saw these as the most important indicators of identity within the club.¹⁸ The paid-up membership reported at the annual meeting in May of each year was much smaller than the number of names recorded in the register: it began at 56 in May 1911, fell to 45 in 1912, and then gradually increased to reach 85 in 1918. The figures given to the press may have been different from those reported at the annual meeting: in February 1916, the *Free Press* reported that "since the formation of the club six years ago the interest in it has grown steadily and the membership now numbers one hundred and twenty, with an average of fifty at the meetings."¹⁹

In the fall of 1917, the Club introduced application forms for new members. This innovation coincided with the new restrictions on membership that required applicants to hold a university degree, indicating that it was at this point that the Club began to take a heightened interest in who was permitted to join the club. The introduction of the application form changed the entry mechanism: no longer could new members join by attending and paying the fee – now they had to apply and be approved by the executive. The wording on the application form confirmed this more formal approach to becoming a member:

I hereby make application to be admitted as a member of the University Women's Club of Ottawa, and if elected, agree to conform to the rules and regulations as set forth in the Constitution and By-laws of the Club.²⁰

¹⁸ Vol. 4, Membership Book II: 1915-17.

¹⁹ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "The University Women's Club of Ottawa", Patriotic Edition, *Free Press*, Feb. 29, 1916.

²⁰ Vols. 25 and 26, Membership Applications.

The executive had the new job of deciding whether certain institutions and degrees made their holders eligible for membership. In at least one instance, a graduate of Macdonald College, an agrarian affiliate of the University of Toronto, was rejected on this basis, even though graduates of that college had previously joined the club.²¹

Existing members were expected to complete the application forms as well, although not all did. Each applicant was required to give her university, year of graduation, degree, profession or occupation, business address and home address, and forms were signed by the applicant and by two sponsoring members. The ordering of the application form suggests the club's continuing priorities in terms of its members: the university graduated from and the degree obtained, were requested first, confirming their ongoing importance. This was what linked club members, and was the criteria on which they could be rejected for membership. The second piece of information requested was the applicant's "profession or occupation". Historians have argued that "occupation" is problematic because it evokes not just an economic activity, but a social identity. The idea of a single occupation has been labeled androcentric, because it does not recognize the multi-task, multi-identity nature of most women's lives.²² The voluntary use of "occupation" on the application form suggests that these women were both familiar and comfortable with the term, androcentric or not. It may also indicate an expectation that university graduates should have a profession or occupation. Nicole Neatby's work on women students at Queen's University in the 1920s showed that women attended university in order to qualify for better positions in the working world, and that while they were at university they were encouraged to think about their future occupations.²³ Alternately, "profession or occupation" may have been intended to include more than paid work: many married women recorded "housekeeping" as their occupation.

A brief prosopography of UWCO membership between 1910 and 1920 can be assembled from the information contained in the two registers and the application forms completed during this period. Using the prefixes Miss or Mrs. which were consistently attached to each woman's name, the women can be separated into two groups, one consisting of single, unmarried women and one of married, widowed or divorced women. Based on this method of discerning marital status, two-thirds of the women who joined the Club during this period were single, and only one third were married, widowed or divorced. This ratio was consistent amongst

²¹ Vol. 21, *Executive Minute Book*: 1916-23, 73.

²² Marjorie Abel and Nancy Folbre, "A Methodology for Revising Estimates: Female Market Participation in the United States before 1940," *Historical Methods*, Vol. 23, no. 4 (1990), 169; Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager, "Finding the Work Force in the 1901 Census of Canada," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, Vol. 28, No. 56 (Nov 1995), 521.

women recorded in the 1910-14 register, the 1915-17 register and the 1917-20 application forms, and is comparable to that found in previous studies of Canadian women university graduates from this time period.²⁴ It contrasts sharply with the status of Canadian women in general, in both 1911 and 1921, of whom only 29% were single, and 71% were married, widowed or divorced.²⁵

Throughout the 1910-20 period, more distant universities tended to have a higher proportion of married than single graduates in the UWCO. For instance, between 1917 and 1920, 80% of graduates coming from American universities to the club were married. The ratio of married to single women graduates from University of Toronto and maritime universities was similar to the club-wide ratio for married and single members. Significantly more single than married women came from Queen's and McGill to the Club (74% of Queen's grads and 77% of McGill grads. were single, among the 1917-20 members). These figures appear to be consistent with studies of the migratory patterns of university women in Nova Scotia and Ontario. Judith Fingard found that among Dalhousie women graduates in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, much of the extra-provincial migration was dictated by marriage.²⁶ Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks and Susan Laskin found that 80% of women students who entered Queen's University between 1895 and 1900 came from eastern Ontario, and graduates who stayed single were less likely to leave the province than those who married after graduation.²⁷ If we assume that most women attended university while they were single and that they were more likely to attend a university near their home, this discrepancy between the universities of married and single members could suggest that for many, marriage facilitated mobility: women were brought to Ottawa because of their spouse's work. Single women were more likely to be Ottawa residents who had been sent to one of the three closest universities, McGill, Queen's or Toronto, and had returned to their hometown after graduation.

²³ Neatby, 68.

²⁴ Elsinore MacPherson, "Careers of Canadian University Women," (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1920), as cited in Stewart, *It's Up to You: Women at UBC*, 9. MacPherson found that 1,139 of 3,751 female university graduates alive in 1919 were married (30%). Margaret Gillett, in *We Walked Very Warily*, cited a 1923 study by Ethel Hurlbatt which found that 228 of the 680 women graduates of McGill between 1888 and 1923 were married (34%). However, Marks and Gaffield found that 58% of women who had entered Queen's between 1895 and 1900 later married (Marks and Gaffield, "Women at Queen's," 343.)

²⁵ Based on figures provided in M.C. Urquhart, ed. and K.A.H. Buckley, assistant ed. 1st edition, *Historical Statistics of Canada, 2d ed.*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), "Series A110-124: Population, by marital status and sex, 1871-1976 (15 yrs and over)". In 1911, the married group included 23% of the female population who were widowed or divorced; by 1921 this had shrunk to 16%.

²⁶ Judith Fingard, "College, Career and Community: Dalhousie Coeds", 32.

²⁷ Gaffield, Marks and Laskin, "Student Populations," 8, 16.

If we assume that most women earned their undergraduate degree at age 22, the age of UWCO members can be estimated from their year of graduation from an undergraduate program.²⁸ Of the 73 women who indicated their year of graduation when they joined the Club in 1910, 11% were recent graduates of 1910, 51% were in their twenties or early thirties, 34% were in their mid to late thirties, and only three women (4%) were over 40 (all of whom were qualified as medical doctors). Between 1911 and 1914, 56% of new members were in their early twenties, 32% were in their late twenties and early thirties, and only 12% were in their late thirties and early forties. As the membership aged, the influx of new members ensured that the UWCO continued to be dominated by women in their twenties. Club membership did not appeal only to graduates of a particular decade, but rather to all women soon after their university graduation. Among 1915-17 members, 41% were still in their twenties, 31% were 1900s graduates now in their thirties, and 26% were 1890s graduates, now in their early forties. Only two members in 1915-17 were graduates from the 1880s. Existing literature has suggested that most women's clubs during this time period were dominated by married middle-aged women.²⁹ In Ottawa, most of the executive of the Local Council of Women between 1894 and 1918 were married or widowed and more than forty years old.³⁰ This was clearly not true of the UWCO: between 1910 and 1920 its members were predominantly single and less than 40 years old. Other studies of university clubs confirm this unusual profile for university club members.³¹

No degree was recorded for almost a third of the women listed in the 1910 and 1915-17 registers, suggesting that this was not important information for the Club. The fact that in 1910 at least 16% of members were recorded as undergraduates may explain this attitude. Judith Fingard found that at Dalhousie University, it was common for women prior to 1901 to take university courses without obtaining a degree, but that after 1901 women were more likely to complete a degree.³² Among those women for whom there was some indication of a degree or undergraduate status in the 1910-14 register, two-thirds held an undergraduate degree, 18%

²⁸ This method was used by Gillian Weiss in "Vancouver Clubwomen", although she also relied on dates of marriage and ages of children, information not readily available here. The average age of 22 at graduation is confirmed by information given in *The Civil Service List 1918* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1919), which lists all federal government employees, giving their academic degrees, position, salary, date of birth, and date of joining the civil service. All eighteen women on the list who held university degrees were members of the UWCO at some point during the 1910-20 decade. Among these women, the average age at graduation was 22. Unfortunately, only 65% of 1910 members, 45% of 1911-13 members and 60% of 1915-17 members recorded a year of graduation.

²⁹ Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women*, and *The New Day Recalled*; and Weiss, "Clubwomen in Vancouver."

³⁰ Van Dyk, "The Ottawa Local Council of Women," 27.

³¹ Hubley, "The Canadian Federation of University Women; Weiss, "Clubwomen in Vancouver".

³² Fingard, 28 and 42.

held a graduate degree, and 16% were undergraduates with no degree. In the 1915-17 register, 81% held an undergraduate degree, 11% held a graduate degree, and 8% were undergraduates with no degree.

In 1910, Ottawa's population of 86,000 had grown by 20,000 in the past ten years and would increase by 14,000 over the next three years. Much of this rapid growth was due to the burgeoning public sector. The civil service had become a major employer, nearly tripling in size over the last ten years to more than 3,000 employees. More civil service positions would be created after the war, so that by 1920, the federal government would employ almost 8500 people, and Ottawa's population would rise by another 10,000. Many of the new jobs were clerical, and women flooded into them, attracted by the relatively high government salaries, and even more likely to be hired after entrance examinations were introduced in 1908. While there were fewer than twenty women in the civil service in 1885, by 1908, almost a quarter of the 3,000-member civil service were female.³³

It was not until 1917 that the UWCO first began to ask members to indicate their profession or occupation on the new application forms. Prior to this, members' occupations can be determined by consulting city directories. Between 1910 and 1914, the only married, widowed or divorced Club member to hold paid employment was Mrs. Mary Macarow, a widow who worked as a post office clerk. Forty-eight per cent of the single members between 1910 and 1914 held paid employment. Almost two thirds of these women were civil servants, mostly clerks and stenographers, including six who worked together at the Auditor-General's office. Another third were teachers, including eight at the elementary level, three at the secondary level, one at Ottawa Ladies' College and one elementary school principal. Two members were practicing physicians, one operated a Settlement House, one was the superintendant of the Victorian Order of Nurses in Ottawa, and one worked as a saleswoman.³⁴ Between 1915 and 1917, the same proportions persisted, with two-thirds of single women in paid employment and

³³ "Assessment Rates and Population of the City of Ottawa", in *1951 Annual Reports of the City of Ottawa*, (Ottawa: City of Ottawa, 1951), 421; and John H. Taylor, *Ottawa: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1984), 120, 122 and 148. The Civil Service Commission perceived this flood of female workers as a threat to its supply of new male clerical workers (whom they saw as promotable, while women were not). In response, the Commission restricted women to the lowest of three divisions of clerical workers, and sex-labelled jobs in that division to reserve some positions for men and limit the positions available to women. [Graham S. Lowe, "Women, work and the office; the feminization of clerical occupations in Canada, 1901-1931," *Canadian Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 5, No. 4 (1980) 375-6; and Graham S. Lowe, *Women in the Administrative Revolution: The Feminization of Clerical Work* (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 71-3.] Lowe describes the tremendous increase in female clerical positions in Canada between 1901 and 1921, especially during the decade from 1911 to 1921.

³⁴ *Might's City Directories for Ottawa, 1910 and 1914*; NAC MG28 I 101, Vols. 25 and 26, Membership Applications.

two-thirds of these working as civil servants.³⁵ While the majority were still clerks, stenographers and typists, the female civil servants also included an assistant botanist, an assistant geologist, two seed analysts, a librarian and an editor. Twenty-eight per cent of the single women in paid employment were teachers, including 13 at the elementary level, six at the secondary level and the principal of the Ottawa Ladies' College. Two members were practicing physicians and one was the Secretary of the Ottawa Welfare Bureau. Among the married, widowed and divorced UWCO members, Mrs. Macarow had been joined by fellow widow Mrs. Florence Forsey, who worked as a cataloguer for the Geological Survey library, and by married members Mrs. Allan Donnell, who worked as a coding clerk for the intelligence branch of the Naval Service Department during the war, and Rockcliffe resident Mrs. Ida (A.J.) Forward, who held a temporary teaching position at Ottawa Collegiate Institute during the war.

The application forms introduced in 1917 generally provide more extensive and more reliable information on each member, including their alma mater, degree, year of graduation, occupation and address. The form did not require the applicant to use a prefix or indicate their marital status, although a prefix was later added by the Club secretary to many forms. In most cases the added prefix was "Mrs.", suggesting that the ones left blank were unmarried, but this is not universal. It is therefore difficult to calculate precisely the proportion of women who were single or married for this time period, and impossible to determine which of the 'married' women were actually widowed or divorced. The application form also calls for the applicant's signature. Among the apparently married women, 57% signed only their own name ("Jessie Craig"), 33% signed their own name with the prefix "Mrs." or their husband's initials ("Mrs. Jessie Craig" or "Jessie Craig (Mrs. W.A.)"), and only 10% signed only their husband's name ("Mrs. William A. Craig"). As indicated above, rough calculations suggest that the ratio of single to married women remained the same for this period as it had during the previous seven years: two-thirds single and one-third married, widowed or divorced.

One-third of the 120 new and existing members who completed application forms during this 1917 to 1920 period had graduated from the University of Toronto, one-third from Queen's University, 11% from McGill, 8% from Maritime universities, 4% from elsewhere in Ontario (Western and McMaster), 3% from universities in Great Britain, and 8% from the American universities. Four per cent of the 120 women had gone on to an American university for a second degree. Eighty-two per cent of the women held an undergraduate degree, and 18 per

³⁵ In 1911, 16.6% of adult women (single and married) in Canada held paid employment; by 1921, this figure had risen only slightly to 17.7%. [Based on figures provided in Urquhart and Buckley, "Series D107-122: Population, labour force and labour force participation rates, by age and sex, census years, 1921 to 1961, and by sex, 1901 and 1911 (10 and over)".]

cent held a graduate or professional degree.³⁶ In 1920, 38% were still in their twenties, 35% were in their thirties, 23% were in their forties, and none were more than fifty years old.

Sixty-two per cent of single women who completed application forms between 1917 and 1920 held paid employment and 62% of these worked for the federal government. Three-quarters of the civil servants described themselves as such, while others referred to their occupation as “translator, “coding clerk”, “seed analyst”, “librarian”, etc. Thirty-two per cent of women in paid employment were teachers: 15 at secondary schools (including the Ottawa Ladies’ College), three at public schools, two at the Normal School, one at the new Technical School and three with no business address. Four of the six Ladies’ College teachers gave an out-of-town address as their ‘home address’, suggesting that their conception of ‘home’ was more permanent, and that they viewed their employment as temporary. Only four women appear to have worked outside the dominant professions of government and education: two were social workers and two were clerks. Among the apparently married women, five (12%) now worked for the civil service in clerical positions. The sixteen women who were married and did not give a business address, variously described their occupation as “wife”, “married”, “married woman”, “housekeeping”, “household science”, “homemaker”, “homemaking” or “domestic”. Two married women listed occupations (dietitian and social worker) but no business address, suggesting that their conception of occupation was a status, or achievement, rather than a statement of their paid activity at the time. While most of the women (55%) lived in the downtown neighbourhood of Centretown, smaller numbers lived in the old established neighbourhoods of Sandy Hill (6%) and New Edinborough (3%) to the east, in the newer suburbs of Glebe (15%) and Ottawa South (8%) to the south, Rockcliffe (4%) to the east, and those in the west end of Ottawa (2%).

The minutes of the first two meetings reveal a core group of twenty-three women who acted as secretary or chair, gave testimonial speeches in favour of joining the Club, nominated committee members, formed the constitution-drafting committee, moved or seconded all the motions and formed the first executive. Among this select group, there appear to have been proportionately more women with a professional or graduate degree, or with no degree at all, than in the Club as a whole. Despite early efforts to represent all alma maters, more than fifty per cent of this founding group were Toronto graduates, one-third were Queen’s graduates, only two women (8%) were from McGill and three (13%) were graduates of American universities.

³⁶ In 1920, only 1% of all women in Canada between the ages of 20 and 24 were attending university Nicole Neatby, “Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen’s During the 1920s,” *Historical Studies in Education*, Vol. 1 (Spring 1989) 55.

While graduation years are not available for all the women, more than two-thirds of the founding group appear to have been in their thirties when the Club was founded; four women (20%) were in their twenties, and only two women (10%) were past forty.³⁷ The proportion of married women in the founding group was slightly higher than in the Club as a whole: 61% were single and 39% were married.³⁸ While none of the married women held paid employment, 78% of the single women were employed. Miss Marty, Miss Emily McManus and Miss Jessie Muir, who all held graduate degrees, and the husbands of Mrs. Sykes and Mrs. Campbell, worked as teachers at the Collegiate Institute, suggesting that the idea for the Club may have been hatched there. Five women were civil service clerks or stenographers, and three of these, Miss Marion Fraser, Miss Margaret Northwood and Miss Lottie O'Boyle, worked in the Auditor General's office, suggesting that another link could have been formed there. Dr. Mary Bryson worked as a women and children's physician, Elizabeth Cluff was a teacher at the Normal School Model School, and Jennie Pearce was the Organization Secretary at Settlement House. Miss Florence Haanel and Miss Muriel Shortt, who were the daughters of high-ranking civil servants, lived at home and did not hold paid employment. The husbands of the married women in this founding group also included high-ranking civil servants, teachers, a physician and a pastor.³⁹

Over the next ten years, eighteen of these twenty-three active founders would act on the Club executive, or as representatives to the LCW, along with 48 other women. While many women held more than one position on the executive over the period from 1910 to 1920, the large number of positions, and the arrival and departure of members from Ottawa, meant that the executive was never a closed group. Sixty-six women shared 150 positions between 1910 and 1920.⁴⁰ Only six women held five or more positions: Miss Ada Baker, Miss Elizabeth Cluff, Miss Aletta Marty, Mrs. D.A. (Jessie) Campbell, Mrs. Bryce (Annabel) Stewart and Mrs. W.J.

³⁷ This is based on the four-year bachelor program, which was standard at the time. Miss Northwood was born in 1872, graduated from University College, University of Toronto in 1895 at age 23 and started working for the civil service in 1902 at age 30. Miss O'Boyle was born in 1882, graduated from University College, University of Toronto in 1905 at age 23 and began working for the civil service immediately [*Civil Service List 1918* (Ottawa: Government of Canada, 1919)].

³⁸ Marital status has been determined by relying on the prefixes "Mrs." and "Miss". In the UWCO records, those who used the prefix Dr. were usually single also. In later membership lists, these women were sometimes listed as "Dr.", sometimes as "Miss"; this varied from year to year. Women who had an M.D. and were married used the prefix "Mrs."

³⁹ *Might's City Directory for Ottawa, 1910.*

⁴⁰ Thirty-three women held only one position during this period, thirteen women held two positions, seven women held three positions and six women held four positions.

Sykes.⁴¹ Of the group of sixty leaders, 62% were unmarried and 38% were married, indicating that the marital status of the executive was fairly representative of that of the Club as a whole. Among the single women leaders, 76% held paid employment: 42% as civil servants, 29% as teachers, Miss Elizabeth King as a social worker and Dr. Bryson in private medical practice. The married women leaders were not employed, with the exception of Mrs. Forsey, Mrs. Donnell and Mrs. Forward. Club leaders were not, therefore, women with no other responsibilities. By 1920, 14% of these leaders were in their twenties, 43% were in their thirties, 39% were in their forties, and only two were more than fifty years old. While this represents a slightly older group than the general Club membership, it was still a much younger group than their counterparts in organizations such as the Local Council of Women. While 17% did not hold any degree, 62% held an undergraduate degree and 23% held a graduate or professional degree. One-third were Toronto graduates, 29% were Queen's graduates, 15% were McGill graduates, 6% had earned degrees at Maritime universities, 10% at American universities, and 3% at universities in United Kingdom. Eight per cent had gone on to an American university for a graduate degree.

The Club met monthly on Saturday nights between October and May at eight o'clock. Club business was followed by a lecture or entertainment given by Club members or invited speakers, and occasionally meetings took the form of informal debates on current issues. The *Free Press* reported in 1916:

As a rule only members of the club take part in meetings but sometimes an outside speaker is invited to address the club on some special subject when the meetings are open to all friends of the club.⁴²

Meetings were held at the Carnegie Library Hall until 1915, when they moved across the street to the YWCA so that refreshments, consisting of coffee and cake or sandwiches, could be served by Club members at the close of each meeting.⁴³ With this social hour, the evening often lasted until 10:30 pm. The inaugural meeting in October soon became a social evening, with an address by the President, songs performed by Club members, and short talks by unmarried Club members on their summer travels or courses (suggesting that the married members never went anywhere). In 1911, and during the war, the December meeting consisted of a musicale with guest performers. Beginning in 1914, the March meeting was given over to the Drama

⁴¹ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities 1910-43, "Executive Committees". Miss Marty held five positions, Miss Baker and Mrs. Stewart held six each, Miss Cluff and Mrs. Sykes held seven each, and Mrs. Campbell held ten positions.

⁴² Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "The University Women's Club of Ottawa", Patriotic Edition, *Free Press*, Feb. 29, 1916.

⁴³ The Carnegie Library was located on the northwest corner of Maria (now Laurier Ave. W.) and Metcalfe streets in downtown Ottawa. The YWCA was located on the southeast corner of Maria and Metcalfe.

Reading Circle, who put on an evening of dramatic entertainment. The May meeting was reserved for the Annual Meeting. In 1916, the *Free Press* reported

The programmes cover a wide range of subjects from the more special topics in which women are interested such as "Woman and Labour" and "New Activities for Women" to the wider questions of "Socialism", "War and Finance" and "The Report of the Commission on Technical Education"... Among the speakers whom the club has had the pleasure of hearing are the following: Miss Derick, Professor of Botany at McGill University, Mrs. Leathes of Toronto, Miss Carson of New York, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the Consumers' League, New York, Mr. Milton Rosmer of Miss Horniman's Company, and Mr. S.J. McLean of the Railway Commission, who spoke on the War and Finance.⁴⁴

The *Free Press* report appears to have been based on a press release prepared by the Club, suggesting that it reflects the image the Club wished to project.

The most popular topics for speakers during this period were literature and current affairs. At least one meeting each season featured Club members lecturing on literary topics, including 'Modern Poets', Imagist Poets', Ibsen, George Meredith, French Canadian literature and "The Celtic Literary Revival". Miss Muir provoked considerable discussion in 1918 when she presented a paper on "The Occult in Modern Literature" and considered its relation to modern science. In 1920, well-known local author Mrs. Madge MacBeth⁴⁵ discussed the novels of Joseph Conrad. Club member Mrs. Eric Brown, wife of the National Gallery's chief curator, also gave talks on Canadian art in 1914, 1915 and 1918.⁴⁶

At the first regular meeting in October 1910, members were warned to come prepared to discuss current events, and the evening's discussion included the local water supply, the medical inspection of schools and domestic science in schools.⁴⁷ Club members who were involved in Settlement House spoke about their work in 1913 and 1918 and appealed to the Club for financial assistance.⁴⁸ Club member Mrs. Eric Brown hosted a symposium on socialism

⁴⁴ "The University Women's Club of Ottawa," Patriotic Edition, *Free Press*, Feb. 29, 1916.

⁴⁵ See Peggy Kelly, "Cultural Nationalism and Maternal Feminism: Madge Macbeth as Writer, Broadcaster, and Literary Figure," in Cook et al, *Framing Our Past*, 381-4, for a brief biography.

⁴⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1917-24.

⁴⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 11. Typhoid epidemics had struck Ottawa in 1909 and would strike again in 1911 and 1912, killing at least 87 people in total. Finally in 1915 a pumping plant was built on Lemieux Island and the leaking underwater pipe was replaced by one suspended from a bridge. [Courtney C.J. Bond, *Where Rivers Meet: An Illustrated History of Ottawa*, (Canada: Windsor Publications (Canada) Ltd., 1984).]

⁴⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, Mar. 1913 and Minute Book II: 1917-24, pp. 6 and 8. The settlement house movement began in the United States in 1886. Settlement Houses were set up in slum neighbourhoods and used university-educated resident workers to provide the poor, especially recent immigrants, with community support and help them integrate into mainstream society. Settlement house workers also lobbied for health, labour and housing reforms. See Cathy James, "Women, the Settlement Movement, and State Formation in the Early Twentieth Century," in Cook et al., *Framing Our Past*, 222-7; and [http://gateways.unhny.org/unh_exhibit/yesterday/index.html].

in 1913, with Club members speaking on the history of socialism, socialist pioneers and early German socialists, economic objections to socialism, 'the evils of capitalism' and 'socialism as a moral force'. Between 1914 and 1916, both Club members and outside speakers focused on war-related topics. In the fall of 1914 Club members presented a symposium on the "Present World Crisis". The following season, Mrs. Helen McLean invited her husband, Simon, Commissioner of the Board of Railway Commissioners, to speak about "The War and Finance". During the 1916-17 season, guest speakers discussed "Vocations for Disabled Soldiers" and "After-War Problems". As the war stretched on, speakers turned to topics not related to the war: Dr. A.B. Macallum described the newly formed Research Council of Canada in 1917 and Dr. Gordon Hewitt discussed "Evolution" in the spring of 1918.⁴⁹

In addition to regular monthly meetings, the Club occasionally sponsored open lectures, for which it paid a well-known speaker and hopefully reaped some financial benefit. In 1913, the UWCO and the Queen's University Alumnae Association co-sponsored a lecture by Shakespearean stage actress Beatrice Forbes Robertson. Over 500 people attended and the UWCO made a profit of \$66.00. Later that year, the UWCO and the Women's Canadian Club co-sponsored a lecture by Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League in New York. In 1916, the Club sponsored a public lecture by author Captain John Hay Beith on "The Human Side of Trench Warfare", making a substantial profit, most of which was donated to war causes. In the fall of 1917, the UWCO sponsored a literary lecture series by Dr. S.H. Clark, and the profits were donated to the British Red Cross Fund.⁵⁰

From its inception, the Club held an Annual Dinner every April, suspending the tradition only during the war years. Menu cards for almost all of these dinners have been carefully preserved in UWCO records. The first four dinners were held at the Tip Top Tea Room of Murphy-Gamble's Department Store, the Daffodil Tea Room, and the newly opened Chateau Laurier.⁵¹ Following the war, dinner resumed at the Men's University Club. Tickets were sold at

⁴⁹ The National Research Council was established in 1916 to co-ordinate and promote scientific and industrial research in Canada [Haig, p. 179].

⁵⁰ Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Lectures". Public lectures were held at the Collegiate Institute Hall (later known as Lisgar Collegiate Institute). These speakers were so well known that the secretary did not give their credentials in the minutes. Beatrice Forbes Robertson (1883-1967) was an actress who was part of the Edwardian revival of interest in Shakespeare and in large authentic stage productions. [<http://shakespeare.cc.emory.edu/pindex.taf>]. Captain John Hay Beith (1876-1952) was a British author who wrote under the name "Ian Hay". He served in World War I and wrote 48 books between 1912 and 1952, including several war novels. [<http://www.heritagebks.com/history>].

⁵¹ Murphy-Gamble's Department Store was located at 118-124 Sparks Street. The Daffodil Tea Rooms were located over the E.R. Fisher Clothing Store at 110 Sparks Street. [Might's City Directories]. The Chateau Laurier Hotel opened on June 1, 1912 [Haig, 178; Bond, 99].

cost for a five course dinner and prominent women were invited as guests of honour.⁵² There were numerous toasts, and both Club members and guests of honour gave short speeches. An excerpt from 1913 gives an idea of the wandering, exuberant nature of these gatherings:

Mrs. Cruikshank of Smith College, Northampton spoke on "The Drama in the University". Mrs. Shortt then brought to light the value of the silent member. Miss Cowan followed, on the inspiring address of Miss Helen Keller on the theme "On his triumphant way, man will not forget his weaker brother." Miss Pearce of the Settlement House then spoke on "Social Service" as a keynote of the twentieth century. Miss Ada Baker gave a toast to Mrs. McNaughton as the guest of honour, and in replying Mrs. MacNaughton told of the struggle of women to obtain the right to higher education in the early days of McGill University, and among several topics touched on in her clever, informal speech, she spoke of the need for more systematic training in elocution in Canadian Colleges and encouraged the Club in a wide study of the Drama. Miss Lila McDougall then proposed a toast to "The Superior(?) Sex" which was responded to by Mrs. McLean in her own imitable style.⁵³

In 1914, after a keynote address by Miss Carrie Derrick, Club members spoke on aspects of college life at European universities, and on "the various types of women: The Philanthropic Woman, The Church Woman, The Spinster Aunt, The New Woman, and The Superfluous Woman".⁵⁴ Although the Club did not host any social events other than the annual dinner, Club members occasionally held private teas or parties to which members were invited. These included teas at Mrs. McLean's in 1914 and 1915, a 1915 Rockcliffe sliding party, a 1919 garden party at Miss Cluff's summer home, a farewell reception for a departing member, and a 1920 tea at Mrs. Stansfield's.

In 1912, the Club appointed a committee to undertake the founding of a local branch of the Drama League of America. Mrs. Sykes, Mrs. Ida F. Forward, and the Misses M.I. Russell, E. Arma Smillie and Ada H. Baker met in January 1913, forming two subcommittees to carry out the dual purposes of the League, study and propaganda.⁵⁵ The Propaganda Committee worked through the spring to drum up interest in the League among women's groups in the city. After the UWCO sponsored a public meeting in April 1913 at the Normal School Hall, a local Drama League was formed. It functioned independently of the UWCO, but included several Club

⁵² Dinners usually began with a clear soup and dishes of almonds, radishes, olives and celery. An appetizer of creamed sweetbreads or chicken, and in later years fish, was followed by a main course of turkey, lamb or beef tenderloin with mashed potatoes and peas, beans or beets. The meal ended with a light fruit or lettuce salad and then dessert (fruit sherbet and cake) with coffee. Ginger ale and lemonade were served at the first dinner rather than coffee.

⁵³ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 43.

⁵⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 60-61; and Vol. 8, File 1, Annual Dinners, "Fourth Annual Dinner, University Women's Club, Chateau Laurier, April Eighteenth, Nineteen Fourteen".

⁵⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, Dec. 1912, Jan. 1913, Mar. 1913.

members on its executive.⁵⁶ Within the UWCO, the study committee continued to meet as the Drama Reading Circle, reading and discussing plays at monthly meetings in members' homes. In 1916, the group convenors reported

we hope that the general result of the year's reading has been to stimulate our interest in the drama, to give us a better insight into the art of the dramatist, and thus to put us in a better position to judge fairly what are the worthy plays and why they are so.⁵⁷

In 1918 the Circle studied the modern play, and the convener reported that:

meetings were held at the home of members, and the intimate social intercourse thus afforded with the opportunity for free expression of ideas, however radical, and frank discussion of questions of social, religious and economic philosophy, was perhaps the most enjoyable feature of the circle.⁵⁸

The Circle failed to form during the 1918-19 season, which the Club attributed partly to members being too busy and partly to members being more interested in a study group on Reconstruction. The group was revived in 1919-20 as a Literary and Dramatic Circle, studying poetry and fiction as well as plays, and managed to present the annual dramatic performance.

During its first four years, the Club devoted significant attention to the role of women in society. At the monthly meetings, Club members presented papers on prominent women or women's issues, and prominent Canadian women were invited as guest speakers. Miss Carrie Derick, B.A. (McGill, 1890), a women's rights advocate who was working as an assistant to a McGill professor of botany, spoke at the Club's first meeting in 1910 on "College Women's Work After Graduation".⁵⁹ In 1912 Miss Derick was the first woman appointed to a full professorship at a Canadian university. In 1914 she returned as guest of honour at the Club's annual dinner, speaking very appropriately on "the advancement in women's sphere since her last address to the Club four years ago".⁶⁰ In December 1910, Dr. Helen McMurchy, a leading public health reformer and Ontario's Inspector of the Feebleminded, spoke on the care of the 'feeble-minded'.

⁵⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, Dec. 1912, Jan. 1913, Mar. 1913. The first president of the Drama League was Mr. Sykes, husband of UWCO member Mrs. Sykes. The first VP was Miss Ada Baker of the UWCO. The Ottawa Drama League presented its first plays at the Russell Theatre in 1913, where it played until 1915, when it moved to the Victoria Museum. Between 1916 and 1923 the Drama League was forced to hold performances in various schools and halls while parliament was relocated to the facilities at Victoria Museum. Permanent quarters were finally secured in an old church building at King Edward and Besserer, formally opened as the Ottawa Little Theatre on Jan. 4, 1928. [Mrs. Roy McGregor Watt, *Bytown Pamphlet Series No. 5: Ottawa's Heritage of Theatre 1837- 1955* (Ottawa: Historical Society of Ottawa, Sept. 1982), pp. 11-13; and Haig, p. 174.]

⁵⁷ Vol. 17, File 7, Study Groups – Drama Reading Group, Report to the Club May 15, 1916.

⁵⁸ Vol. 17, File 7, Study Groups – Drama Reading Group., Report to the Club May 1918.

⁵⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 9.

⁶⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 61; Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*, 227. Miss Derick (1862-1941) is known for both her pioneering work as a geneticist and her advocacy of women's rights.

and one of the Club's first resolutions was to uphold her stand on more thorough medical inspection of schools.⁶¹ In 1911, Miss C.M. Macdonald, a missionary to Japan, spoke on "Women's Education in Japan."⁶² In 1913, Mrs. Violet MacNaughton, a key organizer of the Saskatchewan farm women's movement, was the guest of honour at the annual dinner, where she "told of the struggle of women to obtain the right to higher education in the early days of McGill University."⁶³ Invitations were sometimes extended to "the principal women's societies of Ottawa" as well as the general public to hear these outside speakers. Members also spoke on women's topics. Founding member Elizabeth Smith Shortt, a former doctor who continued to work for health and social reform through the National Council of Women of Canada and the Local Council of Women, spoke in 1911 on "What the Interests of University Women Should Be". Mrs. A.J. (Ida) Forward reviewed South African feminist Olive Schreiner's book "Woman and Labor" in 1912, and the Club secretary enthusiastically summarized Schreiner's argument:

that while in the advance of civilization man's progress had been towards a fuller and freer independence woman had gradually lost her rights and was only beginning to assert herself again.⁶⁴

The following month, the Club held a formal debate on the question "whether the young woman whose parents can afford to keep her at home should not compete with other young women for paid employment." The debate was led by four single Club members, at least one of whom, Miss Muriel Shortt, was living with her parents and not employed. The Club voted no, but the

⁶¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 12, 14. Dr. Helen MacMurchy (1862-1953) was a leading advocate of public health reforms in Canada. She was appointed Ontario's first Inspector of the Feebleminded in 1906, and advocated medical inspection of schools, early detection of mental problems, and increased institutionalization. She was the author of landmark studies on infant mortality (1910-12) and maternal mortality (1926). In 1920 she was appointed chief of the Division of Child Welfare in the new federal Department of Health, at that time the highest position open to a woman in the federal civil service, and in that capacity wrote a famous Blue Books series of pamphlets on family health and household management. [http://parkscanada.pch.gc.ca/library/background/23_e.htm]

⁶² Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, Mar. 1911.

⁶³ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 43. Violet MacNaughton (1879-1968) was active in the women's farm movement, establishing a local branch of the Women Grain Growers Group in 1913 and acting as president of the Saskatchewan Women Grain Growers in 1914. She convinced farm groups to support women's suffrage, and united the Women Grain Growers, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Political Equality League in a campaign which succeeded in winning the women's suffrage in Saskatchewan in 1916. [http://parkscanada.pch.gc.ca/library/background/64_e.htm].

⁶⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 26. Olive Schreiner (1855-1913) was a South African writer and feminist whose works were widely read among members of the British and American women's movements in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s. Her 1911 book *Woman and Labour* was considered the 'bible' for feminists. See Joyce Avrech Berkman, *The Healing Imagination of Olive Schreiner: Beyond South African Colonialism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989) and <http://www.emory.edu/ENGLISH/Bahri/Schreiner.html>.

question provoked considerable discussion.⁶⁵ At the next meeting, Miss Curry discussed early Italian women painters and the following December Miss Lila MacDougall and Miss Cowan gave papers on two of "Canada's Noted Women": authors Marshall Saunders and Pauline Johnson.⁶⁶ The minutes suggest that members followed with interest the careers of these women and others such as Helen Keller, sending flowers from the Club on their successes, illnesses or death. In 1913, Miss Marty read a report on "The Congress of the Universities of the Empire", held in London, England in July 1912, highlighting comments raised at the Congress concerning the inadequate representation of women on the teaching staff of universities.⁶⁷ At the end of the year, Mrs. Ethel Acheson gave a paper on Technical Education in Europe, Britain, the United States and Canada, including the recently published recommendations of the Royal Commission on Industrial Learning and Technical Education. The secretary's account of the evening suggests that there may have been some heated opinions on women and work:

The speaker criticized the needlessly elaborate organization recommended and also regretted the fact that the Commission had felt it necessary to drag in "training in homemaking" whenever women were mentioned as though a great many women did not go into other occupations than that of homemaker ... The discussion which followed was entered into by a number of the members of the Club, including Miss Marty, Miss McManus, Miss Cluff, Miss Grange, Miss Northwood and Miss O'Boyle. There were only about 25 present and it seemed a pity that there were not more, as it was one of the best meetings we have had in the way of giving useful and instructive information in a most interesting way.⁶⁸

Those members who joined in the discussion included two secondary school teachers, a Normal Model School teacher, a librarian and two clerks from the Auditor-General's office, all of them engaged in occupations other than that of homemaker!

The suffrage debate was clearly present throughout this period, but the Club's stance was one of reticence until late 1916. A Toronto suffragist suggested to the Club in 1912 that she

⁶⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 27; and Vol 15, Outline of Activities, "Programme". The other panelists were Miss Lottie O'Boyle, a civil servant who lived alone in an apartment, and the Misses Katharine Foster and Ada Mitchell, whose living arrangements and occupations are unknown.

⁶⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, March and December 1912. Pauline Johnson (1861-1913) was a Canadian poet, half-Mohawk, half-white, who began writing in 1884 and published books of poetry in 1895, 1903, 1911 and 1912. Many of her poems had Mohawk themes, and she capitalized on her heritage by giving dramatic recitals of her work in full Mohawk dress. Margaret Marshall Saunders (1861-1947) was a Canadian author who wrote under her last two names to avoid being labeled as a woman writer. Her numerous publications included children's books about animals, adult romances, and a 1910 work on how women might effectively confront social problems. Her most famous novel, *Beautiful Joe*, was written for an American humane society competition in 1894. She won the competition, and *Beautiful Joe* became the first Canadian book to sell more than a million copies. [See C. MacMillan, L. McMullen and E. Waterston, *Silenced Sextet: Six Nineteenth-Century Women Novelists* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993); and http://collections.ic.gc.ca/heirloom_series/volume_5/188-191.htm].

⁶⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, Jan. 1913.

⁶⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 55.

speaking at a joint meeting of the UWCO and the Equal Suffrage Society. The UWCO declined the association with the Equal Suffrage Society in favour of an open meeting, to which it invited the "principal associations of women in Ottawa", but not the Equal Suffrage Society! The meeting was held at the Normal School to accommodate the "large attendance", and the speech "Some Modern Problems" discussed women's influence in the community. The Club secretary's account is polite and politically neutral:

In a very clear speech, which was evidently followed with keen interest by all, Mrs. Leathes showed how greatly the community needed the woman in the housekeeping of the state and the municipality where the human side of affairs has been so terribly neglected and she also showed how greatly the woman needed the enlarged vision which would come with added responsibility, for with the growth of collective industries woman's sphere had become more narrowed. Telling reference was made to the comparative ease with which many important reforms had been carried through in countries where the women were enfranchised.⁶⁹

This account of Mrs. Leathes' opinions is the only portion of the minutes to reflect maternal feminist sentiments. It is in contrast with the general tone of the minutes and constitution for this period, which emphasizes the responsibility of university-educated women to act as mentors for other women, and to champion advances of women in education and employment. UWCO women of the 1910s would have been unlikely to refer to themselves as housekeepers (as Mrs. Acheson later protested) for the state or otherwise. They had already assumed for themselves an added responsibility as educated women, and had broadened, rather than narrowed their sphere. While they may not have been typical of most Canadian women, and while there may have been legitimate reasons why the vote would benefit them too, the arguments used by Mrs. Leathes, were not likely to appeal to this group of women.

The suffrage issue was not raised again until the following year, when the Club held a formal debate on "whether Canadian women should take immediate steps to gain the franchise". The judges found for the affirmative, but the secretary noted that while the judges were out, there was an interesting discussion, and "A standing vote showed the majority of the Club in favour of women's enfranchisement but not so many approved of immediate steps being taken to gain that end."⁷⁰ A month later, the UWCO President read out a letter from the Equal Suffrage Association referring to a planned mass meeting at the Russell Theatre, but the

⁶⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 33. Sonia Leathes spoke in 1913 at an annual meeting of the National Council of Women of Canada, espousing the view that women were entitled to the vote, not on the basis of maternal feminism, but because "women, qua women, had rights." [per N.E.S. Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 107-8.

⁷⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 52.

secretary noted that "no action was taken" by the Club.⁷¹ In 1915, the Equal Suffrage Association asked the UWCO to assist in their campaign to obtain the municipal franchise for women. The UWCO response was to first write to the university women's clubs in Toronto and Winnipeg asking what they had done on this issue.⁷² Why were the women of the UWCO so reluctant to publicly support suffrage during this pre-war period? Their reticence on this issue was in contrast with their willingness to investigate other issues dealing with women.

In 1914, "when there was so much distress in Ottawa on account of lack of employment"⁷³, Club member Mrs. Adam Shortt, acting as President of the Local Council of Women ("LCW"), gathered together representatives of the UWCO, the Equal Suffrage Society and the Women's Branch of the Civil Service Association (all affiliated groups of the LCW) to discuss the question of the unemployed business woman. Apparently

many brokers and real estate agents are cutting down their staffs as well as the larger shops and such institutions as the American Bank Note Company and there is every reason to believe that the need for help along this line will be very great.⁷⁴

Mrs. Shortt correctly calculated that this aspect of the unemployment issue would appeal to these Clubs in particular "as their membership is composed so largely of self-supporting women".⁷⁵ A small committee was struck to put notices in the newspapers to find 'these girls' with the idea that

we can do very little towards getting positions, but if we could get in touch with these girls we might be able to help them, temporarily at least – by advancing the amount of a ticket home, by paying a board bill or as they are doing in Toronto finding homes in the country where these young women might have room and board in exchange for their services.⁷⁶

The committee appealed to the Club for funds, bearing in mind the Club's commitments to other groups such as the Red Cross "but surely it is not asking too much of the Club with its steadily increasing membership to attempt other work also."⁷⁷ Meanwhile, the Women's Branch of the Civil Service Association had set up an emergency fund to assist unemployed businesswomen. As a result of the LCW meeting, the Women's Branch asked the UWCO and the Equal Suffrage Association to assist them in investigating applications for help from the fund. Over the winter of

⁷¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 54.

⁷² Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 84.

⁷³ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "The University Women's Club of Ottawa," Patriotic Edition, *Free Press*, Feb. 29, 1916.

⁷⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book 1A, p. 68.

⁷⁵ *Idem.*

⁷⁶ *Idem.*

⁷⁷ *Idem.*

1914-15, about 70 cases were investigated, and the Women's Branch disbursed \$300 of emergency funds in 42 cases. They thanked the UWCO and its members

who devoted so much time and thought to the work of investigating the cases needing help which came before the Relief Work Committee of our Association. We feel that it is due to your committee that there was a personal touch in the work, and think that those who were helped were conscious of individuals desiring to lend a helping hand, rather than of a society giving charity.⁷⁸

In 1916, suffrage was suddenly embraced by the Club. The President of the Ottawa Equal Suffrage Association wrote to the UWCO in October, requesting the Club's help in circulating a petition on behalf of the Ontario Franchise Committee asking the Ontario government to extend the franchise to women. The letter discussed the effectiveness of this method and its timing, but did not raise the merits of the issue itself:

In as much as the presentation to governments of petitions has been effective in the past this work is under way in Ontario...It is true that there is a tide in our affairs which may be taken at the flood. The enfranchisement of the women of the four western provinces is following the signing of the petitions in Manitoba."⁷⁹

The local Woman's Christian Temperance Union and the Suffrage Association had already committed to canvas three city wards, and other women's groups were asked to take responsibility for the six remaining wards. The UWCO immediately appointed Mrs. D.A. Campbell to work with the Franchise Committee in Toronto, and set up a committee and volunteers to work locally in securing signatures. In March 1917, when the canvas for signatures to the suffrage petition was complete, Mrs. Annabel Stewart reported that 55 members had canvassed for the Club. The UWCO team obtained 2542 signatures, approximately 20% of the total for Ottawa.⁸⁰ What caused this sudden support for suffrage? Was it the granting of woman suffrage by the first provincial legislatures in western Canada in mid-1916 that shifted the suffrage issue from radical to mainstream? Or did the 1914-15 pairing of the UWCO and the Equal Suffrage in the unemployed women's issue form a contact that overcame the UWCO's earlier reticence? Or was the suffrage petition just another item in the list of war work undertaken by the Club?

⁷⁸ Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work & Misc. Causes, letter to Miss M.I. Russell, Secretary, UWCO, from A.E. Wilson, Secretary, Women's Branch Association, Nov. 29, 1914. Miss Wilson, the first woman geologist at the Geological Survey of Canada, was a founding member and remained a member of the Club for over fifty years.

⁷⁹ Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work & Misc. Causes, letter to the Ottawa Women's University Club from the Ottawa Equal Suffrage Association, Oct. 19, 1916.

⁸⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 95, 105; and Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests". The minutes noted that "The newspapers quoted 11,500 signatures as having been secured in Ottawa and if this is correct the club had been instrumental in obtaining between 20% and 25% of the total number."

The declaration of war in 1914 immediately and dramatically changed the focus of the UWCO. One of the earliest casualties of war was the Club's focus on women's issues. During the war, the only women speakers were Club members, and on only three occasions did they specifically discuss the role of women. At one 1915 meeting, Club members Miss Cluff and Mrs. Stansfield gave papers on 'modern feminist writers' Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Ellen Key. In 1916, Mrs. Stewart, Miss Alice Wilson and Miss Fyles reported on "New Activities for Women" and in 1918, Miss Welling read an "admirable" paper on "Contributions of Women to English Literature".⁸¹

The President opened the first meeting of 1914 by urging the Club "to greater work for others, especially at this time when so many opportunities presented themselves".⁸² UWCO women flung themselves into charitable war work, raising funds, sewing, knitting, writing letters and sending packages to soldiers and prisoners.⁸³ The Annual Dinner was dispensed with in favour of an entertainment evening with proceeds going to one of the war funds. The annual fee was boosted to \$2.00 to raise more funds for war causes. At the same time, a new demand arose for local charitable work to assist the unemployed and impoverished. These two new causes, war work and local charity, would compete for the Club's attention over the next four years, obliterating the prewar attention to women's achievements. Women appeared in the minutes only as support workers for the war, or as objects of charity. In August 1914 the Club executive's first response to the declaration of war was to send \$25 to a Hospital Ship Fund. Their initial plan for Red Cross work was to use Club funds to purchase material, and pay other women to sew the clothing, but this plan was quickly abandoned. Instead, the executive purchased tobacco labeled with the Club's name to send to soldiers on Salisbury Plains for Christmas in 1914 and 1915. In place of the annual dinner in 1915, the Club sold tickets to an entertainment evening and sent the proceeds to the Belgian Relief Fund for Condensed Milk for Babies. The following year, the Club collected one dollar from each member in lieu of an annual dinner and sent the proceeds to three base hospitals operated by the University of Toronto, McGill and Queen's. Later that year, the UWCO donated funds to a home for Canadian

⁸¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 8. Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1860-1935) was an American writer, feminist and reformer, whose many books on social and economic problems, included *Women and Economics* (1898). [<http://www.encyclopedia.com/articles/05100.html>]. Ellen Key (1849-1926) was a Swedish feminist and writer. [<http://authorsdirectory.com/cgi-bin/search2000/authorsdirectory.cgi?ID=35233>]

⁸² Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 66.

⁸³ For instance, the "Report of Red Cross Work done by UWCO, June 1917-May 1918" reports 24 pyjamas, 18 shorts and 117 socks, produced by 25 different members. The "Report of Red Cross Work of the UWC 1918-1919" reports 88 socks and 5 children's socks (for refugee work), knitted by 20 members. [Vol 17, File 10, War Work.]

convalescent soldiers, and used most of the profit from a sponsored lecture for a Canadian veteran's hospital in England, and to fill Christmas stockings for wounded soldiers. In 1917, more Club money was sent to the three university base hospitals, and the Club adopted a prisoner of war, financing the sending of fortnightly parcels from England, and writing letters. By war's end, the UWCO had contributed more than \$600.00 to war causes, in addition to the donations of sewing and knitting through the Red Cross.⁸⁴ In 1917, drawing on their experience in canvassing for suffrage, the Wartime Resources Committee enlisted UWCO members to canvas householders to sign Food Control Pledge Cards, securing more than 500 signatures. In June 1918, Club members were asked to help with National Registration.⁸⁵ At the same time, certain members consistently put charitable requests from the community before the Club, albeit not always successfully. In 1916 and 1919, the Club donated Club funds to the Ottawa Welfare Bureau, and in 1920, to the YWCA to pay the salary of a secretary for the Travellers' Aid.⁸⁶ One of the last actions of the UWCO during the war period was to add a fourth object to the Constitution: "To lead members to take an active interest in questions of public welfare". This May 1918 amendment reflected some of the work the UWCO had engaged in over the past four years and would suggest a new post-war direction.⁸⁷

In 1917 Mrs. Helen McLean "opened a short discussion upon the need of thoughtful Canadianism, and suggested that henceforth we devote a part of each meeting to the consideration of what is being accomplished by scientific men in Canada."⁸⁸ Others at the meeting began to consider the notion of nationalism, before being brought up short by Mrs. Sykes, who "reminded the meeting that the first, and only purpose for Canada was to do her share in winning the war."⁸⁹ The Executive then promised to consider the issue of conscription "and to try to bring in a practical suggestion."⁹⁰ Representatives of Ottawa women's organizations had met the previous fall to discuss their position on various war-related issues. They issued three resolutions: the first sympathized with "registration throughout Canada" and offered to form a "Committee of Women to take charge of an office for the registration of women in Ottawa", the second supported compulsory service, and the third recommended that voluntary subscription to the Patriotic Fund be replaced by an income tax levy. These resolutions were to be approved by the various groups, and sent to the federal government.

⁸⁴ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "War Time Work: 1914-18".

⁸⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 11.

⁸⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 32, 36.

⁸⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 9.

⁸⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 101.

⁸⁹ *Idem.*

⁹⁰ *Idem.*

There is no record in the UWCO files of further action being taken, and Mrs. Sykes' comments may reflect the impatience of some members with this lack of action.⁹¹

When the war ended in late 1918, the UWCO immediately resurrected its Annual Dinner and used excess funds to purchase Victory bonds.⁹² A number of study groups immediately formed, as if members were suddenly in need of new activities. A study group on the problems of postwar reconstruction met weekly for eleven weeks during early 1919. Fifteen women took turns leading the meetings, and discussed "Immigrant Wives of Soldiers", "Demobilization, Military and Civil", "Employment", "New Standards in Industry", "Taxation and Finance", "Soldiers and Vocational Training", "Scientific and Industrial Research", "Land and Agriculture", "Health and Housing".⁹³ A separate group met to consider housing conditions and a guest speaker discussed housing at an open meeting in December 1919. The unusually high attendance of 125 suggests there was considerable interest in the topic.⁹⁴ In the fall of 1919, a small "French Study Circle" met weekly to practice their French conversational skills and a study group under Mrs. Bryce Stewart studied "Questions of the Day".⁹⁵ During the winter of 1919-20, the Club devoted ten minutes of each meeting to drill in 'parliamentary procedure', covering such useful topics for clubs as motions, amendments and committees.⁹⁶ This followed an earlier study group on parliamentary law hosted by President Miss Marty over the winter of 1916-17 which had studied "motions of various kinds...as well as reports of committees and the organization and constitution of clubs and societies." all constituting "information particularly useful to club women", as noted by the convener.⁹⁷

The Club once again invited women as speakers at its monthly meetings and congratulated women on their achievements. The matron-in-chief of Canadian Nursing Services described her overseas war experience and another speaker gave an address on 'Pioneer Experiences in University Life' telling of her "difficulties in obtaining seminar and lecture

⁹¹ Vol. 10, File 7, Inter-Club Activity, Letter from Kathleen Sladen, Sept. 30, 1916.

⁹² Fifty dollars in Victory Bonds was purchased following the Annual Meetings in 1918 (the club rejected an alternative proposal to donate the \$50 to the Red Cross) and 1919. [Vol. 7, File 1, Treasurer's Reports and Balance Sheets and Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 11, 15, 25.] During these years, annual receipts ranged from \$134.14 (1913-14) to \$536.38 (1917-18), and the balance in the bank in May ranged from \$18.19 (1914-15) to \$131.79 (1918-19).

⁹³ Vol. 17, File 6, "Report of the Study Group of Some of the Problems of Reconstruction". Mrs. Bryce Stewart, wife of the head of the Employment Service of Canada, led the session on employment.

⁹⁴ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Programmes" and "Reconstruction Study Group"; and Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 32.

⁹⁵ Vol. 17, File 8, Study Groups – French Study Group, "Report of the French Study Circle, 1919-20"; Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 38.

⁹⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 26 and 30; and Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Parliamentary Law Study Group".

privileges".⁹⁸ The Club congratulated the matron-in-chief and former president Miss Aletta Marty on receiving honorary doctorates from Queen's University that year.⁹⁹ Newly elected Toronto alderman Mrs. L.A. Hamilton and suffragist and pioneering woman student Dr. Grace Ritchie England spoke at the 1919 and 1920 annual dinners. Dr. Ritchie discussed "Some Aspects of the Sex Question Ancient and Modern".¹⁰⁰

After the war, the Club suddenly took a more active role in its support of women. It participated in a local campaign to elect women school trustees, and met with other university women's club to form the Canadian Federation of University Women in 1920. It formed a committee "to study the cost of living of the ordinary shop girl in Ottawa". While the committee halted its work when the Ontario government formed a Minimum Wage Board which would undertake some of the investigative work the committee had planned to carry out, it had collected some useful budget information which it supplied to the Civil Service Association and to the Union of Telegraph Operators for use in their wage increase demands. The committee also attempted to create a voluntary system whereby UWCO members would submit their budgets to create a database according to occupation.¹⁰¹ When Club member Miss Jessie Muir, an Ottawa Collegiate Institute teacher, alerted the Club in 1920 to the disparity between the salaries of men and women teachers at OCI, and her personal campaign to remedy this inequality, the Club passed a resolution endorsing "the application of the principle of equal pay for work of equal value in the Ottawa Collegiate Institute" and forwarded a copy to the Collegiate Board.¹⁰² The Board appears to have rectified the inequality, and Miss Muir thanked the Club for their support:

I am satisfied that it helped to bring about the satisfactory conclusion reached last night. This is but the beginning of the inevitable struggle for a general recognition of the policy of "equal pay for work of equal value," and the

⁹⁷ Vol. 17, File 18, Study Groups – Miscellaneous Groups, "Report of the Class in Parliamentary Law, April 1917".

⁹⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, pp. 19, 29, 30.

⁹⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 30 and 34. Miss Marty, a founding member of UWCO, had moved to Toronto to take up the position of Public Schools Inspector.

¹⁰⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book I: 1910-17, 34; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book: 1916-1923, 75; Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily*.

¹⁰¹ Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work & Misc. Causes, "Report of the Committee on the Cost of Living of Self Supporting Women in Ottawa", May 14, 1920; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; and Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 17, 25, 29, 30. Women from the Toronto, Winnipeg and Edmonton university women's clubs met in March 1919 and decided to form a Canadian federation. The founding conference was held in August 1919 and the UWCO approved the CFUW Constitution in October 1919. See Hubley, "The Canadian Federation of University Women."

¹⁰² Vol. 18, Minute Book II: 1917-24, 40.

endorsement of the general principle places us in line to continue that struggle whenever opportunity offers.¹⁰³

Throughout this first ten year period, UWCO members defined themselves and their relationship with each other according to their status as university graduates. Each woman's alma mater was treated as an essential part of her identity, often added like a suffix to her name, and there was ongoing concern that each university be represented in all decisionmaking. The Club's initially relaxed approach to membership records and qualifications changed in 1917 with the introduction of application forms and the exclusion of women without formal degrees. The voluntary inclusion of "occupation" on the application form suggests that the word was relevant and applicable to Club members, and elicited a response from those in unpaid as well as paid labour, although it is not clear whether it was intended to do so. The typical Club member was unmarried and less than forty years old, had earned an undergraduate degree from Queen's or the University of Toronto, worked for the federal government as a clerk and lived in downtown Ottawa. This description was true of at least two thirds of Club members with respect to each characteristic. Significant numbers of members also held graduate degrees or worked as teachers. Only a small number of married, widowed or divorced women were ever in paid employment. While the proportion of members over forty years old increased slightly over the course of the decade, the Club continued to be dominated by younger women. More women from nearby universities were single, and more women from distant universities were married, suggesting that marital status affected mobility. Women who had actively participated in the founding of the Club were still likely to be single and in their thirties with a undergraduate degree from the University of Toronto, but they were more likely than the general membership to be married and hold a graduate degree, or if single to be in paid employment. Executive positions were spread amongst a large number of women. The typical executive member was in her thirties or forties and single, with an undergraduate degree from Queen's or Toronto. She was slightly older than the typical Club member, and more likely to be in paid employment and to hold a graduate degree. There is no indication that executive and founding members had more leisure time to be filled with Club pursuits.

The Club's objects were to look after the social and educational needs of its members and to support other women. The improvement of society in general was not added as a Club object until 1917. The social objects were met by the social time added to the conclusion of monthly meetings, an annual dinner and the occasional tea. The educational objects were met

¹⁰³ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence 1920-1958, Letter from Jessie Muir to Miss Sybil Stewart, June 8, 1920.

by speakers at monthly meetings who gave lectures on literature or current events, an annual drama night, and the occasional public lecture sponsored by the Club. The object of supporting women was met by the significant attention devoted to the role of women in society during the Club's first four years, when members presented papers on prominent women or women's issues and prominent women were invited as guest speakers, and by the brief spate of activism in which the Club engaged at the war's close. The Club was initially reticent to become involved in the suffrage debate, but succumbed to the cause in 1916 after being paired with the Equal Suffrage Society in a unemployment aid scheme for women, and eventually took a major part in canvassing for signatures for the suffrage petition. The intervention of war disrupted the social and feminist objects of the Club, forcing the cancellation of the annual dinners and the replacement of women's speakers with male speakers lecturing on war topics. Like many other women's groups, the Club engaged in social support work during the war, both for war and other charitable causes. This experience prompted the Club to add a fourth object, committing the Club to a leadership role in the area of public welfare. After the war, the Club resurrected social events, and increased its educational component by forming study groups, including several on postwar issues. The Club also revived its prewar attention to the support of women, once again inviting women speakers on women's issues, and lending its support to the campaigns of women school trustees, a new national federation of university women, investigations into the living expenses of working class girls, and a bid to equalize the salaries of men and women secondary school teachers.

Chapter Two – Having Tea: 1920-40

The twenty years from 1920 to 1940 were a time of consolidation for the UWCO. No longer a new club, it sought to establish itself as a valuable presence in Ottawa life. Alternately struggling with declining and burgeoning membership numbers, it responded to both of these exigencies by offering social and educational activities for its members. During the first ten years of its existence, the Club had focused on the social and educational needs of its members, on the role of educated women in society and on war and social welfare work. During the next twenty years, the focus would narrow to social and educational needs, but the range of recipients would broaden beyond those in the Club. Increasingly, the UWCO's support for other women would be expressed in the tearoom and around the luncheon table.

Over the twenty-year period from 1920 to 1940, UWCO membership increased by 72%, double the population increase for Ottawa.¹ Membership fluctuated unpredictably from year to year, comprising between 87 and 134 members each year until 1937, when the Club suddenly doubled in size to 259 members and then expanded to 297 members the following year. As membership numbers wavered in the late 1920s, the Executive became concerned about recruiting and keeping new members. In 1925 Club President Mrs. McDougall "urged members to join the Study Groups suggesting that this might increase the spirit of friendliness in the Club" and said she "would like to see it made a point of honour on the part of every member to retain her connection with the Club, and to see that her fees were paid."² At the end of that season, the executive canvassed members for the names of university women graduates resident in the city who were not members of the Club, and when the President asked for suggestions for next year's club, seven out of ten comments concerned membership. Members suggested that the monthly meeting day be moved from Saturday to increase attendance, that eligible university graduates be invited to a special meeting, that nametags be worn at meetings, that new members be called upon by old members, and that special efforts be made to interest new graduates in the Club and to retain their interest. At least two of these recommendations were acted upon: nametags were introduced in 1927, and in 1928 the Club voted to change its regular meeting night from Saturday to Monday.³ This was the most significant change to the by-law and constitution during this period; other amendments simply fine-tuned a workable document. A Press Representative and a CFUW Representative were added to the executive in

¹ "Assessment Rates and Population of the City of Ottawa," 421. Ottawa's population grew from 110,000 in 1920 to 150,000 in 1940.

² Vol. 18, Minute Book III, Oct. 17, 1925 and Dec. 12, 1925.

³ Vol. 18, Minute Book III, April 17 and May 1926, Oct. 15, 1927 and May 1928.

1923, executive terms were limited to two years, and procedural rules for meetings were formalized. The sudden increase in membership in the late 1930s prompted the division of the secretary's position into recording secretary and corresponding secretary. The annual fee was increased from \$2.00 to \$2.50 in 1922, and while a 1927 motion to raise the fee to \$3.50 was lost, it succeeded in 1931.⁴

The secretary began to compile annual lists of UWCO members in 1929. These lists appear to have been prepared for the convenience and use of members, as much as for Club use, and may have been prompted, like the change in meeting time and the wearing of nametags, by the late 1920s concern with attracting and keeping members. Membership lists were compiled by the secretary based on information originally provided in application forms, possibly updated by members at the time of paying their annual fee. The information was subject to errors and editing by the secretary, and would therefore be influenced by her interpretation of who should be included and which information was relevant. The secretary's influence is particularly evident in the listing of occupation, which was edited to four generic categories in early lists, and continued to exclude all housewives. The first list, compiled in 1929/30, included the name, prefix, address and telephone number of each member. The following year's list was only an attendance ledger with names and prefixes, and there is no 1931-32 list extant. The 1932-33 list provided the alma mater, name, prefix, address, degree and occupation of each member, in that order, suggesting that alma mater continued to function as a prime indicator of identity within the Club context. The following year, the list was reordered to show name and prefix first, followed by degree, alma mater, address, telephone number and occupation, and this ordering was used for the next twenty years. The omission of year of graduation suggests that it was not relevant to the Club, although it is impossible to know whether this was an editing decision by the secretary or a policy decision by the executive.

These lists can be analyzed to provide a summary of UWCO membership between 1929 and 1940. Relying on prefixes to determine marital status, the proportions of single and married (including widowed and divorced) women were roughly equal throughout the 1930s, indicating that the proportion of married women had increased since 1920. The Club continued to be dominated by graduates from Queen's and the University of Toronto in approximately equal numbers (about 30% each). In the early 1930s, there were smaller proportions of graduates

⁴ Vol. 4, File 3, *Constitution and By-Laws, Reprinted May 1928*; Vol. 15, File 5, *Outline of Activities, 1910-43, "Constitution"*; Vol. 15, File 5, *Outline of Activities, "Constitution"*; and Vol. 18, *Minute Books II, III, IV and VI, May 20, 1922, April 21 and May 17, 1923, April and May 1927, April 21 and May 19, 1928, April and May 1931 and May 8, 1939*. In the 1910 Constitution, the executive consisted of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, and five councilors, for a total of 11.

from McGill (13%) and from universities in Eastern Canada (11%) and the United States (6%), and only a handful of graduates from Western Canada, elsewhere in Ontario and overseas. By 1940 the proportion of graduates from universities in British Columbia, Saskatchewan, Alberta and Manitoba had increased dramatically, from 4% to 16%, and the proportion of McGill graduates had dropped to 8%. The proportion of members who had earned an undergraduate degree rose slightly, from 76% in 1932-33 to more than 80% between 1936 and 1940, and the percentage of those with a graduate degree decreased slightly. The handful of members without degrees who had joined the Club prior to 1917, represented a steadily decreasing percentage of the membership. Most striking is the tremendous expansion in the types of degree: by 1940, Club members held degrees in Commerce, Library sciences, Home Economics, Household Science, Architecture, Education, Physical Education, Pharmacy, Music, Economics and Law, as well as the traditional B.A., M.A. and Ph.D.

When Club members' occupations first appeared on the 1932-33 membership list they were crowded into the column intended for degree, and reduced by the secretary to four categories: teacher, civil servant, tutor and librarian. Only 38% of the members had stated occupations: 54% were civil servants, 37% were teachers, 6% were tutors and one was a librarian. The following year, both the proportion of Club members with occupations and the variety of occupations increased. By 1940, 88% of single Club members and 6% of married, widowed or divorced Club members held a listed occupation and 28 different occupations were represented on the list. More detailed occupations were included on later membership lists: women whose 1932-33 occupation was "C.S." (Civil Servant) were described in the late 1930s as "geologist", "chemist" or "micro-analyst". The occupation of housewife was never included on membership lists. Between 1932 and 1940 the proportion of teachers fluctuated between 38% and 51% and the proportion designated as "civil servants" fluctuated between 18% and 54%. Because the membership lists do not provide the employer's name, this latter group does not include those government workers whose positions are described by function: i.e. chemist, botanist, etc.

While membership lists provide a profile of the Club as a whole, membership applications provide a profile of those who chose to join the Club in any year. The two sources differ not only in the women they provide information on, but in the extent and nature of the evidence on those women. The information provided in UWCO application forms is more detailed and extensive than that reproduced in membership lists. The application forms were completed by the applicants themselves, and are therefore evidence of that applicant's perception of their own situation at the time they were completed, subject of course to the

questions dictated by the Club. In 1925, the Executive revised the application form to elicit "further information about the members".⁵ Two new questions were added: What course of study had the applicant taken at university, and under what name had the degree been obtained? The first question reflected the increasing specialization of university programs, such as domestic science, and the great respect accorded the expert during the 1920s. While the relevancy of this information for the Club is unclear, its inclusion may indicate its elevated status in members' minds.

The second question, asking under what name the degree had been obtained, elicited a maiden surname for women who had married after graduation. Applicants' responses indicate that all married applicants had adopted their husband's surname and that none of the 1920s applicants earned a degree after marriage. Seven of the 1930s applicants earned a degree after marriage and three married between their undergraduate and graduate degrees. The addition of this question reflects both the increasing number of married women in the Club and the Club's desire to verify university credentials before approving applications. Notes on many application forms indicate that the Club contacted the applicant's university to confirm the degree, and the Executive occasionally rejected applicants on the basis that they did not have a recognized degree or had not studied at a recognized university. In 1924, the Club considered whether to accept a graduate of Osgoode Hall Law School, eventually deciding in the applicant's favour. In 1926, the Executive obtained lists of recognized universities from the Canadian, American and British federations of university women, and asked the secretary to investigate "the standing of any College or University that might be in question."⁶ However, when the secretary was asked in 1934 to check the status of Tufts University, the list could not be found, suggesting it was not in frequent use. In 1939 the Executive requested a CFUW ruling on whether Bachelor of Music degrees were eligible. When the Executive first proposed that the Governor-General's wife, Lady Tweedsmuir, be made an honorary member in 1937, the idea was complicated by the fact that she was not a university graduate. Happily, the matter was resolved when she received an honorary degree from the University of Toronto the following year, and was immediately offered a Club membership.⁷

⁵ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, June 16, 1925.

⁶ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Dec. 11, 1926.

⁷ Vol. 4, File 7, Membership Correspondence and Reports, 1937-38, letters between Dr. Dorothy Turville, CFUW, and Mrs. Sheridan, UWCO, Nov. 25 and Dec. 1, 1937, and Feb. 28, 1938, and letter from J. Pape, Government House, to Miss Jean F. Burrows, UWCO, Nov. 1, 1938. Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Constitution"; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Nov. 1, 1934, Jan. 14, 1935 and May 26, 1939.

Two more questions were added in 1938: "Telephone number?" and "Husband's Initials If Married?"⁸ The first question reflects the increasing use and acceptance of the telephone as a means of ordinary communication, suggesting that it was not until this point in time that members were expected to have a private home telephone. The request for husband's initials reflects both the increasing proportion of married women in the Club and a desire to adhere to the convention that a husband's initials be used in addressing mail to a married woman.

The periods of time during which different application forms were used overlap, but can be roughly divided into two periods: 1920-1930 ("the 1920s") and 1930-1942 ("the 1930s"). According to the application forms extant, 162 women applied to join the UWCO during the 1920s and 397 women applied during the 1930s. While the majority of applicants were single, the proportion of married (or widowed or divorced) applicants increased over this period: In the 1920s, 75% of applicants were single, and 25% were married, and in the 1930s, 59% of applicants were single and 41% were married. This contrasts sharply with the status of Canadian women in both 1921, when 29% were single, and 1941, when 34% were single.⁹ About 10% of applicants married during the time they were Club members.

While applicants tended to be young women, many of whom were recent graduates, the average age of applicants increased over this period. In the 1920s, 25% of applicants were recent graduates, and during the 1930s, only 17% were recent graduates.¹⁰ Relying on the assumption that women earned their undergraduate degree at age 22, in the 1920s, 60% were in their twenties, 25% were in their thirties, and 7% were more than forty years old.¹¹ In the 1930s, 57% of applicants were in their twenties, 29% were in their thirties, and 11% were more than forty years old.¹² At least nine applicants joined the Club more than 30 years after graduation. For instance, Mrs. Bryce (Annabel) Stewart, who had earned her degrees in 1908 and 1910, had been a Club member between 1914 and 1920, when she moved to the United States. When her husband was appointed to the federal government in 1941 she returned to Ottawa and rejoined the Club.

The vast majority of applicants held only an undergraduate degree, but later applicants were slightly better educated. In the 1920s, 90% held an undergraduate degree, and 10% held a graduate or professional degree. In the 1930s, 83% held an undergraduate degree and 17%

⁸ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, May 27, 1938.

⁹ Calculated on the basis of figures provided in M.C. Urquhart, ed. and K.A.H. Buckley, Assist. Ed. 1st edition, *Historical Statistics of Canada, 2d ed.*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), Series A110-124: Population, by marital status and sex, 1871-1976.

¹⁰ Meaning they had joined the Club within 18 months of earning their degree.

¹¹ The remaining 8% is attributable to applicants who did not give dates of graduation or application.

¹² The remaining 3% is attributable to applicants who did not give dates of graduation or application.

held a graduate or professional degree.¹³ In the 1920s, Fifty per cent of those who answered the new question on which course they had taken, described it as a general arts course, 17% had studied languages or literature, 17% had studied history, 10% had studied biology, chemistry or both, 4% had taken a household science or home economics course, 4% had studied economics, 2% had taken mathematics and 2% had taken commerce. During the 1930s, more applicants had specialized, or were willing to describe their studies in terms of a specialty: 32% had taken a general arts degree, 28% had studied languages or literature, 11% had studied history, 5% had studied biology, chemistry or physics, 6% had taken a course in household science or home economics, 3% had studied mathematics, 3% had studied classics, 3% had studied psychology or sociology, 3% had studied philosophy, 2% had studied medicine, 2% had studied political science or political economy, 1% had studied commerce or finance, 1% had studied law, and less than 1% had studied each of education, library sciences, religious education and music.

During the 1920s, the majority of applicants earned their undergraduate degree at Queen's University (39%) and the University of Toronto (30%). Smaller proportions of applicants came from undergraduate courses at McGill (9%) and McMaster University (6%) and universities in eastern Canada (6%), western Canada (2%), the United States (4%) and Britain or Europe (2%). During the 1930s, the same proportion came from Toronto (30%) but there were smaller proportions from Queen's (25%), McGill (5%) and McMaster (5%). Larger proportions of applicants now came from universities elsewhere in Ontario (University of Western Ontario: 4%), western Canada (12%), eastern Canada (9%), the United States (6%) and Britain and Europe (3%). In the 1920s, a disproportionately high number of applicants from the closest universities (Toronto, Queen's and McGill) were single, while married women tended to be over-represented among more distant universities. In the 1930s, only applicants from Queen's and Western Ontario were disproportionately single. The marital status of applicants from other Canadian universities was similar to the marital status of all applicants, and married women were only over-represented among American, British and European universities.

During the 1920s, 11% of applicants had earned more than one degree, either a graduate degree, an undergraduate degree in another area such as social work or library science, or a professional degree in law or medicine. Thirty-nine per cent of these women went

¹³ In 1920, 17% of university students in Canada were women. In graduate programs, women represented 26% of full-time students. By 1940, 23% of university students were women: women represented 23% of undergraduates, but only 21% of graduate students [M.C. Urquhart, ed. and K.A.H. Buckley, Assist. Ed. 1st edition, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2^d ed., (Ottawa: Statistics Canada,

to the University of Toronto for their subsequent degree, another 22% went to Queen's, and 28% went to universities in the United States, Great Britain or Australia. During the 1930s a whopping 43% of applicants had earned a second or third degree. Only 27% had gone to Toronto for their subsequent degree, 9% to Queen's, and 41% went to universities in the United States, Europe, Great Britain and India. Many of these women had also attended foreign universities for their undergraduate degree, and may have been arriving in Ottawa for the first time when they joined the UWCO. Others had attended a Canadian university close to home for their first degree, and then gone on to a specialized program elsewhere.

Three-quarters of single women applicants in the 1920s were in paid employment.¹⁴ Just over half taught at local public, private and high schools and another third worked for the federal government, leaving only six women in other occupations.¹⁵ Two of these were school librarians: Edith Jamieson at Lisgar Collegiate Institute and Laura Argue at the Normal School. Another two worked at the YWCA on Metcalfe Street: Constance Young as Girls' Work Secretary and Carrie Mathewson as Physical Director. F.S. Fish was a lawyer at Apsley Hall and Ruth Thomas worked as a translator for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Almost a third of the civil servants worked as scientists: Jean McGugan and Charlotte McCullough were micro-analysts, Hope Cross and Mary McNab were seed analysts, and Vera Jones was a microscopist for the Department of Agriculture. Bertha Hedley, Leone Farrell, Alice Burwash and Doris Heron were chemists, and Irene Mounce was a plant pathologist at the Central Experimental Farm. Winnifred Law was an entomologist, Elizabeth Smith was a zoologist, and Clara Fritz was a timber pathologist. Among the other civil servants, Grace Hart, Margaret Farnham and Miss M. Hume worked as librarians in civil service departments, Norah Story was an assistant archivist with the Dominion Archives, Agnes Muldrew was a Home Counselor with the Soldier Settlement Board, and Mora Guthrie was an examiner with the Civil Service Commission, Mary Taylor was a lawyer at the House of Commons and Dr. Helen MacMurchy was a physician in the Dominion Service. The remainder worked as clerks, secretaries or stenographers.

1983) Series W340-438: Full-time university enrollment, by sex, Canada and by province, selected years, 1920 to 1975].

¹⁴ In 1921, 40% of Canadian women aged 20-24, 20% aged 25 – 34 and only 12% aged 35 – 64 were in the labour force. [M.C. Urquhart, ed. and K.A.H. Buckley, Assist. Ed. 1st edition, *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2d ed., (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), Series D107-122: Population, labour force and labour force participation rates, by age and sex, census years, 1921 to 1961, and by sex, 1901 and 1911.]

¹⁵ By 1931, nearly 23% of employed women in Ottawa, worked for the federal government. [Taylor, *Ottawa*, 120.]

In the 1930s, the proportion of single women applicants who held paid employment rose to 87%.¹⁶ Only a third were now teachers, and almost half were civil servants. Roughly half of them worked as secretaries, clerks and stenographers and the other half held a variety of positions. Seven women were at the Central Experimental Farm: Eleanor Silver Dowding as a botanist, Denise Gross, Mary McKillican and Dorothy Hiscox as chemists and others as research assistants. Eight women worked elsewhere in the Department of Agriculture, as home economists, seed analysts, micro-analysts and lab assistants. Eight women worked for the National Research Council: Ann Gauthier as an architectural draftsman, Florence Lamon as a textile chemist, and others as a researcher, a cataloguer, an editor and clerks. Seven more worked for the Bank of Canada as researchers, a supervisor and clerks. Marjorie McIntosh was a research economist for the Joint Economic Committee and Maysie Roger worked for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations. A number of women held jobs that were specifically related to the war effort, including four women who were postal censorship examiners, and five who defined themselves as teachers, professors or dietitians, presently or temporarily working as civil servants. Twenty per cent of the working single women held positions in the private sector: these included secretaries, stenographers, librarians, social workers and dietitians for hospitals and Clubs. Three women worked for the local Protestant Children's Village as a psychologist, a superintendent and a nursery school director: Elsie Stapleford, Janet Parker and Caroline McKay. Psychiatrist Dr. Margaret G. Rendall and psychologist Ruth McConnell came to the UWCO from the Ontario Hospital in Brockville. Dr. Rachel Haight was a physician in private practice and Christina Murray was a nursing instructor at the Civic Hospital. Katharine Cannon wrote for the Canadian Geographic Society and Alison T. Hardy was a journalist for the Ottawa Citizen.

None of the married applicants during the 1920s were employed outside the home, although two still saw themselves as members of a profession, giving their occupation as "social worker" and "teacher". Most married women recorded their occupation as "housewife" or some variation on that term, including "homemaker", "housekeeper", "Minister's wife", "wife and mother", "married" and "married woman". The remainder left the occupation line blank. By the 1930s, the labour situation had changed, and 9% of married, widowed or divorced applicants held outside employment. Phyllis Turner (widow of Leonard) was Chief Economist of the Tariff Board and Irene Spry (married to Graham) was an Economist for the Commodity Prices

¹⁶ By 1941, 47% aged 20-24, 28% aged 25-34 and 15% aged 35-64 were in the labour force. [M.C. Urquhart, ed. and K.A.H. Buckley, Assist. Ed. 1st edition, *Historical Statistics of Canada, 2d ed.*, (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983), Series D107-122: Population, labour force and labour force participation rates, by age and sex, census years, 1921 to 1961, and by sex, 1901 and 1911.]

Stabilization Board. Marion Foran and Sadie Lieff practiced law, Bliss Pugsley had her own medical practice, and Frances Hurlbut managed her husband's engineering business. Four married women were civil servants, three were teachers, one was a nurse and one was a laboratory technician. Among those women who stayed at home, there was some ambiguity about defining this occupation: 45% referred to themselves as "housewives", while another 15% used a variety of substitute terms ("homemaker", "home keeper", "housekeeper", "mother and housekeeper", "married", "married woman", "wife", "Minister's wife" and "wife of E.H.Coleman"). Twenty-six per cent of married women wrote nothing at all. Seven per cent of married women struggled to define themselves both in terms of their chosen profession and their present occupation: "Married (formerly Junior High School teacher)", "Housewife (dietitian)", "Housewife (formerly a social worker)". Ethel Rutter explained that in her former life she "was Head, School of Home Economics, University of Saskatchewan". Dr. Arrabelle McCallum wrote her occupation as "dentist" even though she was not practicing.

In the 1920s, fewer applicants lived in Centretown (39%) than in the 1910s, and an increasing number were located in the newer suburb of the Glebe (22%). Smaller numbers lived in the older neighbourhoods of Sandy Hill (8%) and New Edinburgh (1%), the poorer area of Lowertown (1%), the newly developed suburbs to the west (8%) and south (9%) and the newly incorporated village of Rockcliffe Park (3%).¹⁷ Three women traveled from the nearby towns of Hull, Metcalfe and Smith Falls. Nine percent of applicants gave as their "home address" their distant home town in Ontario or New Brunswick, and inserted their Ottawa address as their work address. These included teachers at the collegiate institutes and the Ottawa Ladies College, and three women working at the local YWCA. The proportions remained roughly the same during the 1930s, with most applicants living in Centretown (1/3) and the Glebe (22%), and smaller numbers in Sandy Hill (6%), New Edinburgh (2%), Lowertown (1%), and the suburbs to the west (9%) and south (8%). Slightly larger proportions of women lived in areas surrounding Ottawa: Rockcliffe Park (7%), Carleton Place (2%, representing seven women), Britannia (1%) and one woman from Aylmer. Only 4% of applicants now considered now considered their "home address" to be their distant hometown, but these included nurses, civil servants and MP Angus MacInnes' wife Grace Woodsworth MacInnes, as well as teachers.

Between 1923 and 1930 the secretary kept a guest book in which members signed their names at each meeting.¹⁸ A review of guest books reveals a shift in the way women referred to themselves. Between 1923 and 1925, most women tended to sign their names using a prefix.

¹⁷ The Village of Rockcliffe Park was incorporated in 1926 [Haig, p. 185].

¹⁸ Vol. 4, Book III.

Single women used Miss (sometimes in brackets) followed by their given name or initials, and surname. Married women used Mrs. followed by their husband's initials or first name, and his surname. After 1925, prefixes were used less and less often in the guest book. Single women tended to sign their initials and surname, and occasionally their full name. Married women who had previously used their husband's name suddenly began to sign with their own first name or initials. If "Mrs." appeared it was often only in brackets after their name. While it was never universal either across the Club, or for individual members, this shift was evident among both new and old members. This change in the signature convention is also evident in the application forms of new members. During the 1920s, 57% of married applicants used their husband's first name or initials in their signature (either "Mrs. Charles Sheridan" or "Miriam Sheridan (Mrs. C.W.)") and only 43% signed using only their own name ("Miriam Sheridan"). However, during the 1930s, 87% of married applicants signed using only their own name ("Katharine Keenleyside"). Only 9% of married women now included their husband's first name or initials in their signature, ("Mrs. H.L. Keenleyside"), while another 3% used the prefix "Mrs." ("Mrs. Katharine Keenleyside") with their own first name. Ironically, newspaper articles reporting on Club meetings, which were glued into the guest books alongside the signatures of those attending each meeting, show that the newspaper still stuck religiously to the use of prefixes and husband's name. This suggests a division between the requirements of polite society and the inclinations of women acting individually. It was also at this time that the Club began to ask for husband's initials on application forms. Was this question in response to the increasing tendency of married women not to give this information voluntarily?

Positions of power were, for the most part, well distributed among different Club members. Applicants were required to be 'proposed' by an existing member and 'seconded' by another member, unless they were transferring from another university women's club. The roles of proposer and seconder were well shared among members: during the 1920s, only six women proposed more than 5% of the applicants. Two of these were outstanding: Sybil Stewart, who was on the executive for at least half of this decade, proposed or seconded 20% of the applicants, and Jessie Muir, President from 1923 to 1925, proposed or seconded 12% of the applicants. During the 1930s, only one woman proposed or seconded more than 5% of the applicants: Miriam L. Sheridan, who was on the executive for four seasons, proposed or seconded 8% of the applicants. Executive positions, while somewhat less well distributed, were still held by a wide number of Club members. In twenty seasons, 131 women held 236 executive positions. Fifty percent of executive members held only one position, 31% held two positions, and 11% held three positions. Miss Helen Cowie, Mrs. Miriam Sheridan, Mrs.

McQueen and Mrs. Letts held four positions each, Mrs. J. Craig and Mrs. McMorrow held five positions each, Miss Evans, Miss Guthrie and Mrs. Maude (W.R.) McClelland held six positions each, and Miss Sybil Stewart held ten positions during the twenty year period. While the ratio of single to married executive members was roughly equal, regardless of the number or type of positions held, markedly more married than single women participated in the executive between 1936 and 1940.¹⁹ In addition to the official executive, women were appointed annually to convene standing committees and study groups, and as representatives to groups in which UWCO held a membership, such as the Local Council of Women and the League of Nations. Standing committees existed at various times for Membership, Lectures, Programme, Archives, Scholarship and Hospitality. The executive usually met in the evening at a member's home, or at the end of the work day in the downtown office of a single member. When the 1925 executive decided that it needed a regular meeting place, it met in the lecture hall of the Carnegie Library, reverting the following year to the use of members' homes and offices.²⁰

In 1921 the Club began to hold its regular monthly meetings at the Daffodil Tea Rooms, relying on this 'temporary solution' for five years.²¹ Meanwhile, a campaign by the Women's Canadian Club ("WCC") to establish a Residential Club for Women coincided with the UWCO's ongoing desire to find permanent clubrooms.²² The WCC organized several public meetings in 1920, inviting prominent women and representatives of twenty-four local women's organizations to build enough financial support to push the scheme forward. The meeting resolved to open a large Women's Residential Club under the auspices of the WCC and struck a finance committee. There was an unexplained hiatus until 1925, when the WCC and the UWCO began negotiating the purchase of shares and the privileges to which Clubs and individuals would be entitled. In June 1925, the UWCO executive appointed a committee to inquire into the "possibility of securing a clubhouse, the cost of running it, etc. and whether we could cooperate with other women's organizations in any scheme they have planned."²³ In July 1925, the UWCO executive "heartily approved" of the WCC scheme and agreed to participate on the condition

¹⁹ Calculated on the basis of attendance reported in Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books B, C, D and E.

²⁰ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, June 22, 1925.

²¹ The Daffodil Tea Rooms were operated by Isabelle E. Taylor on Sparks Street above E.R. Fisher Men's Clothing Store, and the Club had held its annual dinner there in 1912. [*Might's' City Directories*].

²² The Women's Canadian Club, having done well on a tearoom it ran in the Capitol Theatre during the war, began to set aside funds for a residential Club in 1919, modeling it on the Themis Club of Montreal. The WCC estimated that in 1920 there were 3,000 women in government service, 2/5's of whom would need accommodation, and that there were at least 160 schoolteachers and 750 businesswomen in the same need. The original scheme called for at least 300 rooms, a restaurant and a meeting hall. [Vol. 8, File 3, Hospitality and Accommodation; and Charlotte Whitton, *The Chelsea Club* (Bytown Pamphlet Series No. 5), 8.]

²³ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, June 16 and 22, 1925.

that they should have sole use of one room in the clubhouse.²⁴ In September 1925, the UWCO resolved to buy shares with a view to using the clubhouse as their clubrooms. However, the Chelsea Club, as it was eventually named, was not open to the Club's proposed use: while it was happy to have them use the meeting rooms, the members would receive no Club privileges and study groups could not meet at the Club house. In March 1926, the UWCO rejected the proposal, withdrawing the Club's application for shares "owing to the fact that the proposed rates and times for use of the building do not seem to be to our advantage".²⁵

Club meetings moved to the Chateau Laurier in the fall of 1926 and then to the Chelsea Club in 1928. In 1930, the Chelsea Club complained that the UWCO had broken its house rules by holding a money-making bridge. After much emotionally charged correspondence between the Chelsea Club and UWCO President Charlotte Whitton, the UWCO abruptly stopped meeting at the Chelsea Club and in a heroic bid for control, nominated two members, Miss Whitton and Miss Locklin, to run for directors in the upcoming Chelsea Club elections. The election results were not reported in UWCO records, but by the following year, Miss Whitton had retired from the UWCO presidency, and the UWCO was back at the Chelsea Club. That year, the Club also began to rent 'clubrooms' on Sparks Street for study groups and bridges. After two seasons, study groups resumed meeting in members' homes, and bridges were largely abandoned.²⁶ For the next six years, regular meetings were held at the Chelsea Club and open meetings were held at the Chateau Laurier. In the fall of 1937, with a burgeoning membership which made smaller venues like the Chelsea Club untenable, the Club began using the Ottawa Ladies' College for regular meetings.

The Club season continued to consist of eight monthly meetings from October to May. The October meeting often incorporated light entertainment or games to encourage members to become acquainted and from 1930 onwards, the December meeting consisted of a Christmas supper party. The Drama Reading Circle presented a play or guest speaker at the March meeting, and the annual meeting was held in May.²⁷ Regular meetings included Club business, a lecture delivered by the invited speaker, and a short social time with refreshments. Most of the information on speakers has been obtained from Club minutes, and there are only limited references in this source to the response of members to a speaker's topic or comments. The extension of an invitation to one or more speakers to speak on a certain topic, must therefore be

²⁴ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, July 6, 1925.

²⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book III, Mar. 20, 1926; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Mar. 1, 1926.

²⁶ Vol. 8, File 3, Hospitality and Accommodation, letters between Chelsea Club and Charlotte Whitton, Nov. 1930; Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Dec. 8, 1930, Oct. 20 and Nov. 9, 1931, May 9 and Oct. 11, 1932

²⁷ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Dramatic Evenings".

taken as indirect evidence that the Club was interested in this topic, with the number of speakers indicating the relative interest in the topic. In 1925, President Mrs. McDougall, suffering under some of the same difficulties, asked the Club for suggestions for meetings:

it was her wish to make the meetings vital since a Club can only reflect its membership and the degree of eagerness of individual members. Members were asked to give notice of visitors in the city whom the Club could entertain and of classes or groups they would like started.²⁸

When the president asked for suggestions again the following year, members indicated that "specialists were more desirable as speakers".²⁹

The most popular topic at monthly meetings and Club dinners was literature. Seventeen speakers, including Club members as well as local members of parliament, spoke on books, poems or authors. Even those with experience and expertise in other areas, chose literary topics. Mr. W.J. Sykes, husband of founding member Mrs. Sykes and chief librarian at the Carnegie Library, spoke on English poetry in 1922, Mr. William Irvine gave a lecture on a play and an acquaintance of Ruskin described his life in 1923, and the CFUW president discussed Thomas Hardy's works at the 1924 annual dinner. In 1925 Club member Mrs. McQueen read a paper on Joseph Conrad, Mr. W.G. Raymond M.P. discussed "Shakespeare's Hero", the IFUW Executive Secretary discussed her former employer, Mr. Henry James, and Dr. O.D. Skelton, Undersecretary of State for External Affairs and husband of a Club member, talked about Canada Book Week. A local United Church minister compared Charles Dickens and Breb Hurte in 1926 and Club member Mrs. Isabel Skelton read a paper on Robert Frost's poetry in 1929³⁰. In 1927 Queen's University English professor Miss Wilhelmina H. Gordon discussed the English novel and short story, protesting publishers' restrictions on short stories and the 'modern' tendency towards minute detail, which she blamed on modern science. In 1930 Dr. Duncan Campbell Scott spoke on the life and poetry of his good friend Archibald Lampman and in 1931 New Brunswick poet Dr. Theodore Gooderich Roberts read from his own poetry. Past UWCO president Charlotte Whitton, C.B.E., discussed modern Irish literature at the 1934 annual dinner, and Lady Tweedsmuir, author of historical novels, children's books and drama, spoke to the 1936 annual dinner about her friends, British novelists Anne Douglas Sedgwick, Mary Webb and Virginia Woolf "who have done so much for their sex by giving us the treasures of their

²⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book III, Nov. 21, 1925.

²⁹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, June 21, 1926.

³⁰ Mrs. Skelton, M.A. (Queen's 1901) (1877-1955) was a writer who published several books on Canadian history. Interestingly, she did not indicate her occupation as writer when applying to join the Club. [Terry Crowley, "Writing for Whom? Isabel Murphy Skelton and Canadian History in the Early Twentieth Century," in Cook et al., *Framing Our Past*, 174-7.

three very fine minds".³¹ The University of Ottawa Normal School Principal discussed "Life Through Literature" in 1936, University of Toronto English professor Mrs. W.A. Kirkwood lectured on D.H.Lawrence and Aldous Huxley in 1937, and University of Ottawa English professor George Buxton discussed nineteenth century poets in 1940.³²

The other most popular topics were Canada's national and international relations, with twelve speakers, and talks given by Club members or invited guests on summer travels and countries in political turmoil, which attracted more than ten speakers. Women's issues, world peace, and recent developments in science merited ten speakers each. Seven speakers each, discussed economic issues and health issues, six speakers talked about Canadian history and about visual arts, five speakers dealt with education and social welfare topics and four speakers discussed immigration and settlement.

After the mid 1920s, speakers on Canada's national and international relations were virtually all male and for the most part, experts in the field. In 1924, the president of the Men's University Club discussed the development of a national spirit, and the following year, Club members were invited to host evenings on the topic: Queen's graduates presented papers on international relations and a McGill-Maritime group discussed Canadian unity. In 1926, Mr. A. Thorson, Member of Parliament and Dean of the University of Manitoba Law School, described the development of a national consciousness, arguing that unity was dependent on equality of religion and language among citizens of British, non-British and French-Canadian stock, and not on uniformity of race and creed. In 1930, University of Ottawa professor Dr. Seraphin Marion discussed the English and French in Canada and in 1934 W.G. Ernst, M.P. revisited the development of a Canadian consciousness. In 1933, University of Toronto professor F.H.Underhill described the party system in Canada and the wife of the Speaker of the House described British and Canadian parliaments. In 1934, Queen's professor Norman McLeod Rogers discussed the foundations of Canadian federalism, provoking "keen interest" and many questions from Club members, and in 1938, MP Paul Martin commented, as a backbencher, on the parliamentary form of government. Canada's international relations were discussed by Dr. Adam Shortt in 1923 and by McGill professor of constitutional law F.R.Scott in 1933. Two speakers described international conferences as a means of solving national and international problems: Mr. Tom Moore, President of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, described

³¹ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Lady Tweedsmuir Speaker UWC Annual Dinner in Ottawa", April 11, 1936.

³² Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report for '35-'36", "May 1938"; Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Lectures"; and Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and VI, Sept. 1930, Nov. 9 and Dec. 14, 1931, Mar. 3, 1934, Jan. 15, 1940. Duncan Campbell Scott (1862- 1947) was a well-known Canadian poet, Ottawa resident

the International Labour Congress at Geneva and Mr. C.A. Bowman described the Conference on Pacific Relations in 1927.³³

Talks about other countries fell into two types: in the 1920s, Club members learned about the world in talks given by fellow members on their summer travels, much as they had during the previous decade. In the late 1920s, and throughout the 1930s, travel talks were increasingly replaced by outside speakers describing countries in political turmoil. Ten guest speakers described contemporary conditions in places such as China, the Soviet Union, Germany, Sweden, Poland, and Japan.³⁴

Although prominent women were featured as guests of honour at Club dinners, teas and luncheons, they were not often asked to speak at regular meetings, and women's issues were raised by only ten speakers during these two decades. A 1921 speaker from the Canadian Council on Immigration of Women for Household Service discussed "Household Science as a Career", asking the Club to avoid the overused words "immigration" and "problem", focusing instead on "What inducements can we offer girls or women to accept employment as household workers, how awaken interest in housework?"³⁵ Dr. Margaret Patterson described "Women as Empire Builders" at the 1922 annual dinner. Mr. J.S. Woodsworth, whose wife had recently joined the Club, discussed the world peace movement in 1924 and the part women had played in promoting world peace and at the 1929 annual dinner CFUW President Miss Laila Scott, spoke about the IFUW and its role in keeping peace between the world's nations. When

and career civil servant in the Department of Indian Affairs. An amusing sketch of Scott can be found in Madge MacBeth, *Over My Shoulder* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1953), 135-147.

³³ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "May 1938"; Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Lectures"; Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, Dec. 8, 1930, Jan. 9, Feb. 16 and Mar. 13, 1933, Feb. 19 and April 9, 1934; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, June 22, 1925; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Women's University Club", Oct. 1927, and "Mr. C.A. Bowman on Pacific Relations," Oct. 1927.

³⁴ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "1934-35", "Annual Report for '35-'36", "UWCO 1936-37", "May 1938", "Secretary's Report for 1938-39"; Vol. 18, Minute Books IV, V and VI, Feb. 8, April, May, Oct. 11 and Dec. 12, 1932, Oct. 16, 1933, Nov. 12, 1934, April 8 and Nov. 18, 1935, Oct. 12 and Nov. 8, 1937 and Oct. 10, 1939; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Consul-General K.H. Chow Sketches Vivid Picture", Dec. 1928. Conditions in revolutionary China were described by the Chinese Consul-General in 1928, by a McGill University professor in 1932 and by Dr. Grant Lathe, secretary of the Canadian Student Assembly and the son of a Club member, in 1938. The Soviet Union was described by J.S. Woodsworth, M.P. and McGill University professor Eugene Forsey in 1932. The situation in Germany was discussed by Queen's Dean of Women Hilda Laird in 1932 and by Rev. Stuart Iveson (father or brother of member Miss Sadie Iveson, B.A. (McMaster, 1911) who joined the Club in 1923) in 1934. In 1935 the Director of the local drama festival spoke about Sweden and the Polish Consul-General discussed the new Polish Constitution. In 1936 a Vimy veteran discussed the conditions in present day Europe and Dr. Hugh L. Keenleyside (husband of Club member Katharine (B.A., UBC 1920, B.S., Simmons) who joined the UWCO in 1937), spoke about Japan and the Far East. Club members talked about Ireland, Panama, Paris, Basque, Germany and Scandinavia in 1932, 1933, 1935 and 1937. In 1939, Miss Violet Moyer and Miss Eunice Tyhurst described their summer trips to Britain and Europe "before the crisis"

³⁵ Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Miss Stewart from Lauretta Kneil, Sept. 28, 1920.

University of Toronto members took the October 1925 meeting, they chose as a theme "The Canadian Woman, Past, Present and Future", describing "The Pioneer Canadian Woman", "The Canadian Woman in Profession and Industry", "Western vs. Eastern Types of Canadian Woman" and "The Canadian Woman of the Future" and asked "Is there a distinctive type of Canadian Womanhood?" Thérèse Casgrain, described as "Mrs. P.F. Casgrain, wife of the Liberal member for Charlevoix-Saguenay" discussed women and politics in 1933. In 1936, the United Kingdom High Commissioner described "Women's Work in the British Civil Service" and his wife described "Women's Work in the Home". Newly appointed Senator Iva Fallis stressed women's responsibilities in both politics and business at the 1936 annual meeting. IFUW president Dean Virginia Gildersleeve's annual dinner speech in 1938 was entitled "University Women Face a Troubled World" and Miss Margaret Laurence, literary editor of *The Canadian Home Journal* and author of *The School of Femininity*, warned the women at the April 1939 annual dinner about "The Writing on Our Walls".³⁶ Laurence advocated equal representation of women and men on national and international councils, given women's natural talents.

Being profoundly human, women – who are really an unknown element – are likely to be upsetting to practical schemes, and left to themselves are natural internationalists and native pacifists, and see no sense in destroying the race for a set of ideas.³⁷

In addition to Mr. Woodsworth's 1924 lecture on the world peace movement, the Club heard nine different addresses between 1921 and 1935 on the League of Nations Society and disarmament, including Sir Robert Borden himself reporting on the Disarmament Conference in 1923. The optimism of early speakers later gave way to disillusionment. When Agnes MacPhail, M.P. spoke in early 1933, she decried the slowness with which League of Nations plans were being carried out, arguing that "the only thing that will mean anything is economic disarmament."³⁸ Lester B. Pearson's speech later that year was entitled "The Tragedy of

³⁶ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report for '35-'36", "May 1938"; Vol. 8, File 1, Christmas Dinners; Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Lectures" and "Programmes"; Vol. 18, Minute Books II, IV and V, Nov. 1920, Oct. 1922, May 8, 1933, February and May 11, 1936; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, May 1, 1933; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Annual Dinner Held by University Women", Mar. 1929. Sir Francis Floud was the UK High Commissioner from 1934-1938. Mrs. J.S. Woodsworth, B.A. (University of Toronto, 1901), joined the UWCO in 1923. Thérèse Casgrain was one of the leaders in the campaign for women's suffrage in Quebec, which was finally achieved in 1940. In 1951 she was elected the Quebec leader of the CCF, the first woman to head a provincial political party. Senator Iva Fallis (1883-1956) was appointed in 1935.

³⁷ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Equal Representation of Women and Men in Councils of Nations", April 25, 1939; Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Entertainments"; and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "CFUW Annual Report 1938-39".

³⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, April 10, 1933.

Disarmament", and a 1935 address by the secretary of the League of Nations Society was called "How We Fool Ourselves About Peace".³⁹

The Club heard at least ten addresses on current topics in science, with slightly more of these occurring during the 1920s. Dr. Otto Klotz from the Dominion Observatory discussed astronomy in 1921, the Secretary of the Canadian Air Board spoke on the air force and 'aeroplanes' in 1922, the President of the National Research Council talked about the state of scientific research in 1928, and the Dominion Apiarist gave an address on bees in 1929. In 1934, Mr. J.A. Wilson, spoke on civil aviation and in 1937 the Minister of Agriculture discussed the rehabilitation of the prairie sections of western Canada. Two of these 'great men of science' were women: McGill astrophysics lecturer Dr. Alice Vibert Douglas, M.B.E., Ph.D., gave a 1927 address stressing the need for "far vision" in all areas of modern life and the excellent training astronomy gave for this. She returned for the December 1939 annual dinner, again speaking on astronomy under the catchy title "Stars and Comments on the World Today". In 1920 founding member Miss Alice Wilson, a scientist with the Geological Survey of Canada, gave a slide talk on geological formations. In 1939 she spoke to the Club again, this time as Dr. Alice Wilson, M.B.E., Ph.D., on geological formations in South America, with films and slides.⁴⁰

Seven speakers considered economic issues, with more attention being paid to this topic in the 1930s. Professor S.A. Cudmore, husband of a Club member, discussed prices and their measurement in 1922 and the Chairman of the Advisory Tariff Board described Canada's economic dependence on other countries in 1927. Dr. O.D. Skelton discussed Canadian economics in 1931, arguing "It is war that is most incompatible with our economic system – we can't afford it."⁴¹ E.J. Garland, M.P. spoke on monetary reform in the Canadian banking system in 1932 and J.L. Ilsey, M.P., a member of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads and Mass

³⁹ Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Lectures"; and Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, Nov. 13, 1933 and Jan. 14, 1935. R.H. Coats of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Dr. Adam Shortt (husband of Club member Elizabeth Smith Shortt), Mr. H.G. Richardson of the League, Dr. Seraphin Marion and Club member Miss Constance Hayward spoke on the League of Nations Society in 1921, 1925, 1927, 1928 and 1935. At the time of his address, Lester Pearson was First Secretary with the Department of External Affairs and husband of Club member Maryon E. Pearson, B.A. (Toronto, 1924), who had joined the UWCO in 1931.

⁴⁰ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "UWCO 1936-37", "Secretary's Report for 1938-39", "CFUW Annual Report 1939-40"; Vol. 18, Minute Books V and VI, Oct. 15, 1934, Jan. 9, 1939; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "The Immensities of Time and Space: Dr.A.V.Douglas" *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 17, 1927. Alice Wilson, B.A. (Toronto, 1911) won the CFUW Scholarship in 1926, and used it to earn a PhD in geology in 1930. In 1935 she was made a Member of the Order of the British Empire for her geological work with the Department of Mines and in 1938 she became a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, the first woman on whom this honour was conferred. She was one of the first teachers at Carleton College and a scholarship for Carleton students was established by the Club in her name. [Vol. 6, File 1, Honours to Members, letter from Maude McClelland, Federation Representative, to Miss Patrick, May 30, 1938].

⁴¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Oct. 20, 1931. Dr. Skelton was the husband of Isabel Skelton, M.A. (Queen's 1901) who joined the Club in 1925.

Buying, spoke on Recovery, Reconstruction and Reform in 1935. The Minister of Marine and Fisheries described "the dire conditions of the fishermen" in 1936, advising that "we must learn to eat more fish" for both health and economic reasons "to help the starving fishermen" and in 1938 Mr. M.J. Coldwell, M.P. spoke to the Club about "The Western Situation," presumably referring to the economic and agricultural crisis on the prairies.⁴²

Physical and mental health garnered more attention in the 1920s, receiving almost one speaker each year, but was ignored in the 1930s. Dr. Helen McMurchy spoke about "the Baby" in 1920, Miss Helen Boulnois described "Health and Happiness Through Psychotherapy" in 1921, the Dominion Cerealist lectured on "What Shall We Eat" in 1922, a representative from the Local Council of Women spoke on Social Hygiene in 1923, the Medical Officer of Health for Ontario addressed an open meeting in 1924, and a local United Church minister discussed psycho-therapeutics in 1926. At the 1926 annual dinner, lawyer and member of parliament Mr. C.W. Bell recounted his observations of the criminal side of humanity, whom he referred to as "God's Lame Ducks," blaming heredity for criminal tendencies.⁴³

Canadian history was addressed by six speakers between 1920 and 1930, but ignored for the remainder of the decade. Dr. Sapier and Mr. Barbeau of the Geological Survey presented French-Canadian folk songs, professor Norman McLeod Rogers discussed "The Acadians", Senator Andrew Haydon described local military and civil settlements following the Napoleonic wars, McGill lecturer Miss Dorothy Henneker, M.A. gave the history of the Montreal seigniory, author and librarian Miss Mabel Dunham discussed the United Empire Loyalists and their influence on Canadian history and Queen's University Principal Kent spoke on British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804-1881) at the 1930 annual dinner.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, the Club began to take an active interest in its own history: founding president Mrs. S.J.McLean gave

⁴² Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, Nov. 1932, Feb. 11, 1935, Nov. 9, 1936; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Tariff Member Gives Address," Nov. 1927. Professor Cudmore was a teacher at the new Glebe Collegiate Institute, built in 1922, and husband of Phoebe Cudmore, B.A. (Toronto, 1905), who joined the Club in 1920.

⁴³ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "1934-35", "UWCO 1936-37", "May 1938"; "Secretary's Report for 1938-39"; Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, letter from Monica Sutherland to Mrs. Sheridan, UWCO, Aug. 21, 1938; Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, Mar. 9, 1931, Jan. 11 and April 11, 1932 and Jan 8, 1937; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Feb. 1, 1932; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Canadian Women Are Distinctive", *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 1926, "University Women's Club", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 22, 1926 and "University Women", *Ottawa Citizen*, Nov. 23, 1926. Dr. Dunlop, B.A. (Queen's 1924), M.A.(Columbia), Ph.D.(Columbia), held several degrees in psychology and joined the Club in 1924. Charlotte Whitton, M.A. (Queen's 1917), joined the Club in 1923 and was elected president in 1929 and 1930.

⁴⁴ Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Programmes" and "Lectures"; Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Oct. 14, 1929; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Intimate Details of 100 Years Ago", *Ottawa Journal*, April 25, 1927, "Senator Haydon," *Ottawa Citizen*, April 25, 1927, "Annual Dinner Enjoyable Event", Mar. 1928, and "Hear Address on Acadia", April 1928. Norman McLeod Rogers was the former head of the Department of Political Economy at Acadia University.

humorous sketches of Club history in 1920 and 1923, and a committee was appointed to prepare a written history of the Club for the spring of 1924. Committees were appointed again in 1926 and 1931 to update the Club history. Miss Ada Baker presented a completed history in April 1932 and gave a short resume of the social work of the Club in April 1933. In August of that year, the executive resolved to update the history again, have it printed with a dedication to founding members Mrs. McLean and Miss Marty, now deceased, and sell it for 15cents/copy. In 1937 a small archives committee was once again appointed to sort through Club files and Miss Baker presented a short history of the Club.⁴⁵

On education, Club member and Normal School teacher Miss Clifford discussed educational problems in 1923, a traveling scholar described Australian schools in 1924, a teacher from Bishop Bethune College in Oshawa described "The Pageants of Eton" in 1931, Club member Dr. Florence Dunlop spoke on "The School Psychologist" in the late 1937, and Miss H.C.Deneke, a tutor and Fellow at Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford University, discussed "An Oxford Education" in 1938.

On social welfare, Club member Charlotte Whitton spoke of her work in child welfare in 1924 and in welfare work at the League of Nations in 1938, Miss Vera Parsons, M.A. discussed the administration of justice in Canada in 1932, a speaker from the Local Employment Office discussed the unemployment situation and relief problems in 1934, and another speaker discussed slum clearances, low-cost housing and local housing conditions in 1937.

On visual arts, Club member Mrs. Eric Brown, wife of the curator of the National Gallery, returned in 1926 to discuss the relation of art to life, and former *Canadian Magazine* editor Mr. Newton McTavish discussed art and personality in 1927. In 1936, Mr. Douglas Leechman described Canadian Indian and Eskimo art, showing examples of native work and of his wife's use of native designs on bridge cloths and Major Ernest G. Fosberry, R.C.A. discussed the unconscious influence of art. In 1937 the National Gallery of Art's assistant director, Miss Kathleen Fenwick, spoke about the Gallery at the annual dinner and in 1939, Club members made a field trip to the Gallery for a tour and formal reception.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Archives"; Vol. 18, Minute Books II, III and IV, Oct. 23, 1920, May and Oct. 20, 1923, May 17 and Sept. 1924, May and Nov. 20, 1926, Oct. 20, 1931, April 1932, May 8 and April 10, 1933; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books C and D, Sept. 15, 1924, Oct. 14, 1931, Aug. 31 and Oct. 5, 1933.

⁴⁶ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter from Eric Brown, National Gallery, to Mrs. C.W.Sheridan, UWC, Jan. 19, 1939; Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report for '35-'36", "UWCO 1936-37"; Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Jan. 8, 1934; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Jan. 21, 1937; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Club Enjoys Address", Mar. 21, 1927, and "Art is Striving for Eternal", Mar. 1927.

Four meetings were devoted to issues of immigration and settlement: in 1921, a speaker from the Soldiers Settlement Board discussed new methods of colonization, and in 1929 Miss Winnifred Kydd, M.A., of Montreal, spoke to the Club about various immigration issues, including Oriental immigration, the immigrant's situation, and policy issues for the host country. When the Club held a debate in 1938 on whether Canada should seek to enlarge its population by immigration, the motion was defeated by a substantial majority. In 1939, Miss Constance Hayward, executive secretary of the Canadian National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution spoke to the Club on the 'refugee problem'.⁴⁷

The Drama Reading Circle continued to take responsibility for one meeting each spring, but after 1927, the traditional play put on by members was increasingly supplemented with a guest speaker on a dramatic topic. The DRC sponsored Newton McTavish's talk on art in 1927 and a local Baptist minister discussed responses to music, painting and poetry in 1928. *Saturday Night Magazine* editor Hector Charlesworth discussed modern drama in 1930 and local actor and dramatist Edward Deblin described plays he had seen overseas in 1934. Mrs. John Garvin, "better known by her nom-de-plume 'Katharine Hale'" gave an interpretation of modern drama in 1935, university-educated British dramatist Mrs. Julia MacBrien Murphy described the art of play production in 1936, and the local Drama League president discussed modern drama in 1937. In 1938, Club member and longtime supporter of the Drama League and the Ottawa Little Theatre Mrs. Roy MacGregor Watt, spoke on modern drama and in 1939, Club member Dr. Diana Fyrth discussed modern drama in Europe.⁴⁸

During the two seasons that Charlotte Whitton was president, the regular meeting program was turned over to groups of members: those of the different universities in 1929-30 and those of different marital statuses in 1930-31. Unlike previous delegations to members, Whitton suggested no theme, and the meetings took on a decidedly lighter tone. In 1929-30, the Queen's group performed readings, songs and a play, the Toronto group presented music, dancing and a play written by a Club member, and the McGill-Maritime-Western-Foreign group presented two national parks branch films, a broadcast and a comedy about television. In 1930-31, the married and unmarried groups each put an evening of music, dancing and drama. Both seasons also featured one musicale with guest and member artists, and the traditional drama

⁴⁷ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "May 1938", "Secretary's Report for 1938-39"; Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Programmes" and "Lectures"; and Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and VI, Sept. 16, 1929, May 9, 1938 and Mar. 13, 1939;

⁴⁸ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "1934-35", "Annual Report for '35-'36", "UWCO 1936-37", "May 1938", "Secretary's Report for 1938-39"; Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, April 14, 1930, Mar. 12, 1934, Mar. 11, 1935; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "How to React to Fine Arts," Feb. 1928. Miss Diana Fyrth, B.A. (University of London, diplome d'etudes modernes, Universite de Grenoble) joined the Club in 1938.

night presented by the Drama Reading Circle, leaving almost no meetings for serious topics. This lighter fare during meetings was balanced by the public university extension lectures the Club ran in both of these seasons. Miss Whitton's approach may have been dictated by necessity: her job as Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council often took her out of town and she missed many of the monthly and executive meetings during her term as UWCO president.⁴⁹

In 1931-32 the Club adopted a more serious tone, as three of the regular Club meetings were converted to university extension lectures at the Chateau Laurier, free to members but open to the public at a small charge. University of Toronto professor Barker Fairley lectured on modern drama, Queen's professor W.E. McNeil spoke on Carlyle and McGill professor Kiang Kang-Hu discussed China. The lecture series was advertised in both daily papers, and notices were sent to other local clubs. The following season, the Club's programme

sought to give an understanding of the world economic crisis, monetary reform, the situation in Germany and Russia, and the financial, political and international position of Canada.⁵⁰

Two Club meetings were devoted to university extension lectures: McGill professor F.R. Scott lectured on Canada's international position and Toronto professor F.H. Underhill of Toronto discussed the political party system in Canada.⁵¹

In April 1939, the monthly meeting consisted of a Roundtable Conference on local municipal affairs, presented by five Club members.⁵² The roundtable generated a ten-page document outlining city involvement in charitable work, including the work of the Direct Relief Department, grants to the Children's Aid Society and to private charitable institutions, and the administration of the Charitable Foundations Act. The UWCO roundtable made two major recommendations: first, that there be an emergency relief fund for those who did not meet normal relief requirements, and second, that low-cost housing be provided for low-income earners as well as those on relief. The UWCO commented that housing legislation did not exist

⁴⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Dec. 7, 1929, Jan. 13, Feb. 10, Mar. 10 and April 1930, Jan. 15, Feb. 8 and Mar. 9, 1931; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, April 23, 1930; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Concert Given by University Women", Mar. 10, 1930.

⁵⁰ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "UWCO Annual Report 1932-33".

⁵¹ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report of the Secretary for the Year 1932-33"; Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Oct. 20, 1931; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Oct. 1931. Lecture notices were sent to the Mens' University Club, the Monday Club, the Drama League, the Canadian Club, the Ottawa Women Teachers Association, the Chelsea Club and the Ottawa Women's Club.

⁵² Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Secretary's Report for 1938-39"; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, April 17, 1939. Panel members included Mrs. Philip Foran, Mrs. Leonard Turner, Mrs. H.L. Keenleyside, Miss Mary Rowland and Miss Eunice Tyhurst.

because "no Government, either Dominion, Provincial, or Municipal is ready to take a loss" and urged members to attempt to sway public opinion towards public housing.

This suggestion regarding housing cannot be regarded as a criticism of any of our governmental bodies but rather a criticism of public opinion which has not yet realized how vital a thing housing is. There are fashions in philanthropy as in other things and so far low-cost housing is not the fashion. Ottawa badly needs better low-cost housing but only when public opinion demands it will there be legislation in Canada to make possible proper housing, not only for those on Relief but for all the low-income group. We as individuals should do our part in turning public opinion in this direction.⁵³

The Club did not take any immediate action in this area, and by the time they met again the following autumn, war had been declared. Speakers may have suddenly become scarce: the October and March meetings were addressed by Club members, and the November meeting took the form of a musicale. The December Christmas party and the annual dinner were collapsed into one and the February meeting was postponed due to the death of the Governor-General. In April the Club held the second annual Roundtable Conference on Municipal Affairs, with four Club members speaking on the functions of boards and committees in Ottawa's civic administration.⁵⁴

Accounts of meetings were normally written up by the Club's press representative and submitted to the two local papers, *The Ottawa Journal* and *The Ottawa Citizen*. Reporters were rarely sent to Club functions; the similarities in the text of the articles printed in the two papers suggest that the papers were working from the same prepared script. Clippings were saved by the Club for several years in the 1920s, and then not again until the 1950s. A comparison of the two groups of clippings shows that in the 1920s, very little Club business was reported, and the majority of space and headline room was given to the speaker of the evening and the subject of the lecture. In the 1950s, much more space was devoted to Club business, and the names of all Club members involved received top priority.

Meetings often began with vocal or instrumental performances by Club members, or a musical interlude would divide the business of the meeting and the guest speaker. The Drama Reading Circle always included musical performances in their spring drama night, and in the early 1920s, there were singsongs, often with college songs, at the close of the meeting. In the minutes, the vocal or instrumental performances of members or guests were often described in greater detail than the featured speaker of the evening. Every meeting ended with a half hour of

⁵³ Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, *The Connection of the Ottawa Civic Government with the Charitable Work in Ottawa* (Part of the Round Table Discussion held by the UWCO on April 8th, 1940).

⁵⁴ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "CFUW Annual Report 1939-40"; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, advertisement receipt from *The Citizen* newspaper.

refreshments and socializing. President Charlotte Whitton introduced the idea of supper meetings in 1929, at which the regular meeting was preceded by a catered supper. Supper meetings were held three times per season during Whitton's two seasons as President, and during the two subsequent seasons. After that, only the December Christmas party meetings included supper.⁵⁵

A Christmas dance was held in 1920 and 1921, and then abandoned. The tradition of having a Christmas party during the December meeting began in 1930 and continued for nine years. Members exchanged inexpensive gifts for the first two years, but beginning in 1932 they brought toys for local children's institutions instead. The secretary described the 1933 party:

the tables were decorated with Christmas candles and decorated Christmas trees set in snowbanks while the walls were festooned with red and green streamers and baskets of Christmas coloured lights added to the Christmasy effect...Nearly 100 people were present at the supper in spite of the very unpleasant weather conditions.⁵⁶

After supper, the women sang college songs, and local author Mrs. Madge MacBeth gave "a most interesting Spanish recital in costume...accompanied by phonograph records of Spanish music".⁵⁷ In 1934 a Bell Telephone librarian came from Montreal to talk about "our weakness as serious readers" and in 1935, each member came dressed as a well-known book and the women exchanged gifts again. In 1936, presidents of other local Clubs who had hosted the UWCO president over the year, were invited to the Christmas supper at Murphy-Gamble's Department Store and Club members gave talks on their summer travels. Christmas suppers usually attracted 100 women, but in 1937 and 1938, with a much larger membership, well over 200 members and their guests came to the Chateau Laurier to hear a University of Toronto English professor speak on modern authors, and the United Kingdom High Commissioner describe "His Majesty's Service". In the fall of 1939, in an effort to reduce the number of entertainments during the war, the Christmas party and the annual dinner were collapsed into one dinner, held in December.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, Oct. 1929, Jan., May and Dec. 1930, Feb., May and Dec. 1931, April, Oct. and Dec. 1932, April and Dec. 1933, Dec. 1934.

⁵⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Dec. 11, 1933.

⁵⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Dec. 11, 1933. Mrs. MacBeth was a well-known local author, a widow with two sons who supported herself by writing novels, short stories and magazine articles and by lecturing. She is the author of *Over My Shoulder* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1953), a gossipy reminiscence about Ottawa, and *My Boulevard Career* (Toronto: Ryerson Press), her autobiography. She had spent some time traveling in Spain.

⁵⁸ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "1934-35", "Annual Report for '35-'36", "UWCO 1936-37", "May 1938", "CFUW, Annual Report 1938-39", and "Secretary's Report for 1938-39"; Vol. 18, Minute Book V, Dec. 19, 1935, Dec. 14, 1936; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Nov. 30, 1935, Dec. 1 and 14, 1936, Dec. 14, 1938.

The annual dinner had been a tradition since the Club's inception. By 1920 the dinner had been reduced to five courses from six, and featured an invited guest speaker rather than a series of Club speakers.⁵⁹ With the exception of 1923, when it was held at the Daffodil Tea Rooms, and 1924, when it moved to the Parliamentary Restaurant, the Annual Dinner was always held at the Chateau Laurier. Guests received a menu card printed with the evening's meal and the programme. Typical programmes included, in addition to speeches by the President and the featured speaker, toasts to the King, Alma Mater and "The Gentlemen" (this toast was dispensed with after 1931), short musical performances, and the singing of songs, ending of course with *God Save the King*. In 1922, the Club switched from the traditional Old English style typeface to a more modern looking Gothic typeface, making a tremendous visual difference in the menu cards. This visual change may have signified a shift in how the Club wished to be perceived, as a forward-looking, rather than a traditional Club. The Club held eighteen annual dinners between 1920 and 1939; in 1932-33 the Club decided "without discussion", and therefore without providing an explanation for the minutes, that there would be no dinner that year.⁶⁰ Unlike the regular meetings, when women were rarely invited as speakers, prominent women were the guest speakers at fifteen of these dinners.⁶¹ They included pioneering medical student and feminist Dr. Grace Ritchie England, the Principal of St. Hilda's College in Toronto, a teacher from Bishop Bethune College in Oshawa, Queen's English professor Miss Wilhelmina Gordon, Dr. Margaret Patterson, Miss Vera Parsons, M.A., Charlotte Whitton, C.B.E., astronomer Dr. Alice Vibert Douglas, M.B.E., Montreal lawyer Miss Elizabeth Monk, author Miss Mabel Dunham, author Lady Tweedsmuir, *Canadian Home Journal* literary editor and author Miss Margaret Laurence, the Assistant Director of the National Gallery Miss Kathleen Fenwick, two CFUW presidents and IFUW President Dean Virginia Gildersleeve. Only six of these women speakers spoke on famous women or women's issues: the remainder spoke on their area of specialty, including history, astronomy and art, or chose a literary topic. UWCO President Mrs. McDougall reminded 1926 dinner guests that

⁵⁹ The six course dinner began with olives, almonds, radishes or celery, then soup, followed by a meat or fish appetizer (creamed sweetbreads, creamed chicken patties or halibut filets in sauce), then a main course of lamb or beef tenderloin with vegetables, followed by a salad, and finishing with ice cream, cake and coffee. In the twenties, the soup was often preceded by fruit cocktail, the warm appetizer was often omitted, and the main course was almost always chicken. In the one menu which survives from the 1930s, the meal begins with fruit supreme, celery and olives, then a clear soup, then, for the first time, filet mignon. The salad course is omitted, also for the first time, and the meal ends as usual with ice cream and cakes. [Vol. 8, File 1, Christmas Dinners].

⁶⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Dec. 12, 1932.

⁶¹ Among the three male speakers, one recounted his war experience, one recounted his experience with criminals, and the principal of Queen's University discussed Benjamin Disraeli.

Canadian women enjoyed a freedom of thought and action that was fought for violently in other lands. She believed the Canadian woman to be a distinctive type that embraced characteristics that were enhanced by her training in the colleges and universities of the Dominion.⁶²

The following year, Mrs. McDougall boasted to dinner guests that

The spirit of unity in such organizations as ours can lead in devolving a Canadian type that will demand superior living, constructive thinking and the love of outdoors...Canada must offer sufficient opportunities to keep our gifted young people at home.⁶³

Prominent women were also invited as non-speaking guests of honour: the Governor-General's wives Viscountess Willingdon in 1927 and Lady Tweedsmuir in 1939, Miss Mildred Bennett in 1931, newly appointed senators Cairine Wilson in 1932 and Iva Fallis in 1936. The Club also began to invite members of other Clubs: in 1931 representatives of Montreal and Toronto university women's clubs attended and in 1939, dinner invitations were extended to the members of the Canadian Women's Press Club and the Author's Association.⁶⁴

The Club held its first Club tea in 1920 at the Daffodil Tea Rooms, asking members to pay a small fee to cover the cost of refreshments. Up to this point they had relied on the largesse of individual members, who occasionally invited the Club into their homes. Now that the Tea Rooms were available for social events as well as meetings, the number of Club teas and luncheons increased rapidly. Usually held on a weekday afternoon at the Daffodil, or in later years at the Chelsea Club or Chateau Laurier, teas and luncheons honoured various women whom the Club felt merited recognition: guest speakers at Club dinners or meetings, prominent women or former Club members who were visiting the city, university graduates who were attending or accompanying spouses at Ottawa conferences, and Club members who were leaving town.⁶⁵ When the CFUW Triennial was held in Ottawa in 1931, the Club organized a

⁶² Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Canadian Women Are Distinctive", *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 1926.

⁶³ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Graduates Hear Miss W.H.Gordon", *Ottawa Journal*, Mar. 7, 1927.

⁶⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Jan. 11 and April 11, 1932; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Feb. 1, 1932, Feb. 21, 1936 and April 4, 1939; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Equal Representation", April 25, 1939.

⁶⁵ Outline of Activities, "Entertainments"; Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report of the Secretary of the UWCO, 1927-8"; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Sept. 15, 1924, Sept. 21 and 28, 1925, and Jan. 11, 1926; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Lady Cowan and Lady Hemphill Are Entertained", Nov. 21, 1925. The Daffodil Tea Rooms were operated by Isabelle E. Taylor at 110 ½ Sparks Street. Miss Taylor's establishment was upstairs, above E.R. Fisher Men's Clothing store, in the same block as the Ottawa Citizen newspaper building at 136-40 Sparks Street. By 1935, her premises were vacant. In 1935, the Halcyon Club, another sometime venue of the UWCO, was located at 106-108 Sparks Street, above the Bank of Toronto. [*Might's City Directories, 1921, 1922 and 1935*]. Teas were held at the Daffodil in Oct. and Nov. 1921, Jan. and April 1922, May 1923, Jan. 3, 24, April 7 and June 16, 1924. In 1924, the Club hosted teas for members Miss Pitcher, who was leaving town, Miss Dall, who was taking a position in Valparaiso, thirteen new university graduates, "lady doctors" attending the Medical Association Convention in Ottawa, visiting CFUW delegates and Miss Gallagher of the Ladies College. In 1925, the

sightseeing tour and various teas, luncheons and dinners for the delegates.⁶⁶ By the 1930s, Club teas had become large events, attracting between 70 and 100 women each. Tea guests usually gave an address of some kind, so that these events must have begun to resemble meetings, with better refreshments and more comfortable seats. Fall field trips to the Seignior Club in Quebec for afternoon tea, attracted between 60 and 80 women in 1937 and 1938. Cancelled in 1939 because of the war, the trip was never resumed, as conditions inside and outside the Club has changed so much by war's end.⁶⁷

Club held teas for Club member Mrs. O.D. Skelton, for Dr. Helen Reid, M.A., LL.D. of Montreal, who was in town to attend the Child Welfare Congress, for Club member Mrs. O.D. Skelton, and for Lady Cowan, visiting wife of a British MP. Lady Cowan was a member of the British Women's Patriotic League and the Empire Hope, and related the efforts of her group to close "Sunday Schools" opened by Communists, who "are corrupting the minds of the children". Lady Cowan warned the UWCO not to let "the Communists get into the country or get a hold of it" and urged the women to demand "cleaner films" and Empire products. In 1926, the Club held a tea for Club member Miss Hanes.

⁶⁶ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, 1930-31, 1931-32, "Annual Report of the Secretary for the Year 1932-33", and "UWCO Annual Report 1932-33"; Vol. 18, Minute Books III and IV, Oct. 11, 1932; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books C and D, Jan. 8, 1927, Feb. 19, 1929, April 13, May 9 and June 16, 1931, July 8 and 22, 1932; Vol. 27, "Gifted Speaker Addresses Club," Oct. 1927, "Tea in Honour of Miss J. Strothard", Oct. 1928. In 1928, the UWCO began the season with a luncheon at the Chateau Laurier featuring Mrs. Rauanheimo, a Finnish writer and lecturer and wife of the Consul-General for Sweden. Later that year they held a tea for Miss Josephine Strothard, Superintendent of the Maritime Home for Girls in Truro, Nova Scotia, who was in Ottawa to attend a Child Protective Conference called by the Minister of Justice, and who told the ladies about her work with 'underprivileged girls'. In 1930, they hosted a visiting member of the University Women's Club of India and in 1931 they entertained a group of visiting British headmistresses with tea at the Chateau Laurier and a joint supper meeting with the Ottawa Teachers' Association at the Rivermead Golf Club. In 1932, the UWCO joined with the Women's Canadian Club for a luncheon addressed by local physician Dr. Mackintosh Bell. In 1932, UWCO executive held a luncheon for university women attending or accompanying delegates to the Imperial Economic Conference, and entertained the wives of the delegates at tea. Lady Chatterjee, a graduate of the University of London, and Mrs. Runciman, a graduate of Cambridge, spoke on education for women in India and England, "stressing the passion for knowledge and the widening opportunities for community and national work for women".

⁶⁷ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, Annual reports for 1935-36, CFUW reports for 1937-38, 1938-39, 1939-40, Secretary's reports for 1938-39, 1939-40"; Vol. 18, Minute Books IV, V and VI, Mar. 9, 1931, Jan. 8, 24 and Nov. 5, 1934, Feb. 1935, Nov. 8, 1937; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Nov. 1, 1934, Mar. 5, 1937, April 29, 1939 and April 30, 1940. In 1933 and 1935, the UWCO hosted events at the Chelsea Club for visiting CFUW presidents. In 1934 teas were held in honour of two Italian women and South African pianist and vocalist Miss Patty Price, who were visiting Ottawa under the auspices of the National Council of Education. The Club also tried to arrange a reception in honour of past president Charlotte Whitton, recently made a Companion of Order of the British Empire, but as Miss Whitton was too busy, they invited her to the annual dinner as guest of honour instead. In the spring of 1936, the wife of the Canadian ambassador to the United States spoke about life in Washington and in the spring of 1937 the Club held a tea for sculptress Mrs. Farnham, sister of the Belgian Consul. In 1937-38 there were teas for all who took an active part in Club work during the season, for Miss Phyllis Gill, who was doing postgraduate work at McGill University on a CFUW scholarship, for Club member Dr. Alice Wilson, recently appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, and for Miss Mildred Bowness, winner of the UWCO scholarship for Lisgar. In 1938-39, there were teas for graduates of overseas universities, for CFUW past president Miss Mary Bollart, for Mrs. W. DeB. Farris, founder of the Vancouver University Women's Club, for Club member Mrs. Phoebe Cudmore on her return from Palestine, and an evening at

Bridge parties, introduced in 1921 to as a fundraiser for CFUW fees, became more frequent as membership numbers and the accompanying income from membership fees wavered in the late 1920s. Different Club executives had the idea that they could make money from these events, but the funds raised were negligible, and Club-organized bridge parties ceased altogether after 1932.⁶⁸ That year, the Club held its first tea to welcome new members, an event that quickly became an annual tradition, one of the few social events to survive into the next decade. New members' teas were usually held at the home of a Club member, attracting about 50 members. In the 1937-38 season, there were so many new members that two teas were held, one in the fall and one in the winter. After 1938, the tea found a permanent place in the January schedule.⁶⁹

The Club continued to send letters of sympathy to Club members who were ill or bereaved. In 1938-39, the Club secretary wrote 16 letters of sympathy, noting that "you had to rate something more than a case of influenza to get a letter!"⁷⁰ When members died, the Club sent flowers to their families, and motions of regret were passed to mark the death of longtime or prominent Club members. The death of founder Mrs. Forward in 1924 caused the secretary to "record our deep sense of loss... We recall with gratitude and appreciation her keen interest in the Club and her many efforts on its behalf."⁷¹ In 1929, the Club passed a resolution of "sincere regret at the death of Dr. Marty, a former president of the Club" which was duly moved and seconded and "a standing vote, which was unanimous, was taken on this motion."⁷² When Miss Jessie Muir, founding and very active member, and one-time Club president, died in 1939, the Club sent flowers to the funeral and notified the CFUW. The President spoke at the club

the National Gallery. In 1939-40, there was an Executive tea at the Minto Skating Club and a farewell tea for executive member Mrs. Gregg.

⁶⁸ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports.

⁶⁹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Dec. 5, 1932, Sept. 22 and Nov. 1, 1937, Jan. 3, 1939, and Jan. 5, 1940; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Nov. 8 and Dec. 13, 1937 and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "1933-34".

⁷⁰ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Secretary's Report for 1938-39".

⁷¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book II, May 17, 1924. In 1931 the Club passed a resolution of regret, by standing motion, on the death of founding member's husband Dr. Adam Shortt, and the death of former Club member Mrs. G.S. Hume. The Club sent flowers on the deaths of Mrs. Stiles in 1927, Mrs. Acheson in 1932 and Miss Alexander in 1936, and took "a standing vote of sympathy" for Miss Alexander's passing away. The President expressed regret at the passing of four club members in 1938, but because their club status was minor, no standing vote was taken. When Governor-General Lord Tweedsmuir died in 1940, the Club wrote a letter of sympathy to Club member Lady Tweedsmuir [Vol. 18, Minute Books IV, V and VI, Feb. 13, 1931, April 10, 1932, March 1936 and Feb. 14, 1938; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books C and E, June 30, 1927, Nov. 2, 1931, April 4, 1933, Mar. 26, 1936 and Mar. 1, 1940.

⁷² Vol. 18, Minute Book III, May 13, 1929.

meeting of the "great loss" suffered by the Club and asked the members to stand "in silent tribute to her memory".⁷³ The Club secretary included Miss Muir's death in her annual report:

Miss Muir was beloved by all who knew her and admired by all who knew of her. Her wise Counsel, her sympathetic and friendly manner will indeed be missed by the whole Club.⁷⁴

The Club also took notice of active members who left the city. The 1931 minutes recorded the Club's "expression of regret on the imminent departure of Mrs. Heakes, a valuable member of the executive and a most popular member of the Club, to her new home in Trenton".⁷⁵

The Club sent letters of congratulations to Club members who gave birth or who had earned graduate degrees or other honours and the President often mentioned these achievements during meetings. The recognition given by the Club to the achievements of members reaffirmed the value of these types of woman's work. More notice was taken of the birth of children in the 1930s, when an average of four members bore children each year, than during the 1920s, when births were less frequently noted in the minutes. Many of these pregnant women were active Club or executive members, and only one withdrew her membership when her baby was born. Mrs. Miriam Sheridan and Mrs. Watson Sellar were Club presidents in the same decade that their children were born.⁷⁶ A smaller number of women were recognized for the honours they had received, in the late 1930s these achievements were reported to the CFUW and published in its national newsletter. Miss M.E. Cowan was congratulated on her election to the Ottawa Public School Board in 1924 and asked for the support of Club members in 1927 election. The Club congratulated her again in 1936 when she was elected chairman of the Public School Board and in 1936 when she was elected President of the League of Nations Society in Canada. Miss Alice Wilson was honoured in 1926 for winning the CFUW scholarship that allowed her to pursue her doctoral studies, in 1930 for receiving her doctorate in geology, in 1935 for becoming a Member of the Order of the British Empire, and in 1938 for becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (the first woman to receive this honour). Miss Florence Dunlop was congratulated on receiving her Masters and doctoral degrees in Psychology from Columbia in 1931 and 1936, and on being elected President of the Ottawa Teachers' Institute in 1939. When Charlotte Whitton was made a

⁷³ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, May 8, 1939.

⁷⁴ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "CFUW Annual Report 1938-39" and "Secretary's Report for 1938-39".

⁷⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Mar. 12, 1934.

⁷⁶ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Aug. 31, 1933, Mar. 10 and Oct. 4, 1935, May 10[sic, should be Aug.], 1936, Jan. 5 and Mar. 1, 1940; and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Secretary's Report for 1938-39". Mrs. Sheridan's son was born in 1933 and she served two terms as president from 1937 to 1939. Mrs. Watson Sellar's child was born in 1931 and she served as president in 1939-40.

Companion of the Order of the British Empire in 1934, the Club invited her to be guest of honour at the annual dinner, and in 1939 they congratulated her on receiving an honorary doctorate. In 1930 Mrs. Rudolph Anderson was honoured for having received honorable mention from the University of Dresden for her translation from German on ornithology. In 1938 Mrs. Herbert was congratulated on having her play produced at the Ottawa Little Theatre, and Mrs. Finlayson and Mrs. Waddell were recognized as the new presidents of the Women's Canadian Club and the Queen's Alumnae. And in 1939, the Club noted that Mrs. Leonard Turner, of the Tariff Board, had been seconded as Economic Advisor to the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.⁷⁷

The Club continued to encourage members to join monthly study groups, but it was not until the late 1930s that they began to proliferate, both in size and number, suggesting that their growth was closely connected with the huge surge in membership in 1937. Before 1937, there were never more than four study groups in any one season and only a single group, the Drama Reading Circle, functioned through the late 1920s. The number of study groups doubled in 1937 and the following year there were twelve study groups, many with waiting lists. That year there were 258 Club members and 272 study group memberships – some woman belonged to more than one group, and one woman belonged to five! In 1939-40, fifteen groups were organized, including two new and very successful St. John Ambulance First Aid Groups.⁷⁸ Study groups served two purposes: the provision of continuing education for members, and the building of community through small group interaction.

The Drama Reading Circle, formed in 1913, was the oldest and most durable study group. The Circle met twice monthly in different members' homes to read and discuss plays, using Club funds to purchase reading materials. Midyear, Circle members abandoned study for practice, selecting several short plays, which they would rehearse and perform as the 'annual dramatic entertainment' at the March or April meeting. In 1931 the Circle, along with other Club study groups, experimented with holding their meetings in rented studio space downtown, but

⁷⁷ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report for '35-'36"; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; Vol. 18, Minute Books III, IV, V, and VI, Jan. 19, 1924, Mar. 21, 1925, Jan. 13 and May 1930, Mar. 9, 1931, Jan. 8, 1934, Jan. 14, 1935 and April 11 and May 9, 1938; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Jan. 8, 1934, May 27, 1938; Vol. 27 Scrapbooks, "Mr. C.A. Bowman".

⁷⁸ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports. There were four groups only in 1929-30 and 1935-36; three groups in 1931-32, 1932-33, and 1936-37; two groups in 1926-27, 1930-31, 1933-34, and 1934-35 and only the Drama Reading Circle in 1926-27, 1927-28 and 1928-29. In 1938-39 the twelve groups were the Drama Reading Circle (46 members), the Drama Production Group (12 members), the Current Events Group (25 members), the Literature Study Group (25 members), the Psychology: Contemporary Theory Group (25 members), the Psychology: Adolescent Child Group (14 members), the Writers' Workshop: Short Story Group (22 members), the Writers' Workshop: Feature Article Group (20 members), the French Conversation Group (30 members), the Music Appreciation Group (16 members), the Interior Decoration Afternoon Group (24 members) and the Interior Decoration Evening Group (13 members).

they soon reverted to members' homes. In the early 1920s, the Circle was a small group of about 15 women. As other groups disbanded, it surged to more than 30 members by 1927, and maintained a large membership of more than 50 for the next ten years. When the numbers became "a trifle unwieldy" for home meetings, the executive tried several times to split the group into afternoon and evening sections, but the members refused to accept this. Finally, in 1938, with membership at 59, the group consented to be split into a drama reading group of 46 members and a play production group of 12. The play production group lasted for a few years, focusing on the annual March entertainment, and then succumbed to small numbers. The Drama Reading Group continued to grow, splitting in 1939 into afternoon and evening groups of about twenty members each.⁷⁹

The Child Study Group was formed in 1924 to study "the health, welfare, and early training of the child". Members consisted mostly of women with young children "for the study limited itself largely to children under eight years of age". Interested friends of members were also invited, and in the first year attendance was 30 or 40 women, almost as high as the attendance for regular Club meetings. During the first season, Dr. Helen MacMurchy, Chief of the Child Welfare Division of the Federal Department of Health, gave the group advice and helped them secure speakers. Dr. MacMurchy addressed the group on the history of child welfare, citing the 1920s as the "golden era" of child welfare. A provincial Department of Health pediatrician discussed local child welfare clinics and the Medical Officer of Health for Ottawa discussed child health work, citing statistics to show that the city's infant mortality rate had decreased with increased city supervision. The head of the Victorian Order of Nurses in Canada discussed VON work in infant care and with municipal and provincial health departments, a local doctor gave "a very practical address" on children's diets, and Dr. George Campbell described the care of the pre-school child, referring to his study on the 'Relation of Sunlight to the Child's Health and Food". Dr. Campbell's lecture inspired the Child Study Group to pass a resolution to reduce school hours children in Grades I and II, allowing them more access to sunlight. The resolution was endorsed by both the UWCO and the LCW, and Child Study Group members met with the Public School Board and Public School Inspector Dr. Putman, eventually succeeding in having school hours reduced by the Board.⁸⁰ The Child Study Group continued for only three seasons. When the group discussed "books for children" the following season, the convener described the meeting as "the best that had yet been held". In its final season, the

⁷⁹ Vol. 17, File 7, Study groups – Drama Reading Group 1912-67; and Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, 1929-35.

⁸⁰ Vol. 17, File 12, Study groups – Child Study Group, 1924-50, "1924-25 report".

group sponsored a course of 20 lectures on Child Psychology, delivered by McGill professor Dr. W.D. Tait: 68 women registered and the course was financially very successful. Only eighteen of the registrants were UWCO members; the others were "chiefly young mothers, but including 5 nurses of the staff of the Civic Hospital, 4 nurses of the Victorian Order and 4 workers from the Welfare Bureau."⁸¹

The idea of a child study group was not taken up again until 1937, when a "Child Psychology Group" was formed. The convener commented that it "should more rightly be entitled the 'Group for the Study of Methods of Child Training', for so it has been developed". The group met fortnightly on Friday afternoons, with members reading papers on "problems which parents face in rearing their children", followed by extensive discussion. Outside experts, including local doctor and Club member Dr. Rachel Haight, were occasionally brought in, and the final meeting of the season was a May picnic for members and their children.⁸² The following year, two Psychology Groups were convened. In the Adolescent Child Group, members studied "The Physical and Mental Growth of Adolescents", "Personality Problems", "Understanding our Sons" and "Understanding Our Daughters". Guest speakers discussed sex education, religious education, and, from the husband of a member, "some interesting theories from the man's point of view on guiding the emotional life of the adolescent". The conveners commented that "considerable time was allotted to discussion which drew forth many and varied opinions and proved a very worthwhile feature of the group". In a second psychology group, entitled "Contemporary Theories", members took turns presenting papers on Psychoanalysis, Behaviourism, Gestalt, Child Psychology and Social Psychology. Once again the final meeting was a May picnic for members of both psychology groups "with the children of those who will bring them".⁸³ In 1939-40 a single Child Psychology Group was formed to study children up to age six. Members gave papers on training infants and children in correct physical, social and mental habits, the problems of discipline, the relationship between mother and child, types of educational play, how to make children enjoy music, and the emotional development of children. The Carnegie Library "fitted up a reading room for the use of these members with all the

⁸¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book III, 1927; Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, 1925-26 and 1926-27; and Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, "Report of Committee...on Child Psychology, 1926-7", May 27, 1927.

⁸² Vol. 17, File 12, Study Groups – Child Study Group, 1924-50, "Annual Report of Child Psychology Group, May 1938".

⁸³ Vol. 17, File 12, Study Groups – Child Study Group, 1924-50, "Annual Report of the Psychology Groups 1938-39".

necessary books on child psychology” also making the materials available to teachers and others who were interested. As usual, the year-end picnic included members’ children.⁸⁴

A Modern Languages group was started in 1921, became the French group in 1923 and disbanded in 1924. In 1929 the Club arranged group classes for Club members in French, German, Italian and Spanish, charging a small fee to hire an instructor. In 1930, the classes were continued in French, German and Italian, but by February 1931 the French and Italian groups had disbanded, and only the German groups, elementary, intermediate and advanced, carried on until the end of the season. In 1932, only one German class was able to function; the lack of interest in other languages was blamed on “existing economic conditions”. There was a five-year hiatus, briefly interrupted by the organization of a French Group in 1935. In 1937, 36 UWCO members enrolled in French classes at the Jeanne D’Arc Institute, but by Easter, their numbers had dwindled. The convener suggested that in future, the Club hire their own teacher and have refreshments and conversation at the homes of members. This model was adopted and followed successfully throughout the 1940s and 1950s.⁸⁵

Other groups were begun, lasted a season or two, and were then abandoned. In 1921 Current Literature and Current Events groups existed for one season. In 1925 a Biography Reading Group fizzled out after just a few meetings. In 1929 a Swimming Club and a Motor Mechanics Group lasted a single season. Another attempt at a swimming club was made in 1933, but there were not enough takers to proceed. In 1931, the Club attempted to offer both a Political and Economic Group and a Literature and Art Group. For some undisclosed reason, possibly small numbers, the two were combined into one large group of 28 women who equitably divided the year into one ‘literature’, one ‘art’ and two ‘economics’ meetings. In 1932 the Club again tried to run separate groups, but by November they had combined the Economic and Literature groups. The group favoured the economic side, with guest speakers from discussing the work of the International Labour Office and Canadian populations statistics. In 1933, a separate Politics and Economics Group was formed, holding at least four meetings that season, but it failed to regroup the following year.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, “CFUW Annual Report 1939-40”; Vol. 17, File 12, Study Groups – Child Study Group, 1924-50, “Child Psychology Group, 1939-40”.

⁸⁵ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, 1935-36; Vol. 17, File 8, Study Groups – French study Group; Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Sept. 16 and Oct. 1929, May, Sept. and Oct. 13, 1930, May 11, Oct. 20 and Nov. 9, 1931, Oct. 11 and Nov. 7 1932, May 8, 1933.

⁸⁶ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, “Report of the Secretary for the Year 1929-30”; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, “Group Studies”; Vol. 17, File 8, Study Groups – Miscellaneous Groups, “Report of the Economic and Political Group, 1931-32”; Vol. 17, File 14, Study Groups – Literature Study Group, “1931-32”; and Vol. 18, Minute Books IV and V, Sept. 16 and Oct. 16, 1929, May 1930, Nov. 9, 1931, Jan. 11, April 11, Oct. 11, Nov. 7, 1932, Jan. 9, Mar. 13, May 8, and Oct. 16, 1933, Mar. 12 and Nov. 12, 1934;

In 1933, a separate Literature Group was finally able to proceed. Thirteen members held only four meetings that first year, but within a few years membership would rise to more than twenty, and this group would continue until after 1960. Members took turns preparing papers, and annual themes included the 'realistic' novel, 'stream of consciousness' literature, and Irish, Jewish and Scandinavian literature.⁸⁷ In the annual report for 1940, the group convener commented on their good fortune in choosing to study Scandinavian literature "in view of what has happened in those countries this winter. They have occupied the headlines to a great extent, and the interest we have had in their literature has been enhanced on that account."⁸⁸

A Current Events Group had formed in 1921, but was abandoned after one season. In 1935 the Club organized a new Current Events group, which continued to function until 1951. Between twenty and forty members met in each others' homes and took turns preparing papers. In the first season, a paper on "Canada and the World Crises" provoked "very divergent views as to what part Canada should play in any future European war". Members were very interested in a paper on penal institutions in Great Britain and the Borstal Association, a group of private citizens working on the re-establishment of young delinquents in civil life. The Club executive later tried to get a guest speaker on the Borstal System for a monthly meeting, and suggested the formation of a separate study group to study Borstal Penal Reform, but neither of these ideas ever came to fruition. After a paper on "Television", the convener commented "It seems it will be some time before its use in Canada will be practicable because it is best adapted to densely populated countries."⁸⁹ In the second season, members gave papers on the contemporary situation in Spain and Germany and "Peaceful Change", on Social Credit, on the New Deal and on Andree Siegfried's book *Canada*. In the third season, Glebe Collegiate Principal Mr. Atkinson described World War I England, Glebe history teacher Mr. McQueen, husband of a Club member, discussed the Indian government, and journalist Grant Dexter gave

Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Nov. 3, 1932. The Swimming Club met at the Champagne Baths, a city pool. The Motor Mechanics Group enrolled in classes at the Technical School. In 1931, Mr. Lysle Courtenay, owner of the studios which the Club was renting, spoke to the hybrid group about art. Dominion Agricultural Bacteriologist Dr. A.G. Lochhead (husband of Club member Helen Lochhead, B.A., U.N.B.) spoke about his trip to Russia, and Mr. Rougetel of the High Commissioner's Office spoke about Vienna and the Social Democrats.

⁸⁷ Vol. 17, File 14, Study Groups – Literature Study Group; Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Oct. 16, 1933, Mar. 12, 24 and May 14, 1934; and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, 1933-34.

⁸⁸ Vol. 17, File 14, Study Groups – Literature Study Group, "May 13, 1940".

⁸⁹ Vol. 17, File 5, Study Groups – Current Events Group, 1936-47, "Annual Report 1936-37".

an address on "Nazi Education and Propaganda". Members also gave papers on international finance, "The Situation in the Balkans" and the war in Finland and Scandinavia.⁹⁰

A Public Speaking Group was formed in 1937 and lasted for two seasons. In its first year, members studied contemporary books on public speaking and parliamentary law and engaged in debates, discussions and speeches. An expert spoke to them on voice training and they participated in a debate with the Ottawa Public Speaking group. In the second year, members took a six-session course in public speaking from a local minister. The convenor noted that while membership completely changed from year to year, the group should not be allowed to lapse indefinitely as it "fills a need in the Club". Apparently she was mistaken: the group was never organized again.⁹¹

A writers' workshop also began in 1937 and ran for three years. Members met fortnightly to study short story technique and to read and critique short stories written by group members. The convenor despaired that of 18 stories written, only one was sold for publication:

One reason for this state of affairs is that in spite of all my urging very few if any of the members sent their manuscripts to editors. Because we all, theoretically at least, deplore this practice of keeping promising stories hidden forever from the public eye, a very important resolution was passed at our last meeting and duly recorded in the Minute Book. It was decided that membership in the Writers' Workshop for the coming season shall be contingent on the production of tangible proof that a manuscript has been submitted for publication. That really isn't quite such an obstacle as it sounds. A rejection slip will do nicely – they are quite easy to get.⁹²

Special mention was made of the "delightful and detailed" minutes written by Miss Edith Deyell which were read at the ensuing meeting for the enjoyment and edification of all the members. Quite a number of the group have gone so far as to say that Miss Deyell's minutes are the most important writing achievement that the group produced.⁹³

The minutes are not extant in UWCO records, although Miss Deyell went on to publish a book on Canadian history.⁹⁴ The following year, the workshop split into Fiction and Feature Article

⁹⁰ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Group Studies"; Vol. 17, File 5, Study Groups – Current Events Group; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, June 10 and May [sic, should be Aug.] 1936. Lottie Leonard McQueen, B.A. (University of Toronto, Victoria College, 1912) joined the Club in 1921.

⁹¹ Vol. 17, File 13, Study Groups – Public Speaking Group, 1938-39, "Report of the Public Speaking Group, May 1938" and "Public Speaking Group, May 1939".

⁹² Vol. 17, File 4, Study Groups – Writers Group, 1938-40, "May 1938".

⁹³ Vol. 17, File 4, Study Groups – Writers Group, 1938-40, "May 1938".

⁹⁴ Vol. 17, File 4, Study Groups – Writers Group, 1938-40, note from Club archivist, n.d. Edith Deyell, *Canada: The New Nation* (Toronto: Gage, 1958) was used as a Grades 7-9 social studies textbook in Alberta during the 1960s [http://www.library.ualberta.ca/prep/page_28/index.cfm].

sections. The Fiction section studied technique, critiqued each other's work, and produced full-length stories and plays. The convener commented

Most of us have found that a writers' lot, like the policeman's is not altogether a happy one, certainly not an easy one. We make a lot of jokes about rejection slips, but I don't think anyone can realize till they've had one just how disappointing and discouraging they can sometimes be. It's as if you got your baby all dressed up and took it downtown to the photographer and the photographer told you he was sorry but the child was much too ugly and he refused even to make a picture of it! However, there are bright spots too, like at our last meeting when one of our members brought along the cheque she had received for an accepted story, and let us all examine this tangible evidence of success and bask in her reflected glory.⁹⁵

In its third and final year, the writers' workshop was "badly disrupted" by the newly organized St. John's Ambulance courses, which met on the same evening. A Short Story Group and a Feature Articles Group met in very small numbers to write and critique their work, and one member's radio play was aired on the CBC. Probably a casualty of war work, neither group ever formed again.⁹⁶

A third group which formed for the first time in 1937, the Music Appreciation Group, would continue successfully until after 1960. In its first year, members listened to papers presented by both members and outside speakers. The following year, group members paid \$3.50 each for a ten evening course in music history, held at the instructor's home. The group studied representative composers and heard selections from their hostess's "fine library of phonograph recordings". Members also performed at two meetings.⁹⁷

The fourth group to be formed from the sudden influx of members in the late 1930s, was the Interior Decorating Study Group. A seemingly unlikely topic for this time period, the group was extremely popular, and continued in large numbers until after 1960. It began in 1938 with an afternoon group of 24 members and an evening group of 13. Possibly because of its large size, the Interior Decorating Group kept detailed records of membership, topics studied, and the executive team which was required to keep it going. In 1938, members prepared papers on Colour, Floor Coverings, Wall Treatments, Curtains, Upholstery, and Period Furniture, and listened to an interior decorator lecture on "the general composition of a room". The following year, members studied Period and Modern furniture, Cabinet woods, English, French and continental china, Silver, brass, pewter and copper, colour, and the relationship between

⁹⁵ Vol. 17, File 4, Study Groups – Writers Group, 1938–40, "May 1939".

⁹⁶ Vol. 17, File 4, Study Groups – Writers Group, 1938–40, "Short Story Group 1939–40"; and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "CFUW Annual Report 1938–39".

⁹⁷ Vol. 17, File 15, Study Groups – Music Appreciation Group.

exterior architecture and interior decoration. A guest speaker lectured on glass, and “the members displayed a very keen interest” in everything.⁹⁸

In August 1919 the UWCO had joined with other Clubs across Canada to form the Canadian Federation of University Women’s Clubs. Every three years, the CFUW held a Triennial Conference in a different Canadian city, gathering delegates from local Clubs to form united policy on issues submitted by the local clubs. The UWCO had appointed a representative to the CFUW, and in 1923, the constitution was amended to make this representative an official member of the Executive, holding office for the three-year term falling between CFUW triennials.⁹⁹ When the Triennial was held in Ottawa in August 1931, the UWCO took charge of the arrangements for accommodation and entertainment.¹⁰⁰ Between Triennials, the CFUW acted as a clearing-house of ideas, taking in information and suggestions from local clubs and disbursing recommendations and information to university women across the country. In 1926 the CFUW Vocations Committee recommended that a local officer be appointed to keep in touch with the employment of women, and the CFUW Committee on International Relations suggested that local Clubs form topical study groups, but the UWCO declined both requests.¹⁰¹ When the CFUW was lobbying the federal government for the appointment of a woman delegate to the World Economic Conference in 1933, it asked the UWCO to send a delegation to interview the Prime Minister on the matter. The UWCO executive advised the CFUW that this was Federation business, not the responsibility of a local Club, and that in the absence of any “outstanding Canadian woman economist in the field” it was not a good idea to push the matter, “particularly when we have it on good authority that the government is not considering appointing a woman”.¹⁰²

The CFUW was more successful in their efforts to influence the Ottawa Club on the issue of disarmament. During 1933, the CFUW wrote several times to local clubs, sending educational material and asking clubs to secure speakers on the issue. The UWCO Executive responded by announcing the anniversary of the Geneva Disarmament Petition at the February meeting and having two speakers on disarmament: MP Agnes MacPhail in April and Lester B. Pearson in November. The Economics Group also studied the question of private armament manufacturers. In 1935 the CFUW distributed “peace ballots” to local members, and in 1937 they asked “What is your Club doing in your community, are you forming public opinion as a

⁹⁸ Vol. 17, File 2, Study Groups – Interior Decorating Group, 1938-39, 1940 (Afternoon) and 1939-40 (Evening).

⁹⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book II, April 21, 1923

¹⁰⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Mar. 10, 1930, Feb. 9, May 11 and Oct. 20, 1931.

¹⁰¹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Jan. 25, 1926.

result of your study groups, are you backing up the League of Nations in its efforts for International Peace?"¹⁰³

The CFUW also awarded scholarships using the fees collected from local clubs. In 1926, UWCO member Miss Alice Wilson won the CFUW Scholarship, and used it to pursue her doctoral studies in geology.¹⁰⁴ In 1937, when the CFUW asked member clubs to provide funds to supplement their finances, it opened up a lively discussion at the UWCO on the purpose of university women's clubs. Some of the older members, Miss Baker, Miss Cluff, and Miss Clifford, expressed the view that the principal activity of the CFUW should be the provision of student scholarships, and criticized the CFUW for spending beyond their income. Mrs. Watson Sellar and Miss Sybil Stewart felt that the object of university women's clubs should be to bring women of different universities together and that "intercourse amongst University Women was of more importance than merely providing one Scholarship per year". After much discussion, the Club sent a token amount to the CFUW fund.¹⁰⁵

Membership in the national federation came with a hefty price tag: in 1920, the UWCO paid a fee of \$145: \$15 for CFUW membership, \$10 for the International Federation of University Women, and a contribution of \$120 towards the federation scholarship fund. This was an annual fee, based on the number of members in the Club. The UWCO brainstormed for ways to raise funds: by selling homemade cooking, by charging admission to the annual Dramatic Entertainment, by raising the membership fee, by putting on a play, or by sponsoring a public lecture. Club finances suddenly became a concern in a way which they had not in earlier years, largely because of this new obligation. The Club began to charge a small admission fee for the annual dramatic entertainment in March, inviting friends as well as Club members, and realized a steady income from this source. They invited their friends to teas at the Daffodil Tea Rooms, and charged 50cents per person, 30% of which was realized as profits. Members were levied a '50cent tax' for regular meetings, but could substitute donations of cake or other refreshments for the tax. The Club began to hold fundraising bridge parties in the Daffodil Tea Rooms. Some members disputed whether this was truly in accordance with the Club objects, or whether a

¹⁰² Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Jan. 2, 1933.

¹⁰³ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Feb. 16, 1933; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Jan. 2 and 24, Mar. 10, and Oct. 5, 1933, April 8, 1935; and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Report [of CFUW Rep] for Annual Meeting, May 1938".

¹⁰⁴ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, May 27, 1926. The UWCO president mentioned to the executive that Miss Wilson was having difficulty obtaining a year's leave of absence, without pay, from the Geological Survey while she pursued her studies, and asked the members of the executive committee to do anything they could to help her. Within a month, the Club received a letter from the Hon. Chas. Stewart, stating that Miss Wilson's leave could be arranged for.

¹⁰⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, May 10, 1937.

lecture series would be more appropriate. In 1922 some members suggested that the amount of the contribution to the scholarship fund should be reduced, but a motion to approach the federation with this request was rejected by the Club. Finally, in May 1922, after two years of struggling with finances, the Club voted to increase its membership fees. This seems to have temporarily eased the burden, and much less time was spent agonizing over financial matters. The March dramatic evening continued to make a modest profit on its admission charge of 50cents per person, and the price of teas was reduced to 40cents in October 1922.¹⁰⁶

In the fall of 1922, the Club turned to public lectures as a way of raising money, and was phenomenally successful. A lecture committee was formed, which retained prominent speakers, arranged a large venue, advertised in local papers, and charged admission to the general public. Unlike speakers at Club meetings, who were not paid, these lecturers or their sponsoring universities received a healthy fee, or were at the very least reimbursed for their expenses. In October 1922, the Club arranged for Hugh Walpole to speak at Lisgar Collegiate Hall on "Books and Friendship". In October 1923, the Club brought Lord Birkenhead to the city to speak on "My Twenty Years in Parliament" at the new Glebe Collegiate Institute Hall. The large profits from these events, together with the proceeds from the dramatic evening and the increase in fees, so much exceeded the Club's CFUW requirements, that it was able for the first time to invest \$500 in government bonds.¹⁰⁷

In 1925 and 1926, the Club executive valiantly sought about for some speaker or event by which money could be raised, rejecting various lecturers and performers. Miss J. Georgina Sime of Montreal, author of *Sister Women* and *Our Little Life*, was engaged to deliver a lecture on Lord Byron, but the profits were meager. In the spring of 1926, the possibility of having a course of lectures was entertained, and this resulted in the 1926-27 series given by McGill psychology professor Dr. W.W. Tait to the Child Study Group. While the course was not a moneymaking venture, in the spring of 1927 Dr. Tait also gave an open lecture at the Chateau Laurier on "Psychology and Life's Work", attracting an audience of 200 and raising a significant amount for the Club coffers.¹⁰⁸ Dr. Tait criticized the lack of funding for psychological research in Canada on such hot topics as "racial differences", suggesting that this was "why our talented

¹⁰⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book II, Oct. 1920, Jan. 15 and Oct. 15, 1921, April 8 and May 20, 1922; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book B, Oct. 1921; and Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Dramatic Evening".

¹⁰⁷ Outline of Activities, "Lectures"; and Vol. 18, Minute Book II, Oct. 20, 1923. The Walpole lecture realized a profit of \$186.31 on receipts of \$692.00 and the Birkenhead lecture made a profit of \$433.87 on receipts of \$1207.00. The Sime lecture realized a profit of \$12.25 on receipts of only \$229.00.

¹⁰⁸ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Annual Report of the Secretary, UWC, 1926-7"; and Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, 1916-42, "Report of Committee...on Child Psychology, 1926-7", May 27, 1927. Dr. Tait's lecture raised a profit of \$145.89

young men leave Canada.”¹⁰⁹ The UWCO also co-sponsored with the Ottawa Woman's Club a public lecture by British M.P. Miss Margaret Bondfield on “Labor and World Peace”, in which she discussed the role of the International Labor Office in Geneva in maintaining peace.

The idea of arbitration must be got into the public mind and it must be made as unthinkable for nations to want to settle their disputes by war as it has become for individuals to vindicate their so-called honor by fighting a duel. The world is no longer going to label a whole nation with a silly or stupid speech from one man.¹¹⁰

The following season, the Club organized a series of ten public lectures by University of Toronto professors, opening with a lecture by Principal Maurice Hutton in which he criticized the decline in discipline and culture, and the quality of reading and writing over the last fifty years.

Though everyone can read...no one knows what to read and it comes to the same thing...It is because everyone is tired of poor standards and of standardized life, of *Main St.* and *Babbitt*, that such atrocities as jazz, futuristic art and the new prose have appeared.

Dr. Hutton complained that co-education had led to “a general slackening of intellectual keenness and a quickening of the social pulse, and the modern craze for dancing” and that stories of drunken, noisy students “illustrated the childishness of the modern student.” He criticized recent “wild outbursts of nationalism” in the world, arguing that internationalism and “a revival of Christianity” would save the world. When the Ottawa branch president of the University of Toronto alumni association stood up to thank Dr. Hutton, he commented: “I am not sure whether anyone else could have done it and lived.”¹¹¹ Other lecturers in the University of Toronto series included English Professor H.J.Davis on English humour, Professor A.P. Coleman on geology, English Professor R.S. Knox on modern English drama, Canadian poet Dr. E.J. Pratt depicting “the tragedies of the annual [Newfoundland] seal hunt in original verse” and Professor E. Goggio on the improvements in Italy under Benito Mussolini. Psychology Professor Peter Sandiford gave a lecture on “Intelligence and Immigration”, critiquing the emigration of intelligent Canadians to the United States, and suggesting that Canada should take most of its immigrants from the British Isles and Northern Europe

where intelligence tests have shown this class to rate very highly...There should be intelligence, health and moral tests at the port of embarkation. I would rather that Canada went slowly with regard to immigration although we want population for our vast open spaces, than dilute our high intelligence by indiscriminate immigration.

¹⁰⁹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, 1925, Mar. 30 and May 27, 1926; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, “Giving Everyone Chance At Work That He Prefers”, *Ottawa Citizen*, April 9, 1926.

¹¹⁰ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Dec. 11, 21, 1926, and Jan. 5, 8, 15, 1927; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, “World Peace When Idea of War Is Awful”, *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 12, 1927.

¹¹¹ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, “World Has Need Now of Revival of Christianity”, 1927.

Dr. Sandiford opposed Dr. Barnardo's Homes and assisted immigration because it brought to Canada a "down and out class". Audience member Robert Forke, the Minister of Immigration, agreed with Dr. Sandiford that intelligence tests were both accurate and a good idea and that immigration should be on the basis of quality, not quantity. Charging \$5.00 per person for the series, the Club realized a tidy profit.¹¹²

In 1928/29 the Club followed the success of the previous season with "A Series of Three Lectures: *Four Great Contemporary Writers*", featuring two Queen's University English professors: Dr. George Herbert Clarke on Thomas Hardy, Joseph Conrad and John Masefield, and Miss Wilhelmina Gordon, M.A. on John Galsworthy. At \$2.00 per ticket and an attendance of 513, this series also yielded a healthy profit.¹¹³

Buoyed by its previous successes, the UWCO sponsored a third lecture series in 1929/30 called "The Scholar Looks at Modern Life". It opened in October 1929 at the Chateau Laurier with His Imperial Russian Highness the Grand Duke Alexander Michaelovich, a royal refugee from the 'Bolshevist revolution' now living in Paris, speaking on "Out of My Life". Three subsequent lectures were held at the brand new Metropolitan Life Building Auditorium on Wellington Street and featured the return of University of Toronto Principal Emeritus Maurice Hutton as "The Classicist", Queen's professor Dr. L.J. Austin as "The Man of Medicine" and McGill professor Dr. C.W. Hendel as "The Philosopher".¹¹⁴ Correspondence between the UWCO and McGill University indicates that the Club was very concerned that the university send "one of their outstanding men" fearing that "unless the man's name is well known here his lecture will weaken the attendance" and threatening to "drop McGill" if they could not produce "an outstanding man and another University can."¹¹⁵ Unfortunately, the Duke Alexander lecture was a flop. President Charlotte Whitton, requesting an amusement tax exemption from the Treasury Department, described the Club's glorious plans and their sad undoing:

We had every anticipation of success. Their Excellencies extended their patronage and accepted our invitation to be present. We arranged the lecture

¹¹² Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Lectures"; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Gives Criticism Realistic Drama", Jan. 1928, "Intelligence As Great Essential in Immigration," Jan. 1928, "Dr. S.J. Pratt [sic] Gives Address", Feb. 1928; "Says Mussolini Savior of Italy", Feb. 1928. The Club raked in profits of \$685.96 on the series, on receipts of \$1180.05.

¹¹³ Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, "Programme: Queen's University Offers a Series". The series yielded a profit of \$267.34.

¹¹⁴ Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, "Programme: University Women's Club, Ottawa, 1929-30 Lecture Series "The Scholar Looks at Modern Life". See Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Principal Hutton's Brilliant Address", Nov. 1929; and "The Philosopher Speaks", 1929, for the content of Principal Hutton and Dr. C.W. Hendel's lectures.

¹¹⁵ Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, letter to Colonel Wilfred Bovey, McGill University, from UWCO, Sept 20, 1929.

early in September. We had also anticipated a splendid attendance from members of the Cabinet, the Senate, etc., all of which count in Ottawa. When, however, the date of the lecture came we ran into very bad luck. Ramsey MacDonald and his party came to Ottawa on October the eighteenth and remained over until the night of the twentieth. Consequently even the papers on the twenty-first were full of the doings of the British Premier and his party and we could not get much interest or attention worked up for our lecture. Then the government put on a state dinner that evening for the new Japanese Minister which immediately took from our patronage all members of the Privy Council, all members of the Cabinet, of the Senate and the Commons as well as former Privy Councillors and others of the official list. The result was that though we worked very hard...our entire proceeds from this first lecture ran about \$680 without any expenses. Obviously this will not defray the expenses of this lecture alone.¹¹⁶

The Club eventually realized a profit of only \$200 on the whole series. Charlotte Whitton wrote to the next booking agent who solicited the Club's business:

I am afraid that our Club shall not be able to consider any other lecture engagements this year and judging by the executive meeting on Monday night I think that it is doubtful whether we shall endeavour again anyway, in the near future to put on any large lecture as our experience in the last years has been the same, namely, that the lectures arranged by us with our professors in some of the universities in the province have been most successful, but our big ventures have not.¹¹⁷

Principal Hutton's lecture, in which he compared the philosophy of Ancient Greece with the thought, aims and ambitions of people today, was so popular the Club had it printed and distributed at a charge of 25cents per copy.¹¹⁸

Despite the treasurer's dour warning in 1926 that "the fees as they stand do not quite cover the current running expenses of the Club", the Club had raised enough funds through successive successful lecture series to avoid the issue for several years. By April 1928 the Club had raised \$600 to invest in bonds and within a year, another \$150 was invested. It may have been the Club's own experience with failure in the fall of 1929, or the wider failure of the worldwide economy, but in the spring of 1930 a committee was appointed to look into the Club's financial situation and report back on ways and means of financing the Club. The Finance Committee's report, which was adopted in May 1930, recommended that the annual fee be raised to \$3.00, that fees accompany all membership applications, and that paid-up membership cards be required to get in the door of the first fall meeting. The committee also

¹¹⁶ Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, letter to Captain Orr, Treasury Dept., from Charlotte Whitton, President, UWCO, Nov. 5, 1929.

¹¹⁷ Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, letter to Lee Keedrick, Booking Manager, from Miss Whitton, Nov. 12, 1929.

¹¹⁸ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Dec. 9, 1929; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Principal Hutton's Brilliant Address", Nov. 1929, and "The Philosopher Speaks", n.d.

recommended that a money-making bridge and a theatre night be held in the fall, and that there be at least two supper meetings per year. Acting on the Committee's recommendations, the Executive decided to hold a bridge party and to sponsor "a good talking picture", screening the movie *Shiraz* at the Ottawa Little Theatre in April 1931. Despite great expectations, profits were meagre. Although the Club did not attribute a cause to the movie's failure, the economic climate of the early 1930s could have been partly to blame. After the *Shiraz* experience, the Club avoided public entertainments, choosing instead to convert some regular meetings to university extension lectures, open to the public at a small charge. By retaining university professors, for whom there was no speaking fee, there was little risk for the Club. This decision seems to have been primarily a financial one. Throughout their experience with offering public lectures, the Clubs's prime consideration appears to have been their ability to attract paying customers, and never the educational advantage to the community.¹¹⁹

Despite these setbacks, the Club was able to purchase another \$100 in government bonds in May 1931. After hearing Miss Whitton's explanation that the cost per member for CFUW fees and UWCO refreshments was \$3.63, the Club voted to raise the membership fees to \$3.50, and appoint the Club's first auditors. Four years later, when "the financing of the Club was heatedly discussed" at an October 1935 executive meeting, the Executive would conclude that CFUW fees should be completely paid out of the annual UWCO membership fees, since the CFUW levy was based on the Club's membership figures. This would create a justification for future increases in membership fees, and end fifteen years of agonized fundraising by the Club.¹²⁰ At the close of the 1920-21 season, the UWCO had held only \$100.00 in Victory bonds and \$52.85 in the bank. For the next twenty years, the Club steadily accumulated investments, so that at the close of the 1939-40 season, it held \$1700 in government bonds, a \$75 First Mortgage Gold Bond with Consolidated Paper Corporation and 8 shares in the company, and a bank balance of \$537.64. In 1920, annual interest income was \$5.50; in 1939 it was \$71.00.¹²¹

In 1935, Miss Saulter suggested that the \$60 earned in interest on an ever-increasing bank balance could be used for scholarships for girls graduating from Glebe and Lisgar

¹¹⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Books III and IV, May 15, 1926, April 21 and May 19, 1928, May 13, 1929, Mar. 10 and May 1930, Feb. 9, Mar. 9, April 13 and May 11, 1931; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, May 14, 1928, Mar. 10 and Sept. 8, 1930. The Club invested \$500 in Canada Power and Paper Company and \$100 in Government Bonds in 1928. Supper meetings were 'cheaper' for the Club because members paid for their meals. They would also have been very convenient for single working women like President Charlotte Whitton.

¹²⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, April 13 and May 11, 1931; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books C, D and E, Sept. 25, 1931, April 4, 1933, April 9, 1934, Oct. 30, 1935 and May 27, 1941. The Club appointed members as auditors for the next few years, but by at least 1941 they had hired an outside auditor.

¹²¹ Vol. 7, File 1, Treasurer's Reports and Balance Sheets, 1912-68.

Collegiates to university, something many other Clubs were now doing. A committee was immediately formed to work out the details. At the May 1935 annual meeting, Miss McCullough followed the treasurer's very rosy report with the proposal

that as there was so much interest from the money in the Bank and from the bonds, etc., this money should be used to give two prizes, \$30 to the best girl in the Glebe Collegiate and \$30 to the best girl in the Lisgar Collegiate on condition that these two girls would proceed to college.¹²²

The women questioned what was meant by "best", how academic standing would be judged and whether the girls would be required to attend a Canadian university. Miss Cowan, who often raised social welfare issues at Club meetings, asked if it could be arranged that only girls who really needed the help, be given the awards. Mrs. Anderson asked that conditions be clear cut and well defined "in order to prevent heart burnings and argument." After much discussion, the motion passed, giving \$30 to the girl students at Glebe and Lisgar who attained the highest average in a minimum of five subjects in the honour matriculation examinations, and who attended any faculty of a Canadian university in the fall of 1935, and setting up a committee of three to administer the awards. The awards were created on a one-time basis, but each successive year the Club voted to re-award the scholarships on the same terms. While the Scholarship Committee expressed the hope in 1938 that the awards would be raised to \$50 each when Club finances permitted, this would not happen for another twelve years.¹²³

The UWCO continued to receive requests for both financial and volunteer assistance from other organizations. In 1920, the Ottawa Welfare Bureau put forward its annual request for \$25.00 of Club funds, just as the Club was considering how it would pay the newly-imposed CFUW levy of \$25.00. The motion for a Club donation was defeated. When the Welfare Bureau made a second request the following May, the Club decided to open a list for private subscriptions of members. The next year, the Welfare Bureau's request "for help to meet the needs of the coming winter" was once again answered by circulating a private subscription list amongst members. Circulation of the Welfare Bureau subscription list became an annual tradition at the December meeting, often accompanied by a short talk on the Bureau and its work.¹²⁴ Private subscription was quickly adopted as the method of choice for dealing with most other requests for financial aid, although the amounts raised were very small. Members

¹²² Vol. 18, Minute Book V, May 13, 1935.

¹²³ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, May 13, 1935; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, Mar. 10, 1935, May 6, 1936 and May 27, 1937; and Vol. 9, File 1, Scholarships, "Annual Report of the Scholarship Committee, 1938".

¹²⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book II, Dec. 11, 1920, May 21, 1921, Nov. 18, 1922, Nov. 20, 1926; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book C, Dec. 2, 1924.

contributed in this way to the YWCA Travellers' Aid, the China Famine Fund, the Russian Famine Fund, the Daily Vacation Bible School, a Teachers Association campaign to send a teacher to Labrador, an LCW fundraising campaign, a YWCA fund for unemployed girls, and, beginning in 1938, the annual Public School Milk Fund "for undernourished children in the Public Schools".¹²⁵

Private subscriptions were also used to supplement donations of Club funds. In 1924 private subscriptions of \$18 for the Student Christian Movement for financial aid for European students were matched by a Club donation of \$25. When the British Federation of University Women proposed that a British building, Crosby Hall, be established as an International Federation of University Women ("IFUW") clubhouse, the CFUW committed itself to a donation and asked member clubs to contribute towards reaching this goal. After some discussion, the UWCO donated \$15 and circulated a private subscription list. The Club continued to donate funds in later years whenever support was requested for Crosby Hall.¹²⁶

The Club also donated Club funds to certain favoured causes. Beginning in 1923, the Club took part in the annual Armistice Day ceremony, purchasing a \$10 poppy wreath, and sending Club members to help with house-to-house poppy sales. In 1927 the Club responded to a Drama League request to finance the construction of a new building for the Ottawa Little Theatre, by purchasing a \$50 bond. In 1932, the Club made a \$100.00 donation to the Sewing Fund of the LCW, and in 1936 it gave money to the LCW to purchase a stove for emergency relief work. However, in 1933, when it was asked to fill a money belt with \$10.00 for the LCW, the executive turned down the request, "as the Club is not a money raising one but educational". The appeal was presented instead for individual response at the next regular meeting. The same objection was raised in 1936, when the Club voted its usual \$10 towards a poppy wreath for the cenotaph; Mrs. Sheridan pointed out that the club's object was educational and "a definite policy should be established in donations."¹²⁷ In 1937, when the issue was raised a third time, "the executive was informed that the past policy of the club was that a member interested

¹²⁵ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; and Vol. 18, Minute Books II, IV, V and VI, Feb. 1921, Feb. 18, 1922, Jan. 19, 1924, Mar. 13 and April 10, 1933, April 8, 1935, Oct. 11, 1938; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book, Book E, Nov. 29, 1938, and Nov. 3, 1939. The Travellers' Aid was organized by the YWCA, and assisted newcomers to the city, usually young single women looking for work, by meeting their incoming trains. It had been an annual recipient of Club funds when it was switched to private subscription in 1921. The Public School Milk Fund donation was solicited by the Ottawa Public School Board, which supplied milk to undernourished school children using donated funds, but was prohibited by law from using public school tax money for this purpose. The Club raised \$11.32 in 1938.

¹²⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Books II and III, Nov. 18, 1922, Nov. 17, 1923, Dec. 11, 1926 and April 23, 1927.

¹²⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, Nov. 9, 1936.

in a special project could make an appeal to the members but not to the Club."¹²⁸ Despite this policy statement, the Club continued to support educational projects, donating money in 1934 and 1939 to the National Council of Education and in 1938 to the scholarship fund of the Canadian Student Assembly. When the annual dinner, usually a break-even event, made a \$40.00 profit in 1938, the Club voted the entire amount to the IFUW Emergency Fund. In March 1940, the UWCO deferred a CFUW request for funds to help university women who were war victims, on the grounds of shaky finances, but two months it sent \$25 to the IFUW fund for "relief of the unfortunate among University Women".¹²⁹

Donations were sometimes requested and made in kind. In 1927 the Club collected books donated by members to create a library at the new Nurses Residence at the Civic Hospital, and donated funds to print book labels identifying the Club as donor. Beginning in 1934, Mrs. Cudmore took up an annual collection to buy newspaper subscriptions for the Protestant Home for the Aged and asked members to contribute old magazines. In 1934 and 1935, toys were collected at the annual Christmas party and donated to local children's institutions. At the 1937 Christmas supper party, books were collected for the Lady Tweedsmuir Library Plan. In 1939 Miss Sybil Stewart collected books from members to begin a library in the northern mining village of Geraldton, where a former Club member was living.¹³⁰

From time to time, Club members were asked to volunteer their time instead of their money: they canvassed for the annual war veterans' Poppy Day, for the Big Sisters Toy Day in 1924, and for the Jeanne D'Arc Pansy Day in 1925. In 1920 the provincial Employment Office asked them to provide homes for girls attending business college in the city, who were willing to do housework in return for room and board. In 1924, 1925, 1927 and 1934, Miss Cowan recruited Club members to teach crippled and shut-in children. In 1932, the Club volunteered to staff the Local Council of Women's Emergency Relief Rooms for a half day every two weeks –

¹²⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, Jan. 8, 1937.

¹²⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Books II, III, IV, and VI, Dec. 1923, Oct. 18, 1924, Oct. 17, 1925, April 23 and Oct. 15, 1927, Nov. 12, 1928, May 9, 1932, April 11 and Oct 11, 1938, Mar. 11, April 8 and 22, 1940; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books C, D and E, April 22 and May 9, 1927, Mar. 10, 1933 and Sept. 19, 1938; and Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests".

¹³⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Books III, V and VI, Nov. 20, 1926, Dec. 10, 1934, Jan. 14, 1935 and Jan. 15, 1940; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to UWC President, from Edith C. Jamieson, Convener, May 20, 1927; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Nov. 26, 1937 and Nov. 24, 1939; and Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "CFUW Annual Report 1939-40". After the 1917 influenza epidemic, Ottawa Mayor Harold Fisher lobbied for a new hospital and new facilities. The Civic Hospital was incorporated in 1919 by merging St. Luke's General, Ottawa Maternity and Protestant General hospitals, and in 1924 it opened a new building on the former Reid farm on Carling Avenue. [Robert Haig, *Ottawa: City of the Big Ears* (Ottawa: Haig and Haig Publishing Co., n.d.), 184. The Christmas toys were given to the Protestant Children's Village, the Children's Aid Society, the Ottawa General Hospital and St. Patrick's Orphanage.

this later increased to weekly. The Club was asked to send a delegate to the local Women's Find a Job Committee in 1933, and Mrs. F.W.Berry reported back by asking for the Club's cooperation in canvassing for jobs and in supplying 'odd jobs' for men and women. In October 1939, the Club responded to the YWCA's request for Club members who could give ten-minute inspirational talks at Y luncheons.¹³¹

When war was declared in August 1939, the immediate reaction of Club executive was to "carry on in our usual manner, but that the refreshments in all cases be simpler".¹³² The number of Club dinners was reduced from two to one, by holding the Annual Dinner during the December, and the Club decided that "the quantity of sandwiches and cakes be considerably reduced this year, as a war gesture".¹³³ The Club's underestimation of the effects of rationing was evident in their statement that "while we are at war, our refreshments be more simple – coffee and sandwiches, or coffee and cake – not both".¹³⁴ The CFUW advocated that local Clubs "carry on as normally as possible, continuing their interest in and assistance to education, guarding our intellectual freedom."¹³⁵ In view of the "great number" of Club members already on the executives of local welfare associations, the UWCO resolved to follow the suggestion of the Federation and to conduct war work "through Clubs which have already adapted their organizations for that purpose."¹³⁶ In other words, "bring your knitting or sewing for the Canadian Club, I.O.D.E., your church society, the Red Cross, etc. to your group meetings and have your mind stimulated while your hands are busy."¹³⁷

In addition to its CFUW affiliation, the UWCO held memberships in various local organizations. In exchange for sending representatives to meetings, the Club received regular reports on the activities of these organizations, as well as occasional requests for assistance. Four UWCO representatives sat on the Local Council of Women, whose membership consisted primarily of local women's groups. The LCW tackled local issues involving women, health, and social problems. In 1931 the UWCO sent a resolution to the LCW along with its annual fee requesting that in the future it be given "an opportunity of considering before action is taken by the council on any resolution dealing with or affecting education matters".¹³⁸ The LCW action to

¹³¹ Vol. 18, Minute Books II, III and IV, Nov. 20, 1920, Nov. 5, 1924, Mar. 1925, Jan. 15, 1927, Nov. 7, 1932, April 10, 1933, May 14, 1934 and Mar. 11, 1935; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, April 4, 1933; and Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests".

¹³² Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 7, 1939.

¹³³ Vol. 8, File 3, Hospitality, "Annual Report of the Hospitality Committee, May 1940".

¹³⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 10, 1939.

¹³⁵ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 25, 1939.

¹³⁶ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "War Time Work: 1939-45".

¹³⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 10, 1939.

¹³⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Jan. 15, 1931.

which the UWCO may have taken offense is not recorded. There was a high degree of overlap between the LCW and UWCO membership: in 1935 seven UWCO members held LCW executive positions, in 1938 nine UWCO members held LCW posts, and in 1939 three UWCO members were elected as LCW vice-presidents. In 1940, the UWCO convener of representatives to the LCW commented "It is gratifying to note how many members of the University Women's Club are in the Local Council of Women representing various organizations other than our own."¹³⁹

Speakers had been invited to address the UWCO on the League of Nations Society in 1921 and 1925, but it was not until 1928 that the Club first joined the Society, possibly inspired by the back-to-back speeches of Dr. Adam Shortt and Dr. Seraphim Marion that season. The Club's corporate membership was renewed annually and it occasionally received requests for volunteers to undertake work for the League. After the League's executive secretary spoke at a 1935 UWCO meeting, the Club began sending a representative to League meetings, and after a 1936 address to the Club by a League member, two UWCO members were appointed to organize junior League of Nations Societies in local high schools. In 1938, the Club sent voting delegates to a national conference of the League, and in 1939, a Club member gave an inspirational speech on the League at the Club's annual meeting.¹⁴⁰

During the 1920s, the UWCO intervened in public affairs on only five occasions. In 1923, when a Club member objected to a University of British Columbia textbook, the Club decided to ask the CFUW to protest the textbook and request its removal. However, they were able to call a halt to the whole issue when they received a satisfactory explanation from the university.¹⁴¹ In January 1925 the Child Study Group brought forward a resolution that the school closing time for children in Grades I and II be changed to 2:30 and 3:00 pm respectively, because the usual

¹³⁹ Vol. 14, File 2, OLCW, "Annual report for 1939-40". In 1935-36, UWCO members on the Executive of the LCW were: Mrs. G.D. Finlayson, VP; Mrs. Phillip Foran (a practicing lawyer), Convenor of Laws Affecting Women and Children; Mrs. W.R. McClelland, Convenor of Taxation; Miss O'Boyle (a civil servant with the Auditor-General's office), Convenor of Trades and Professions for Women; Miss M.E. Cowan (a private teacher), Convenor of Education; Dr. Rachel Haight (a practicing medical doctor), Convenor of Mental Health; Mrs. M.F. Gregg, Convenor of Moral Standards. In 1938-39: these women kept their positions, and were joined by Mrs. D.O. (Alice) Arnold, convenor of Arts and Letters; and Mrs. C.W. (Miriam) Sheridan, Convenor of Citizenship. In 1939-40, Mrs. Finlayson, Mrs. Gregg, and Mrs. Sadie Lieff (a practicing lawyer) were elected vice-presidents of LCW.

¹⁴⁰ Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "UWCO 1936-7"; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; Vol. 18, Minute Books III, V, and VI, Dec. 15, 1926, Jan. 21 and April 21, 1928, Jan. 14 and Feb. 11, 1935, May 9, 1938; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books D and E, June 10, 1936 and Mar. 4, 1939; Vol. 4, File 1, Correspondence, Membership cards for The League of Nations Society in Canada, letter to Miss M.K. Clifford, UWCO, from Lily Ross, Junior Branches of the League of Nations Society in Canada, Mar. 14, 1936, and letter to Miss Sybil Stewart, UWCO, from Elizabeth McCallum, League of Nations Society in Canada, Nov. 4, 1936.

¹⁴¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book II, Jan. and Feb. 1923.

3:30pm closing deprived children of "sufficient time to play in the fresh air". The resolution was forwarded to the Local Council of Women, and then to the Public School Board, where it was favourably received and implemented. The following year, the Child Study Group brought forward a second resolution, this time asking the Public School Board to recommend to City Council that a medical health inspection system be established in the Public Schools in order to "guard the physical and mental welfare of children". This resolution was passed by the Club and forwarded to both the City Council and the Board of Education.¹⁴² When Club member Miss Cowan pointed out the need for an institution in Eastern Ontario for "mental defectives" in March 1925, the Club passed a resolution to this effect and forwarded it to Premier Ferguson of Ontario. In January 1928, the Club endorsed the action of the LCW in sending resolutions to the federal and provincial governments asking that the people of Canada be legally known as "Canadians" and not just as "British subjects resident in Canada", and that the provincial government use the designation "Canadian" in vital statistics such as the registration of births and issuing of death certificates.¹⁴³

During the 1930s, the Club intervened in public affairs nine times, almost doubling its record of the previous decade. In the spring of 1931, the Club executive, with Charlotte Whitton as president, recommended to the Club that they support the LCW in urging City Council to appoint a woman member to the Collegiate Board, and that in all appointments to the Board, City Council "seek out for such important service, citizens having special background and training along lines of educational development and administration".¹⁴⁴ Both motions were unanimously carried. Six months later, the executive again recommended to the Club "that it urge through its representatives to the LCW the appointment of a woman member to the Collegiate Board and nominate for that position [Club member] Mrs. G.D. Finlayson".¹⁴⁵ Miss Whitton attempted to amend the motion to make it gender neutral, but reserved the Club's right to submit names of suitable candidates, including Mrs. Finlayson. After much discussion for and against, the original motion was carried. A year later, prompted by the Local Council of Women, the Club passed a third motion asking Ottawa City Council to appoint a woman to the next vacancy on the Collegiate Board. They cited a Local Council of Women petition signed the previous year by over two thousand women, and again suggesting Mrs. G.D. Finlayson for the position. Copies of the motion were sent to each elected alderman, the comptroller and the

¹⁴² Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; Vol. 18, Minute Books 1910-54, Book III, Mar. 20, 1926.

¹⁴³ Vol. 18, Minute Book III, Jan. 21, 1928.

¹⁴⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, April 13, 1931.

¹⁴⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Oct. 11, 1931.

mayor.¹⁴⁶ Eight years later, the LCW was still pursuing this issue, and asked the UWCO to vote on whether they were in favour of “women receiving the same pay as men do for similar work done by both” and of the appointment of “qualified women” to Civic Boards. After some discussion, and a failed amendment that would have answered no to the first question, the Club voted yes to both questions.¹⁴⁷

In 1934, the CFUW asked the UWCO to use its ‘influence’ to have Dr. Helen MacMurphy appointed to the Senate. Dr. MacMurphy had retired after a long career in public health medicine, and had been made a Companion of the British Empire for her pioneering work in this area. Club members were slow to respond to the suggestion, although eventually a motion was put forward and seconded. Several of the older women spoke of the “splendid work” Dr. MacMurphy had done, but one of the Club’s founders, Miss Jessie Muir “reminded the Club that this was a big question and one which should have very careful thought...we are a small minority of University Women and...a question of this nature should be left to a more representative body of women”.¹⁴⁸ When Miss Muir moved that the question should be indefinitely postponed, a majority of Club members agreed.

In 1936 the Ottawa Business and Professional Women’s Club asked for the UWCO’s support in their complaint against the Mayor for replacing Ottawa’s female welfare investigators with male investigators. The OBPWC was supporting the stand of the Local Council of Women in this matter, and calling on all women’s organizations to “get together under the Local Council of Women to see that a woman is appointed on the Commission, and as little injustice as possible be done to women investigators.” The UWCO passed a motion endorsing the LCW’s stand.¹⁴⁹ The Mayor’s response to the Local Council was that “women investigators would be given consideration.”¹⁵⁰ In the same year, the CFUW asked the Club to take action on the question of discrimination against the employment of women in Grade IV of the Civil Service. After engaging in “much serious discussion”, the Club executive decided to raise the issue before the Club and to bring it to the attention of other local women’s Clubs. The Club promptly referred it back to the Halcyon Club, a local Club for female civil servants. Five months later, the executive set up a committee to conduct a survey of conditions for women in the Civil Service.

¹⁴⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Nov. 13, 1931; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, “Social Welfare and Public Interests”; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Sept. 1932.

¹⁴⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, April 17, 1939.

¹⁴⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book IV, Jan. 8, 1934.

¹⁴⁹ Vol. 10, File 7, Inter-Club Activity, letter to Miss J. Long, UWCO, from Hattie Halpenny, Secretary, Business and Professional Women’s Club of Ottawa, Sept. 3, 1936; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, “Social Welfare and Public Interests”; and Vol. 18, Minute Book V, Oct. 14, 1936.

¹⁵⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, Nov. 9, 1936.

The Committee's report, presented to the Club in April 1937, explained the creation of the Grade IV clerks class "to initiate into the Service young men recently graduated from the universities, who could be trained for more responsible positions" and criticized the restriction of the class to men only.¹⁵¹ One year later, the issue was again raised as one of the matters to be discussed by the CFUW Executive at its annual meeting. Club members agreed that "discrimination against women does exist both on entrance to the Service and in promotion within the Service" and advised the CFUW to discuss it with a House of Commons Committee on the Civil Service.¹⁵² Two years later, Senator Cairine Wilson approached the Club, asking them to make representations through the CFUW on "the vexed question of the exclusion of women university graduates from the new Grade IV of the Civil Service which is allocated definitely to university graduates, but open to men only".¹⁵³ This time the Club responded by passing a motion protesting discrimination against women in the public service, and forwarding it to the CFUW.¹⁵⁴

In March 1940, the Club passed a resolution supporting the LCW in their investigation into and protest against the increased price of milk, forwarding copies to both the LCW and the local Board of Control. LCW representatives later noted that the resolution "was an influence which helped induce the city authorities to request a meeting of the Ontario Milk Board in Ottawa".¹⁵⁵

In most cases, the UWCO took action at the request of another organization, acting in a supporting rather than an originating role. In only three cases did the UWCO act on its own initiative. In 1938 the Club, distressed at the discontinuance of a favourite book review program on a local radio station, passed a motion of protest on its own initiative and forwarded it to the station.¹⁵⁶ In February 1939, the Club passed a motion asking the Dominion Government to

¹⁵¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, April 12, 1937. The committee consisted of Miss Mora Guthrie, Miss Sybil Stewart, Miss Della Stewart and Miss Stella Hamilton, all longtime civil servants.

¹⁵² Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, April 11, 1938.

¹⁵³ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Mrs. C.W. Sheridan, UWCO, from Senator Cairine R. Wilson, April 12, 1938.

¹⁵⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book V, Oct. 14, 1936; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book D, Jan. 20 and June 10, 1936; Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Report for Annual Meeting, May 1938"; and Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests". The motion to refer the issue to the legislative committee of the Halcyon Club was made by Dr. Alice Wilson, member of both the UWCO and the Halcyon Club.

¹⁵⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 11, 1940; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests"; Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, letter from Helen G. Pynn, UWCO, to Ottawa Board of Control, April 5, 1940; and Vol. 14, File 2, OLCW, "Annual report for 1939-40". In March 1939, the LCW had organized a Symposium on Trades and Professions for Women. Although the UWCO did not participate as a club, the event was in fact organized by UWCO member Miss Lottie O'Boyle in her capacity as LCW member, and was participated in by UWCO president Mrs. C.W. Sheridan. [Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 13, 1939].

¹⁵⁶ Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "Social Welfare and Public Interests".

create a scheme of national scholarships for "the higher education of deserving students". The motion was brought by Miss Helen Cowie and by Dr. Alice Wilson, on the basis that "many of Canada's most brilliant matriculation students are financially unable to continue their education, and ... their contribution to Canada's progress is thereby seriously restricted".¹⁵⁷ In March 1939, after hearing a talk on the 'refugee problem' from a member of the National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution, the secretary commented that the Club's interest "was proved by the discussion that followed." The following month the Club passed a motion in support of the admission of refugees and wrote to local members of parliament urging the government to admit "selected groups of victims of political persecution in Europe" to Canada. A Club committee was formed to work on the issue over the summer and the following year, the Club was invited to send a delegate to a meeting of the National Committee.¹⁵⁸

During the interval from 1920 to 1940, the UWCO sought to establish itself as a presence in Ottawa public life. As membership fluctuated and then declined in the late 1920s, the UWCO took remedial measures, moving its regular meeting night from Saturday to Monday and postponing the raising of the annual fee. It also endeavoured to enhance the "spirit of friendliness" of the Club by introducing nametags, circulating a list of members and encouraging members to join small study groups. It was not until 1937 that membership underwent any significant increase, doubling in one year to 259 members. While Club records do not explain this sudden increase, its effect was felt in several ways: the secretary's job was split between two people and new study groups were able to form. Membership lists kept in the 1930s indicate that the Club was now composed of roughly equal numbers of married and single members, and continued to be dominated by graduates of Queen's and Toronto, although an increasing proportion of members came from universities in Western Canada. A slightly greater proportion of members held graduate degrees in the early 1930s than in 1920. Although the proportion of graduate degree holders had declined again by 1940, the variety of different degrees had expanded dramatically by 1940. A greater proportion of all members held paid employment, although the proportion of employed married women remained small. While most worked as teachers or civil servants, significant numbers worked in other occupations. The lists were subject to editing by the Club secretary, who described occupations in increasing detail, but continued to omit the occupation of housewife.

¹⁵⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Feb. 13, 1939.

¹⁵⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 13, April 17 and May 8, 1939; Vol. 6, File 4, Annual Reports, "Secretary's Report for 1938-39".

Four new questions on the membership application forms were indicative of the Club's changing circumstances. The 1925 request for the applicant's course of study reflected the increasing specialization of university programs, and the elevated importance of this information to Club members. The 1925 request for the applicant's name at graduation was a result of both the increasing proportion of married members and the Club's desire to verify university credentials before admitting new members. The 1938 request for telephone number indicated its acceptance as a means of communication and the 1938 request for husband's initials reflected both the increasing proportion of married members and a desire to adhere to the convention that husband's initials be used in addressing mail to a married woman. The typical applicant during this period was a single woman in her twenties who had graduated from Queen's or the University of Toronto with a general arts undergraduate degree, lived in downtown Ottawa and worked as a teacher or civil servant. However, over the twenty-year period from 1920 to 1940, the proportion of single applicants decreased slightly and the average age increased slightly, with a significant number of older married women joining the Club in the late 1930s. The proportion of applicants with a graduate or professional degree increased slightly, and the proportion of applicants with more than one degree increased dramatically. The variety of courses in which applicants had specialized, and their willingness to impart this information in detail, also increased dramatically over the period. The proportion of applicants from more distant universities, increased. Large proportions of applicants with a second degree had earned it at the University of Toronto (although this tendency decreased over time) or a foreign university (a tendency which increased over time). The tendency for single women to be over-represented among nearby universities and married women to be over-represented among distant universities decreased over time. The proportion of single applicants in paid employment increased dramatically over time, from 62% before 1920, to 75% in the 1920s, to 87% in the 1930s. While most were employed as teachers or in the civil service, the proportion of teachers decreased and of civil servants increased in the 1930s. The proportion of married women in paid employment also rose from zero to 9%. All three of these employment figures were likely a result of wartime labour conditions, when many women were brought to Ottawa for wartime civil service positions, and both government and private sector sought to fill vacant positions with women. Significant numbers of applicants now lived outside the downtown area, especially in some of the newer suburban areas to the east, west and south of the city. There was also a significant shift in the way members referred to themselves during this period. A tendency during the early 1920s to include a prefix and in the case of married women, a husband's name and initials, in one's signature, was replaced in the later 1920s and the 1930s by a strong

tendency to sign only one's own given name and surname. This shift was not matched in newspaper reports, which continued to use prefixes and husband's names. The application form request for husband's initials may have been prompted by this shift.

Throughout this period, the positions of power in the Club were fairly well distributed among different members. The roles of 'proposer' and 'seconder' on application forms were evenly shared amongst members, with the exception of three women, all executive members, who proposed or seconded unusually large numbers of applicants, likely in connection with their official duties. The role of executive member was also fairly well shared, although ten women held a disproportionate number of positions during the period, including one woman who held ten positions. Executive members were as likely to be single as married, with the exception of the late 1930s, when more married women held executive positions.

Despite at least two attempts to establish a permanent clubhouse or clubrooms, the Club continued to meet in a variety of venues, depending on the space required and the relationship with the landlord. The most popular topics for speakers at monthly meetings and annual dinners were literature (17 times), Canada's national and international issues (12 times) and summer travels and current conditions in countries in political turmoil (more than 10 times). The Club also heard at least ten speakers each on recent developments in science, on world peace and on women's issues. Smaller numbers of speakers discussed economic issues (7), health issues (7), Canadian history (6), visual arts (6), education (5), social welfare (5) and immigration (4). Members continued to present an annual dramatic production, although this was increasingly supplemented or replaced by a guest speaker. Musical performances were a regular part of meetings and often described in greater detail by the secretary than other parts of the meeting. In 1939, the Club appeared poised to enter the field of municipal politics when it organized a roundtable conference on municipal affairs and generated a ten-page document making recommendations on the provision of emergency relief and the availability of low-cost housing. Despite a recommendation that members work to sway public opinion on these issues, the UWCO failed to take any further action, an omission that could be attributed to the intervention of war.

The number and variety of social events expanded dramatically in the 1920s and 1930s, so that teas, luncheons, honorary dinners, supper meetings and a Christmas supper party became part of the Club schedule in addition to the longstanding annual dinner. Social events functioned in two ways: they reinforced the Club community by building social relationships among members, and they were used to honour and recognize leaders in the female community. In doing so, the UWCO functioned as an instrument for reinforcing certain ideals of

leadership and academic and political achievement among women. The Club's efforts to mark major milestones in members' lives, including illness, bereavement, death and birth, and the earning of graduate degrees or other honours, functioned similarly as a community building exercise and a vehicle for the reinforcement of certain ideals among women.

The Club continued to offer study groups, experimenting with different topics in an effort to attract and keep members. Study groups served two purposes: the provision of continuing education for members, and the building of community through small group interaction. However, given Club's small size and the diversity of members and their interests, it was not until the late 1930s that the Club was sufficiently large to support a wide range of successful study groups. Numerous study groups that were begun in the 1920s lasted no more than a few seasons, including groups on child study, modern languages, current events and current literature, biography, swimming and motor mechanics. The Drama Reading Circle, almost as old as the Club itself, was the only group to outlast the decade. A number of long-term groups were formed during the 1930s, including groups on child psychology, French conversation, literature, current events, music appreciation and interior decorating. A writers' workshop and a public speaking group formed during the 1930s lasted for only a few seasons.

The UWCO was one of the founding members of the CFUW in 1919, and continued its interest in the national group, passing on information and directives to its members and hosting the Triennial in 1931. The Club was ambiguous about the role of the CFUW: was its primary function to provide scholarships, or was the establishment of a network of university women equally important? The imposition of the annual CFUW scholarship fund fee prompted the Club to engage in fundraising, and this lay at the heart of many Club activities, including the first teas, bridges and public lectures. Raising more money than anticipated from these events, the Club began to invest substantial amounts in government bonds. While many of the sponsored lectures were advertised as university extension lectures, the Club regarded these primarily in terms of their profit-making value, not as educational services for the community, although they must have served as such at a time when access to university studies in Ottawa was fairly restricted. When President Charlotte Whitton declared that future lectures would feature only university professors, it was because other 'big name' speakers brought in by the Club had not attracted sufficient interest to cover expenses, and not for educational reasons. The Club's approach was so successful, that by the close of the 1939-40 season, it held more than \$1700.00 in bonds and earned sufficient interest income to fund two local scholarships for secondary school students. Despite this early success, the Club maintained that it was not a fundraising organization for outside causes. Nevertheless, it functioned as a vehicle through

which other organizations could funnel requests for donations and volunteer time to individual Club members. Donations of Club funds were reserved for certain favoured causes, including educational projects and CFUW or IFUW campaigns. When war was declared in 1939, the Club responded by reducing its social commitments, but declined all requests for funds and canvassing volunteers on the basis that it was not that sort of Club.

The Club continued to hold membership in the Local Council of Women and joined the League of Nations in 1928, exchanging information and extending offers of assistance to both organizations. A significant number of UWCO members were individual LCW members and held LCW executive positions. The Club intervened in public affairs infrequently in the 1920s, launching brief campaigns for shorter school hours, medical inspections in schools, an institution in Eastern Ontario for mental defectives, and the use of the term "Canadian". During the 1930s, the Club almost doubled its record of interventions, primarily supporting campaigns initiated by the LCW or the CFUW. These included the LCW campaign to have a woman appointed to the local Collegiate Board, the LCW protest against the replacement of female welfare investigators with male ones, the LCW protest against the increased price of milk and the CFUW protest against the exclusion of women from the civil service class for university graduates. The Club initiated action in three cases: protesting the cancellation of a local radio show, requesting the creation of a government-sponsored scheme of national scholarships, and urging the admission of European refugees to Canada. The Club's primary technique was to pass a resolution and forward it to the appropriate authorities, although in a few cases it also referred the matter on to other women's organizations to garner more support. In the coming decades, the number and intensity of Club interventions would dramatically increase, as the Club shifted the focus of its attention from the honouring and recognition of female leaders through social functions, to the insistence that government institutions similarly honour and recognize women in their political and administrative actions.

Chapter Three – Repaying a Debt to Society: 1940-60

The 1940s and 1950s were a time of intense community activity for the UWCO. The Club began to take advantage of its stature in the community as a large, well-educated and well-informed group of women, to influence politicians and bureaucrats at all three levels of government on appropriate legislative and administrative action. As education became more esteemed in the post-war period, the fact that they were “educated women” seemed to mean more, both within and without the Club. As the size of the Club increased, their opinions seemed to carry more weight to themselves and to others. While many of the demands were made in furtherance of women, the Club lobbied in other areas as well. As their involvement continued, the women began to develop principles that justified their demands, and these principles in turn goaded them on to new areas of investigation and action. With each new experience, they reflected on the approach they had used, and its effectiveness. While the Club found inspiration and justification in the idea that the UWCO’s founders had battled oppression before them, in truth, the women of the 1940s and 1950s were forging a new path for the Club.

Over the twenty-year period from 1940 to 1960, UWCO membership increased by 69% to reach 400 members. The population of Ottawa was growing at a significant rate, increasing by a third between 1940 and 1955.¹ Ottawa also gained its first secular post-secondary institution when Dr. Henry Marshall Tory formed what would later be known as Carleton College, and eventually Carleton University.² Club membership grew quickly during the early war years, reaching a high of 300 by 1943, and then declined towards the end of the war. This may have been due to the hiring of women into wartime positions and the longer wartime work hours: the executive alone lost three members in 1943 due to wartime work, with both Mrs. Ross and Mrs. Cudmore taking full-time positions and Dr. Florence Dunlop teaching a Carleton College course. Continuing low membership at the war’s end may have been due to the exodus of war workers from the city: again, several key executive members left the city in 1946, 1947

¹ War-time federal government expansion swelled Ottawa’s population from 150,000 in 1940 to 166,000 in 1945. By 1955, the city’s population had surpassed 200,000. [Robert Haig, *Ottawa: City of the Big Ears* (Ottawa: Haig and Haig Publishing Co., n.d.), pp. 197 and 204; Courtney C.J. Bond, *Where Rivers Meet: An Illustrated History of Ottawa*, (Canada: Windsor Publications (Canada) Ltd., 1984), 104; and “Assessment Rates and Population of the City of Ottawa,” p. 421.

² Dr. Tory formed the Ottawa Association for the Advancement of Learning in 1942, to provide a non-sectarian college for young Canadians called to Ottawa for war duties. Evening classes began that fall at the High School of Commerce and the former Ottawa Ladies’ College, and some of the many teachers temporarily engaged in war duties in Ottawa volunteered their services part-time. The Association continued to offer courses after the war. In 1952 the name was changed to Carleton College, and 129 acres of land were acquired for a campus, and in 1957 the college was granted university status as Carleton University [Haig, *Ottawa*, p 199]. At the May 1942 UWCO Executive meeting, Mrs. Keenleyside “told of the formation of a new college for Ottawa headed by Dr. Tory.” [Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, p. 158, May 27, 1942.]

and 1948.³ The Club responded to declining figures by urging members that “younger, more recent graduates should be urged to join the club and share its activities.”⁴ After the war, membership grew steadily to reach 400 by 1959.

The secretary continued to compile annual membership lists for use by the Club and its members, with the name, prefix, degree, alma mater, address, telephone number and occupation of each member. The column indicating occupation was dropped in 1953, probably due to the space constraints of an increasing membership. Occupation may have become the least important piece of information for the Club, given the increasing number of married women, most of whom were not in paid employment. An analysis of these lists indicates the composition of the UWCO between 1940 and 1960. As in the previous period, the proportions of single and married members continued to be roughly equal during the early war years. After 1943, there were consistently more married than single women, and this ratio gradually increased, until by 1960, almost two-thirds of members were married. The proportion of members who had earned a graduate or professional degree hovered at 15-20% during the 1940s, and then increased to more than 20% during most of the 1950s. In 1960, 25% of members had earned a graduate or professional degree. The UWCO used membership privileges to express its social beliefs, waiving membership fees for those it wished to support. In 1942, the Club invited all university women graduates serving with the armed services to become Club members, waiving their fees for the duration of the war. In 1949 the membership convener requested a list of displaced persons who might be eligible for membership and the Club extended free one-year guest memberships to “qualified University women among Displaced Persons”.⁵ Free guest memberships were extended to exchange teachers in 1952. After 1956, guest memberships were offered to foreign women graduates who were in Ottawa on a temporary basis: there were five to seven guest members each year, from Israel, India, Sweden, France and Great Britain.⁶

The Club continued to insist that members hold university degrees, refusing to admit non-graduates as associate members. The secretary justified the policy in 1957:

We have never felt the need for associate members in our club, because there are any number of women's organizations in Ottawa where women can be accepted who do not meet CFUW qualifications...Associate members are sometimes a source of embarrassment to a club, for where can you draw the line?

³ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Dec. 7, 1942, Jan. 11, 1943 and Nov. 5, 1945.

⁴ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Sept. 8, 1947.

⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 11, 1949; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Mar. 7, 1949.

⁶ Vol. 6, File 6, Nov. 10, 1952 and Annual Reports; and Vol. 18, Minute Books VI and VII, Oct. 13, 1942 and Nov. 10, 1952; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Oct. 5, 1942 and April 4, 1949. For example, in 1956 guest memberships were extended to Miss Anjali Sarkar, a fellowship holder from India, working at the Department of Agriculture, and Mrs. R. Pratap, the wife of a fellowship holder from India working at the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys.

If you let in one who does not meet CFUW requirements, how can you keep others out without creating hard feelings?⁷

The executive approved the practice of sponsoring applications from “women whom you didn’t know”, in 1947, provided the applicant was a graduate of an accredited university. However it continued to take the business of checking degree credentials very seriously. During the 1940s, the executive rejected at least five applicants whose European studies did constitute a recognized degree. One of these was referred to the CFUW for an eligibility ruling. Another was admitted and her membership announced at a club meeting, before it was discovered that her studies were inadequate. Several members protested the admission and others suggested that in future, the executive check all credentials before admitting applicants. Correspondence over the next few years indicates that the executive occasionally asked applicants to clarify their European credentials, and checked university accreditation with the CFUW. Correspondence after 1956 indicates that the Membership Committee checked the academic credentials of every applicant by writing to the relevant university before the application was approved.⁸

The Club offered honorary memberships to Princess Juliana of the Netherlands, and Princess Alice, both living temporarily in Ottawa during the war, after first ascertaining that they held the requisite honorary university degrees. When Senator Cairine Wilson received an honorary degree in 1943, the UWCO wrote to congratulate her and offer her membership in the Club. When the Governor-General’s wife, Lady Alexander, received an honorary degree from McGill University in 1948, she too was offered an honorary Club membership. While the princesses did not attend more than one or two Club functions, Cairine Wilson and Lady Alexander took up active membership in the Club.⁹

Members continued to complete application forms in order to join the Club. A new question added in 1941 asked: “Have you ever belonged to a UWC? If so, where?”¹⁰, reflecting the increasing number of transfers from other university women’s clubs, as women or their husbands moved to Ottawa for wartime work. As on earlier forms, insufficient space was

⁷ Vol. 10, File 7, Inter-Club Activity, letter to Peterborough University Women’s Club, from Secretary, UWCO, Oct. 29, 1957.

⁸ Vol. 4, File 7, Membership Correspondence & Reports; Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Oct. 5 and Dec. 7, 1942, Mar. 6, 1944 and Nov. 6, 1947.

⁹ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Mrs. F.W. Berry, UWCO, from Aide-de-camp to H.R.H. Princess Juliana, Nov. 10, 1940, reply from Mrs. A.G. MacLachlan, UWCO, Jan. 11, 1941, reply from Aide-de-camp, Jan. 17, 1941; Vol. 4, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Hon. Ariel Baird from UWCO, Nov. 5, 1941, and letter to Mrs. R.S. Whittle, UWCO, from Lady-in-Waiting Miss Anstice Gibbs, Nov. 4, 1948. Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Sept. 20, 1943. In February 1930, Senator Wilson had become the first woman appointed to Canadian Senate, following the successful outcome of the ‘Persons Case’ in October 1929.

¹⁰ The new application form was used from October 1941 until January 1953 and applicants who completed this form are referred to as “1940s applicants”. Among 1940s applicants, 37% applied to join the Club during the Second World War, 38% applied between 1945 and 1949 and 25% applied during the early 1950s. This period of use overlaps slightly with the period of use of the previous form, from October 1930 until November 1942. Applicants who completed the previous form were included with the 1920-30 figures in this thesis.

provided to record the details of multiple degrees, yet applicants painstakingly recorded each degree, suggesting a level of importance to individuals that was not recognized by the Club. There are no extant application forms after 1953, with the exception of the 1957-58 season. This form finally recognized the increasing reality of multiple degrees by providing a space for "Other degrees". It also differed from earlier forms in other respects: the applicant was required to select a prefix from "Miss" or "Mrs.", excluding those who wished to be addressed as "Dr.", and the married applicant was required to use her husband's initials in completing her name. The form began with the applicant's name and mailing address rather than "university" and "degree", and a "business address" was no longer requested.

Between 1941 and 1953, 692 women applied to join the Club. For the first time, there were more married than single applicants: 55% were married, widowed or divorced, and 45% were single, although 5% of the single applicants later married.¹¹ As in the pre-war period, most married applicants signed their name without reference to their husband or marital status: 84% did not use either their husband's initials or the prefix "Mrs.". Only 5% of married applicants used their husband's given name or initials in their signature, and almost half of this group used his name in combination with their own: "(Mrs. Alex) Kathleen Skelton". Another 5% used the prefix "Mrs." with their own name: "Mrs. Kathleen Skelton". Six per cent of women did not sign the form. A small number of apparently married women declined to answer the question asking for husband's initials, suggesting that they did not follow the convention, possibly because they were widowed or divorced. Only one woman expressly stated that her husband's initials were "not used". A small number of women used this question to indicate that their husband was deceased or that they were widowed.

For the first time, the largest proportion of applicants, slightly more than one-quarter, came from universities in Western Canada. Slightly fewer applicants had graduated from the University of Toronto (23%), and there were smaller proportions from Queen's (14%), McGill (7%), other universities in Ontario and Quebec (9%), universities in Eastern Canada (10%), American universities (6%), other foreign universities (4%) and universities located in Ottawa (2%). Twenty-three per cent of 1940s applicants had earned a second degree, virtually all of them graduate or professional degrees.

Almost all single women applicants were in paid employment (92%) and almost three-quarters of these women were civil servants (71%). Almost a quarter of those in the civil service were engaged in scientific work, about half in professional positions such as veterinarian, pharmacist, geographer, geologist and botanist, and the other half in more junior research positions. Another 12% worked as health professionals in the civil service, including nurses,

¹¹ As prefixes were not as commonly used by applicants during this period, marital status has been determined by relying on both prefixes and the completion of the 'husband's initials if married' question.

dietitians, nutritionists, home economists, social workers and directors of nursing and physical fitness departments. A further 12% of civil servants were working as professionals in other areas, the majority as librarians but also as architects, lawyers, economists and chartered accountants. Yet another 12% were working in midlevel positions, many of them war-related, including RCAF officers and censorship examiners. The remaining 40% of civil service employees identified themselves as clerks, secretaries or stenographers. Eleven women identified themselves as teachers who were only temporarily working for National War Services. Only 14% of single applicants in paid employment were now teachers, including two university lecturers. The remaining 17% were in other private sector positions, including women working in the health sector as doctors, nurses, dietitians and social workers, in local businesses and non-profit agencies, in the diplomatic sector, and as librarians and journalists.

Thirteen per cent of married applicants were in paid employment, more than half as civil servants. Married women worked as economists, chemists, lab assistants, clerks and stenographers, and as a nurse, a dietitian, a librarian, a translator and a senator. Many were in war-time jobs, working for the National Selective Service, the boards for Wartime Information, Wartime Prices and Trade, Defence Research, and Inspection, and the departments of Munitions, Information, Censorship and National Defence. Another 14% of married applicants in paid employment were senior level teachers, including one university lecturer. The remaining 26% of married applicants in paid employment worked in the private sector, as secretaries and embassy staff, as a physician, pharmacist, dietitian, businesswoman, real estate agent, farmer and film journalist. Among the married women at home, 62% had adopted the occupational title "housewife" and only 5% used variations such as "homemaker", "married", "wife and mother", "household executive" and "Director of Domestic Affairs". Nineteen per cent wrote nothing at all. Fourteen per cent of the married women at home were ambiguous about their current role: almost a third still categorized themselves as members of a profession they were no longer engaged in, including dietitians, librarians, teachers, social workers, a bacteriologist and a historian. Others recorded both their present occupation as housewife and their former one as chemist, teacher, physician or dietitian. Some emphasized the temporary nature of their role as housewife, using terms such as "at present". Some applications suggest regret at the replacement of one occupation by another: "Once Normal Master, now housewife", and "On the staff at University of Toronto for 10 years". Like their single counterparts in the civil service, several women in war-time work referred to themselves as "former teachers" before describing their current occupation.

Among the 66 applicants who completed the new form used during the 1957-58 season, similar trends continued with respect to marital status, age, alma mater and occupation, although far fewer now held graduate or professional degrees. Among these 1950s applicants,

62% were married and 38% were single and the majority continued to be fairly young women, with 41% in their twenties, 41% in their thirties, 12% in their forties and only 6% past fifty. All but one of the applicants signed the application form using her own given name and surname and without a prefix. The largest proportion of applicants (27%) continued to come from universities in Western Canada, with smaller proportions from Toronto (20%), Queen's (15%), McGill (8%), and universities elsewhere in Ontario (6%), Eastern Canada (1%), the United States (6%) and other countries (9%). The proportion of graduates from universities in Ottawa had increased to 8%. A smaller proportion of graduates (15%) had earned a second degree, ironically when application forms for the first time provided space to indicate this status. Continuing the trend towards greater employment, fifteen per cent of married applicants and 100% of single applicants were now employed. More than half of married applicants described their occupation as "housewife" or "homemaker", although a handful included teaching as well. While one applicant specified that she was a housewife and a part-time teacher, in other cases it is difficult to discern whether the applicant is in paid employment in addition to her role as housewife. For instance, Alderman May Nickson gave her occupation as homemaker, but her business address as "member of city council". Among single applicants, at least one-quarter of applicants were in scientific occupations, while only 12% were teachers. Only one applicant identified herself as a civil servant, and the omission of business address makes it difficult to discern how many others may have been civil service employees.

The UWCO made major revisions to its constitution and by-laws during this period, reflecting a significant shift in priority away from serving member's needs and towards a more public function. Under the 1941 revisions, the UWCO was no longer a "club", but an "organization" and education, not social interaction, was its first priority. The new objects focused on the higher education of all women and the creation of a network of university women who could function as a significant voice in public affairs:

(1)To promote the higher education of women, and to encourage members to continue to be students; (2)To facilitate social intercourse and co-operation among the women of different universities; (3)To stimulate the interest of university women in public affairs, and to afford an opportunity for the expression of united opinion.

In 1956 the objects were completely rewritten to accord with those contained in the newly revised CFUW constitution, an organization in which the UWCO was now taking a more proactive role. These objects reflected an organization whose primary purpose was to set community standards and take action in education, public affairs and the status of women

(1)To assist in developing a sound concept of educational values and in maintaining high standards of public education; to encourage further study and research; and to award scholarships and bursaries; (2)To arouse and sustain among members an intelligent interest in public affairs in the political, social, and cultural fields; to encourage an active participation in such affairs by qualified

women; and to provide an opportunity for effectual concerted action; (3) To guard and improve the economic, legal and professional status of women; (4) To facilitate a friendly understanding and co-operation among University women and to participate in the work of the national and international Federations of University Women.¹²

This was an outward-looking purpose, and the ways in which the Club would act in and influence the world were set out in more detail than ever before. In May 1960, a preamble was added to the membership section assuring applicants of the non-discriminatory nature of the Club, and reflecting the consciousness of such possibilities in society at large:

Irrespective of race, colour or creed, the membership of this Club shall consist of persons who are in agreement with the purposes of the Canadian Federation of University Women, who pay the prescribed fees and who are included in one or more of the following categories.

Other revisions in 1941 detailed the duties of executive and committee members and set out various rules for study groups, guests and motions. Revisions in the early 1950s added a membership secretary and a past president to the executive. In 1956 honorary degrees were added to the approved list and the annual fee was raised. In 1960, numerous minor revisions sought to recognize the huge size of the Club, and to reduce the consequent burden upon existing executive. Members were added to the executive and assigned special duties with respect to hospitality and membership, liaison officers were appointed for the "Representatives of Other Organizations" and Study Groups, reflecting their increased size and number, an Editorial Committee was created to produce the new newsletter, and a Personnel Committee was created to keep track of the talents of members and coordinate volunteers.¹³

When a recommended fee increase was defeated in 1948, the executive promised a fundraising drive to raise the money needed for CFUW fees. After a successful theatre night raised the required funds, members passed the fee increase in 1949.¹⁴ A request from the Child Study Group to allow some of their non-graduate friends to join the Club was refused, but it was recommended that they be permitted to attend study groups on payment of an annual \$1.00 fee.¹⁵

The Club had difficulty finding a long-term venue for its meetings, moving from place to place as cost and availability dictated. It suffered the effects of both wartime and postwar accommodation shortages, as well as the complications of wartime rationing. When its meeting

¹² Vol. 9, File 5, CFUW, "CFUW Constitution and Bylaws"; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Mar. 12, 1956; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Mrs. Flaherty," *Ottawa Citizen*, May 17, 1956. The CFUW constitution was revised at the 1955 Triennial Conference.

¹³ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "April 9, 1951, Special Reports" and "Notice of Motion to Amend the Constitution at the Annual Meeting, May 10, 1954"; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, April 17, 1950.

¹⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Mar. 14 and April 11, 1949; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Mar. 7, 1949.

¹⁵ Vol. 4, File 3, Constitution, "Report of the Committee on the Constitution of the UWCO", Feb. 26, 1948.

place at the Ottawa Ladies College was seconded for war use in 1941, the Club moved to basement space at a local church.¹⁶ Forced with providing its own catering, the executive revisited the matter the following year:

After much discussion it was decided food was necessary after the meetings. It was decided that refreshments be decided on from meeting to meeting and kept as a surprise for the club meeting – apples and doughnuts for the first meeting, carrots and cheese straws for the second.¹⁷

At the end of the season, the Hospitality Committee reported that at all meetings

Wartime Refreshments have been served... This has been a difficult year for your committee. Varieties of food are as you know limited and indeed it may surprise you to know how difficult it is to obtain sufficient quantities of even the plainest fare. Tonight's menu, by the way – tomato juice and potato chips – is possible only because several members made individual purchases.¹⁸

Despite the Committee's recommendation that refreshments be discontinued for the duration of the war, the executive decided to continue to serve food, appointing a Hospitality Committee to procure the necessary items when "no reasonable caterer could be secured".¹⁹ At the same time, President Phyllis Turner, proposed that the Club "look into the matter of purchasing a club house, managing and financing it".²⁰ Upon making enquiries, Mrs. Turner discovered that the house she had in mind was overpriced, required renovations, and was earmarked for the federal government's Federal District scheme. The clubhouse idea was shelved "until after the war."²¹ After several years in church basements, the Club moved to the Chateau Laurier, forgoing refreshments, and purchasing Victory Bonds with the money saved.²²

In the fall of 1946 the Club returned to a series of church halls, with catering provided by the church ladies. They continued to investigate other venues, and to question whether refreshments were necessary at every meeting.²³ Once again the idea of a permanent clubhouse was raised, and a standing committee was appointed to investigate and to approach other women's organizations "with a view to acquiring a club house".²⁴ While this dream was never realized, the Club did eventually purchase a membership share in the Chelsea Club in 1950. Although it was not large enough to accommodate monthly meetings, club membership allowed the UWCO to use the facilities for smaller social gatherings and for study groups. By the fall of 1948, complaining that rents for church halls had become prohibitive, the Club moved to Mutchmor Public School, then to the Ottawa Teachers' College Auditorium, followed by two

¹⁶ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 16, 1940, May 27, Sept. 6 and Oct. 14, 1941.

¹⁷ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 14, 1942.

¹⁸ Vol. 8, File 3, Hospitality, "Report of the Hospitality Committee, May 10, 1943".

¹⁹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 20, 1943.

²⁰ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Mar. 1, 1943.

²¹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, April 5, 1943. The house was listed for \$19,000.

²² Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Oct. 4, 1943.

²³ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 11, 1947.

seasons at another church hall and two more seasons at the teachers' college. Increased enrollment in the Teachers' College led the Principal to terminate the arrangement in 1954, and the Club began to meet in the new auditorium of Elgin Street School, with refreshments provided by the Home and School Association. This arrangement continued until after 1960.²⁵

The Club continued to hold monthly meetings from October to May, with an open meeting in October, a Christmas dinner at the December meeting, and an annual meeting in May. The Executive struggled with the responsibility of finding speakers for monthly meetings, especially during the war, when arrangements were still being finalized two weeks before the next meeting and the fall season often began without a programme in place. They appealed to members for programme suggestions, and expressed the hope that study groups could take responsibility for some meetings. After a Program Committee was appointed in 1948 it continued to appeal for program suggestions, frequently circulating written questionnaires.

Musical entertainment had traditionally been performed by members or their relatives at regular meetings, but in 1945 the executive enquired among members as to the desirability of continuing this practice. While the response was not recorded, musical performances became infrequent, and were more likely to be supplied by a local group than by members. The longstanding tradition of having the Drama Reading Circle take one meeting ended in 1941 with the presentation of a one-act play and several musical solos by the Drama Production Group, reviving only briefly in 1945 when the Play Reading Group read a play to the March meeting. The Club increasingly turned to 'coloured films' as entertainment to supplement or replace a guest speaker, taking advantage of their availability through the National Film Board, local filmmaker Crawley Films Ltd. and the Ottawa Film Council. Films also became a topic themselves: in 1948, the Club went on a field trip to the Crawley Films Ltd. studio, and the 1954 Christmas party was addressed by a National Film Board composer who composed music for film. In the 1950s, the Club began to invite husbands and friends to annual open meetings held in late winter, and by 1955 this was being referred to as an annual tradition.²⁶

All women graduates in the city were invited to an open meeting each October. Until 1943, these events resembled regular meetings, with brief reports on the CFUW, local welfare work and war work, a description of the available study groups, and guest speakers dealing with

²⁴ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, April 2, Sept 8, Oct. 6 and Nov. 3, 1947, Feb. 6 and April 5, 1948

²⁵ Vol. 8, File 3, Hospitality; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, May 8, 1950.

²⁶ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58"; Vol. 7, File 3, Monthly Notices; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, VII and VIII, April 7, 1941, Feb. 8, Mar. 8 and May 10, 1943, May 8, 1944, Mar. 12, 1945, May 14, 1945, May 13, 1946, Mar. 15 and April 12, 1948, May 8, 1950, Oct. 9, 1951, May 10, 1954, Dec. 13, 1954, Mar. 14, 1955 and Mar. 12, 1956; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Jan. 11 and 23, 1943, Jan. 3, 1945, May 5 and Nov. 2, 1946, Feb 2, 1948; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club Reports Active Year", May 9, 1950, "University Women's Club Announce 51-52 Program", *Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 4, 1951, "UWC Elects Miss Margaret Gill", *Ottawa Journal*, May 1954, "University Women's Club Hear Talk on Film Music," *Ottawa Citizen*, Dec. 14, 1954, "University Women Pass Resolutions," *Ottawa Journal*, May 17, 1956, and press release Mar. 11, 1957.

wartime topics. The president opened the evening in 1942 with the hope that members would find in the UWCO "a needed pleasure in these trying times."²⁷ In 1944, the October meeting became an informal reception for all women graduates, at which the only business was the presentation of study groups by their conveners. This model was followed until after 1960, with the focus on members getting to know each other and on recruiting study group members. Speeches were limited to brief reports of recent CFUW and IFUW conferences. The October reception was variously referred to as an "Introductory Party", a "Get Acquainted" meeting and a "Fall Party". Invitational flyers outlining the Club's activities for the season were mailed to women graduates and the event was promoted in the newspapers. In 1944 the women sang college songs and were successively grouped by colleges, then hobbies, and finally by the districts in which they lived. The following year the reception was "in honour of" CFUW president Dr. Ursilla Macdonnell. Using a "Back to College" theme, Dr. Macdonnell acted as "Chancellor", and members re-united with "fellow students", signing up for "college courses" (study groups) with the appropriate "professor" (convenor). In 1948, using the theme "What the University Women of Ottawa are doing", women were seated by university and professor, in the hope that this might make new members feel more comfortable. In 1956 the Club took out paid newspaper advertising for the event "an innovation this year that bore fruit in an increased awareness of the club among women graduates in Ottawa".²⁸

The most popular topics during this period were international issues, and art and cultural issues. International issues included war topics, postwar topics, and discussions of current cultural and political conditions in other countries, as well as the work of international bodies such as the United Nations. Between 1940 and 1944, twelve of the monthly speakers spoke on the war. Club member Mrs. Heakes' husband assured the ladies of "Confidence in Victory Based on Facts" in 1940, describing "the magnificent organization and efficiency of the 'Air Staff'."²⁹ In 1941, a Winnipeg Free Press reporter discussed the war economy, Lester B. Pearson described London in war time, a Royal Canadian Air Force Women's Division member described her work, and the Minister of National War Services discussed Canadian women and the war. In 1942, women members of the "Fighting French" and the "Free French" described Paris after the collapse of France, a Club member reported on a meeting of the International Relations Committee on the Causes and Cure of War and Professor Winifred Cullis of the

²⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 15, 1940, Oct. 23, 1941 and Oct. 13, 1942; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Sept. 6, 1941, May 27, 1942 and Sept. 20, 1943.

²⁸ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Programmes for 1952-53 and 1953-54; Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 11, 1944; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, June 5 and Sept. 18, 1944, Oct. 1, 1945, Sept. 13, 1948; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women Plan "Get Acquainted" Meeting", press release, "All Women Graduates," announcement in *Ottawa Journal*, Oct. 4, 1958, and "University Women Browse," *Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 9, 1958. Between 1950 and 1952 the Club briefly departed from the "no speaker" rule, when Dr. Charlotte Whitton spoke on the aged, the Mexican ambassador showed a film, and CBC commentator Miss Maude Fergusson gave an address on current events.

London School of Medicine for Women discussed national health in wartime Britain. When the Club's Science Study Group presented a panel discussion on nutrition in 1942, convener Mrs. Heakes emphasized "the great value of information on nutrition to women during war time" and group members, all experts in these fields, spoke on nutrition education, government experimentation in the vitamin enrichment of foods, and the dehydration of foods. In 1944 a newspaper reporter described Australia and New Zealand's role in the war of the Pacific, describing what it would take to defeat "the Japs", and a Canadian Women's Army Corps member discussed the work of the Corps, its educational possibilities, and the need for women recruits.³⁰

Beginning in 1942, ten speakers considered the postwar world. Newly elected Member of Parliament and former CFUW Vice-president Mrs. Cora T. Casselman discussed "Afterwards, Another Opportunity" and the Club held a roundtable discussion on "Democracy, how can we build for it?" At a 1943 open meeting, an International Labour Office representative described the Office's role in providing advice on manpower, shipping bottlenecks, food rationing and tin mining, predicting that the world would be grateful to Canada for this expertise at war's end. A New York Times correspondent discussed how to achieve world peace in a post-war world and Mrs. Graham Spry's Post War Study Group presented a panel discussion on post-war issues: settlement, agriculture, war debt, and the social and economic issues addressed in the Beveridge and Marsh reports. In 1944, a Ministry of Trade and Commerce representative discussed the possibility of developing trade with South American countries, a speaker described wartime conditions in Greenland and a member of the Provisional Committee of Liberation spoke on conditions in France and plans for rebuilding. The Swedish ambassador discussed Sweden in the post war world and Department of Agriculture representative described an international conference on post war food and agriculture issues.³¹

In the fifteen years after the war, eighteen speakers discussed other countries and international peace organizations. In 1947, Minister of National Health and Welfare Paul Martin

²⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Nov. 11, 1940.

³⁰ Vol. 9, File 4, Sponsored Lectures, letter to Mrs. F.V. Heakes, UWCO, from Dorothy Turville, President, CFUW, Jan. 12, 1942; reply from Mrs. Heakes, Jan. 15, 1942; letter to Mrs. Heakes from British Information Services, Jan. 19, 1942; letter to Professor Winifred Cullis from Mrs. Heakes, Jan. 26, 1942; letter to Mrs. Heakes from British Information Services, Feb. 5, 1942; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 15, 1940, Jan. 13, Oct. 23 and Dec. 8, 1941, Jan. 12 and Nov. 9, 1942, Feb. 14 and Mar. 13, 1944; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Sept. 6 and Oct. 14, 1941, and Sept. 20, 1943. Prof. Cullis was an IFUW past-president and a British diplomat, working for the British Library of Information in New York. When the Women's Canadian Club had suggested a joint luncheon, the UWCO president declined, as "the lunch hour is not suitable for our members" and they settled on an evening function instead. Club members who presented the panel on Nutrition were: Miss Marion Harlow, Assistant Director of Nutrition Services in the Department of Pensions and National Health, Miss Mary McKillican, a chemist with the Experimental Farm and Dr. Mary McArthur, Horticulture Division, Experimental Farm.

³¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 9, 1942, Feb. 8, Mar. 8 and April 12, 1943, Jan. 10, May 8, and Nov. 13, 1944, Jan. 8, Feb. 12, and Nov. 12, 1945; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Oct. 14, 1941, Mar. 2 and Oct. 5, 1942, Jan. 11 and 23, Mar. 1, April 5, May 2, and Sept. 18 and 20, 1943.

explained the functions and purpose of the United Nations and Canada's role in the organization. In 1947, 1948 and 1949, the Club heard diplomats from Australia, China and Brazil describe the culture and customs of their countries, often accompanied by coloured films. In December 1949 Club member Senator Cairine Wilson described the work being done by the Canadian-American Women's Committee on International Relations and Canadian astronomer and IFUW President Dr. A. Vibert Douglas described the Europe she had seen on her IFUW trips.³² In 1950, a Dutch diplomat described poverty in post-war Europe and the need for a European federation, a Pakistani diplomat described the women of Pakistan while his wife modeled the national costumes, and an Indian diplomat described the problems confronting the new dominion of India. In 1951, speakers described an assembly of the United Nations and gave an account of the history and customs of the Caribbean Islands. In 1952, University of Toronto political science professor R. MacGregor Dawson, who was in Ottawa to compile the memoirs of Mackenzie King, spoke to an open meeting about the American presidential electoral system. Newspaper reports inaccurately boasted that the meeting included male guests for the first time in the club's 40-year history, when in fact women had been bringing their husbands to open meetings of the Club since the university extension lectures of the 1930s. In 1953, a former French lawyer now working as a House of Commons translator discussed the differences between European and North American society, complaining that excessive emphasis on individual rights in North America made for bad citizens. European women would never dream of leaving their husbands something in the refrigerator, she remarked, while they rushed off to a club meeting! In 1954 the British High Commissioner described the new democracy in India, urging Canadians to give "in a way that would hurt" to fight the communist threat, and the Israeli ambassador's wife described the rapid growth and settlement of Israel since 1949. In 1955, a local newspaper editor described his recent visits to Japan and Korea and the greater rights of Japanese women under the 1946 constitution, and a former official with the United Nations Relief and Works Organization for Palestinian Refugees spoke about his work in the Middle East, showing a United Nations film. That year, a dance troupe performed folk dances from Germany, Switzerland, Palestine and England at the annual meeting. In 1956, the wife of a Queen's University professor of economics gave a slide presentation on Pakistan, where they had lived while her husband advised the Pakistani government. In 1959, a Lebanese diplomat described "The Arab World" to an open meeting and a Canadian consultant to the Government of Trinidad spoke about life in the newly formed West Indies Federation.³³

³² Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 12, 1948.

³³ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Programme for 1952-53; Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices; Vol. 18, Minute Books VI, VII and VIII, Feb. 10 and Nov. 10, 1947, May 10, 1948, Jan. 10, 1949, Mar. 13 and April 17, 1950, Jan. 8 and Mar. 12, 1951, Nov. 10, 1952, Mar. 8 and Nov. 8, 1954, Jan. 10, Mar. 14 and May 9, 1955; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Oct. 6, 1947 and May 3, 1948; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Hon. Paul Martin Gives Address on Canada's Place in United Nations", *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 11, 1947, "Must

Arts and culture topics were the subject of twenty-one meetings in twenty years. In 1943 UWCO members toured the National Art Gallery, and in 1944 a local musician discussed "Words and Music" using recorded examples. A Canadian Broadcasting Corporation employee discussed broadcasting in 1946. Miss Elizabeth Morton, a Club member and secretary of the Canadian Library Association, called for a National Library for Canada in 1947 and newly appointed Dominion Archivist Dr. William Kaye Lamb described "A Librarian's Map of Canada" in 1949. In 1953, as founding National Librarian, he and Mrs. Lamb very proudly took the ladies on a tour of the new National Library building. In 1947, the Sketching Group sponsored a speaker on modern art and Carleton College professor Munro Beattie discussed modernism in Canadian poetry. Mr. Beattie spoke again in 1950 and returned in 1959 as Chairman of the Carleton University English Department, and a recent witness at the "Peyton Place" censorship hearings. to speak on the banning of books. In 1949, the Jazz Music Study Group discussed modern music using jazz band recordings. In 1951 Mr. Eugene Kash asked the Club to support Canadian musical talent, showing a film to support his point, and Dr. James Gibson, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science at Carleton College, discussed the *Massey Report*, calling for more arts facilities in the national capital, more Canadian contributions to the arts internationally, and the establishment of a Canadian Council for the Encouragement of Arts and Science. In 1952 a Queen's University professor discussed the state of Canadian drama. In 1953 a member of the Canadian Repertory Theatre described the Canadian theatre world and past-president Mrs. W.H. Gilleland gave an illustrated talk on Mexican art and history. In 1954 the Club attended a prize-winning one-act play at the Ottawa Little Theatre and in 1956, the director of the National Gallery of Canada discussed the increasing public interest in art. In 1957, the Club held a panel discussion: "What About That Canada Council?" chaired by the Director of the Canada Foundation, and featuring Club members as panelists. In 1958 meeting the conductor of the Ottawa Symphony Orchestra discussed "good music" and the "rock and roll craze", remarking that "Elvis Presley does not produce music. He can't even sing". Some of the 'art' topics verged on the practical: in 1954 the Club invited three guests to discuss their hobbies in hooked rugs, leathercraft and dolls and in 1948 and 1956 the wildly successful Interior Decoration Study Group sponsored films and speakers "Colour in Your Life" and "Color Dynamics". In 1949, Jacques Greber of the National Capital Planning Commission spoke on city planning.³⁴

Work Patiently to End Antagonisms of European Nations", *Ottawa Journal*, Mar. 14, 1950, "UWC Backs Charlotte Whitton", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 14, 1950, "U.S. System of Election Termed 'Chancey Business'", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 4, 1952, "University Women's Club Hear Member of Paris Bar," Mar. 19, 1953, "India of Today Described," *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 9, 1954, "Mrs. Comay Speaks," *Ottawa Citizen*, Nov. 9, 1954, "University Women Hear Talk," *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 11, 1955, "Work of UN in Middle East," *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 16, 1955, and "University Women's Club Annual", *Ottawa Citizen*, May 10, 1955.

³⁴ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, VII, and VIII, Nov. 8, 1943, April 10, 1944, Mar. 11, 1946, Jan. 7, April 14 and May 12, 1947, April 12, 1948, Feb. 14, May 9 and Nov. 14, 1949, Dec. 11, 1950, April 9 and Nov. 12, 1951, Jan. 14, 1952, Jan. 12, April 13 and May 11, 1953, Jan.

Education, which had been of little interest in the 1920s and 1930s, became a popular topic in the 1940s and 1950s. The Club held four panel discussions on educational issues, two of which were open to the public, with panelists drawn from both outside and inside the Club. Six other speakers also described the state of education or their views on the importance of education. In 1943 the President of Carleton College, Dr. Tory, described its recent founding. The following year, the Club held a roundtable discussion "Education for Our Times", chaired by Club member Miss Kathleen Bowlby and presented by a panel of Club members. The Roundtable made extensive recommendations for post war action on education, covering the amalgamation of rural schools, taxation and provincial/municipal funding, compulsory attendance ages, grants to needy students, and the creation of a Dominion Educational Council. Within the schools, the Roundtable recommended the provision of guidance services, health services, healthy school facilities, health education, extra-curricular activities, bilingual instruction, broader education in history, and specialized facilities for the blind, deaf, mental deficient, delinquents and more talented students. For teachers, the Roundtable recommended higher salaries, vocational guidance in universities to recruit better teachers, class limits of 25 students, and paid sabbaticals. For students, the Roundtable recommended an emphasis on self discipline, independent thinking, responsibility and the development of a social conscience, and away from competitiveness. With respect to adult education, it recommended that financial assistance be given either provincially or federally, that training courses for teachers of adults be introduced, that more extensive library services be provided to communities across the country, and that the education of new Canadians be undertaken.³⁵ While there is no evidence that anything was done with these recommendations, the Club's interest in education continued after the war. In 1948 the Director of Nursing with the Department of Veterans Affairs spoke to the Club about nursing education. In 1953, Justice I.C. Rand of the Supreme Court of Canada discussed the importance of a good education, enabling an individual "in times of stress to stand as on a rock and meet without flinching the blasts which may come in the form of ideas", equipping one with "the power to think and to keep a cool mind

11 and Feb. 8, 1954, Jan. 9 and Feb. 13, 1956; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Dec. 2, 1946, April 2, 1947, April 4, 1949; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Need for National Library Discussed at UWC Meeting", *Ottawa Citizen* Jan. 14, 1947, "University Club Hears Talk" Nov. 14, 1951, "University Women Group Total 268," *Ottawa Citizen* Jan. 9, 1953, "Amelia Hall Gives Talk," *Ottawa Journal* 1953, "Margaret MacLellan Re-elected," *Ottawa Journal*, May 12, 1953, "Handicrafts Displayed," *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 12, 1954, "University Women's Club Sees One Act Play," "Alan Jarvis Discusses Art", *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 16, 1956, "Thomas Mayer: Tells UWC Music Must Be Understood," Jan. 14, 1958 and "University Women Hear Talk", *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 10, 1959. Dr. William Kaye Lamb was appointed Dominion Archivist in 1948. When a National Library was finally established in 1953 and a new building built to house both the archives and library, he became the founding National Librarian. He continued as Dominion Archivist until 1968 and as National Librarian until 1967.

³⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Jan. 11, 1943 and Mar. 13, 1944; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Sept. 20, 1943. Miss Kathleen Bowlby, B.A. (Acadia, 1923) joined the Club in 1937. She had been principal of

in an emergency” and to “know a good man when he sees him”.³⁶ In 1955, the Club presented a panel discussion on high school education, chaired by the CBC Director of Audience Research, with four Club members as panelists. Panel members criticized high schools for not demanding enough, for spoon-feeding students, for emphasizing male inter-school sports at the expense of physical training for girls, and for providing poor training in English, history and modern languages. Later that year, National Film Board Chairman Dr. A.W. Trueman discussed the goals of education: a capacity for discrimination, a completeness of personality, and a sense of inner compunction and adventure. In 1957, Carleton College President Dr. Claude Bissell spoke about university administration and members brought their husbands and friends to an open meeting to hear Dr. Eugene Forsey describe two crises in Canadian education: the economic crisis occasioned by the need for more schools, teachers and equipment, and the crisis of quality, in attempting to educate everybody, regardless of interest or aptitude. At an open meeting in 1958, the Club presented a panel discussion on merging the Public School and Collegiate boards into a single Board of Education for Ottawa. The panel was chaired by Dr. E.F. Sheffield, Director of the Education Division for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and included male members of the Public School, Separate School and Collegiate Institute Boards. In 1959, the Club held its fourth panel discussion on education: “Education is a Fighting Word”, chaired by Senator Donald Cameron and including as panelists the principal of Glebe Collegiate Institute, Public School Inspector Dr. Carter Storr, and two Club members “who, as mothers, have a lively concern with the subject of education”.³⁷

Ten speakers described geographic areas or cultural groups within Canada, especially those in the far north, and many illustrated their comments with coloured films. In 1946, Laval University professor Dr. Falardeau analyzed French Canadian social structure, urging his audience to discard “archaic or sentimental approaches” in favour of an objective and informed point of view, and another speaker discussed “Saskatchewan – Social Laboratory of North America”. In 1947, the Chief Federal Migratory Bird Officer described bird life along the Labrador coast. In 1948 member Mrs. Solman’s husband, Dr. V.E.F. Solman discussed game fish management in Canadian national parks and Dr. Trevor Lloyd spoke about the Canadian

the Ottawa Ladies College until it closed in 1942. She found work as a “wartime technologist assistant” and then in 1947 became Registrar of Carleton College.

³⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Nov. 9, 1953; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, “Learn to Keep Cool Mind in Emergency,” Nov. 19, 1953.

³⁷ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices; Vol. 18, Minute Books VII and VIII, Jan 12, 1948, Feb. 14 and Dec. 12, 1955; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Oct. 6 and Dec. 1, 1947; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, “Women Hear Panel Discuss,” *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 15, 1955, “Dr. Trueman is Speaker at Dinner,” *Ottawa Citizen*, Dec. 13, 1955, “UWC Elects 1957-58 Officer,” *Ottawa Citizen*, May 11, 1957 and “UWC Hears Discussion on Board,” *Ottawa Citizen*, April 15, 1958. The UWCO had originally invited University of Saskatchewan historian Dr. Hilda Neatby, a member of the Royal Commission on Arts and Letters and the author of *So Little for the Mind* (1953), a stinging indictment of the public school system in Canada, to speak at the

Arctic. A speaker discussed Canadian Indians in 1949, the National Museum of Man's chief archaeologist Dr. Douglas Leechman, described a trip to the Yukon in 1951, and Mr. Gordon Robertson discussed "Canada's Northern Empire" in 1955. In 1958, "a modern coureur des bois" described a 1955 trip retracing a Hudson's Bay Company trading route and the Deputy Minister of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories) discussed Canada's newfound interest in her 'northern empire', warning that "Canada will be hearing about the Eskimo problem in a few years."³⁸

Issues of Canadian politics, defence and economics discussed were discussed at least eight times in the 1950s. The husbands of two Club members spoke in 1950: Deputy Minister of Mines and Resources Dr. H.L. Keenleyside related the history of Canadian immigration, and Assistant Minister of Trade and Commerce Alex Skelton discussed Canada's new role in the world economy. In 1952, Club member Miss Constance Hayward of the federal Citizenship Branch, discussed the integration of immigrants and the need for Canadians to make immigrants feel welcome, and Winnipeg Free Press correspondent Mr. Max Freedman discussed public opinion and public policy, urging that the "Russian menace" be met with patience as well as power. Later that year the Director of the Geographical Branch, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, outlined Canada's potential roles as a storehouse of immense wealth in a needy world, and as a 'golden hinge' between Europe and North America. In 1954 the Deputy Minister of National Welfare discussed the role of civil defence as insurance against wartime disaster. In 1955, the Chairman of the Defence Research Board discussed the work of the Board in providing defence research for the Canadian armed services, and at an open meeting in 1956, an External Affairs representative spoke on Canada's foreign policy and the foreign service.³⁹

Health issues were raised four times in the 1940s and four times in the 1950s. In addition to the Science Group's panel on Nutrition and Professor Cullis' talk on British wartime health. Colonel D. Williams discussed the promotion of health in post war Canada in 1945 and a speaker from the National Health Section of the Department of National Health and Welfare

May 1957 meeting. However, when Dr. Neatby's doctor ordered complete bed rest, she recruited Dr. Forsey, who was at that time the Director of Research for the Canadian Labour Congress.

³⁸ Vol. 7, File 3, Monthly Notices; Vol. 18, Minute Books VI, VII and VIII, Jan. 7 and April 8, 1946, Mar. 11, 1947, Feb. 9 and Oct. 12, 1948, April 11, 1949, Feb. 12, 1951, Nov. 14, 1955; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, April 1, 1946; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Dr. Douglas Leechman Speaks", *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 13, 1951, "Describes Trip," *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 11, 1958, "Urges Recognition of Problem of Canadian Eskimos," *Ottawa Citizen*, Nov. 15, 1958 and "UWC to Further Study," *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 15, 1958.

³⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Books VII and VIII, Jan. 9, 1950, Feb. 13, 1950, Mar. 10, 1952, May 13, 1952, April 12, 1954, April 18, 1955, Mar. 12, 1956; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Asks Canadians to Aid Immigrants", *Ottawa Journal*, Mar. 11, 1952; "Margaret MacLellan Heads UWC," *Ottawa Journal*, May 14, 1952, "University Women Hear Dr. J. Wreford Watson", *Ottawa Citizen*, Dec. 9, 1952, "Civil Defence Similar to Insurance" *Ottawa Journal*, Apr. 13, 1954, "University Club Hears Dr. Solandt," *Ottawa Citizen*, Apr. 1955 and "Lesson Given," Mar. 14, 1956. Miss Hayward, B.A. (Acadia, 1927), joined the Club in 1949

described his Section's work in protecting and improving national health, in 1946.⁴⁰ Dr. Charlotte Whitton considered the problems of "the aged" in 1950 and a geriatric specialist from the research division of the Department of National Health and Welfare discussed "Growing Old Gracefully" in 1957. The director of a nearby mental hospital discussed the treatment of mentally retarded children in 1958 and the Club held a panel discussion on the legal, medical and social aspects of mental health in 1959, chaired by Club president and lawyer Marguerite Ritchie and featuring a local lawyer, a mental hospital medical superintendent, and the president of the Ottawa branch of the Canadian Mental Health Association as guest panellists.

Several topics which had been popular in the 1920s and 1930s, such as history, science and literature, received almost no attention in the 1940s and 1950s, as speakers were attracted to new issues in education, arts and culture. The only speaker to consider science was a representative from C.I.L. who discussed the new plastics in 1945, providing the ladies with samples. Social welfare was not addressed except in relation to penal reform: in 1949 and 1951 Mr. Joseph McCully spoke on Canadian penitentiaries and the Ontario Minister of Reform Institutions, John Foote, spoke on prison reform and prisoner rehabilitation. Mr. Foote complimented the newly formed Penal Reform Study Group on their work, expressing the hope that an advisory board for women's work in reform institutions would be set up and inviting the Club to seek representation on it.⁴¹

The Club's commitment to women speakers or women's issues was intermittent, with the exception of its fiftieth anniversary year: only six speakers considered the role of women in monthly meetings held before 1959. CFUW President Dr. Dorothy Turville discussed the work and future of the federation in 1941 and former UWCO president Mrs. Phyllis Turner considered the role of club women in the present world, in 1943. While the secretary noted that there had been three women speakers in 1951, Dr. Charlotte Whitton, Mrs. Adelaide Sinclair and Mrs. W.H. Harrison, none of them considered the role of women. In 1952, local women's columnist Anne Francis outlined the changes in the status of women over the previous fifty years. The following year, Dr. R.H. Hubbard discussed "Women in Canadian Art", and Senator Muriel McQueen Fergusson spoke on "The Responsibility of Women as Citizens," emphasizing "the responsibility of both women and men to shake off self-interest and inertia and to take part in all fields of government" as both candidates and electors. Senator Fergusson praised Mayor Whitton and local government as "a great field for women" and described the New Brunswick struggle for women's franchise, remarking that while women have come a long way, they "still do not make full use of their privileges". Senator Fergusson accepted the Club's invitation to

⁴⁰ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Feb. 4, 1946; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Feb. 11, 1946.

⁴¹ Vol. 7, File 3, Monthly Notices; Vol. 18, Minute Books VI and VII, April 9, 1945, Mar. 14, 1949, Oct. 10, 1950, May 14, 1951; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Retarded Children Need Care," *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 13, 1958, and "UWC Panel: Say Mental Health Community Issue," April 13, 1959.

become a member and received a copy of a Club brief to the Prime Minister urging the appointment of more women senators. In 1956, Club member Miss Marion Royce, Director of the Women's Bureau, Department of Labour, discussed "Women in the Modern World", describing her study of women's employment and the trend towards employment of married women.⁴²

The 1959-60 season was dubbed "Achievement Year" and the Club celebrated its fiftieth anniversary by focusing on "the contributions that educated women have made to our civilization". Eminent women speakers were recruited to provide

living examples of the benefits to society from the rights to education which the founders of our Club helped to win....Our founders did not find their battle easy, because education for women was still regarded as unnecessary and even unfeminine. We pay them tribute for their courage in continuing. Because of them and others like them, higher education for women has become "respectable" and even desirable, and the world has benefited from the increase in available talent.⁴³

President Ritchie used the opportunity to stress

the importance of educated women assuming their full share of responsibilities to the community and participating in the solutions of the problems.⁴⁴

Miss Ritchie cited as example of the loss to the community of the experience of educated women, three issues in which the UWCO was engaged: refusal of city council to appoint women to municipal posts, the Separate School Board's refusal to provide equal pay to women teachers, and the Public School Board's provision for early retirement of women teachers.

Organizations such as ours, which are expected to be leaders in the community, must continue to take our historic stand that the community is entitled to the fullest use of women's education in every area of human affairs.⁴⁵

Program chairman Mrs. O.J. Gillen cited the

tremendous effort and energy of our founders, whose insistence, against prejudice and opposition, on the right of women to education gave us our own opportunities...[Because] these achievements had been by women for women, it

⁴² Vol. 18, Minute Books VI, VII and VIII, Nov. 10, 1941, April 7, 1952, Feb. 9, 1953, Dec. 14, 1953, April 9, 1956, and Annual Report of the UWCO, 1950-51 (May 9, 1951); Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, May 27, 1942 and Sept. 20, 1943; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women Discuss Plans", Apr. 1952, "Woman Senator Urges More to Run for Office", *Ottawa Citizen*, Dec. 15, 1953. "Modern Woman's Role Described", *Ottawa Journal*, April 12, 1956, and UWC press release. Miss Royce cited figures showing that 25% of the Canadian labour force was female (51% single, 10% widowed, separated or divorced, and 30% married) and that more than one in seven married women worked outside the home. At the same time, traditional women's occupations tended to be lower paying than 'men's' professions, and housewives tended to place a lower value on their work than on men's work.

⁴³ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1959-60".

⁴⁴ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "UWC Achievement Year Begins With Celebration," *Ottawa Journal*, Oct. 8, 1959; and "UWC Stressing Education in 50th Anniversary Year," *Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 9, 1959.

⁴⁵ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1959-60".

was thought fitting that we should invite only women speakers this year...as living examples of what an educated woman can contribute to society.⁴⁶

At a November address by Canadian sculptor Dr. Frances Loring, the Club newsletter reported "We almost ran out of chairs, but the Club enjoyed Dr. Loring so much that they would have stood to hear her." Dr. Loring challenged the Club to "encourage sculpture" and the newsletter responded by asking members

Have you any practical suggestions as to how our Club can help arouse a public market for such works? Leonardo Da Vinci had his patrons – public and private. What can we do for the gifted sculptors of our country and our century?...Have you a daughter who has the rare creative flame that might someday follow the lead of the great Dr. Loring?"⁴⁷

At an open meeting in January, Queen's University astronomy professor and former IFUW president Dr. A. Vibert Douglas described outstanding IFUW women who "have accepted the responsibilities of their opportunities".⁴⁸ In February, a member of the Association of Women Electors discussed her group's work in educating women on civic affairs and encouraging them to realize their responsibility as voters, assuring the women that "If a body of women is known to have only the good of the community at heart, then they are welcomed and appreciated by the elected representatives".⁴⁹ Her comments were ironic, given a recent and very bitter battle between the Club and the City Council over civic appointments in which the presence of women had been neither welcomed nor appreciated. At an open meeting in March, McGill University English professor Dr. Joyce Hemlow described her historical research on Fanny Burney.⁵⁰ In April, Michigan State University professor of education Dr. Elizabeth Drews, discussed "The Gifted Adolescent" at an open meeting to which President Ritchie invited the Chairmen of the Collegiate, Public School and Separate School Boards, the Secretary of the Teachers' College, the University of Ottawa Secretary-General, the Carleton University President, and prominent members of the press. Dr. Drews stressed

the loss to the community where parents encourage brilliant girls to settle for the accepted roles in life instead of using their special talents in any of the challenging roles for which their superior brainpower and superior parents have equipped them.⁵¹

Dr. Drews called for efforts

⁴⁶ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1959-60".

⁴⁷ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, "Report on November Meeting".

⁴⁸ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, January 1960, No. 1.

⁴⁹ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices; Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Mrs. Roy Thornton, President, Women's Canadian Club, from Miss Traynor, Feb. 6, 1960, and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Need Cooperative Climate, University Women are Told," *Ottawa Journal*, Feb. 9, 1960. The Association of Women Electors was formed in 1938.

⁵⁰ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices. Dr. Hemlow had recently won the Governor-General's award for academic non-fiction.

⁵¹ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices.

to give women opportunities now denied to them, and to provide daughters with models for success in later life in the fields from which women are so noticeably absent.⁵²

Two days later, a group of "bright young Club mothers" met to discuss the problems raised by Dr. Drews and to consider solutions which the Club might be able to offer.

Enthusiasm is such that a new group for next year may engage in exploring this tremendous field, in considering how University-trained mothers with special abilities can keep up their training, can go back into part-time or full-time work when they are able to do so, can train their sons and daughters for a life in which women interested in careers and families can have both, and can bring to the attention of young girls the breadth of fascinating and unusual careers available to them.⁵³

President Ritchie also arranged to have Dr. Drews' recent *Parent's Magazine* article "The Big Waste of Brain Power... Our Gifted Girls!" reprinted for distribution among Club members.⁵⁴ At the final meeting of the anniversary year, Dr. Elizabeth Stewart of Women's College Hospital in Toronto discussed the founding of the hospital and the problems encountered by women in medicine. The Club newsletter commented:

We, who take the gift of education which our founders earned, need to know the inspiring story of the difficulties they met and overcame, so that we may smooth the path further for girls who are still stopped by the "hidden obstacles" in these most fascinating fields.⁵⁵

The Club no longer relied exclusively on social events as an instrument for honouring and recognizing women leaders, and the number of Club events decreased dramatically. The UWCO hosted only two major social events each year: a Christmas dinner and a New Members' Tea. Normally held in the homes of executive members, the tea was temporarily moved to the Chelsea Club in 1945 and 1947, and then permanently in 1953. In 1958 the executive took the record attendance of 150 as "an endorsement of your executive's efforts to make membership in the Club a rewarding experience" and moved the tea to a larger venue the following year.⁵⁶ The Annual dinner continued to be held in place of a December meeting, and the previous tradition of a spring dinner was never revived. The first few December dinners closely resembled regular meetings, with guest speakers delivering addresses on fairly weighty topics, including YWCA World President Miss Ruth Rouse discussing youth movements in wartime, an R.C.A.F. Women's Division wing officer describing her work and the Minister of National War Services discussing Canadian women and the war. Between 1942 and 1947, the

⁵² Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1959-60".

⁵³ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, May 1960, No. 5.

⁵⁴ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to the Editor, *Parent's Magazine*, New York, from Miss Ritchie, May 5, 1960; and Elizabeth M. Drews, "The Big Waste of Brain Power... Our Gifted Girls!", *Parent's Magazine*, Apr. 1960.

⁵⁵ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, May 1960, No. 5.

⁵⁶ Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 16, 1940, Oct. 14, 1941, Jan. 8, 1947.

Christmas dinner moved through a series of church basements and acquired the atmosphere of a home-made party, with members supplying their own entertainment. In 1942, members wore old clothes and were asked to bring their own supper and a cup. The Hospitality Committee provided hot tomato consommé and a punch bowl and the Red Cross supplied lunches for those who ordered them. The evening's entertainment consisted of a spelling bee, square dancing and carol singing.⁵⁷

When there was nothing left but rubbish, Mrs. Couper with no difficulty whatsoever got the whole club lustily singing Christmas carols. Santa Claus after brushing the soot off his suit drew names for a spelling match pitting the married women against their more fortunate (?) single sisters which was conducted by school marm Miss Edith Deyell. The married team were most successful. Then the chairs were pushed back for Miss Dorothy Bishop and a group of practiced new members to lead off square sets. No one appeared to stay in the side lines perhaps because the punch bowl was supposed to be available only to those who took part. The meeting broke up with the singing of Auld Lang Syne and Good Night Ladies and college cheers.⁵⁸

In 1943, the church ladies provided a meal of meat pie and jellied salad and the women enjoyed a home-made program of stories, quizzes, and square dancing. The 1944 dinner included charades, college songs, and folk dancing. In 1945, Mrs. Swayze read a story composed for the occasion, and there were games, contests and carols. The 1946 party featured another of Mrs. Swayze's stories and the church hall was decorated with "a gay Christmas tree on the stage, and reindeer about the walls".⁵⁹ In 1947, the church women served refreshments and the UWCO women made wrapping paper hats, held a quiz and performed a skit.⁶⁰

Between 1948 and 1956 the Christmas party regained its former composure, leaving the realm of church basements and homemade fun for catered events at Murphy-Gamble's Department Store. The store provided everything, including door prizes, and the only entertainment was carol singing. The Club heard a roster of impressive speakers on fairly serious issues, including Club member Dr. Alice Wilson, Senator Cairine Wilson, IFUW President and Canadian astronomer Dr. A. Vibert Douglas, Dr. A.M. Beattie, Dr. Emmet O'Grady, Dr. Wreford Watson, Director of the Geographical Branch of the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Senator Muriel McQueen Fergusson, National Film Board composer Robert Fleming, and National Film Board Chairman Dr. A.W. Trueman. Head table guests

⁵⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 8, 1941; Vol. 15, Outline of Activities, "Entertainments"; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Oct. 5 and Dec. 7, 1942; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "International Youth Movements," Dec. 1940. The Red Cross Tea Rooms employed debutantes as waitresses.

⁵⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 7, 1942.

⁵⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 9, 1946.

⁶⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 11, 1944, Dec. 10, 1945, Dec. 9, 1946, Dec. 8, 1947; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Nov. 29, 1943 and Jan. 3, 1944.

began to include CFUW executive members and the presidents of nearby university women's clubs and of local women's organizations.⁶¹

In 1957, the focus of the Christmas dinner returned to entertainment, the venue reverted to church halls, and the Club abandoned the formal printed programme cards of the previous 45 years in favour of informal mimeographed programmes. That year, groups of 'New Canadians' from Germany and the West Indian islands presented an informal program of singing and dancing, a trio of Club members performed a humorous skit on jury duty, and two Club members did a Balinese dance. The guest list included CFUW executive members, the presidents of eastern Ontario university women's clubs and local women's organizations, the two women senators, and the first woman Civil Service Commissioner, Miss Ruth Addison.⁶² The following year the UWCO held an "International Christmas Party" to mark the United Nations' celebration of Human Rights Day. A guest from the United Kingdom High Commission described her "Seven Years in Burma" and club members from Scotland, England, Wales, Australia, U.S.A., Finland and Poland described their native Christmas customs to demonstrate that "in our own membership we have a shining example of this international friendship".⁶³ Guests of honour Ellen Fairclough, Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, and Senator Muriel McQueen Fergusson were told they would enjoy meeting "some of the prominent women in the Ottawa area who are members of our Club".⁶⁴ In 1959, the UWCO marked its fiftieth anniversary with an "Achievement Year Christmas Dinner" using the theme "Then and Now". There were brief presentations on the status of women at the Club's founding and the improved status of women in 1959 and the Club invited almost thirty special guests from local, regional and national women's organizations.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Vol. 18, Minute Books VI and VIII, Dec. 13, 1948, Dec. 14, 1953, Dec. 13, 1954, Dec. 12, 1955.

⁶² Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58"; Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices; Vol. 8, File 1, Christmas Dinners, newspaper clipping, *The Ottawa Journal*, Dec. 1957; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "UWC Plans Christmas Dinner", press release. Local women's organizations present at the dinner included The Business and Professional Women's Club, the Ottawa Public School Women Teachers' Association, the Quota Club and the Local Council of Women.

⁶³ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices.

⁶⁴ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to The Hon. Ellen Fairclough, from Miss Ritchie, UWCO, Nov. 27, 1958; Vol. 8, File 1, Christmas Dinners, newspaper clipping, "451-members UWC Plans Yule Party", Dec. 3, 1958, newspaper clippings from *The Ottawa Citizen* and *The Ottawa Journal*, Dec. 9, 1958 and invitation and menu for "International Christmas Party," Dec. 8, 1958. The menu included "Civil Service Celery, Olives Diefenbaker, Garden of Eden Fruit Cup, Turkey à la NATO, Shiaparelli Dressing, John Knox Gravy, Irish Spuds, Canadian Winter Mixed Vegetables, Salada Agitee, Rolls à la Royce, Gateau aux Fraise Glacées et la lumière, Café Bresil ou Thé d'Inde. A conference to mark the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. was being held in Ottawa at the same time, under the chairmanship of Hugh Keenleyside, husband of Club member Katharine.

⁶⁵ Vol. 8, File 1, Christmas Dinners, menu for "Achievement Year Christmas Dinner, Dec. 14, 1959". Special guests included the Presidents of seven university women's clubs, and of the Women's Canadian Club, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Quota Club, the Ottawa Women's Forum, the Ottawa Public School Women Teachers' Association, the Soroptimist Club, the Zonta Club, the Ottawa Local Council of Women, the National Council of Women of Canada, and La Federation de Femmes Canadiennes Francaises, the Chairman of the Inter Club Council of Women's Organizations, the CFUW

Apart from the New Members tea, the annual Christmas dinner, and social events provided through study groups, the Club offered little in the way of a social calendar. It was certainly nothing in comparison with the halcyon inter-war years, when bridges, teas and honorary luncheons dotted the schedule. If there were such events in the post war years, they were not documented: the records show less than ten events in twenty years. In 1941, the Club organized a Saturday afternoon tea for 125 women at the Chateau Laurier in honour of the visiting princesses Alice and Juliana, featuring Winnipeg University Women's Club member Mrs. W.J.Lindal, who discussed the duties of citizens in a country at war and the special responsibilities of university women's clubs.⁶⁶ In 1945 the executive hosted a tea for American teachers participating in a student exchange program organized by the Canadian-American Women's Committee on International Relations.⁶⁷ In 1946, the UWCO held a Chelsea Club tea for visiting IFUW Treasurer Miss J. Bowie, who promised that the next IFUW conference would be in Canada "because the University women of Europe are so grateful for the assistance given them by the Canadian University Women during the war".⁶⁸ When the promised IFUW Conference was held in western Canada in 1947, the UWCO entertained delegates on their way to the Conference, holding social functions at members' homes, the Chelsea Club and the Country Club. In 1948, the Club hosted CFUW President Mrs. Crummy during her stay in Ottawa, treating her to tea at Mrs. Sheridan's home, luncheon at the Chelsea Club and dinner at the Chateau Laurier. In 1949 a visiting American woman professor was taken to tea at the Chelsea Club and in 1950, 100 women attended a dinner at Murphy-Gamble's Department Store for CFUW President Dr. Marion Grant. In 1955 the UWCO threw a dinner at the Chateau Laurier for CFUW President Dr. Martha E. Law, who credited the origin of recent CFUW briefs on the appointment of women to the Senate and the Civil Service Commission and exemptions from succession duties, to the Ottawa Club, whom she called "the sounding board" of the CFUW. Beginning in 1954, the Club joined in "The University Ball", a fundraising project of the

newsletter editor, the *Ottawa Citizen* Women's Editor, the *Ottawa Journal* Women's Editor, the commentator of a local women's radio show, the Director of Women's Programs for the other local radio station, woman MP Jean Casselman, women Senators Cairine Wilson and Muriel McQueen Fergusson, and the Prime Minister's wife. Hinting at the contemporary neighbourhoods of Club women, an address by Club member Mrs. W.L. Currier spoke of a time when "the stage setting was different – Ottawa South was a marsh, Rideau Gardens was a farm, and Westboro was at the far ends of the earth".

⁶⁶ Vol. 4, File 1, Correspondence, letters between Mrs. MacLachlan and Ariel Baird, Lady-in-Waiting, Sept. 1940 to Feb. 1941; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Princess Alice is Guest University Women's Club," *Ottawa Journal*, Mar. 3, 1941, and "University Club Holds Reception in Honor of the Princess Alice", *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 3, 1941. Mrs. Lindal was a former member of the Unemployment Commission and of the UWCO. When Government House had insisted that the princesses were not available for evening events, the Club had responded "We find that we cannot have an afternoon meeting any day other than Saturday because so many of our members are business and professional women".

⁶⁷; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VI.,

⁶⁸ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 26, 1946, and "Federation of University Women Awards Six Fellowships," 1947. The 1947 IFUW meeting, held in Toronto, was the

University Alumni Council of Ottawa, which brought together the various alumni/alumnae groups in Ottawa for entertainment and to award bursaries to graduates of the four Ottawa high school/collegiates. While men handled most of the organizing and decisionmaking duties at the balls, UWCO women were traditionally responsible for the table decorations.⁶⁹

On April 27, 1960, the UWCO held a special "50th Anniversary Dinner and Pageant" at the Chateau Laurier. A bright yellow menu card, using irreverent prose and discordant fonts, promised "good things – most exciting – pleasure in abundance"⁷⁰ and inside, a quote from early 20th century writer and feminist Olive Schreiner reminded the women of the struggles of their foremothers. Guests of honour included seven of the Club's founders and members presented a pageant entitled "Impossible, My Dear Caroline", depicting the first meeting and other events in the life of the Club. The guest speaker, Dr. May Hall James, American Chairman of the Canadian-American Women's Committee on International Relations, described the Committee's exchange program between women university students.⁷¹

first outside Europe since the IFUW's inception in 1920. The Europeans also hoped to study Canadian examples in order to rebuild their own countries and schools.

⁶⁹ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58"; Vol. 10, File 7, Inter-Club Activity, menu cards from The University Ball, Feb. 26, 1954 and Mar. 6, 1959, "Arctic Antics"; Vol. 18, Minute Books VI, VII and VIII, April 9, 1945, Oct. 14, 1947, May 10, 1948, Nov. 14, 1949, April 17 and May 29, 1950, Jan. 11, 1954; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Sept. 20 and Nov. 1, 1943, April and May 7, 1945, April 5, 1948; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "CFUW President to Visit," *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 28, 1955, and "National President Addresses Ottawa University Women's Club," *Ottawa Journal*, Mar. 7, 1955. Dr. Law was a graduate in dentistry from the University of Toronto, and was responsible for the dental health of public school children in Toronto. UWCO women made mortarboard hats for the University Ball in 1958 and cardboard igloos and kayaks in 1959.

⁷⁰ Vol. 4, File 2, 50th Anniversary, "Program".

⁷¹ Vol. 4, File 2, 50th Anniversary, "Program"; Vol. 15, File 2, Newspaper Clippings, "Pageant of Past Presented," *Ottawa Journal*, April 28, 1960. Olive Schreiner (1855-1913) was a South African writer and feminist whose works were widely read among members of the British and American women's movements in the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s. Her 1911 book *Woman and Labour* was considered the 'bible' for feminists, and the UWCO had studied it at the January 1912 Club meeting. See Joyce Avrech Berkman, *The Healing Imagination of Olive Schreiner: Beyond South African Colonialism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1989) and <http://www.emory.edu/ENGLISH/Bahn/Schreiner.html>. The quote reprinted in the 1959 dinner menu read: "I should like to say to the men and women of the generations which will come after us – 'You will look back at us with astonishment! You will wonder at passionate struggles that accomplished so little; at the, to you, obvious paths to attain our ends which we did not take; at the intolerable evils before which it will seem to you we sat down passive; at the great truths staring us in the face, which we failed to see; at the truths we grasped at, but could never quite get our fingers round. You will marvel at the labour that ended in so little; - but, what you will never know is how it was thinking of you and for you, that we struggled as we did and accomplished the little which we have done; that it was in the thought of your larger realization and fuller life, that we found consolation for the futilities of our own'". A turkey dinner was served with fruit cocktail, soup, a light dessert and coffee. The nine surviving charter members in 1960 were: Miss Ada H. Baker (Toronto) a former Normal School teacher, Mrs. A.H. Brown (Queen's), Mrs. Charles Carter (Trinity and Bryn Mawr), Miss E.M. Cluff, B.A. (Toronto, 1894) a former Normal Model School teacher, Miss Olive Delahaye (Toronto and University of California), Mrs. Florence E. Forsey, B.A. (Mount Allison, 1899) a former library cataloguer at the Victoria Museum, Miss Lottie O'Boyle, B.A. (Toronto, 1908) a former civil servant with the Auditor-General's department, Miss Marion Robinson, B.A. (Toronto, 1908) a former civil servant with the Forestry Branch, and Dr. Alice E. Wilson, B.A., PhD. (Toronto, 1911 and Chicago) a former geologist with the Geological Survey and professor at Carleton College. Miss Cluff sent her regrets, saying "it would be too painful for

Study groups, which had blossomed with the sudden growth in membership in the late 1930s, continued to be popular among Club members. Usually more than a dozen study groups operated each year, reaching a high of twenty groups in 1957-58. That year, there were 339 group memberships out of a club membership of 371, and many women belonged to more than one group. Beginning in 1948, a vice-president was appointed to act as liaison between study groups and the Club, visiting each group at least once during the year.⁷² In 1953, Liaison Officer Miss Myra Tilley commented

The importance of the groups increases each year. They are becoming more and more interested in problems of the community and seeking to improve conditions in it. They are essential to the club itself as it is in the groups that much of the real work of the club is accomplished.⁷³

In 1957 Liaison Officer Miss Marguerite Ritchie reflected on role of study groups in fulfilling the responsibility of women to society, a theme which had first been raised by speakers in 1952 and 1953 and which would rise to a fever pitch by 1960.

The value to society of a club with such interest groups is no less important, since the members are unequivocally fulfilling their responsibility to society for the education they have received.

Noting that topics raised in the Pre-School Child Study Group had prompted members to volunteer for community service, she boasted "This group is contributing in a practical way to welfare needs in the city".⁷⁴

By 1940, the long-running Drama Reading Circle had divided into afternoon and evening sections which continued to meet until after 1960. At wartime meetings one member would read the play aloud, while the others knitted or sewed for the Red Cross. Convener Mrs. Roy MacGregor Watt (Gladys) remarked in 1945: "This has been a busy year for everyone. War duties have mounted and more responsibilities have crowded our days". The Circle tended to read current plays during the 1940s, often on war topics, "as most of us could not possibly see these plays as stage productions".⁷⁵ After 1941, the Circle no longer hosted Drama Nights.

The Child Study Group, begun in 1937, continued to meet throughout this period, although both its name and the age of its subjects changed. Between 1940 and 1948, a Child Training Group studied children up to ten. Club members and guest speakers discussed presented papers on a wide variety of topics, including child training, sex education, home and

me owing to illness... So sorry to miss it". [Vol. 4, File 2, Fiftieth Anniversary, letter from Elizabeth M. Cluff, to Miss Traynor, April 24, 1960.] Mrs. Carter was also unable to attend.

⁷² Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 7, Programmes; Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Oct. 4, 1948. There were 13 groups in 1940, 11 groups in 1942, 11 groups in 1945, 14 groups in 1947-48 and 1948-49, 12 in 1949-50, 13 in 1950-51, 11 in 1951-52, 12 in 1952-53 and 1953-54, 14 groups in 1954-55, 15 in 1955-56, 18 in 1956-57, 20 in 1957-58, 17 in 1958-59 and 14 in 1959-60.

⁷³ Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material.

⁷⁴ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57".

school cooperation, nursery schools, learning, discipline, mental health, personality development and speech development. In 1943 the convener noted that while members had profited from the papers and lively discussion

whether the children do, remains to be seen ... it is obviously the parents that need training rather than the children. So perhaps next year it may turn out to be a Parent Training Group!

Between 1944 and 1947 the group focused on preschoolers, following a *Parents' Magazine* study program, acquiring Dr. Spock's *Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care*, and attending Carleton College lectures on education, music and painting for children. The convener remarked: "As usual we have gained a great deal by just getting together and finding out that we all have similar problems". Every season there was a year-end picnic for mothers and "the children for whom all this study has been undertaken".⁷⁶ In 1949, two child study groups were formed: one for mothers of preschoolers and one for mothers of 5-10 year olds. In the older group, members presented papers on emotional expression, psycho-social growth, child guidance, first aid, children's books, nature interest, music, religious training, sex education, school programs, the gifted child, to-and-from school problems, after-school play and games, and Pakistani children. In 1949 the year ended with a panel discussion on "Kind of Parents Teachers Like" and "Kind of Teachers Parents Like". The older group folded in 1957, blaming its demise on the presumption that "Children in this age group present fewer problems to the parent than either the pre-school or the adolescent group". The preschool group heard papers on child psychiatry, children's books, toys, music, the bright child, the handicapped child, children in hospital, the visiting homemaker's association, Children's Aid, the Ottawa Day Nursery, and Indian children, before also succumbing to disinterest in 1958.⁷⁷

In the meantime, a third group for mothers of adolescents started in 1955 and continued until after 1960 with more than 30 members. This group relied primarily on outside experts, listening to presentations on psycho-dynamics, adolescent growth, spiritual and emotional growth, sex education, high school education, the Canadian Conference on Education, teenagers and the church, ideals and values, the adolescent in relation to others, juvenile delinquency, high school guidance counseling, study habits, teaching English, teaching science, teaching the gifted child, and first year university failures . They assembled a panel of Grade 9

⁷⁵ Vol. 17, File 7, Study Groups – Drama Reading Group; Vol. 7, Programmes; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club Program Outlined at Opening Meeting," *Ottawa Journal*, Oct. 20, 1954.

⁷⁶ Vol. 17, File 12, Study Groups – Child Study Group, Annual reports for 1941, 1942, 1943-44, 1944-45 and 1946-47. In 1946-47 the group used the guide *Before Six: 1946-47 Study Program on the Preschool Child*, For Parent-Teacher Associations, Mothers' Clubs, Child Study Groups and others interested in pre-school children (published by Parents' Magazine, U.S.A.).

⁷⁷ Vol. 17, File 12, Study Groups, Child Study Group (5-10 yr), Program for Year 1949-50; Vol. 7, Programmes; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club Program Outlined at Opening Meeting", *Ottawa Journal*, Oct. 20, 1954, and "200 at Open House of University Women's Club", *Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 20, 1954; Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57", "Annual Report 1957-58".

students "to find out what teen-agers are thinking", and a panel of older girls and youth leaders to discuss social activities and dating. They surveyed teachers from ten local schools on "What is Wrong with Parents?" preparing a report which appeared in a local newspaper magazine. The convener noted in 1959 "One of the nicest things about this group is that many of the members are old friends from the days when their teen-agers were toddlers".⁷⁸

French Conversation Groups continued to meet weekly under the direction of a privately hired instructor, an arrangement established in the late 1930s, which continued until after 1960. During the 1940s there was sufficient interest to support one group, but by 1952 afternoon and evening sections had formed, and in the late 1950s a third group met in the mornings.⁷⁹

A Literature Study Group, formed in 1931, continued to meet monthly on Tuesday evenings until after 1960. Annual themes included modern essays, modern biographies, the modern novel, Chinese literature, Russian Literature, Canadian literature, literature and biographies of New Canadians, and women writers of the British Commonwealth.⁸⁰

A Current Events Group met between 1935 and 1951, attracting up to fifty members. During the war the group heard guest speakers, group members and their spouses on a wide variety of topics, including Canada's war effort, war aims and peace aims, life in Japan, Cuba, Russia and Brazil, China at war, the United States at War, Women in a World at War, the Fighting French, the Free French, 'Berlin Diary', Japanese methods in the Far East, League of Nations humanitarian projects, the Pan American movement, the post war reconstruction of Britain, social reconstruction in Czechoslovakia, international food problems, political aspects of post-war planning, the American Presidency, the Alaska Highway, town planning, the Report of the Royal Commission on the Canadian Penal System, and Charlotte Whitton on "What Canadians Want in So-called Social Security". Expert member Mrs. Leonard (Phyllis) Turner, spoke on "Wartime Economics", "giving us insight into methods being used to prevent inflation"⁸¹ and the group held panel discussions on the National Selective Service and the Marsh Report on Social Security. In 1944-45, the group heard experts from External Affairs on India, from the Polish Embassy on Poland's place in Europe, from the Soviet Embassy on Soviet women in war time, from the Censorship Branch on a Danubian Federation, from the Department of Labour on the housing problem, and from the Joint International Committee on International Civil Aviation on Canada's place in international civil aviation. After the war, the Current Events groups heard speakers on labour relations, the 'German problem' and the role of the French in rebuilding a peaceful Europe. Miss Kay Greenwood of the National Film Board

⁷⁸ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58".

⁷⁹ Vol. 7, Programmes.

⁸⁰ Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material, and File 14, Study Groups – Literature Study Group

⁸¹ Vol. 17, File 5, Study Groups – Current Events Group. Mrs. Turner, formerly Chief Economist to the Tariff Board, was seconded in 1939-40 as Economic Advisor to the Wartime Prices and Trade Board.

used films to illustrate her talk on the international use of film, Dr. Eugene Forsey described the Canadian Youth Commission, Alistair McLeod Stewart, M.P., led a discussion on Palestine and Dr. Dorothy Burwash gave a lecture on the United Nations.⁸²

Four years after the Current Events Group ceased in 1951, an International Affairs group was formed in the fall of 1955. It continued until after 1960, hearing speakers from local embassies and the federal government on Europe, the Far East and the Near East, including Ghana, the Suez crisis, Soviet politics, Egypt, Algeria, Laos, Beirut, New Guinea, and Ceylon. A Civic Affairs Group formed in the fall of 1957 and continued until after 1960, discussing such issues as fluoridation, railway protective signals, civic universal franchise, the smoke problem, evening closing of gas stations and night shopping. In 1958-59 the theme was the organization of city government and in 1959-60 the group heard guest speakers from the National Community Planning Association, the city planning branch, the local historical society, and the local public school board, and an expert on municipal government.⁸³

A music group, begun in 1937, continued in one form or another until after 1960. Between 1937 and 1948 it was known as the Music Appreciation Group, listening to both concerts and lectures, including a lecture series by local music teacher Dr. Horwood at the Victoria Museum between 1940 and 1942. While the first few years were devoted primarily to classical music, the women began to investigate modern music in 1945, eventually renaming themselves the Jazz Music Group in 1948. That group continued for three seasons, running contemporaneously with a new Classical Music Group in its last year. For the next six years, only the Classical Music Group continued to operate. The group reformed as the Music Appreciation Group in the fall of 1956, continuing in this form until after 1960. Members took turns bringing records and preparing talks on the annual themes, which included chamber music, choral music, instrumental music and modern classical music. In 1960 they heard talks by a local newspaper music critic and a local filmmaker who described "The Surreptitious Introduction of Modern Music to the Masses via Film".⁸⁴

An Interior Decorating Group, begun in 1938, continued to meet monthly on Tuesday evenings until after 1960. The group swelled in size from 24 members in 1942 to 74 members in 1952, shrinking back to 32 by 1960. Attendance figures show that only a quarter of members were single women. Initially, the group met in members homes, and listened to papers presented by members on colour, draperies, furniture, rugs, lighting, furniture arrangements and the use of glass, silver, brass and handicrafts in decorating. Once a year, the group sponsored a film night, with films on flower arranging, oriental rugs, Chinese painting, etc. Guest speakers were occasionally brought in from the National Art Gallery, from commercial interests such as

⁸² Vol. 17, File 5, Study Groups – Current Events Group.

⁸³ Vol. 7, Programmes; and Vol. 6, Annual Reports.

the Singer Sewing Company or the Pittsburgh Paint Company or from the interior decoration departments of local furniture, carpet and drapery stores. Eventually, the group completely abandoned the study format, in favour of visiting various 'experts' on location. After 1951, most of the meetings took place at furniture, antique, rug or drapery stores, and consisted of a guided tour by the owner or interior decorator of the store's merchandise, with explanations of the various products and styles. This was followed by a much-coveted "chance to browse", and refreshments, door prizes and small gifts given out by the sponsoring store.⁸⁵

During the war, the Club formed a Red Cross Sewing & Knitting Group and offered three St. John Ambulance training courses. Mrs. Bryce Stewart organized 'Organization for Peace' Study Group in 1941. The following year, it was renamed the Post War Problems Group with afternoon and evening sessions led by Mrs. Stewart and by Mrs. Graham Spry. A committee formed in 1943 to consider questions posed by the CFUW Subcommittee on Post-war Problems was likely formed from this study group. In March 1944, the Club requested 100 copies of the report of the Parliamentary Committee on the Post War Problems of Women; copies were sold to members and more were ordered for sale in the fall. The Club also formed a separate study group on the "Postwar Problems of Women" that fall, under the leadership of Club member and senior civil servant Miss Mora Guthrie. Club records continue to refer to a Post War Group until the end of the 1940s.⁸⁶

A Science Group, formed in 1942, drew largely on the expertise of group members and continued for ten seasons. The membership included "chemists, microanalysts, dieticians, botanists, bacteriologists, a psychologist, and others who had no special scientific training but only a lively interest in the subject". Under the convenorship of botanist Miss Mildred K. Nobles, the group studied nutrition in its first year, taking advantage of the expertise of four group members: Dr. Pauline Snure, an editor with the National Research Council, spoke on the history of nutrition and current problems, Dr. Mary MacArthur, a researcher with the Horticultural Division of the Central Experimental Farm, explained the dehydration of fruits and vegetables for use overseas (presumably war use), Miss Marion Harlow, a nutritionist and assistant director of the recently organized federal government Nutrition Services, spoke about her department's work, and Miss Mary McKillican, a chemist with the Central Experimental Farm, spoke about the new Vitamin B, Canada-approved bread.⁸⁷ The following year the group focused on

⁸⁴ Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 7, Programmes; Vol. 17, File 15, Study Groups – Music Appreciation.

⁸⁵ Vol. 17, File 2, Study Groups – Interior Decorating Group; Vol. 7, Programmes.

⁸⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 8, 1941, Feb. 8 and Oct. 12, 1943, Mar. 13, 1944; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Oct. 5, 1942, June 5, Sept. 19 and Nov. 6 1944. Club member Mrs. C. Wesley Sheridan was chairman of the Women's War Work Committee for the Red Cross throughout the war [Vol. 15, File 2, Newspaper Clippings, "Ottawa Red Cross Workers Serve", *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 18, 1952.]

⁸⁷ Vol. 17, File 9, Study Groups – Science Group, "Annual Report", May 11, 1942. Dr. Nobles, B.A. (Queen's), Ph.D. (Toronto 1929), joined the Club in 1937, Miss McKillican, B.Sc. (Manitoba 1933), M.S. (Minnesota 1936) and Dr. MacArthur, B.Sc. (Acadia 1933), A.M. (Radcliffe 1934), Ph.D (Radcliffe 1937)

commodities that were important under war time conditions, and presented a panel discussion on Nutrition at the Club's November meeting, drawing on the expertise of Club and group members.⁸⁸ In the group's third year, speakers from the National Research Council (the workplace of that year's convener, Dr. Snure) discussed modern trends in four areas of science: textiles (with special reference to laundry problems), plastics, rubber substitutes and illumination, a speaker from the Department of Pensions and National Health spoke on drugs in wartime, and a member of the Royal Air Force, Women's Division, discussed wartime developments in medicine. In 1944-45, group members discussed some aspect of the scientific work they were engaged in doing. In 1945-46 and 1946-47, the group studied geology under the expert guidance of longtime Club member Dr. Alice Wilson, a noted geologist with the Canadian Geological Survey, making field trips to identify fossils and rock formations in the Ottawa area and to see a demonstration of geological equipment at the Victoria Museum. By 1950-51 the Science Group was studying textiles and synthetic materials, and the following year they disappeared.⁸⁹

After the war, a number of new groups sprang up. A Sketching group met for three seasons between 1945 and 1948, painting on Friday mornings and Saturday afternoons under the guidance of an instructor. Recent Graduates or New Members groups (labelled "Freshies" in 1956) were offered as needed in nine of the thirteen seasons between 1947 and 1960, with the idea that new members could become acquainted with each other and the club. A Public Speaking Group formed briefly in the 1949-50 season. A local history group organized in 1951 under the name "Know Your Ottawa" and continued for four seasons. The first year's programme began with the earliest geologic records of the Ottawa district (courtesy of Dr. Alice Wilson), and continued with the Indian inhabitants, the first white settlers, the founding of Hull, the building of the canal and the choosing of Ottawa as the capital. Guest speakers included local archaeologist Dr. Leechman and local historian Dr. Brault. The following year followed a similar format, and also looked at the recently published *Greber Plan* for the city. After hearing someone from the Public Archives speak about two local historical buildings which were to be destroyed in 1954, the group passed a motion urging the Club to write to the federal

joined the Club in 1938, Dr. Snure, B.A. (McMaster), Ph.D (Wisconsin) joined in 1941, and Miss Harlow, B.Sc. (Acadia, 1928) joined in Nov. 1942. Dr. Snure, Dr. MacArthur and Miss Harlow were sponsored by Mildred Nobles; Dr. Snure and Miss Harlow were seconded by Miss McKillican.

⁸⁸ Vol. 17, File 9, Study Groups – Science Group, "Science Group of the UWC, Report 1942-43". Panellists included Mrs. Vernon Heakes, B.A. (Toronto 1918) who had taken her degree in Household Science and joined the Club in 1928, and Mrs. Henri Delcellier, B.A. (Toronto 1931) who had taken a degree in Modern Languages and was a teacher at Lisgar Collegiate when she joined the Club in 1934. She later married.

⁸⁹ Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material, and File 9, Study Groups – Science Group, "Report of the Science Group 1943-44," "Science Group – Report for 1944-45," and "Science Group 1946-47".

government "expressing a hope" that the Nicholas Sparks house and Graham's Store be preserved, restored and kept as in the original 1840 layout for Bytown.⁹⁰

In the fall of 1948, a group was formed to study Penal Reform and in 1950 it was appointed by the CFUW to act as the CFUW Committee on Penal Reform. The Penal Reform Study Group brought forward numerous resolutions for penal reform at the federal and provincial level, which were taken up by the Club and in some cases the CFUW, and communicated to the appropriate politicians. In several instances, legislative and administrative changes resulted from the petitions of the UWCO in this area. In 1950-51, as a CFUW committee, the Group reviewed the 1938 Archambault Commission report and the 1947 report by General R.B. Gibson, both dealing with conditions in Canadian penitentiaries. They toured the Prison for Women in Kingston and the Juvenile Court in Ottawa, prepared a report on Ontario reform institutions, and provided a panel discussion on penal reform for a CFUW Regional Conference. In 1951-52 the Penal Reform Group heard speakers on the Elizabeth Fry Society and on local magistrate's court, screened films on penology, raised funds for a Christmas party for women prisoners, and sent letters to the Minister of Health protesting the holding of mental patients in local jails pending transfer to mental institutions. The group also brought forward to the Club a resolution from the University Women's Club of Toronto demanding women members on the Parole Board, the Training Schools' Advisory Board, and the inspection staff of the Department of Reform Institutions. In 1952-53, they studied the Canadian Welfare Council's brief on criminal code revision and books on penal reform, discussed child welfare and capital punishment, heard the Director of Probation for Ontario speak of the need for probation officers, and presented a panel discussion on "Women in Prison" to the University Women's Club of Peterborough. In 1956-57, the group studied the 1956 Fauteux Report, sending letters of commendation to its members. They held joint meetings with the Elizabeth Fry Society in 1957-58, because all of their membership belonged to the Society, and heard addresses from a Kingston Penitentiary psychiatrist, the governor of Carleton County Jail, the assistant to the principal at Queen's University, the Deputy-Commissioner of Penitentiaries, the president of the Mental Health Association, and the Minister of Reform Institutions. In 1958-59, the group continued to meet and work with the Elizabeth Fry Society, doing gaol visiting and rehabilitative work together. They commended the creation of a National Parole Board as "a milestone in the course of penal reform in Canada" and Member Mrs. C.K. Hurst was appointed to the Corrections subcommittee of the Special Committee on Youth Services set up by the Welfare Council at the request of the Mayor. By the fall of 1959 the Penal Reform Group may have run

⁹⁰ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58"; Vol. 7, Programmes; Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material, File 11, Study Groups – Sketching Group, and File 18, Study Groups – Miscellaneous Groups, letter to Miss Gill from Constance West, May 19, n.y.; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book H, Sept. 13, 1954.

out of reformative steam; it failed to meet that year, although the Executive reassured the Club that it would be revived in the following year.⁹¹

In the fall of 1950, prompted by the CFUW Committee on the Legal and Economic Status of Women, the UWCO tried unsuccessfully to organize a Status of Women study group. Club member Margaret MacLellan explained the apparent inaction:

I feel sure this is not due to lack of interest in the subject but rather to the fact that at least some of us who are most interested simply do not have the time to take on any further commitments at the moment. We already have 13 very active study groups in the Ottawa Club, and last Fall our Club gave strong support to the campaign to elect Dr. Charlotte Whitton to the Board of Control.

Miss MacLellan went on to express her personal interest, apologizing that her time was taken up with the Penal Reform Study Group, which was functioning as a CFUW committee. She pledged the Club's attention to status of women issues the following year, and commented

I feel that our two Committees are working in closely related fields, for surely the problems regarding the status of women and the treatment of offenders can be regarded as different aspects of the universal subject of "human rights".

A Status of Women study group was formed in the fall of 1951 and continued until after 1960. As Miss MacLellan had predicted, the Status of Women and Penal Reform Groups often worked on related issues, and together would form the strongest influence on the direction of the Club in the 1950s. In addition to her local involvement, Miss MacLellan was Chairman of the CFUW Committee on the Status of Women between 1955 and 1958. In its first year, the Status of Women Group focused on two issues: a study of the National Council of Women brief on the *Succession Duty Act*, and a campaign to secure adequate facilities for women barristers in the remodeled court house. By February 1952 the Group had brought forward the first of many resolutions to the Club for approval and action. The following season, the Group continued its work on succession duties and began to study the appointment of women to the Senate and the Civil Service Commission, forming resolutions on all three issues for approval by the Club. They also studied the issues of jury duty and equal pay for women teachers and arranged an Inter-Club meeting of local women's organizations at which resolutions on these issues were presented for support and study. During the 1955-56 season, a woman speaker from External Affairs discussed the United Nations convention affecting the political rights of women. The following season, the Group examined jury duty, adult franchise, nursing education and provincial succession duty acts, concluding that "legislation is the surest way to obtain a fair deal for women, whether the matter be employment or death duties."⁹² During 1957-58 the

⁹¹ Vol. 7, Programmes; Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, April 13, 1953. The Elizabeth Fry Society of Ottawa was formed in 1951, with UWCO members Mrs. W.H. Gilleland and Miss Margaret MacLellan as founding members. Mrs. Gilleland served as President 1951-54 and Miss MacLellan succeeded her 1953-55.

⁹² Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57".

group watched the television feature "Janey Canuck" on the life of Judge Emily Murphy, listened to a taped interview with Mrs. Tenison-Wood of the United Nations, and listened to a speaker on innovations in nursing education at a local hospital. They reviewed the new *Estates Tax Bill*, and heard a report on the *Ontario Dower Act*, prompting them to recommend further study of alternate legislation. In 1958-59 the group began to study the problems of working women, particularly women with family responsibilities, and prepared two resolutions for the Club urging changes to the *Income Tax Act* for married women and working persons with dependents. They examined the *Ontario Succession Duties Act* in light of the newly proclaimed federal *Estate Tax Act* and formed a resolution for the Club. They brought forward three more resolutions that year, urging the appointment of women to the Ontario Hospital Services Commission and to a new advisory board to the Minister of Reform Institutions, and urging the extension of municipal voting rights. In 1959-60 the group completed a study of adoption laws, and continued their study of *Income Tax Act* inequalities affecting married women. Two resolutions, one concerning the nationality of married women and the other concerning income tax exemption, were forwarded to the Club for approval.⁹³

In the late 1950s, as interests changed and club membership continued to rise, another crop of new study groups emerged. An Art Appreciation group continued for five seasons from 1954-55 until 1958-59. A guest lecturer from the National Gallery gave a series of lectures in members' homes, and the year concluded with a tour of the National Gallery or a private art gallery. When National Gallery services were disrupted in 1959-60 while it moved to new quarters, the group was unable to function, but the executive promised to revive it the following year. An Investment Study Group was organized for three seasons between 1956 and 1959. Membership soared as high as 60, and when the group failed to form in 1959-60, Club executive promised to revive it the following year. An Education Group was formed in the fall of 1957 and continued until after 1960. In the spring of 1959, after hearing guest speakers from the Canadian Library Association, the group conducted a survey of Ottawa High School Libraries, making recommendations which were approved by the UWCO and forwarded to the Collegiate Institute Board. They found the schools overcrowded, the library facilities inappropriately used, the librarians overworked and the book funding inadequate. Recommendations included using the library solely as a library and devoting more space to this function, requiring school librarians to be fully qualified and to spend at least half their time doing the work of the library, providing clerical help to libraries, increasing the book grant per student, and setting up a central

⁹³ Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 7, Programmes; Vol. 17, File 1, General Group Material, and File 16, Study Groups – Status of Women Group, letter to Mrs. Gilleland, President, UWCO, from Irene Irwin Clarke, CFUW Committee on the Legal and Economic Status of Women, Feb. 15, 1951, letter to Mrs. Clarke from Margaret E. MacLellan, CFUW Committee on Penal Reform, Mar. 6, 1951, and letter to Mrs. Gilleland from Betty Gordon, Feb. 27, 1952; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Miss McCredie is Hostess", *Ottawa Citizen*, Nov. 22, 1955.

catalogue for all school libraries. The following year, the group studied high school curricula and visited high schools which used alternative teaching methods. In 1958 a special study group on Black Africa was formed to prepare a report for discussion at the CFUW Triennial Conference "Candles of Understanding", to be held in Montreal that summer. The Group chose to study Ghana because of its upcoming independence from British rule, "and because it has succeeded in achieving the hope of the African people as a whole – that of Africa for the blacks and ruled by the blacks".⁹⁴ In 1960, a Russian language group was briefly begun and then abandoned because of low participation.⁹⁵

Accounts of Club meetings and social events continued to be submitted to the two local newspapers, which received thank-you notes each year "for the space they had been able to give to Club activities."⁹⁶ The papers often printed a verbatim copy of the UWCO press release, prompting the press representative to prepare a differently worded release for each newspaper. Press coverage hit a low point in the fall of 1943, when Club reports were curtailed due to paper scarcity. The following year the executive noted the excellent coverage given to a CFUW regional conference held in Ottawa and directed the press secretary to look into getting more coverage of meetings, passing a motion that asked local reporters to attend the next meeting. The press secretary noted in 1948 that the newspapers were "more cooperative than they had been"⁹⁷, and by the 1950s, reporters were increasingly sent to cover Club events. In 1954-55 and 1955-56, more than half of the Club news items were written by a reporter, and in the latter year, nine photographs of Club events were published.⁹⁸ The newspapers also began to publish accounts of executive meetings and study group sessions, engendering headlines like "Group Hears How to Use Color in Home". A press representative described the Club's relationship with the newspapers in 1956:

Some people are greatly devoted to social notes, and you may find you have to put quite a few in. I rebelled a few times on them, because I felt that too many of them, merely saying Mrs. So and So entertained, give the public the impression that the UWC is only a social club, suitable for butterflies and climbers...The newspapers are both aware of the existence of the club now, and they generally want to send reporters, but they cannot always do so....If they get copy they can use without cutting or changing much, they will love you, and their love is quite a desirable thing. If they love you, you get lots of space, and I suspect you sometimes get a more favored spot on the page...and they will give it to you quite often I think.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58"; Vol. 7, Programmes; and Vol. 17, File 18, Study Groups - Miscellaneous Groups, "Report by Mrs. B.R. Allan, Convener, Black Africa Study Group, July 29, 1958: Ghana".

⁹⁵ Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 7, Programmes; and Vol. 17, File 17, Study Groups – Education Group.

⁹⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, May 14, 1945.

⁹⁷ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, April 5, 1948.

⁹⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Nov. 8, 1943; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Nov. 6, 1944; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 13, 1956, "Annual Report of the Press Representative for 1955-56.

⁹⁹ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Suggestions to Press Secretary of UWC".

In 1959, the Club's protest against a civic appointment caused "a flood of publicity in the form of front-page headlines, editorial-page comments, as well as television and out-of-town newspaper reports". The press secretary noted that this publicity

did much to arouse interest in, if not sympathy for the stand the Club took on this civic question. This, in turn, probably brought the attention of the public to the Club itself. The incident serves to emphasize the need for publicity in relating the work of the Club to the society in which we live.¹⁰⁰

The following year, newspaper reporters and photographers covered almost all Club meetings. Coverage also included other media: meetings were announced by a local radio station starting in 1948 and Club members participated in local radio and television programs for women on at least two occasions in 1955. In 1956-57, the press secretary thanked local radio stations, as well as the newspapers, for the "good publicity" they had given the club.¹⁰¹

In 1960, *Saturday Night Magazine* asked President Ritchie to write an article "on the stereotypes the educated woman must face in seeking to contribute to the community.", as a result of the recent battle over civic appointments.¹⁰² Miss Ritchie enlisted the help of Club vice-president Mrs. Mollie Gillen, Information officer for the Department of Northern Affairs, and the article appeared in April 1960 as "How Canada Wastes Its Womanpower." The authors lamented the small numbers of Canadian women in politics, university faculties, medicine, law and engineering. According to Department of Labour statistics, there were proportionately fewer women in graduate schools in 1960 than in the 1920s or 1930s. Women graduates "generally marry and retire into the home to do the housework that could have been done without an education". The authors blamed the "appalling failure" to use the talents of educated women, on social pressures faced by married women, criticizing the pressure on young girls to go into traditional women's occupations and the reluctance of business to promote young women into higher level jobs.¹⁰³

Members received monthly notices by mail of upcoming meetings and other events. Notice cards were printed in formal script, with the time, date and place of the meeting, the speaker and her topic, and information on upcoming special events. In the late 1950s, the Club began to increase the amount of printed information circulated to members. In 1955, notice cards were supplemented by mimeographed newssheets with information on meetings, special events, scholarship winners, new members, and death notices. In 1960, the newssheets and notice cards were replaced by a monthly newsletter, "The Idea Mill", on the basis that "A Club as

¹⁰⁰ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57", "Annual Report 1958-59"; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Report of the Press Representative for the Year 1954-55".

¹⁰¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Nov. 14 and Dec. 12, 1955

¹⁰² Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, *The Idea Mill*, March 1960, No. 3.

¹⁰³ Ritchie, Marguerite, and Mollie Gillen, "How Canada Wastes Its Woman-Power," *Saturday Night*, Vol. 75, No. 7, April 2, 1960.

friendly as ours deserves a more friendly form of notice". President Marguerite Ritchie explained the choice of name:

For fifty years this great Club of educated women has been a source of ideas. Let's have more of them. We have a long tradition to uphold, in which the UWC has blazed the way with ideas which were afterwards accepted by others.¹⁰⁴

As well as information on upcoming meetings and events, the newsletter included notes on achievements and awards earned by the Club and its members and anecdotes on the contemporary treatment and stature of women. In 1954, the monthly secretary's and treasurer's reports began to be circulated in printed form before meetings, and in 1957, the entire Annual Report was printed in pamphlet form for prior distribution. The Annual Reports for the next four seasons include reports from executive members, the six committees of the Club, the many study groups, and the ten organizations to which the UWCO sent a representative.¹⁰⁵ President Flaherty boasted in 1958

On these pages you will find the story of our continued progress and growth. Records have been broken this year all along the line; in membership, study groups, affiliations and attendance at functions.¹⁰⁶

In 1959, President Ritchie commented that "Educated women are eager to join an organization which gives them an opportunity to use their special abilities in improving some aspect of community life" and noted that newspaper editorials had affirmed "the fact that active interest by women in public affairs was long overdue". Miss Ritchie attributed the record high membership numbers to the publicity garnered from the battle with City Hall, and offered the Club's work as "continuing proof that women have the capacity to make the best dreams of the world come true".¹⁰⁷

Recruitment letters sent out to recent graduates suggest that the Club saw its most important roles as being that of intellectual stimulation and advocate for women's participation in public affairs. A 1958 recruitment letter highlighted the Club's "stimulating program" and membership of "women from universities all over the world", characterizing the Club and the CFUW, as "taking a leading role in the struggle for the admission of women to equal opportunity in public affairs."¹⁰⁸ A 1960 recruitment letter warned recent graduates:

The value of a university education is lost if the knowledge acquired is allowed to lie dormant once the person has passed the necessary examinations and obtained a university degree. This has been all too true of many women graduates in the past. Our aim is to maintain a lively interest in the world about

¹⁰⁴ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, January 1960, No. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57", "Annual Report 1957-58"; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, March 8, 1954.

¹⁰⁶ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58".

¹⁰⁷ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1958-59".

¹⁰⁸ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter from Dr. Beatrice Murray, UWCO, Sept. 23, 1958.

us and to contribute the benefits of our education wherever and whenever possible. Association with other women graduates is a useful stimulant.¹⁰⁹

The Club continued to send letters of sympathy to members who were ill or bereaved and to the families of members who had died. The number of letters increased with the size of the Club, until by 1958, a "Membership Correspondent" had been assigned to this duty, writing 19 letters of sympathy and nine letters of congratulations over the 1958-59 season. The deaths of founding or longtime members were also recognized with flowers, words of tribute, and votes of sympathy. When founder Miss Clifford fell ill in 1943, the executive sent flowers, and on her subsequent death the Club sent a \$10 wreath. When founder Mrs. Adam Shortt died in 1949, "After a few words of tribute by the President, a silent vote of sympathy was expressed".¹¹⁰ When Mrs. D.C. Aylwin died unexpectedly in 1954, the Club sent flowers and observed a minute's silence "as a mark of respect" to her memory. Members were asked to contribute to a memorial fund set up by the Children's Aid Society to provide 'extras' for the Aylwin children. Later that year, the President expressed regret at the death of Mrs. T.S.McMorran, "a valued member of long standing", and the February 1956 meeting opened with a moment of silence in memory of Mrs. R.A.T. Sneath, also "a valued member of the Club". Included in monthly notices mailed to members in 1958 was the news:

It is with deep regret that we record the death, on Friday, October 17, of one of our oldest members, Mrs. S.A. Cudmore. The Executive sent flowers on behalf of the Club.¹¹¹

When longtime member Mrs. A.C. Halferdahl died in 1959, the executive transferred Club funds to the scholarship fund in her memory.¹¹²

The Club continued to send letters of congratulations to Club members who gave birth and in 1958 and 1959, engagements and marriages also began to merit written congratulations. In 1941, Mrs. Katharine Keenleyside accepted the Club's congratulations on the birth of her baby, in the same month that she was asked to join the executive. She attended every executive meeting that season, including one which she hosted.

While the Club did not record any congratulations for the achievements of members during the 1940s, during the subsequent decade, Club meetings and written communications were flooded with congratulations for degrees earned, awards given, appointments received

¹⁰⁹ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Carleton University Registrar, from Miss Traynor, Mar. 3, 1960.

¹¹⁰ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Jan. 20, 1949; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Feb. 1, 1949.

¹¹¹ Vol. 7, File 3, Monthly Notices.

¹¹² Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Mr. A.C. Halferdahl, from Miss Ritchie, Apr. 20, 1959; Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Mar. 7, 1960, and Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57", "Annual Report 1957-58"; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Jan. 11, Mar. 8 and Nov. 8, 1954, Feb. 13, Mar. 12 and April 9, 1956; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Mar. 1 and Sept. 20, 1943. Mrs. Aylwin, B.A. (Manitoba, 1937) first joined the Club in 1940 as Valborg Nielsen, an actuarial clerk with the Department of Insurance. She left the Club but returned in 1947 as Mrs. Aylwin. The Club raised \$66.00 for the Aylwin Fund.

and elections won. Recognition was given, not only to the achievements of members during the 1950s, but the achievements of all Canadian women, repeating a practice followed at the Club's founding. The Club wrote to member Senator Cairine Wilson when she was selected as Canadian "Mother of the Year" and received honours from the Government of France in 1950, and in 1960 on the 30th anniversary of her senate appointment. In 1952, the Club sent congratulations to Dr. Mary McArthur on being awarded a fellowship by the Agricultural Institute of Canada, and to Mrs. D.B. Sinclair on receiving an honorary degree from Laval University. In 1953, the President congratulated Mrs. G.D. Finlayson on her appointment as Chairman of the Public School Board, Mrs. Dallyn on her appointment as Vice-president of the LCW, Mrs. Gilleland on her appointment as the only female Vice-president of the Canadian Penal Association, Mrs. Watson Sellar and Miss Constance Hayward on their nominations as chairmen of the IFUW Finance Committee and the IFUW Cultural Relations Committee, and Mrs. E.F. Sheffield and Mrs. Sproule on obtaining their M.A. degrees. The President also noted "with satisfaction" the appointment of non-members Mrs. Nancy Hodges to the Senate and Mrs. Ambridge to the Public School Board, sending letters of congratulations. In 1954, the Club congratulated Mrs. G.D. Finlayson on being re-elected Chairman of the Public School Board and Mrs. Dallyn, Mrs. McGregor Watt and Mrs. Frank Ryan on being elected Vice-Presidents of the LCW. The Club also recognized the appointment of new member Miss Marion Royce as Director of the Women's Bureau for the Department of Labour, a newly established post which was "a cause of much satisfaction to women's groups across the country", and of member Miss Mair Davies as her assistant. The following year, Miss Royce was congratulated on the study of married women in employment she had undertaken "to improve the status of women's work in Canada", and members were asked to complete a questionnaire for the study. In 1955, the President congratulated Miss Violet Moyer on her 25 years of service with the Collegiate Institute Board and Dr. Alice Wilson on being made an honorary member of the Field Naturalists Club, and recognized the outstanding achievement of Mrs. Roy McGregor Watt with the Ottawa Little Theatre Workshop. Mrs. Watt had been recognized by the Mayor of Ottawa, and the Club passed a motion to record in the minutes "a statement of the appreciation of the work accomplished by Mrs. Watt", and to notify the CFUW of her achievements. The Club congratulated Mrs. O.J.Gillen on having stories published in *The Ladies' Home Journal* in 1956 and in *The Saturday Evening Post* in 1959. The election of club member Mrs. J.D.C.Boland to the Ottawa Collegiate Board "was noted with pleasure" in 1957 and included in the club's press release to local newspapers. Letters of congratulations were sent to non-member and CFUW provincial director Dr. Mabel Connell on her election to the Board of Broadcast Governors in 1958, and to both the federal government and non-member Miss Margaret Meacher on her appointment as Ambassador to Israel in 1959. That year the Club also congratulated member

Dr. Anna Wilson Sharpe on her appointments to the Public School Board and as first woman Chief Pediatrician at the Civic Hospital and member Mrs. G.D. Finlayson on her election as President of the National Council of Women. Miss Marguerite Ritchie, a government lawyer who served as UWCO president between 1958 and 1960, was the most prolific writer of congratulatory notes, sending letters on UWCO letterhead over her own signature or that of the corresponding secretary to a wide variety of non-Club members, commending them on their achievements, their treatment of the Club or their treatment of women. She congratulated the Postmaster General for issuing a stamp in honour of women,¹¹³ and Prime Minister Diefenbaker for appointing Mrs. Mary Quayle Innis to the Commonwealth Conference on Education, an action "most appreciated by the many informed women in Canada who are anxious to play their full role as citizens".¹¹⁴ She also congratulated local radio station owner Frank Ryan on a local women's program, the local CBC Director of Programs, the female Assistant Director of Services at Montreal City Hall, Senator Cairine Wilson, and Ottawa's first ordained woman minister on their new positions, UWCO colleague Margaret MacLellan on her appointment to the IFUW Committee on the Status of Women, CFUW colleague Rose Ducie on her appointment as President of the Canadian Women's Press Club and two scholarship-winning daughters of UWCO members.¹¹⁵ In 1960 the UWCO, under Miss Ritchie's leadership, wrote letters of congratulations to past CFUW president Dr. Marion Grant on her appointment to the Canadian Commonwealth Scholarship Committee, to Prime Minister Diefenbaker on the appointment of Mrs. Olive Irvine to the Senate, to Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Ellen Fairclough on her appointment of Mrs. Donald Lidstone to the Advisory Council of the National Library Board and her decision to allow one hundred "tuberculosis cases" and their families into Canada from European refugee camps and to Mrs. Eileen Thomas as the first woman lawyer in Ottawa to be made a "Queen's Counsel".¹¹⁶

¹¹³ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Hon. Wm. Hamilton, Postmaster General, from Miss Ritchie, July 21, 1959.

¹¹⁴ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to the Rt. Hon. John G. Diefenbaker, P.C., M.P., from Mrs. Watkinson, July 31, 1959.

¹¹⁵ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letters to Miss M. Flaherty and Miss Jeannie Arnason from Miss Ritchie, Sept. 10, 1959.

¹¹⁶ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Miss Gordon from Nancy Stodges, Nov. 30, 1953, "Diary of Year 1958-9"; Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Mrs. O.J. Gillen from Miss Ritchie, July 21, 1959, letters to Mr. Spencer Moore, Miss Germaine Pepin, Cairine Wilson, and the Rev. Eria Currey, from Miss Ritchie, Aug. 17, 18 and 24, 1959, letter to Dr. Marion Grant, Dean of Women, Acadia University, Dec. 12, 1959, from Mrs. E.A. Watkinson, letters to Miss Rose Ducie, *The Western Producer*, Sept. 20, 1959, to Dr. Anna Wilson Sharpe, Oct. 30, 1959, to Mrs. E.M. Thomas, Jan. 7, 1960, to Hon. John Diefenbaker, Jan. 11 and Feb. 14, 1960 and to Hon. Ellen Fairclough and Mrs. Lidstone, Feb. 15, 1960, from Miss Traynor, reply from Mrs. Lidstone, Feb. 19, 1960, "Housewife on Board of Library", *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 4, 1960, and "Former School Teacher Chosen Senator by PCs", *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 20, 1960; Vol. 4, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Hon. Mrs. Ellen Fairclough, from Miss Traynor, Jan. 11, 1960; Vol. 6, File 1, Honours to Members, letters to Mrs. D.M. Westington, UWCO, from Cairine Wilson, May 18 and Nov. 9, 1950; Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Nov. 10, 1952, April 13 and Nov. 9, 1959, Feb. 8 and Mar. 7, 1960; Vol. 9, File 3, Report of the Corresponding Secretary, Oct. 6, 1958; Vol. 9, File 5, CFUW, letter to Dr.

During the war, the Club invested heavily in Victory Bonds, using the money it would normally have spent on refreshments. After the war, it continued to reinvest in government bonds, so that by 1960, it held \$4250 in bonds, two and a half times its 1940 holdings of \$1700, as well as a \$100 share in the Chelsea Club.¹¹⁷ The UWCO had been awarding small scholarships to female graduates of local collegiates since 1935. The number and amount of these scholarships was raised as the number of institutions, and the interest income generated by UWCO investments, increased. In 1942 the scholarships were raised to \$40 each and in 1950 a third scholarship was added for girl students at Nepean High School. In 1951 the amount was raised to \$75 each. In 1952 the amount was again raised to \$100 each, and girls who had already received scholarships totaling \$500 or more were excluded. By 1953, there were four collegiate scholarships of \$100 being awarded, to girls at Glebe and Lisgar Collegiates, and Nepean and Fisher Park High Schools. In 1952 the UWCO added to its scholarship portfolio "The Dr. Alice E. Wilson Scholarship", valued at \$100, and awarded to "a deserving student" at the newly established Carleton College, "preference to be given to a woman student where other qualifications are equal". By this time, Dr. Wilson had been teaching geology at Carleton for "a number of years". The Club sponsored an Ottawa performance of the National Ballet Company in 1953, and a theatre night in 1955, with the profits from both events going towards the scholarship fund. Yet when the Club received another request to sponsor an artistic performance in 1959, it declined, saying

We have not engaged in any money-raising activities... since the National Ballet was first brought to Ottawa. The Club fees were raised on the understanding that it would not be necessary for the Club to engage in money-raising activities.¹¹⁸

Mabel Connell from Miss A.D. Milligan, UWCO, Dec. 2, 1958; Vol. 18, Minute Books VII and VIII, Jan. 12, Feb. 9, Mar. 9, Nov. 9 and Dec. 14, 1953, Jan. 11, Feb. 8 and Dec. 13, 1954, Mar. 14, April 18 and Nov. 14, 1955, Jan. 9 and April 9, 1956; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Sept. 16, 1940 and Nov. 3, 1941; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Visit to Public Archives", *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 14, 1953, and press release, Mrs. O.J. Gillen, 1957. Mrs. Irvine was the first woman senator chosen by the Diefenbaker government and the seventh woman senator ever appointed. See "Combines Legal Career With Running A Home," *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 2, 1960, for a biography of Mrs. Thomas. Babies were born to active members Mrs. Waddell and Mrs. Whittle in 1940. In 1941 there were at least four babies born, but in later years, it is impossible to know how many members bore babies, as the records often name members without indicating the reason for congratulations.

¹¹⁷ Vol. 7, File 1, Treasurer's Reports and Balance Sheets.

¹¹⁸ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Miss Jean Southward, from Miss Traynor, Nov. 10, 1959; Vol. 9, File 1, Scholarships, "Annual Reports of the Scholarship Committee", letter to Dr. E.F. Sheffield, Registrar, Carleton College, from Miss Elizabeth Gordon, Secretary, UWCO, Nov. 14, 1952, and letter in reply, Nov. 22, 1952; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, correspondence between Miss Elizabeth Gordon, Secretary, UWCO, and Mr. Walter Homburger, The National Ballet Guild of Canada, Oct. 1952 – Feb. 1953; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Oct. 19, 1953 and Jan. 10, 1955; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "U.S. System of Election", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 4, 1952, and "Carleton College Scholarships", Nov. 1952, "University Women Group Total 268", *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 9, 1953. The "Dr. Alice E. Wilson Scholarship" was changed in 1954 to "The University Women's Club Scholarship in honour of Dr. Alice E. Wilson". The Club sold 992 tickets to the National Ballet performance, making a 10% commission on total proceeds of \$2455.00. It made a profit of \$195.00 on the theatre night.

In 1945, the Club donated the \$50 share it held in the Drama League, to support the League's post-war plans for building repairs and an expanded programme for the Ottawa Little Theatre. In 1949, the Club donated \$25 to the prize fund of the Ottawa Little Theatre Workshop Playwriting Competition. In 1952, Club member Mrs. Roy McGregor (Gladys) Watt, an active force in the Ottawa Little Theatre, asked the Club to commit to an annual grant, much like its high school scholarships. The Club donated \$50 to the prize fund, but declined to commit to an annual prize. When Mrs. Watt asked again in 1953, the Club agreed and a permanent annual prize of \$50 for the third place winner was established in the Club's name. When the Theatre Foundation of Ottawa sought "the support of all persons interested in the cultural growth of the city to provide a suitable building for local and visiting dramatic groups" in 1957, the Club responded by raising the \$200 required to purchase a donors 'seat', through members' donations.¹¹⁹

In 1959, the Club began an annual donation of \$25 to the scholarship fund of the Canadian-American Women's Committee on International Relations, to support the exchange program between students from Carleton University and students from New Haven Teachers' College in Connecticut. The exchange program had been operating for 10 years and Club members had played host to New Haven students on a number of occasions.¹²⁰

Outside of these educational initiatives, the Club continued to decline requests for donations of Club funds, maintaining that it was not a fundraising or charitable organization. Instead, it acted as a conduit for outside requests, permitting charitable causes to be announced at Club meetings for private donations or volunteering of time by members. One of the few exceptions to this rule was the Club's annual \$10 donation to the Poppy Fund, which had not increased despite the passage of 40 years. Mrs. Cudmore continued to take up a collection among members at the December dinner to provide newspaper subscriptions for the Protestant Home for the Aged; when she died in 1958, the collection was continued on her behalf. A collection was also taken up at Christmas dinners between 1938 and 1945 for the Public School Milk Fund. When only \$5.25 was raised for the Fund in 1945, the Club "after some discussion" donated \$15.00 of Club funds, and the following year there was no milk fund collection.¹²¹ When the LCW asked for the Club's support in funding the Princess Alice Foundation for the

¹¹⁹ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Jan. 6, 1958; Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Mrs. Phyllis Turner, UWCO, from M. Coule, Mar. 19, 1949 and letter to Mrs. H.W. Gilleland, President, UWCO, from Gladys Watt, Ottawa Little Theatre Workshop Playwriting Competition, Jan. 30, 1952; Vol. 18, Minute Books VII and VIII, Nov. 12, 1945, Feb. 11, 1952 and Dec. 14, 1953; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Dec. 3, 1945.

¹²⁰ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Miss Marguerite Ritchie, President, UWC, from Dorothy Bishop, Mar. 20, 1959.

¹²¹ Vol. 14, File 2, Ottawa Local Council of Women, "May 11, 1942"; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 11, 1938 and Jan. 8, 1945; and Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Nov. 1942, Nov. 1943, Nov. 1944 and Dec. 1, 1947.

Education and Development of Youth Leaders, UWCO executive agreed that "although the club policy was not to make contributions, individual contributions might be encouraged".¹²²

The war tested the Club's commitment not to fundraise: it avoided financial obligation by taking up voluntary collections among members, and by donating the time and talents of its members. At the outset, the executive declined a Red Cross request to provide a canvassing team for the National War Appeal on the grounds that the Club "does not do canvassing for any cause", despite previous activities in this respect.¹²³ Despite its vow not to become involved in war work, the Club found that some of its members did not belong to any of the associations already doing war work and it soon formed a Red Cross Sewing & Knitting Group, raising funds from members to buy the necessary materials. Club member Mrs. Vernon Heakes was the national convener of a CFUW committee for placing the children of British university women in Canadian homes for the duration of the war, and a UWCO committee was set up to look after local placements. Club members volunteered to take children, and were later asked for donations of clothing, furniture, summer homes and money for music lessons for British women and children who were "war guests". UWCO members also assisted or offered financial support to the LCW in many of their war projects: a fundraising exhibition of the dolls of the Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret, a fundraising drive for war equipment, a food sale and the campaign for National Registration. UWCO member Miss Dorothy Bishop took up a collection for the "Dorothy Spitfire Fund", in which CFUW Executive member called on all 'Dorothys' to contribute. At the request of the YWCA War Services Committee, chaired by Club member Mrs. Bryce Stewart, the Club hosted several social events for out-of-town girls who had come to Ottawa to work in wartime civil service positions. Members were also encouraged to invite small groups of girls into their homes for Sunday tea. The Club appointed a Liaison Officer to War Time Prices and Trade Board between 1942 and 1945, and the liaison officer and her committee distributed ration books for the Board. In 1943, the Club responded to a Labour Department request for help in compiling statistics on the position of professional women during the war. In 1944, a UWCO committee investigated the postal censorship of letters from women's committees on post war reconstruction, quickly ascertaining that the censorship directive had already been rescinded.¹²⁴¹²⁵ The Club also sent Christmas gifts to the navy and marine recruits at Halifax. When several members asked in October 1943 "why the Club was not doing something to raise

¹²² Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Feb. 12, 1945; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Sept. 17, 1945.

¹²³ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Nov. 3, 1939.

¹²⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 15, 1940, Oct. 23, 1941, April 13 and May 11, 1942, Mar. 8, 1943, Jan. 10 and Feb. 14, 1944, Mar. 12, 1945; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, May 1940, May and Dec. 1, 1941, Mar. 2, and May 1942, Mar. 1 and Nov. 29, 1943, Sept. 17, 1945. The bomber was to be named "The Ottawa Local Council of Women" after its sponsors. The Labour Department report was being compiled at the request of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women. The investigation into postal censorship was prompted by a request from the YWCA.

¹²⁵ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, Oct. 14, 1941, Jan. 24, 1942.

money for war charities," the executive responded that the club was already supporting many war services and "was not a money making organization".¹²⁶

At the end of the war, the IFUW established a fund for the educational rehabilitation of professional women in Europe, and the UWCO quickly raised \$185.00 for the fund through members' donations. Much smaller amounts were collected in 1946 and 1955, and in later years, the Club sent its own funds to the IFUW Relief Fund and the fund to support IFUW clubhouse, Crosby Hall.¹²⁷

In the fall of 1941, the CFUW forwarded a request by the British Federation of University Women for bundles of used clothing for British university women. The Club began collecting clothing from members and allocated Club funds for freight charges, sending its first 75lb. box to London in 1942. More bundles were sent in 1943 and 1945 and after the war the Club continued to collect food and clothing from members to send to needy British and European university women. The CFUW provided lists of women to whom parcels could be sent and the Club collected money from members for postage or sent parcels through CARE. Members were also encouraged to make donations of food, clothing and money directly through the Unitarian Church. Between 1945 and 1956 the Club sent food and clothing parcels to university women in Britain, Finland, Norway, France, Hungary, Austria, Italy and Greece, sending up to fifteen parcels in some years. While early donations had been primarily of used clothing, the need increasingly shifted to food. By the mid-fifties, members were primarily asked to give money, which could be used to purchase CARE packages or UNESCO Gift Coupons to send overseas.¹²⁸ In 1954, 1958 and 1959 the Club purchased \$10 UNESCO Gift Coupons, which were used to provide educational supplies to underdeveloped countries, using donations collected from members.¹²⁹

After the war, the Club divided the proceeds from a 1949 theatre night among the IFUW Fund for Crosby Hall, the Canadian-American Women's Committee on International Relations,

¹²⁶ Vol. 14, File 2, OLCW, "Report from LCW: 1940-41; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "War Time Work: 1939-45"; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 15, 1940; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Nov. 3, 1939, May 27, Sept. 9 and Nov. 1, 1940, Jan. 7 and Mar. 24, 1941, Nov. 1, 1943.

¹²⁷ Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, January 7, 1946 and Mar. 11, 1947; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Dec. 3, 1945, Jan. 3 and April 1, 1946, Feb. 3, 1947; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club Reports Active Year", May 9, 1950, "University Women's Club Elects Miss Mora Guthrie," *Ottawa Journal*, May 19, 1955.

¹²⁸ Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, "Report on Clothing for British Women", "Clothing for British University Women, 1943-44", and letter to Mrs. H.R.Kemp, President, UWCO, from Finnish Federation of University Women, Oct. 4, 1948; Vol. 18, Minute Books VI, VII and VIII, Oct. 23, 1941, Feb. 11, 1942, April 12, 1943, April 9, 1945, Feb. 10, 1947, Jan. 10 and Mar. 14, 1949, Jan. 9, Feb. 13 and Mar. 13, 1950, Jan. 8, March 12 and May 14, 1951, Feb. 11 and Mar. 10, 1952, Feb. 9, Mar. 9, Nov. 9, and Dec. 14, 1953, Mar. 8, 1954, April 18, 1955, Jan. 9, 1956; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Jan. 8 and May 28, 1947, Oct. 6 and Dec. 6, 1948.

¹²⁹ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Jan. 6, 1958; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Mrs. D.A. Smith, UWCO, from Kathleen E. Bowly, United Nations Association in Canada, Apr. 27, 1954, and letter to Miss

and the Drama League Play Writing competition. A subscription fund was also opened for Crosby Hall, so that members could make private donations. More theatre nights, a doll raffle and a white elephant sale were held in 1950 and 1951 to raise funds for the 1952 CFUW Triennial, hosted by the UWCO in Ottawa. When the Triennial fund realized a surplus, the money was set aside for future conferences.¹³⁰

The UWCO became increasingly interested in maintaining a network of contacts with other organizations. It was often called upon to give support to issues raised by other organizations, and discovered the positive force that resulted when groups came together to lobby for change. The Club continued to send representatives to the LCW and to the United Nations Society (formerly the League of Nations Society). The Club also appointed representatives to various local and national committees in response to their requests for UWCO involvement. The Club sent a representative to a 1942 Ottawa conference sponsored by the National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War (U.S.A.) and the Women's Committee on International Relations (Canada) and a 1942 housing meeting sponsored by the Ottawa Public Affairs Council, and joined the Council in 1943. In 1943 the UWCO and other groups sponsored a summer holiday camp for girls in the civil service. In 1944, the UWCO sent three representatives to a Health League meeting on venereal disease and two representatives to a viewing of consumer films sponsored by the Women's Voluntary Services, and appointed delegates to a Board of Trade Citizen's Committee for post war planning in the Hull-Ottawa area. In 1945 the Club appointed a representative to a subcommittee of the Citizen's Committee on Rehabilitation (formed by the Ottawa Council of Social Agencies) to consider the problems of women discharged from the services. In 1946, the UWCO appointed a representative to a committee for the local promotion of Girl Guide Work. In 1947, the CFUW asked the UWCO to send representatives to a gathering of Canadian women to set up a permanent consumer organization.¹³¹ When the Canadian Association of Consumers was formed in October, the Club declined a corporate membership because "its objectives seemed to be somewhat outside our field," but encouraged Club members to join individually. C.A.C. representatives canvassed for members at UWCO meetings in 1948, 1949, 1954 and 1955. The Cancer Society also conducted membership drives at Club meetings in 1948 and 1950, and invited the Club to send a representative to their annual meeting in 1949.¹³² In 1951, the Club began to send a

Joan Stewart, UWCO, from (Miss) Muriel W. Jacobson, UNESCO Gift Coupon Office, Jan. 27, 1958; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, April 12, 1954.

¹³⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Mar. 14, 1949, Oct. 10 and Dec. 11, 1950, Oct. 9 and Nov. 12, 1951, Oct. 14, 1952; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Mar. 7, 1949. The theatre nights raised \$363.00 and \$684.00 each, the sale \$46.75 and the raffle \$430.00. The Club was left with a surplus of \$450.00 and assessed each membership fee 25 cents.

¹³¹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Sept. 8, 1947.

¹³² Vol. 18, Minute Books VI, VII and VIII, April 13, 1942, Feb. 14, 1944, Jan. 12 and April 12, 1948, April 11, 1949 and May 10, 1954; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Books E and F, Mar. 30 and Nov. 9, 1942, May 3

representative to the Ottawa Film Council, and made use of the Council's films and projectors. In 1952, when the Elizabeth Fry Society formed a new branch in Ottawa, the UWCO became a corporate member, and members were invited to take out individual membership. In 1953 the Club appointed a representative to the new Housing Committee of the Ottawa Welfare Council. In 1957, the Club joined the local Citizenship Council and the Overseas Friendship Society and appointed representatives to both organizations. The Council, founded in 1952, was concerned with the welfare and integration of immigrants, and with educating both new and old Canadians on the responsibilities of citizenship. The Friendship Society was formed in 1955 to provide hospitality to visiting foreign scholars. The UWCO executive felt there was "a good opportunity to extend a helping hand here" given the CFUW interest in maintaining close relationships with overseas students, "and also perhaps to find some new members".¹³³ By 1960 the Club was sending representatives to 10 different local associations: the Local Council of Women, the Canadian Association of Consumers, the Community Planning Association, the Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada, the Mental Health Association, the Ottawa Film Council, the Society of University Alumni of Ottawa, the Ottawa Citizenship Council, the Overseas Friendship League, and the United Nations Association.¹³⁴

In May 1958, the President wrote "Our relationships with neighbouring University Women's Clubs and local organizations with common aims and problems have been instructive and productive."¹³⁵ The UWCO was part of a close network of local women's organizations who attended each others dinners and special events and worked together on community issues. When the new executive was elected in 1958 the secretary notified fifteen local associations of the changes. The UWCO was also recognized as part of the community: the Club president was invited to the ceremonies installing the new president of Carleton College and the first convocation of Carleton University.¹³⁶

The UWCO continued its long association with the CFUW, but the nature of this relationship changed. In 1954, the Club's CFUW representative remarked that "members of our Club have by their initiative and leadership, given the CFUW a shot in the arm", referring to the many resolutions sent from the UWCO to the CFUW. She concluded that

and Nov. 29, 1943, Feb. 7, Mar. 6 and Sept. 18, 1944, June 12, 1945, Mar. 4, 1946, Oct. 6, 1947 and Jan. 5, 1949. While "Camp Britannia" did provide a convenient holiday spot on the Ottawa River for 100 girls, it also went into a deficit, and the UWCO was one of the sponsoring organizations called upon for a small donation to help it out.

¹³³ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, "Overseas Friendship Society".

¹³⁴ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Miss M.E. Ritchie, President, UWCO, from Wylda McDermid, Oct. 7, 1958; Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1959-60" and File 6, Monthly Reports, March 10, 1952; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Feb. 11 and Nov. 10, 1952; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club", *Ottawa Citizen*, May 12, 1953, and "Amelia Hall! Gives Talk", *Ottawa Journal*, 1953, and press releases, Mar. 15, 1955 and Mar. 11, 1957.

¹³⁵ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1957-58".

¹³⁶ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, "Diary of Year 1958-9".

the prestige of CFUW has been enhanced greatly in the eyes of both the public and government, because of the present policy of many local Clubs, such as ours, to take the initiative in trying to solve various human problems.

While it had always maintained a strong interest in the CFUW, between 1940 and 1960 the UWCO assumed a stronger sense of ownership and responsibility for the national group. In 1943, the UWCO passed three resolutions for consideration by the CFUW at its Triennial conference, indicating the direction it hoped the CFUW would take. The Club endorsed the CFUW plan to study "problems of post-war educational reconstruction and social recovery", and urged the CFUW to "advocate equal remuneration for tasks of equal value" on the basis that

We believe in the full equality of women in the life of the nation and that no opportunities in services or work should be closed by reason of sex.¹³⁷

In the third resolution the UWCO "strongly" urged the CFUW to "make itself an active force in the public affairs of Canada".¹³⁸ When Mrs. Phyllis Turner reported on the Triennial that fall, she complained that the CFUW was "too academic in its outlook and not fully aware of the importance of the position that university women should occupy in public life".¹³⁹ She was disappointed with the CFUW decision not to join the National Council of Women or the Canadian Women's Committee on International Relations. With a view to changing the direction of the CFUW, Mrs. Turner recommended that a committee be set up to monitor the CFUW and bring policy recommendations to the Club, and that the UWCO become more involved in putting forward candidates for election to the CFUW executive. The turning point seems to have been the 1952 CFUW Triennial, which was hosted by the UWCO in Ottawa. Following the theme "Woman and the State", it considered the position of women in political and economic life and in international affairs. UWCO President Miss Margaret MacLellan gave an opening speech describing the 'positive' debt owed by educated women:

The State has made a heavy investment in each and every one of us when we were given the opportunity to graduate from a University. If these investments were sound in the first place, they should continue to pay rich dividends for the rest of our lives – not only to the individual – that's you and me – but to the State as well – the senior partner.¹⁴⁰

She challenged the women to "move mountains" and make an impact on

this troubled and unsettled world which is so desperately in need of disinterested guidance. Democracy is in the midst of a great moral, intellectual and spiritual crisis, and requires – as never before – the intellectual honesty, the ability to think clearly and the sense of moral values. All great and lasting reforms have sprung from the dynamic minds of minorities who followed the "questing, difficult

¹³⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, May 10, 1943; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities.

¹³⁸ *Idem.*

¹³⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 12, 1943.

¹⁴⁰ Vol. 10, File 3, CFUW Triennial Conference, "Address of Welcome by Margaret E. MacLellan".

and unspectacular road of creative doubt". Let us, too, follow this questing road.¹⁴¹

Guest speaker Dr. Hilda Neatby continued this theme in a speech entitled "Are Women Fulfilling Their Obligations to Society?", in which she discussed the rights obtained by women in the last fifty years and their concomitant obligation to participate in public service. After 1952, more UWCO members held CFUW executive positions: in 1954 alone, five UWCO members sat on CFUW committees and when the new CFUW position of Provincial Director was created in 1955, UWCO member Mrs. Donald MacKinnon was elected to the position. Rather than being on the receiving end of CFUW recommendations, the UWCO was increasingly in the position of recommending action to the CFUW. In 1953, the UWCO was the only one of 70 member clubs to forward resolutions to the CFUW Council for approval. It forwarded four resolutions that year, three of which were immediately acted upon by the CFUW. In 1954, UWCO President Miss Margaret MacLellan was asked to speak at a CFUW Regional Conference in Ottawa, outlining the UWCO's preparation of briefs during the previous year. In 1955, the UWCO passed a motion directing the incoming CFUW executive to work towards resolutions already adopted by the CFUW but not pursued. In 1956, the Club submitted three resolutions to the CFUW for consideration at its Council meeting in Kingston. After the resolutions had been presented by two UWCO members at the Council meeting, the UWCO president received a letter from CFUW Vice-President (and UWCO member) Mrs. W.H.Gilleland commending their performance:

we have all arrived at the point where we expect any representation of the Ottawa Club to be excellent ...[but the two representatives] did a job of outstanding merit...The Ottawa Club is the most outstanding one in Canada by virtue of its concern with matters of national importance that come within the scope of the purposes of the CFUW. As long as you send delegates to speak for you, who are of the calibre of all those representing you in Kingston, you will maintain your position in the Federation because you also have something of importance for your representatives to say.¹⁴²

In 1957, the UWCO president noted with approval that the resolutions adopted by the CFUW that year were strongly in line with the 1956 IFUW Conference recommendations that the study of conditions and legislation of concern to women should be intensively pursued. In 1958, the UWCO forwarded a resolution to the CFUW Triennial complaining that many resolutions adopted between 1952 and 1958 had not been implemented, and because "there is nothing so barren as an idea not followed through", called on the incoming CFUW executive to "work toward the achievement of goals set forth in resolutions already adopted".¹⁴³ In 1959, the

¹⁴¹ *Idem.*

¹⁴² Vol. 9, File 5, CFUW, letter to Miss Gladys Harvey, from Mrs. W.H. Gilleland, Vice-President (Central Canada), CFUW, July 3, 1956. Mrs. Gilleland, B.A., M.A. (Queen's), a member of the UWCO since ? , was president in 1950-52. She had served the CFUW as chairman of the CFUW Publications Committee 1952-55, VP (Central Region) 1955-58. She had also founded the Elizabeth Fry Society of Ottawa and served as its president 1951-54.

¹⁴³ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, 1920-58, "CFUW Resolutions 1958", Feb. 27, 1958.

UWCO hosted a CFUW Eastern Ontario Regional Conference for university women's clubs, on the theme "The Educated Woman in the World Today". Topics of discussion included: "Should a woman's talents be confined to the home?", "Barriers of tradition in jobs and careers", "Education of women for WHAT?", "Legal Problems Facing Women", "Recruiting women for public office", and "Education of men in women's problems". The conference included a panel on Civic Responsibilities and conference organizers asked clubs to collect "any examples of discrimination against qualified women".¹⁴⁴ An American magazine article distributed at the conference, entitled "Have College Women Let Us Down?", complained that the contemporary woman undergraduate had let us all down, because she was lacking in civic spirit, was interested only in security and uninterested in the world around her. Charles Lynch, chief of the Ottawa bureau, Southam News Services, gave a satirical dinner speech in which he praised the natural superiority of Canadian women, and the benefits to Canada if they were to hold positions in government, politics and business. He criticized women for letting those qualities lie undeveloped, exhorting them to abandon 'good works', quit their clubs and 'provide the missing ingredients in our society'.¹⁴⁵

The UWCO's newfound sense of responsibility extended beyond the CFUW into the wider world. A 1959 newspaper report described the Club as:

One of the liveliest, best informed and fightingest women's groups in Ottawa... a thriving organization of women university graduates from all over the world... There is almost no aspect of civic or world affairs that the club will not tackle and they have frequently made headlines in the past with their forthright stand on controversial topics.¹⁴⁶

Lobbying was directed at the municipal, provincial and federal governments, on both local and wider issues, and the level of UWCO activity in all three areas increased rapidly. At the federal and provincial levels, the Club's preferred method was to study the issue, either through study groups or a specially-formed committee, and then to pass a motion or resolution setting out the UWCO position. Resolutions were forwarded by letter to either the appropriate politicians or bureaucrats, or to the CFUW for further study and lobbying at the national level.

At the federal level, the UWCO intervened in the areas of refugees, gender discrimination, penal reform, the establishment of a national library, amendments to the *Indian Act*, the *Succession Duty Act*, the *Income Tax Act*, the *Citizenship Act*, the appointment of women to the Senate and to government boards and commissions, and the development of the

¹⁴⁴ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to club presidents from (Miss) M.E. Ritchie, President, UWCO, May 16, 1959; Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1958-59".

¹⁴⁵ Vol. 10, Interclub Activity, CFUW Regional Conference, Howard Mumford Jones, "Have College Women Let Us Down?," *Mademoiselle*, Jan. 1952, speech by Charles Lynch, "Wimmin!!"; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Feb. 14, 1955; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Ottawa Group in Hamilton," *Ottawa Journal*, June 1954, "University Club Holds Conference," *Ottawa Citizen*, June 2, 1954, and "Club Plans Busy Season," *Ottawa Citizen*, Sept. 12, 1957.

residential environment. In 1939, the UWCO passed a motion agreeing that members should urge the government to admit selected groups of victims of political persecution in Europe. This followed a lecture on "The Refugee Problem" by Miss Constance Hayward, a member of both the UWCO and the Canadian National Committee on Refugees and Victims of Political Persecution ("CNCRVP"). The following year the UWCO sent a representative to the CNCRVP. In 1943, Senator Cairine Wilson, Chairman of the CNCRVP and a new UWCO member, asked the Club to support a CNCRVP petition urging the government to allow refugees immediate sanctuary in Canada. The Club responded by passing a second motion urging the government to welcome refugees and facilitate their entry into Canada, changing the immigration laws if necessary. In 1943 they passed a motion urging the CFUW to send a resolution to the federal government, similar to one passed by the National Council of Women, urging the government to "take a firm stand to keep down inflation and to keep the price ceiling from collapsing".¹⁴⁷

Between 1936 and 1941 the UWCO had halfheartedly pursued the exclusion of women from the civil service category for university graduates, forwarding resolutions to the government only when prompted by the CFUW or by Senator Cairine Wilson. In 1946, it was the UWCO executive itself which raised "the apparent tendency of the Civil Service to discriminate against women in recent appointments." They felt that "the whole question should be opened" and appointed a committee to prepare a resolution.¹⁴⁸ The committee's resolution was approved by the Club the following month and forwarded to the Civil Service Commission:

Since many advertisements of professional and scientific positions in the Federal Civil Service exclude women from the competition therefore, and since an increasing number of women hold the requisite qualifications for such positions, Be It Resolved that all competitions for the Public Service of Canada be open to qualified persons of either sex.¹⁴⁹

Copies were sent to the CFUW, asking for the support of other university women's clubs, and to the deputy ministers of each government department. The Chairman of the Civil Service Commission ("CSC"), Charles Bland, responded by promising that the CSC would

do all in its power to see that when positions in the Public Service can be filled by members of either sex, no sex restriction is included in its advertisements for public competitions.

When the Acting Secretary of the CSC received a copy from Public Works, he responded more ambiguously, assuring the Club that while the majority of positions were open to both sexes,

¹⁴⁶ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "UWC Active in Many Fields," *Ottawa Journal*, Feb. 19, 1959.

¹⁴⁷ Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, 1939-65, letter to Mrs. Sheridan from Anna Katharine Cooke, Mar. 30, 1939; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities, "War Time Work: 1939-45"; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 8 and Nov. 8 1943; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Nov. 1, 1943.

¹⁴⁸ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Mar. 4, 1946; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 11, 1946.

¹⁴⁹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, April 1, 1946; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, April 8, 1946.

I think you will agree that there are some positions for which women are not considered suitable and on the other hand there are positions for which women are more suitable than men... The interests of the Department are paramount and where, in the interests of a Department, a male employee is essential there can be no discrimination on account of sex... You may rest assured that the interests of women, as far as employment in the Public Service of Canada is concerned, are being looked after by the Civil Service Commission".

Ten other deputy ministers acknowledged receipt of the resolution without comment. The Deputy Minister of National Revenue, Customs and Excise called it "only good common sense" and gave his support. The Deputy Minister of Labour agreed with the

desirability of advertising positions in such a way that women may apply. My personal opinion is that positions being advertised should be open for application from women; although, I recognize that the policy of giving priority to veterans who have had overseas service makes it difficult for a woman to obtain placement.

The Director of Personnel with the Department of Veterans Affairs agreed that

due consideration is given, in advertising each position, as to the possibility of filling it by either male or female candidates, having due regard to the nature of the employment and to the policy of extending preference to veterans with overseas service.

The Deputy Minister of Welfare, was fully prepared to accept the principle, but "there may be individual instances where the nature of the duties attached to a particular position" would necessitate a gender restriction. Although he could not think of any, "it is not altogether impossible that some such situation might develop at some time in the future". While the CSC had been instructed to make all Welfare Branch competitions open to persons of both sexes, he maintained that it was still conceivable that 'special circumstances' might justify a request limiting a competition to males or females. The Deputy Postmaster General advised that because "mail handling is strenuous work involving much manual labour and late hours... staff is predominantly male", and because "postal work can be learned only in the Post Office Department, senior officers are promoted from the lower grades". While advertisements for most headquarters positions included both sexes, "the exceptions [were] positions for manual duties which female employees could not be expected to perform".¹⁵⁰ The UWCO does not seem to have challenged or responded to any of these comments.

¹⁵⁰ Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, "Resolution, 1946" and letters to Miss Margaret A. Burgess, Corresponding Secretary, UWCO, from Charles H. Bland, Chairman, Civil Service Commission of Canada, May 15, 1946, A. MacNamara, Deputy Minister of Labour, May 16 and 23, 1946, Deputy Minister, Department of Finance, May 17, 1946, H. Barton, Deputy Minister, Department of Agriculture, May 17, 1946, C.W. Jackson, Chief Executive Assistant, Office of Deputy Minister, Department of Mines and Resources, May 18, 1946, H.F. Gordon, Deputy Minister, Department of National Defence for Air, May 20, 1946, C.H. Payne, Deputy Minister, Department of National War Services, May 21, 1946, E.H. Coleman, Undersecretary of State, Department of the Secretary of State, May 21, 1946, George F. Davidson, Deputy Minister of Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare, May 21, 1946, D. Sim, Deputy Minister of National Revenue, Customs and Excise, May 22, 1946, Deputy Minister of

In 1954, the UWCO protested a Civil Service Commission job competition for "Personnel Selection Officers" which was restricted to male employees. Corresponding secretary Dorothy Black noted that the UWCO had "long deplored" the use of the limiting words "male" or "female" in competitions and referred to the 1946 resolution. Miss Black argued that the principle of equal opportunity required by the *Civil Service Act* in initial appointments and examinations, should also apply to promotional competitions such as the one at issue. Equality was

important not only for women's organizations, who are the watchdogs of women's rights but also to the high proportion of individual women in the Civil Service.¹⁵¹

Before the letter was received, the competition had been reopened to both male and female employees. Muriel McQueen Fergusson later advised that it was she who had successfully pressured the Commission to re-open the competition to women, after being alerted by another women's group. She thanked the UWCO for their action, advising that it "will certainly strengthen my position in regard to the Civil Service in matters of this kind" and asking that they bring any similar cases of discrimination to her attention.¹⁵² In February 1960, the Civil Service Commission advertised a competition for a court reporter-in-training position for the Canadian Pension Commission, indicating that it was open to males only. The ad caught the attention of Senator Fergusson, who wrote to the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission seeking an explanation and asking for the position to be re-advertised with the reference to males removed. Midway in this debate, women's groups were alerted and the Chairman began receiving other protests, including one from the UWCO.¹⁵³

Reconstruction and Supply, May 22, 1946, E.P. Murphy, Deputy Minister, Department of Public Works, May 22, 1946, M.W. Mackenzie, Deputy Minister, Department of Trade and Commerce, May 25, 1946, O.L. McCullough, Director of Personnel, Department of Veterans Affairs, May 25, 1946, W.G. Mills, Deputy Minister for Naval Services, Department of National Defence, May 30, 1946, C.P. Edwards, Deputy Minister for Transport, May 30, 1946, W.J. Turnbull, Deputy Postmaster General, May 31, 1946, Acting Secretary, Civil Service Commission, June 7, 1946.

¹⁵¹ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Mr. C.H. Bland, Chairman, The Civil Service Commission, from Miss Dorothy Black, UWCO, Mar. 23, 1954.

¹⁵² Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Miss Black, from Muriel McQueen Fergusson, Mar. 25, 1954. The president of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs had alerted Senator Fergusson.

¹⁵³ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letters between Hon. Muriel McQueen Fergusson, Senate and Hon. S.H. Hughes, Q.C., Chairman, Civil Service Commission, Feb. 19, 22, 25, 26 and Mar. 7, 1960, newspaper advertisement, *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 25, 1960, and Civil Service Competition poster. The CSC Chairman explained to Senator Fergusson that the restriction was necessary because the job involved travel. Being accompanied by a female reporter would be an "apparent impropriety". Senator Fergusson could see no impropriety and asked for the competition to be re-advertised without the word "male". The Chairman was loath to interfere with the requesting department's wishes, as "informal enquiries on my part have uncovered a feeling in the Department of Veterans Affairs and among Service organizations that pensioners' disabilities cannot always be properly discussed with, or in the presence of women." Senator Fergusson replied "I was under the impression that the Commission supports the principle that there shall be no discrimination between the sexes, even if a department should deviate from this principle...the Civil Service Commission could draw this to the attention of the Department concerned."

In 1941, responding to a CFUW resolution urging the Minister of Justice to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Prison Reform, the UWCO formed its own committee to study the Commission's *Penitentiary Report*. On the recommendation of the committee, the Club wrote to local members of Parliament asking that they urge the Minister of Justice to have the *Penitentiary Act of 1939* proclaimed law.¹⁵⁴ In 1950, the Penal Reform Study Group prompted the Club to call for the centralization of prison administration under federal jurisdiction. At the 1950 Constitutional Conference on Dominion-Provincial Relations in Ottawa, prisons and reformatories were proposed as one of the areas for which the provinces might be willing to cede jurisdiction to the federal government. Both the Archambault Commission (1938) and the Gibson report (1947) had recommended that prison administration be centralized under federal jurisdiction, something that would only be possible if the provinces gave up their "fundamental rights" in the area. When the Club learned that Ontario Premier Leslie Frost had been willing to consider ceding prisons, they wrote a letter praising his position and enclosing an articulate two-page submission citing setting out the arguments for a centralized penal system and the constitutional arrangements which would permit it. Copies of the letter and submission were sent to the Ontario Minister of Reform Institutions and leader of the opposition, to local members of provincial and federal legislatures, to Agnes McPhail, and to the two women senators. The Club also wrote to the CFUW suggesting they take up the issue, and copies of this letter and the submission were sent to ten other university women's clubs and twenty local women's organizations and political parties. Finally, the Club sent out 13 more copies of the submission to various individuals, including the Governor General's wife, a local judge and the author of the Gibson report. Penal Reform Study Group Convener Margaret MacLellan reported to the Club

In distributing the letter and recommendation re proposed jurisdiction of prisons and reformatories under the BNA Act, we have acted on the principle that if you have something that you feel is worth saying, say it clearly and concisely, say it where it counts, and say it over and over again until some action is taken.¹⁵⁵

The CFUW executive endorsed the UWCO recommendations and submitted them to the Prime Minister and Minister of Justice, who complemented them on the text and advised that it would be incorporated in the official papers of the Constitutional Conference. When Margaret MacLellan learned in September that all provinces except Quebec were in favour of excluding prisons from the "fundamental rights" category, she wrote to every university women's club in her capacity as the convener of the CFUW Committee on Penal Reform, urging them to write

She condemned Veterans' Affairs for their "archaic" attitude and hoped the CSC would scrutinize any future requests to fill positions with males only.

¹⁵⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 1 and April 7, 1941; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities.

¹⁵⁵ Vol. 12, File 4, Penal Reform, "Report re Distribution of Letter to Premier Frost", April 16, 1950; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Mar. 13, 1950.

letters of support to their provincial attorneys-general. The UWCO accordingly sent letters to Premier Frost and Attorney-General Dana Porter commending their stand.¹⁵⁶

As early as 1944, Member of Parliament Paul Martin had suggested that a National Library be established, and the CFUW Library Committee had immediately endorsed his suggestion. Local clubs were asked to indicate their support and the UWCO passed a motion urging the establishment of a national library in March 1944 "since it is generally recognized that libraries are one of the great democratic agencies for the provision of Equality of Opportunity to all citizens".¹⁵⁷ When the Prime Minister finally introduced legislation to establish a National Library in 1952, the CFUW immediately wrote to express their support. The UWCO passed its own motion of support and wrote to local members of parliament to urge that the legislation be passed as quickly as possible.¹⁵⁸

In 1951, a new *Indian Act* (Bill 79) was introduced in the House of Commons. The Canadian Civil Liberties Association ("CCLA") opposed Bill 79, and solicited the support of other groups, including the UWCO. The Club appointed a committee to study the CCLA brief, and when the committee reported to the Club in April 1951, it provoked "considerable discussion". It was only when the Club was assured that the CCLA brief had been supported "100% by the Edmonton Club after careful study" that it passed a motion agreeing that Bill 79 was inadequate.¹⁵⁹ Letters protesting the bill were sent to the Prime Minister, the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration and local members of parliament. Meanwhile, the UWCO committee attended a House of Commons Committee session on Bill 79 and interviewed "various well-informed persons", spending more than an hour with the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. The UWCO committee was

impressed by the genuine interest and sympathy shown by the members of the House Committee and thought that they were honestly trying to do the best for the Indians.¹⁶⁰

The UWCO members concluded that

voting privilege should be the right of Indians just the same as it is for all other Canadian citizens...[and]...wherever possible, Indian children should mix with other Canadian children and get the same education; that would help to integrate them into the general population.

¹⁵⁶ Vol. 12, File 4, copy of letter to Miss Elderkin, Secretary, CFUW, from Stuart Garson, Minister of Justice, Aug. 9, 1950, newsletter from Margaret E. MacLellan, Convener, CFUW Committee on Penal Reform, Oct. 28, 1950; Letter to Hon. Dana Porter, K.C., Attorney-General of Ontario, from Mrs. D.M. Westington, Secretary, UWCO, Nov. 14, 1950; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Nov. 13, 1950; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Must Work Patiently to End Antagonisms", *Ottawa Journal*, Mar. 14, 1950, and "UWC Backs Dr. Charlotte Whitton", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 14, 1950.

¹⁵⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Mar. 13, 1944.

¹⁵⁸ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Mar. 6, 1944; Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, "Monthly Report, Apr. 7, 1952"; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letters to Mrs. J.E.R. Ross, UWCO, from J.F. Cassidy, Private Secretary to the Leader of the Opposition, and from George McIlwraith, MP Ottawa West, Apr. 18, 1952.

¹⁵⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, April 9, 1951.

¹⁶⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, "Report for the UWCO", May 9, 1951.

The Bill eventually became legislation despite the opposition, but the Minister indicated to the UWCO women that it would be reviewed in two years' time. The UWCO asked the CFUW Committee on Education to study the new *Indian Act* particularly with respect to education and voting rights, and present their findings at the 1952 Triennial Conference, and to urge local clubs to study the subject prior to the promised review of the *Act*.¹⁶¹

In 1952, the Status of Women Study Group studied a National Council of Women brief recommending changes to the federal *Succession Duty Act*, which would lessen the burden of estate taxes on widows. The recommended changes sought to "place wives in the role of partners" so that half the marital assets would be hers, and therefore not subject to succession duties. Both the Status of Women study group and the UWCO endorsed the NCW brief, and letters were sent to the Minister of Finance and local members of parliament expressing support for the proposed changes.¹⁶²

In 1953, the Club passed four resolutions which were forwarded to the CFUW for consideration at that year's Council meeting. The resolutions, all four of which originated with the Club's Status of Women Study Group, were the only ones forwarded to the CFUW that year by the 70 university women's clubs across Canada. The first resolution called on the CFUW to urge the Prime Minister

to allocate a just proportion of the existing and future Senate vacancies to women who have in one sphere or another made a notable contribution to the life of the community or nation, with the purpose in so doing of giving recognition to the representation of women according to their voting strength.¹⁶³

The UWCO noted that the CFUW had first declared its support for women senators at its inaugural meeting in 1919, and that a 1949 CFUW resolution had called for more women Senate appointees on the basis of public service rather than political affiliation. By 1953, only two women had been appointed to the Senate. The second UWCO resolution urged that the CFUW take action at both national and local levels "to impress upon the Government the need for appointing one or more qualified women to the Civil Service Commission". A 1943 CFUW resolution to the same effect had not prompted any government action.¹⁶⁴ The third resolution urged the CFUW make further representations to the Minister of Finance and others to

¹⁶¹ Vol. 12, File 5, Amendment to the Indian Act, form letter from Canadian Civil Liberties Union, March 8, 1951, and "Resolution Re Bill 70 (Respecting Indians)", June 9, 1951; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, April 9, 1951; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Minister Promises Flexible Program", *Ottawa Journal*, May 15, 1951, and "University Women Re-Elect Mrs. Gilleland", *Ottawa Citizen*, May 15, 1951.

¹⁶² Vol. 17, File 16, Study Groups – Status of Women Group, letter to Mrs. Gilleland from Betty Gordon, Feb. 27, 1952, Notice of Motion re Changes in the Dominion Succession Duty Act, "University Women Discuss Plans For Triennial", Apr. 1952; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, April 7, 1952. The LCW had been pressing for changes in succession duties paid by widows since at least 1945.

¹⁶³ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 9, 1953.

¹⁶⁴ Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Feb. 9, 1953; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club", *Ottawa Citizen*, May 12, 1953.

implement the *Succession Duty Act* amendments recommended by the National Council of Women and the CFUW the previous year.¹⁶⁵ The fourth resolution urged the CFUW to set up a committee "to impress upon the Federal Government the need to act upon the resolutions submitted."¹⁶⁶ Three of the four resolutions were implemented by the CFUW. In July, the Ottawa press reported that the CFUW had submitted briefs to the Prime Minister and the other parties calling for women appointees to the Senate and Civil Service Commission, and for amendments to the *Succession Duty Act*.¹⁶⁷ President Margaret MacLellan reported that she had signed the joint submission to the Prime Minister, along with eleven other women's organizations. In 1955, the UWCO passed a motion directing the incoming CFUW executive to work towards resolutions already adopted by the CFUW but not pursued, such as the amendments to the *Succession Duty Act* and the appointment of women to the Senate.¹⁶⁸ In 1958, the UWCO passed a second resolution calling on the CFUW to work toward the achievement of goals set out in previous resolutions, including the changes to the *Succession Duty Act* and the appointment of qualified women to the Senate, to Federal Boards and Commissions, and to agencies of the United Nations.¹⁶⁹

The UWCO put Club member Miss Constance Hayward's name forward as a candidate for appointment to the Civil Service Commission in 1956, in support of their argument that the Commission should have a woman member. They also endeavoured to raise support for Miss Hayward's appointment among women's groups across the country.¹⁷⁰

Meanwhile, the Club's Penal Reform Study Group had brought a new series of recommendations to the February 1954 Club meeting, this time to improve the parole system. With rehabilitation as the goal, and effectively supervised parole as the means to achieve it, the resolutions urged the Government of Canada to conduct periodic case reviews of all federal prisoners to determine the optimum time for their release on parole, to extend parole to "the more reformable prisoners" serving sentences in federal institutions, and to employ an adequately trained staff of competent parole officers to supervise those on parole. The Club happily passed the resolutions and forwarded them to the CFUW for presentation at the upcoming triennial in Quebec.¹⁷¹ In May 1954, the Club representative to the Elizabeth Fry

¹⁶⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Feb. 9, 1953.

¹⁶⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Feb. 9, 1953.

¹⁶⁷ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "More Women in High Posts Urged". *Ottawa Citizen*, July 24, 1953.

¹⁶⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Feb. 14, 1955.

¹⁶⁹ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, 1920-58, "CFUW Resolutions 1958", Feb. 27, 1958.

¹⁷⁰ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Miss Cameron from Carrie Osborne, Business and Professional Women's Club, Moncton, N.B. Mar. 19, 1956.

¹⁷¹ Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions: "Recommendation to the Executive: From the Penal Reform Study Group of the UWCO (approved by the Executive, Feb. 1, 1954)", "Note to Accompany Resolution Re Parole - submitted by UWC of Ottawa"; letter to Miss Muriel Steeves, Chairman of Resolutions Committee, CFUW, from Miss Gordon, Feb. 22, 1954; and "Paroled Prisoners Concern of Women's Club", *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 9, 1954; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Feb. 8, 1954.

Society brought two resolutions from that group, asking that released prisoners be offered transportation to their homes, rather than to the place of their sentencing, and that prisoners be paid a higher rate for their services while incarcerated. The UWCO endorsed the resolutions and wrote to the Minister of Justice and the Commissioner of Penitentiaries declaring their support.¹⁷²

In 1956, the UWCO submitted three resolutions to the CFUW for consideration at its Council meeting in Kingston, two of which concerned federal issues. The first resolution urged the CFUW to study Senator Muriel McQueen Fergusson's proposals for improving the lot of federal women prisoners and to make submissions to the federal government urging the adoption of those measures "which will best contribute to the care and rehabilitation of women offenders". The second resolution urged the CFUW to study briefs prepared by the Elizabeth Fry Societies of Ottawa and Vancouver for the Royal Commission on the Criminal Sexual Psychopath, and to make submissions to the appropriate authorities urging the adoption of those measures "which will best contribute to the care and rehabilitation of persons sentenced to preventive detention as criminal sexual psychopaths".

In March 1957, the Penal Reform Study Group brought a resolution to the executive, commending the Minister of Justice and the members of the Fauteux Commission on the "excellence" of the *Fauteux Report (1956)*, particularly with respect to probation and parole services, pre-sentence reports, specialized treatments and institutions, and the need for more crime research. The resolutions also requested clarification of the Commission's recommendations on the housing of federal women prisoners.¹⁷³ In May 1957, the Club passed a resolution brought to it by the Penal Reform Study Group, asking the CFUW to make representations to the Minister of Justice to implement the use of pre-sentence reports, as recommended by the Fauteux Commission in 1956. Implied in the call for pre-sentence reports was the establishment of a system of adult probation, also recommended by the Commission.¹⁷⁴

In 1957, the Club passed a resolution supporting the Canadian Association of Consumers in their stand against trading stamps, and the UWCO President was part of the delegation which presented a brief on the subject to the Attorney-General.¹⁷⁵

When the Minister of Justice suggested in August 1959 that a vacancy on the National Parole Board might be filled with a woman, the UWCO wrote to Prime Minister Diefenbaker suggesting that former president Miss Margaret MacLellan be appointed to the position and

¹⁷² Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, letter to Hon. Stuart Garson, Minister of Justice, from E.M.Lett, Secretary, UWCO, July 13, 1954; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, May 10, 1954; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "UWC Elects Miss Margaret Gill," *Ottawa Journal*, May 1954.

¹⁷³ Vol. 17, File 16, Study Groups – Status of Women Group, "Resolution presented by the Penal Reform Study Group"; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Dr. Willard to Address UWC," *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 16, 1957.

¹⁷⁴ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Mar. 4, 1957.

¹⁷⁵ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57".

asked for the LCW's support.¹⁷⁶ In September 1959, the Prime Minister made a speech to the Women's Press Club in which he indicated that it was general government policy to appoint women to international conferences, and called on women's organizations to put forward suggestions of well-qualified women suitable for appointment to international conferences and bodies and to government Boards and Commissions. Seizing the opportunity, the UWCO circulated written copies of the speech to other women's groups.¹⁷⁷ They also prepared a questionnaire for their own members "to find the hidden talents among our large pool of University-trained women" and enable the Club to "make suggestions from time to time" for federal, provincial or municipal appointments. Membership was now so large that this was the only viable way of discovering "hidden talents" for club purposes as well. In December 1959, the UWCO pointed out to the chairman of the National Capital Commission that despite the traditional interest of Ottawa women in the early history of the city, all eighteen members of the Commission's Historical Advisory Committee were men. The chairman responded by appointing UWCO member and former president Mrs. Mary Gilleland to the Committee. Mrs. Gilleland thanked the Club executive for their letter of congratulations, noting that "there would have been no appointment of any woman had it not been for the representation made by the Ottawa Club."¹⁷⁸

At the provincial level, the UWCO intervened in the areas of discrimination in employment, the appointment of women to provincial boards and positions, amendments to Ontario succession laws and legal registration of married women as real estate brokers. After studying a 1951 brief prepared by the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, asking for a fair employment law in Ontario, the Club endorsed the first clause of the brief, dealing with the elimination of discrimination in employment as to race, creed or national origin, and wrote letters to this effect to the Premier and local M.L.A.s. It declined to endorse the second clause, apparently dealing with gender discrimination, without further study. The *Ontario Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act*, was passed in 1951. In 1954, the UWCO wrote to the Premier of Ontario, expressing approval of proposed amendments to the *Act* which would clarify

¹⁷⁶ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letters between Mrs. Earl Quarrington, Secretary, LCW, and Miss Helen Traynor, Secretary, UWCO, Aug. 28 and Sept. 10, 1959.

¹⁷⁷ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to the office of the Rt. Hon. John Diefenbaker, from Miss Traynor, Sept. 10, 1959, reply Sept. 14, 1959, letters to Mrs. A.S. Morton, President, CFUW and Mrs. W.W. Scott, Kingston, from Miss Traynor, reply from Mrs. Morton, Sept. 28, 1959 and letter to Mrs. Morton from Miss Ritchie, Nov. 7, 1959.

¹⁷⁸ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Miss Ritchie from Mrs. W.H. Gilleland, Vice President, CFUW, Jan. 15, 1959, letters to Mrs. Gilleland, Jan. 9, 1959, and to Anthony Adamson, NCC, Jan. 16, 1960, from Miss Traynor.; Vol. 6, Annual Reports; Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 8, 1960; Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, Mrs. Gilleland, M.A. (History, Queen's 1936) was a one-time teacher at Ottawa Technical School. She joined the UWCO in 1940 and served as president from 1949 to 1951

certain terms, permit groups to file complaints, make investigation of complaints mandatory, and provide protection for victims of discrimination.¹⁷⁹

The UWCO urged the appointment of women to various provincial government positions. In 1952 the Club supported a resolution from the University Women's Club of Toronto, urging the Ontario Department of Reform Institutions to appoint women members to the Training Schools Advisory Board, the Parole Board and the inspection staff of the Department. By the time the secretary wrote to the Minister to express the Club's support, a woman had already been appointed to the Parole Board.¹⁸⁰ In May 1953, the Penal Reform Study Group wrote directly to the Ontario Deputy Attorney-General, urging the appointment of a woman probation officer for the Ottawa magistrate's courts and echoing a plea made several days earlier by the Elizabeth Fry Society. The Study Group then brought the matter to the attention of the Club as a whole, which passed a motion of support and sent its own letter to the Deputy Attorney-General. To everyone's delight, Miss Margaret Ferguson, B.A., LLB, was appointed to the position in July 1953. In 1954, the Club noted "with satisfaction" that women probation officers had also been appointed in Toronto and Windsor.¹⁸¹ In December 1953, the executive, prompted by a further Study Group resolution, wrote to the Minister of Reform Institutions, with copies to local M.L.A.'s and the chairman of the provincial Select Committee on Reform Institutions, reaffirming the Club's approval of the appointment of a woman to the Parole Board and "expressing the hope that the Minister will adopt a policy of appointing more well-qualified women to the Parole Board." The matter arose as a result of the comments of one parole board member, that women should not be appointed to the Board because of the horrible things they would be forced to hear. The lone female Board member apparently withdrew whenever indelicate cases came forward. In its letter to the Minister, the UWCO remarked that

We suspect that her withdrawal when sex cases are discussed is prompted, not so much by a desire to spare herself embarrassment, as to relieve the embarrassment of the male members of the Board. The presence of more women on the Board would do much to improve this situation.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Feb. 12, 1951; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Dr. Douglas Leechman Tells Club of Yukon and BC Totem Pole Area", *Ottawa Journal*, Feb. 13, 1951, "University Women's Club Elects Miss Margaret Gill", *Ottawa Journal*, May 1954, and "University Women Elect Margaret Gill," *Ottawa Citizen*, May 11, 1954.

¹⁸⁰ Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, "Monthly Report, Apr. 7, 1952", letters to Hon. John Foote, Minister of Reform Institutions, from Margaret E. MacLellan, Committee on Penal Reform, May 27, 1952 and from Miss Elizabeth Gordon, June 16, 1952. The Minister had advised Margaret MacLellan of the Parole Board appointment, in her capacity as convener of the CFUW Penal Reform Committee.

¹⁸¹ Vol. 12, File 4, letter to Mr. C.R. Magone, Q.C., Deputy Attorney-General of Ontario, from Miss Elizabeth Gordon, UWCO, May 16, 1953, letter in reply, May 19, 1953, "Margaret Ferguson Probation Officer for City, County", July 8, 1953, and letter to Mr. Magone from Miss Gordon, July 10, 1953; Vol. 18, Minute Books VII and VIII, May 11 and Oct. 19, 1953, Jan. 11, 1954. Although Miss Ferguson was not a UWCO member, she attended the October 1953 meeting of the Club, and was proudly introduced to the assembly.

¹⁸² Vol. 12, File 3, Penal Reform, letter to the Hon. John Foote, V.C., Minister of Reform Institutions, from Miss Elizabeth Gordon, UWCO, Dec. 9, 1953.

In the spring of 1953, the Ontario Department of Reform Institutions solicited recommendations from women's organizations across the province, in anticipation of implementing improvements in services for women offenders. Nine women's associations met in Toronto to pool their information and ideas, setting up the Penal Reform for Women Joint Committee, which by May 1953 had produced a report entitled "There Was A Time When She Too Was A First Offender". The UWCO Penal Reform Study Group studied the report over the winter, and in January 1954 brought their recommendations to the Club. The Club endorsed the recommendations of the Joint Committee, calling for an extension of probation and parole services for women offenders, the creation of a reception centre at the Andrew Mercer Reformatory for Women where newcomers could be studied and classified for treatment and training by a clinical team, and the building of a new institution based on the cottage system, in order to segregate offenders. Letters were sent to the Joint Committee, the Attorney-General for Ontario, the Minister of Reform Institutions, the Ontario Legislature's Select Committee on Reform Institutions and the local members of provincial parliament praising steps already taken with respect to rehabilitation and probation, and urging that the recommendations be implemented. In June 1954, the Joint Committee formally presented their recommendations to the Ontario government. In February 1955, seeing that nothing had been done in the interim, the UWCO wrote a followup letter to Premier Leslie Frost, asking that "early attention" be given to implementing the recommendations.¹⁸³

One of three resolutions submitted by the UWCO to the CFUW for consideration at its 1956 Council meeting in Kingston urged the CFUW to ask member clubs in Ontario and Quebec to undertake studies of their provincial succession duty acts, in order that women be better informed about their financial position under federal and provincial tax laws.¹⁸⁴ When the CFUW

¹⁸³ Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, "Recommendations from the Executive, Jan. 11, 1954"; Vol. 12, File 6, Penal Reform, The Penal Reform for Women Joint Committee, *There Was A Time When She Too Was A First Offender*, (May 1953), letters to Hon. John Foote, Minister of Reform Institutions, to the Penal Reform for Women Joint Committee, to Mr. W.J. Stewart, Chairman, Select Committee on Reform Institutions, to Dana Porter, Attorney-General Ontario, to George Dunbar, M.L.A. and to Mr. D. Morrow, M.L.A., from Elizabeth Gordon, Secretary, UWCO, January 12, 1954, and letter to Hon. Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario, from Miss M.C. Guthrie, President, UWCO, Feb. 15, 1955; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Jan. 11, 1954, and Feb. 14, 1955; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Varied Activities Planned by UWC", *Ottawa Citizen*, Feb. 10, 1955, and "University Club Makes Plans for Spring," *Ottawa Journal*, Feb. 10, 1955. Members of the original Joint Committee included The Big Sister Association of Toronto, The Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Ontario, the Elizabeth Fry Society, Toronto Branch, The Junior Leagues of Toronto and Hamilton, the Welfare Council of Toronto and District, and the Women's Law Association of Ontario. The recommendations of the Joint Committee were also endorsed by The Family Service Bureau (Galt), the Kappa Beta Phi Legal Sorority, Alpha Mu Chapter, Toronto, The Ontario Provincial Council of Women, The Ontario Women's Christian Temperance Union, and The Toronto Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Other groups, including the UWCO, ratified the recommendations in 1954.

¹⁸⁴ Vol. 10, File 6, Resolutions, Excerpt from Book H, p. 191, May 7, 1956; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, May 14, 1956, "Resolutions Recommended by Executive for Submission to CFUW".

Status of Women Committee implemented this resolution later that year, suggesting that local clubs become aware of the provisions of their provincial succession duty act, the UWCO Status of Women Study Group immediately set up a subcommittee to study the Ontario act. The resolution drafted by the subcommittee and approved by the Club in 1957 recommended greater succession duty exemptions for widows, quicker processing of estates by the government and the inclusion of brothers and sisters in the preferred class of beneficiaries.¹⁸⁵ The Status of Women Study Group then called a meeting of ten local women's organizations to garner support for their recommendations. Organizations such as the Ottawa Public School Women Teachers' Association, who had recently benefited from UWCO support in their campaign for equal pay from the Public School Board, endorsed the UWCO resolution and sent letters of support to the Ontario government.¹⁸⁶ When the Ontario government still had not acted on the recommendations two years later, the UWCO, prompted by the Status of Women Study Group, called on the CFUW to petition the Ontario government to take action.¹⁸⁷ Meanwhile, amendments to the Ontario *Estate Tax Act* were introduced in 1958 that required a widow to prove the amount she had contributed to joint property, and that it had not come directly or indirectly from her husband. The CFUW Status of Women Committee objected strongly to the proposed amendments, and asked local university women's clubs to write to their local politicians. The UWCO sent letters to their local MLA's, asking for their views.¹⁸⁸

In 1956, the UWCO wrote to the Attorney-General of Ontario to express approval of recent amendments to the licensing provisions under the *Ontario Real Estate and Business Brokers Act* which would permit married women to be legally registered as real estate brokers. The Club applauded his prompt action in "correcting the injustice" and congratulated the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Ontario on their successful campaign to have the "discriminatory restriction that had prevented [married women's] registration" removed.¹⁸⁹

In February 1959, the Club passed two motions brought forward by the Status of Women and Penal Reform Study Groups, urging that women be appointed to provincial boards. A letter was written to Premier Leslie Frost asking that a woman be appointed to the new Advisory

¹⁸⁵ Vol. 17, File 16, Study Groups – Status of Women Group, "Recommendation from the Status of Women Group"; Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Jan. 7, 1957; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Club Hears Dr. Bissell," *Ottawa Citizen*, January 1957.

¹⁸⁶ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57"; and Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Miss Gladys Harvey, Corresponding Secretary, UWCO, from Helen Milliken, Ottawa Women Teachers' Association, Mar. 20, 1957.

¹⁸⁷ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Jan. 12, 1959.

¹⁸⁸ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letters to Messrs. Nixon, Gour, Richard, Chevrier, Bell, Humble and McIlwraith and to Miss Charlotte Whitton, from Mrs. Irving Betcherman, Corresponding Secretary, UWCO, Mar. 26, 1958.

¹⁸⁹ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letters to Hon. Kelso Roberts, Attorney-General of Ontario, and to Miss Elsie Gregory McGill, President, Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Ontario, from (Miss) L.G. Harvey, Corresponding Secretary, UWCO, Nov. 21, 1956; and Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Miss Harvey, from the Attorney-General of Ontario, Nov. 26, 1956.

Board to the Minister of Reform Institutions, which was to assist in implementing the provincial aspects of the *Fauteux Report*.¹⁹⁰ A second letter to Premier Frost endorsed the recommendation of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Ontario that women be represented on the Ontario Hospital Services Commission in proportion to the number of women affected by the relevant legislation.¹⁹¹ The requests that women be appointed were repeated in an October letter to Premier Frost, which argued the advantages of having a woman on the Hospital Services Commission

as professional persons, as volunteers, and as patients, women have... a special experience and viewpoint which your Government would wish to utilize.¹⁹²

The letter also outlined the advantages of a female appointment to the Advisory Board for women's cases and for evaluating

the home and family environments from which the male prisoners come and to which they are returned. Defects in this family or home environment, or rejection of a person by the family or home environment, can, of course, often have a determining effect upon a prisoner's ability to rehabilitate himself.¹⁹³

The Club recommended former president Miss Margaret MacLellan as a highly qualified candidate for the Advisory Board appointment, and asked for the premier's

personal support in view of your well-known interest in utilizing the abilities and knowledge of highly educated women.¹⁹⁴

In April 1959, the Status of Women Group brought two resolutions to the Club, recommending that "a working person who must during his (her) hours of employment pay for the care of one or more person dependent upon him (her) by reason of age or infirmity" be given a \$1000 tax exemption, and that the tax-free ceiling for earnings of working wives be raised from \$250 to \$950 per year. Both resolutions were approved by the Club and forwarded to the CFUW Status of Women Committee for consideration.¹⁹⁵ In February 1960, the Club passed resolutions initiated by the Status of Women Study Group, asking the CFUW to press the federal government to amend the *Citizenship Act* and the *Income Tax Act*. The *Citizenship Act* amendments would restore Canadian citizenship to Canadian women who married 'aliens' prior to 1947 and thereby lost their status as British subjects. The *Income Tax Act* amendment would provide that "a individual who is supporting a child or other dependent(s) who need full-time care should be allowed exemption for wages paid to a housekeeper employed for the purpose

¹⁹⁰ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 9, 1959.

¹⁹¹ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 9, 1959.

¹⁹² Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Premier Frost from Miss Traynor and Mrs. J.R. Beattie, 2nd VP, Oct. 20, 1959.

¹⁹³ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Premier Frost from Miss Traynor and Mrs. Beattie, Oct. 20, 1959.

¹⁹⁴ *Idem*.

¹⁹⁵ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 9, 1959.

of looking after such dependent(s), if all other adults in the household are fully employed elsewhere".¹⁹⁶ The resolutions were forwarded to the CFUW Council Meeting for consideration.¹⁹⁷

In the fall of 1959, the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada appointed a Committee of Inquiry to look into "the steps that can be taken to promote generally higher design standards in the stream of community building that will continue in the years ahead". The committee would travel across the country, seeking input from citizens on "Canada's exploding residential environment and suburban development".¹⁹⁸ The Committee was particularly interested in the input of housewives living in single-family suburban homes built since the Second World War. As "one of those who have an important point of view without which the Committee's task cannot be fully done (i.e. as 'consumers')," the UWCO was invited to "jot down briefly your experience with housing developments of superior quality".¹⁹⁹ President Ritchie commended the Institute

on seeking women's comments in this project. If more women could be encouraged to enter the architectural profession and collaborate in home-building projects it would be a great advantage. Houses are built to satisfy the needs of the home-maker, a woman. If therefore, more women were involved in the planning, many difficulties could be foreseen and eliminated at an early stage.²⁰⁰

The UWCO appointed a 12-member committee (with ten married and two single members), which quickly assembled a 16-page brief for the Committee of Inquiry. The brief focused on the effect of the built environment on human inhabitants, and provided detailed recommendations on low-rental housing, zoning restrictions, the provision of public facilities and services, parks and recreation areas, transportation and traffic, and the construction and features of dwellings.²⁰¹ At the Ottawa hearings in February 1960, UWCO representatives argued "even the poor have a right to roomy, healthy and beautiful housing" and called for more education in dwelling esthetics and design.²⁰² Reporting on the presentation of the brief in the Club newsletter, President Ritchie praised the contributors and wrote:

¹⁹⁶ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 8, 1960.

¹⁹⁷ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Mrs. H.T. Robertson, CFUW, from Miss Traynor, Feb. 10, 1960, and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Need Cooperative Climate University Women Are Told," Feb 9, 1960.

¹⁹⁸ Vol. 13, File 1, Enquiry into Residential Environment, letter to Miss Ritchie from Alan Armstrong, Secretary, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, October 8, 1959, and "Querying Housewives in Probe of Housing," *Ottawa Citizen*, November 19, 1959.

¹⁹⁹ *Idem.* (letter).

²⁰⁰ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Alan H. Armstrong, R.A.I.C., from Miss Ritchie, Dec. 14, 1959.

²⁰¹ Vol. 13, File 1, Enquiry Into Residential Environment, "Committee of Enquiry Into Residential Environment For the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada", and letter to Mr. Armstrong from Miss Ritchie, January 25, 1960. The UWCO committee was chaired by Miss Doris Plewes, M.A. (Western, Toronto, Columbia, 1923) who held several degrees in Physical Education and Recreation and was the Director of Physical Fitness for the Department of National Health. She joined the Club in 1949.

²⁰² Vol. 13, File 1, Enquiry, "Thinking Big: Women Say Houses Too Small", *The Globe and Mail*, Feb. 12, 1960.

In a society which is changing as rapidly as ours, educated women must be prepared to reassess their ideas constantly. We cannot expect, of course, that all good ideas will be accepted immediately in any field, but the increased public awareness of the problems in housing will pave the way for acceptance of at least some of these excellent proposals. It is indeed an answer to the usual criticism that educated women are reluctant to use their education to improve the world in which we live.²⁰³

After the brief was submitted there was so much continuing interest among club members, that the committee decided to continue. The proposed agenda included an application of the principles contained in the submission to Ottawa neighbourhoods, a tour of selected spots in Ottawa by way of illustration, and the preparation of a report.²⁰⁴

During the 1959-60 season, the UWCO executive, under the leadership of Miss Ritchie, wrote numerous letters of protest: to publisher Clarke Irwin Co. protesting inaccurate statements about UWCO founder Dr. Elizabeth Smith Shortt in Byrne Hope Sanders' book *Canadian Portraits - Famous Women*, to protest the lack of women delegates to the Commonwealth Education Conference, to the Separate School Board to protest salary discrimination on the basis of sex and marital status, and to the National Committee on the Effects of Radiation to protest the absence of women on the recently formed citizens' group.²⁰⁵

The UWCO was occasionally prompted to make representations to a non-governmental body. In January 1960, the Club wrote to Carleton University to suggest Club member Dr. Alice Wilson as a deserving candidate for an honorary degree. Dr. Wilson was awarded the degree at the May 1960 convocation.²⁰⁶

At the same time as it was addressing issues of a national and provincial scope, the UWCO was also taking action on a local level. Initially brought into issues by the LCW, it gradually began to investigate and address situations of inequity itself. As with national and provincial issues, it passed resolutions and motions, but as issues became more heated, it engaged in letter-writing and telephone campaigns, attended meetings, and sought local press coverage. Most importantly, the Club increasingly sought out the support of other women's groups, impressed with the power of these concerted efforts.

In 1942, the Club approved a LCW resolution urging City Council to pass a by-law to force restaurants and small eating-houses to close at a fixed hour, "in an attempt to curtail immoral conduct which has been traced to such places", and sent letters to City Council in

²⁰³ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, February 1960, No. 2.

²⁰⁴ Vol. 13, File 1, Enquiry, letter to Committee members from Miss Ritchie, March 11, 1960, and letter to Committee members from Doris Plewes, March 18, 1960.

²⁰⁵ Vol. 14, File 2, Ottawa Local Council of Women, "Notes for Annual Meeting of LCW", May 1960.

²⁰⁶ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Dr. M.S. MacPhail, Associate Dean of Science, from Miss Traynor, Jan. 16, 1960. Dr. Wilson had retired from the Geological Survey in 1947, and spent at least eight of the last thirteen years lecturing at Carleton.

support of the LCW stand.²⁰⁷ In 1944, the Club endorsed resolutions sent to them by the Health League concerning a campaign against venereal disease.²⁰⁸ In 1947, when the LCW brought forward a resolution recommending that Lansdowne Park be used as a Recreation Centre rather than for professional sport, the UWCO Executive instructed its LCW representatives to vote in favour of the resolution.²⁰⁹ In 1952, the local branch of the Canadian Association of Consumers sought the support of the UWCO and other women's organizations at a mass public meeting to discuss the availability and price of milk. As well as demanding lower prices, the CAC wanted a judicial enquiry into the operations of the local Milk Control Board. The UWCO endorsed the subjects for discussion at the meeting, and was later thanked by the CAC for its "moral support".²¹⁰

In the spring of 1952, the Mental Health Committee of the Council of Social Agencies began to press for a full-time mental health clinic for Ottawa, with services for children and adults. The UWCO, "recognizing that poor mental health is the most frequent cause of delinquency, dependency, alcoholism, drug addiction, suicide and marital friction" passed a resolution supporting the Council's demands.²¹¹ In 1955, the Club endorsed a recommendation from the Penal Reform and Child Study Groups that steps be taken to negotiate the re-opening of a Child Guidance Clinic at the Ottawa Civic Hospital. The women felt that the mental health services provided at the clinic were important "to safeguard against tendencies which often end in delinquent conduct". The Club's resolution proposed that the City of Ottawa offer to share the cost of the Clinic, thereby demonstrating to the federal and provincial governments, co-sponsors of the Clinic, the City's recognition that this was a valuable service. A letter was sent to Mayor Whitton, appealing to her wisdom as a social worker, and suggesting that she "consider favorably" the suggestion that the City should cost share the project. The Club also wrote the Ontario Minister of Health and local M.L.A.'s to urge that the clinic be re-opened because "during the short period of its existence the clinic provided a much-needed service not duplicated by any other agency". The work of the clinic was later taken up by the Mental Health Clinic of the Ottawa Civic Hospital, with extra staff to handle the additional program, and it qualified for federal and provincial grants formerly received by the Child Guidance Clinic. The UWCO wrote to the provincial Minister of Health, expressing satisfaction with this new arrangement. In January 1960, after appointing a committee to investigate the matter, the Club wrote letters to the Provincial Minister of Health supporting the local branch of the Canadian

²⁰⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Nov. 15, 1941 and April 13, 1942; Vol. 15, File 5, Outline of Activities.

²⁰⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Nov. 13, 1944.

²⁰⁹ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Oct. 6, 1947.

²¹⁰ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Jan. 14, 1952; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Mrs. Gilleland from Annie W. Carson, President, Ottawa branch, Canadian Association of Consumers, Apr. 28, 1952; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Jan. 14, 1952.

Mental Health Association and the Welfare Council in their efforts to obtain a mental hospital for Ottawa. The Club also expressed its concern that mental patients in Ottawa were being lodged overnight in the local gaol before being transported to the overcrowded hospital at Brockville. The Minister responded that "when our building programme will permit consideration being given such a project, your representations will be kept in mind."²¹²

In 1953, the UWCO supported the Ottawa Public School Women Teachers' Association in their efforts to obtain a salary schedule for women elementary school teachers in accordance with the right to "equal pay for equal work" provisions of the *Ontario Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act, 1951*. The UWCO had supported a similar request for equal pay for men and women secondary school teachers in 1943.²¹³ The matter was raised by the Status of Women Group in the spring of 1953 and the Club forwarded submissions to the Public School Board, local M.L.A.'s, the public school inspectors and the executive of the Men Teachers' Federation objecting to the inequality between the salaries of male and female public school teachers. When the Women Teachers' Association ("WTA") proposed a new salary schedule to the Public School Board at the end of that year, linking teachers' remuneration to experience, qualifications and responsibilities, and eradicating the existing differential between men and women, the Board rejected it. The Board also rejected a WTA proposal permitting women to continue teaching until age 65, as men did, rather than compelling them to retire at age 62. In 1955, the Board finally equalized the minimum salaries of men and women, but declined to equalize their maximum salaries. The UWCO protested to the Board, supporting the WTA's stand on the issue. It was not until 1957, that the Ottawa Public School Board finally equalized salary scales for men and women teachers in all respects. The UWCO wrote to the Board, expressing its satisfaction:

The ending of discrimination between men and women in regard to opportunities and remuneration has long been one of the aims of our Club, and the new salary scale for Ottawa Public School teachers represents the implementation of the policy we have long advocated. We were therefore very pleased by the action of the Board.²¹⁴

²¹¹ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, General Meeting May 13, 1952; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, May 13, 1952; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Margaret MacLellan Heads", *Ottawa Journal*, May 14, 1952.

²¹² Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Hon. M.B. Dymond, Minister of Health, from Miss Traynor, Jan. 25, 1960 and letter in reply, Jan. 27, 1960; Vol. 14, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Mayor Charlotte Whitton from Miss Marjorie Cameron, UWCO, Nov. 18, 1955, letter to Hon. Mackinnon Phillips, Minister of Health, from Miss Cameron, Nov. 30, 1955, letter to Miss Cameron from B.H. McNeel, Deputy Minister, Dec. 2, 1955, letter to Dr. McNeel from Miss Cameron, May 14, 1956, newspaper clipping "Civic Mental Health, Child Guidance Clinics Combined", n.d.; and Vol. 18, Minutes, Book VIII, Nov. 14, 1955.

²¹³ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book E, April 5, 1943. Mrs. Phyllis Turner also recommended that the UWCO study the problem of teachers' salaries in her report on the CFUW Triennial in 1943 [Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Oct. 12, 1943].

²¹⁴ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Mr. Gordon Haram, Ottawa Public School Board, from Miss Harvey, Mar. 9, 1957.

Meanwhile, the discriminatory retirement provision remained on the books. In 1959, the Board was presented with a motion to equalize the retirement ages for women and men teachers. Notified in advance of the motion, the UWCO wrote to the Board, providing both a scientific and a practical rationale for extending the retirement age for women:

Scientific knowledge has established the fact that women live longer than men...In view of the perennial shortage of teachers, it seems unwise to curtail unnecessarily the working life of experienced teachers. Presumably the ruling has been carried forward from early days and has never been given serious consideration...We feel certain that the retention of this outdated regulation has been an oversight.

The Club then argued that the age should be extended on the ground of women's contributions to society:

Women teachers have made tremendous contributions to the advancement of education, and we feel confident that they will be given just recognition by the removal of the retirement age discrimination.²¹⁵

At the Board meeting, the atmosphere was more raucous. Male trustees began to comment "A woman's place is in the home", and "Women, in general, begin to decline after the age of 62" when they were interrupted by a local Ottawa physician:

There's a man who doesn't know very much! Women live longer than men. The brain is a part of the body like any other organ, and women's brains usually last longer too.²¹⁶

In the end, the Board voted to remove the offending provision and the Women Teachers Association thanked the UWCO for their longstanding support.²¹⁷

In 1954, the UWCO executive and the "Know Your Ottawa" Study Group called for the preservation of two historic buildings in Ottawa.²¹⁸ When they discovered in 1959 that a 100-year-old hotel was about to be demolished to make way for a gas station, they wrote letters of protest to the Mayor and City Council, to the President of Petrofina and to the Chairman of the National Capital Commission ("NCC"). The Council did not respond, the NCC protested its impotence and Petrofina claimed they had no idea the building had any historical significance.

²¹⁵ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Mr. Gordon Haram, Secretary-Treasurer, Public School Board, from Miss Ritchie and Miss Traynor, Nov. 14, 1959.

²¹⁶ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, January 1960, No. 1.

²¹⁷ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Miss Ritchie from Mrs. M.I. McDonald, Ottawa Public School Women Teachers' Association, Dec. 8, 1959; Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 8, 1960; Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Miss Margaret MacLellan, UWCO, from Doris Gilhooly, O.P.S.W.T.A., Oct. 16, 1953; letter to Miss MacLellan from George Croskery, Canadian Teachers' Federation, Oct. 30, 1953; letter to Miss MacLellan from W.A.Orr, Deputy Minister, Dept. of Municipal Affairs, Oct. 19, 1953; letter to Hon. G.H. Dunbar, M.L.A., from Miss MacLellan, Oct. 31, 1953; letter to Miss Elizabeth Gordon, UWCO, from Eliza Kidd, O.P.S.W.T.A., May 9, 1954; letter to Ottawa Public School Board from Miss M.C. Guthrie, UWCO, Feb. 11, 1955; letter to Miss Guthrie from Ottawa Public School Board, Apr. 4, 1956; letter to Miss Gladys Harvey, UWCO, from Grace Sherman, O.P.S.W.T.A., Jan. 7, 1957; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, May 11, 1953 and May 10, 1954; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Margaret MacLellan Re-elected," *Ottawa Journal*, May 12, 1953.

but now that demolition had started, it was too late to stop. The UWCO politely conceded defeat.²¹⁹

In October 1957, the UWCO joined other local women's groups in passing a resolution contesting City Council's decision not to wear ceremonial robes during the upcoming Royal Visit. The Club felt that since local merchants and citizens were being encouraged to dress up their homes and stores, the Mayor and Council should dress up as well. The robes were available, having been purchased with taxpayers money. Mayor Nelms responded by saying that the Queen had requested that attire be informal and the UWCO again conceded defeat.²²⁰

In 1958 the UWCO was one of a coalition of groups and citizens, led by Mrs. F.S. Browne of the Local Council of Women, who presented a submission to Ottawa Mayor George Nelms, urging him to establish a Civil Defence organization in Ottawa

based upon what is felt to be the opinion held generally and widely in Ottawa that remaining without plans for survival in the face of the disturbing international situation existing today and the means for implementing such plans through Civil Defence organization is to court extreme danger to the citizens of this city...a sudden disaster might well tax their potentialities to a point with which they could not cope, resulting in confusion and panic bringing colossal casualty lists, tragedy and misery to all which when added up and looked at in retrospect would cause the public to ask why preparations had not been made when time was on our side²²¹

Civil defence had been the primary focus of the Local Council of Women's agenda for the last two years. In the face of "the overshadowing danger of nuclear war...or some lesser disaster viz: flood, fire or other natural disaster situation", the coalition suggested that a Civil Defence Policy Committee be set up from elected members of Council, and that a coordinator and small staff be hired to produce an evacuation plan, all of this to be finance jointly by municipal, federal and provincial governments. The presentation prompted a "fiery interchange" between the Mayor and Mrs. Browne's delegation, but within days, the city had committed to setting up a Civil Defence organization.²²²

In 1958, after receiving requests from three of its study groups (Pre-School Child, Adolescent Child and Civic Affairs) to deal with the issue of water fluoridation, the Club executive set up a President's Committee to study the available material. The issue was being discussed in the Ontario legislature at the same time, although the result would be to deny the

²¹⁸ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "University Women's Club Executive Meets," *Ottawa Journal*, June 16, 1954.

²¹⁹ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letters to the Mayor, to Canadian Petrofina, and to the Chairman, NCC, from Miss Ritchie and Miss Traynor, Sept. 24, 1959.

²²⁰ Vol. 4, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Mayor George Nelms, from Mrs. Betcherman, Oct. 4, 1957; and letter to Mrs. Betcherman from Mayor Nelms, Oct. 7, 1957; and Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Urge Robes Be Worn During Visit," *Ottawa Citizen*, Oct. 7, 1957.

²²¹ Vol. 4, File 1, Welfare Work, "Copy of brief presented by Mrs. F.S. Browne, President of L.C.W., to Mayor Nelms and City Council on Tuesday, May 27, 1958".

²²² Vol. 4, File 1, Welfare Work, newspaper clippings, *The Ottawa Citizen*, May 28 and 29, 1958.

necessary legislation to permit municipalities to implement fluoridation. One year later, the UWCO Committee presented its report to the Executive, setting out the two opposing viewpoints without coming to any conclusion. A disappointed executive assured the Club that it would review the material over the summer and report to the Club in the fall. It was not until 1960 that the Club was finally able to decide the issue. At the Monday night meeting, after listening to speakers for and against and engaging in "a lively debate", the women voted two to one in favour of fluoridation. By this time, the Ontario Fluoridation Investigating Committee had been set up, and the Club forwarded the results of the vote, along with a brief submission setting out the arguments in favour of fluoridation to the Committee and to the Mayor and City Council.²²³

When the UWCO discovered in 1959 that their favourite newspaper columnist, Anne Francis, was about to be discontinued, the Club passed a motion in protest. They wrote to the newspaper, protesting that the column was "widely read and discussed by women's organizations" and asking that it be continued.²²⁴ The irate ladies offered to send a personal delegation to the editor, but he declined, and stuck by his original decision. The Club passed "a vote of thanks to Miss Francis for her past interest in our work" and expressed "our hope that the women of Ottawa may soon again be able to benefit from the Anne Francis "clearing house" of ideas and activities".²²⁵

In 1944, the UWCO was one of the local women's organizations summoned by the LCW to discuss the sponsorship of women candidates in the coming civic elections. In 1946, the LCW Citizenship Committee repeatedly asked the UWCO for suggestions for women candidates for public office, but the executive "found it impossible to make suitable suggestions".²²⁶ However, when the LCW asked UWCO members to support Public School Board candidate Mrs. Hugh Renwick in the 1946 election, the Club indicated their support by taking up a collection for her campaign. The Club also supported Mrs. Renwick in the 1950 election.²²⁷ When club member Dr. Charlotte Whitton became a candidate for the Ottawa Board of Control in the 1950 election, the UWCO gave her its "enthusiastic support", \$25.00 in Club funds, and plenty of campaign volunteers.²²⁸ Dr. Whitton won her seat on the Board with the largest number of votes, and

²²³ Vol. 4, File 1, Welfare Work, Excerpts from Executive and General Minutes, Mar. 3, 1958 – May 11, 1959; Vol. 6, Annual Report, "Annual Report 1959-60"; and Vol. 13, File 2, Fluoridation: Correspondence, "University Women Vote 2-1 for Fluoridation," *Ottawa Citizen*, Mar. 15, 1960, letter to Mr. D.R. Richmond, Secretary, Ontario Fluoridation Investigating Committee, from Miss Helen Traynor, Secretary, UWCO, Mar. 16, 1960.

²²⁴ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Norman Smith, Editor, *Ottawa Journal*, from Miss Ritchie, Nov. 2, 1959.

²²⁵ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Nov. 9, 1959.

²²⁶ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Nov. 13, 1944; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, June 3 and Oct. 7, 1946.

²²⁷ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Nov. 2, 1946, Jan. 8 and Feb. 3, 1947; Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Jan 7, 1947.

²²⁸ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Nov. 13, 1950; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "UWC Backs Dr. Charlotte Whitton", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 14, 1950. Dr. Whitton's candidacy was also backed by the CFUW, which wanted to see more women in local politics.

when Mayor Grenville Goodwin stepped down for health reasons in 1951, Dr. Whitton succeeded him as mayor. The Club congratulated her, and she responded:

I am 'continuing grateful' to the Club, who gave me such confidence last year and still renew it this year. To know that I have the unfailing support of your members will help a great deal to sustain me in the heavy months before me.²²⁹

After Dr. Whitton's election as controller, Club members were invited to attend council meetings "as a means of showing interest in civic affairs".²³⁰ At the 1951 Annual Meeting, the secretary's report lauded members for their "active interest in civic and federal affairs", citing the financial and volunteer support of the Whitton campaign and attendance of members at city council meetings.²³¹ In the 1953 election, the Club invited both mayoral candidates to speak at a Club meeting. While the other candidate declined, Mayor Whitton "took the platform for a much longer period" than the allotted five minutes, but was "warmly received" by the audience.²³² When Mayor Whitton won the 1953 election, Club secretary Miss Elizabeth Gordon wrote to congratulate her:

It is very gratifying to us to see one of our own members filling the highest office our city can offer in municipal affairs and doing it in such a manner as to win the approval of the majority of the electorate. Your successful entrance into the municipal government two years ago led the way and this past month it has been interesting to see the increase in the number of women taking their places for the first time on municipal councils throughout the province.²³³

Miss Whitton accepted the congratulations, but cautioned

I do hope that the Club will not take the stand, taken when I spoke to them prior to elections that the field is won. Nothing is further from the fact. One woman has been elected to the Council of Ottawa and is precariously perched in the Mayor's chair. Were I to retire tomorrow, it would take a renewed campaign and considerable effort to elect another woman. Note Toronto where years ago there were two aldermen (female) but there have been no others for some years.²³⁴

Meanwhile, many Club members found themselves without any municipal voting rights. The *Ontario Municipal Act* denied the vote "to many responsible citizens, because, for reasons often beyond their control, such as the present housing situation, they are not householders."²³⁵ At the 1946 Christmas party, the Club had recorded "the number of those without the franchise" and in 1947, it passed a resolution asking the provincial government to amend the *Municipal*

²²⁹ Vol. 6, File 1, Honours to Members, letter to Mrs. Westington, from Charlotte Whitton, Oct. 16, 1951.

²³⁰ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Jan. 8, 1951.

²³¹ Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, "Annual Report of the UWCO, 1950-51", May 9, 1951.

²³² Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "More 'City Hall' Discussion in Year", Nov. 11, 1952, and "Packed Audience Hears Dr. MacGregor Dawson", *Ottawa Journal*, Nov. 11, 1952.

²³³ Vol. 6, File 1, Honours to Members, letter to Dr. Charlotte Whitton from Miss Elizabeth Gordon, Jan. 28, 1953.

²³⁴ Vol. 6, File 1, Honours to Members, letter to Miss Gordon from Dr. Whitton, Feb. 5, 1953.

²³⁵ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Jan. 7, 1947.

Act.²³⁶ The proposed amendment would have given municipal voting rights to everyone entitled to vote provincially and federally, who had at least one year's residency in the municipality.²³⁷ The suggested amendment was never adopted, and the *Ontario Municipal Act* continued to restrict voting rights to property owners and tenants with property qualifications. Concerned that this excluded many workers who spent their earnings in the municipality, and prevented them "from exercising their rights as citizens", the Club passed a second resolution in 1957 repeating the amendment proposed ten years earlier and forwarded it to Premier Leslie Frost, asking him to "remove this injustice".²³⁸ They explained that many of the Club's 350 university-degree-holding members

have lived and worked in the city for several years but because of the real property requirements they have no vote in civic *elections* if they live with parents or are boarding. They are surely able to make as wise decisions on civic issues as if they had real property; and it is certainly of just as much importance to them that the city they live in be well governed as it is to a landowner who may live elsewhere for a considerable part of the year.²³⁹

The Ontario government proceeded to pass *An Act to Provide for the Extension of the Municipal Franchise*, providing municipalities with the mechanism to extend the municipal franchise to every 'British subject' over 21 who had resided in the municipality for at least one year. When Ottawa City Council had failed by 1959 to "avail itself of the opportunity...thereby continuing the unjust exclusion of many workers and residents from exercising their rights as citizens", the UWCO called on the city to hold a plebiscite on the issue. Voting rights were finally obtained by plebiscite in 1960.²⁴⁰

There were two local issues which forced the UWCO to go beyond its usual tactic of passing a motion and forwarding it in a letter to the appropriate authorities, then sitting back and waiting for results. One of these involved the local law association and the other involved City Council. Both issues caused the UWCO to reflect on how best they could achieve their goals in the public and political community and which tactics would work most effectively. In the fall of 1951, the newly formed Status of Women Study Group examined recent amendments to the *Ontario Jurors Act* making women eligible for jury service. They were concerned that women might be disqualified by other considerations, but found, after studying the relevant legislation, that the amendments permitted wives and husbands to be eligible as voters and jurors on the

²³⁶ Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Dec. 2, 1946; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 9, 1946.

²³⁷ Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, Dec. 9, 1946; Vol. 21, Executive Minute Book F, Feb. 3 and Dec. 2, 1947. The UWCO sent a copy of the resolution to the LCW as well as to the provincial government, suggesting that they may have been endorsing an LCW-originated resolution. The LCW had been demanding *Municipal Act* amendments since at least 1947.

²³⁸ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, April 1, 1957.

²³⁹ Vol. 4, File 1, Welfare Work, letter to Hon. Leslie Frost, Premier of Ontario, from Miss Harvey, Apr. 9, 1957; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VI, p. 286.

²⁴⁰ Vol. 6, File 6, Monthly Reports, Feb. 9, 1959.

basis of the property qualification of either of them. When they brought this to the attention of the City Clerk, they found he was unaware of the amendments making women eligible for jury duty. The Clerk quickly agreed to add the missing women to the eligibility lists for voters and jurors. The Status of Women Study Group was also concerned whether the planned remodeling of the County Court House had taken into account the new position of woman juror. Happily, they discovered that "an excellent arrangement had been made" whereby a main jurors' room was flanked by separate washroom facilities for men and women jurors. The Study Group, satisfied again, cited the Ottawa court house as a precedent for other court house renovations.²⁴¹ Unfortunately, a third issue would not be so quickly resolved. In January 1952, First Vice-President Margaret MacLellan wrote to the county clerk:

Carleton County has taken the lead in implementing the recent provincial legislation whereby men and women are now eligible for jury service, in that separate washroom facilities for men and women serving on juries have been specified in the plans...[but]...similar provision has not been made for separate washrooms and locker space for men and women barristers appearing in Court.²⁴²

Barristers (as lawyers who appear in court are sometimes called) are required to wear specified "court robes" when they appear in certain courts.²⁴³ Courthouses normally provide a "robing room" with lockers and washrooms, in which lawyers change from their street clothes to their court robes. The advent of women lawyers, while not as sudden as the legislatively induced advent of women jurors, posed similar problems to counties with ancient courthouse facilities. The UWCO executive, alerted to the potential problem by the Status of Women Study Group, called on the County to include separate facilities for women barristers and included plans showing how it could be done. They checked the *Canadian Law List, 1951*, and found 68 women lawyers in private practice in 18 towns and cities. Although there were no women lawyers in private practice in Ottawa in 1951, the "need may arise at any time" and it was therefore

expedient to make adequate provision at this time while the whole matter of the Court House is under review, and the necessary alterations can be made with the minimum dislocation and expense.²⁴⁴

²⁴¹ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations Re: Facilities for Robing Women Barristers, "Action by Group re Women Jurors in Ontario".

²⁴² Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Miss Honor Coldrey, Clerk-Treasurer, Carleton County, from Miss Margaret MacLellan, First Vice-president, UWCO, January 8, 1952.

²⁴³ Court robes in Canadian provinces usually consist of a vest, pants, shirt, neckpiece and robe, in a specified colour and style.

²⁴⁴ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Miss Honor Coldrey, Jan. 8, 1952. A copy of the letter was sent to Mayor Whitton, asking for her support. Mayor Whitton wrote back a brief note saying the city was being virtually ignored in the matter of the Court House remodeling and she could be of no help. There were women lawyers in Ottawa working for the federal government, including Club members, but because they were not in private practice, none of these women would have belonged to the local Law Association or appeared in the County Courthouse in the course of their work.

The women were assured by the County Clerk that the omission of women barristers' facilities was an oversight and the matter was brought before the County Council, who referred it to their architect. He agreed that the alterations could be made at minimal cost and drew an amended plan. Council then sought the approval of the local lawyers association. Although they were not paying the bill, the Carleton County Law Association decided that the \$1000.00 expense was not warranted "for the use of lady barristers who might in the fullness of time decide to practice before the Bar in Ottawa" and the proposed alterations should only be considered "when and if the need arises", despite the architect's advice that this would triple the cost.²⁴⁵ When the UWCO tried to persuade the Law Association to reverse its decision, the Association refused to be interviewed, refused to reveal the names of its executive members, and refused to approve anything except a "roughing-in" of plumbing that was unacceptable to the architect. The Association's representative finally admitted that their refusal was intended to discourage women from practicing law in Ottawa. The UWCO wrote a politely outraged letter to the Association, objecting that the Court House would be obsolete before remodeling had even begun, and pointing out that in the next seventy years (the life of the current Court House) it was probable that women barristers would use the facility. Because the remodeling involved a huge expenditure of public funds, "an appropriate amount should be allocated to the present and future needs of women barristers". While there were at present no women barristers in Ottawa, the UWCO felt sure "that local members of the Bar would want to extend every possible encouragement to a woman member commencing practice here".²⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the UWCO met with a local judge and two members of County Council, all of whom were sympathetic, and drafted an appeal to the Attorney-General. They also called a meeting of local women's organizations, garnering the active support of at least eight groups, all of whom wrote letters of support and protest to the County Clerk and the Law Association.²⁴⁷ The Women's Forum wrote to the Law Association

We find it difficult to understand why your group, whose task it is to work toward justice for all, should take such a stand in this matter.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, copy of letter to Miss Coldrey from W.G. Burke-Robertson, Honorary Secretary, The County of Carleton Law Association, January 25, 1952.

²⁴⁶ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Lionel Choquette, Esq., Q.C., President of the County of Carleton Law Association, from Mrs. W.H. Gilleland, President, UWCO, Feb. 14, 1952.

²⁴⁷ The eight women's organizations for whom protest letters are extant are: the Ottawa Women's Forum, the Ottawa Local Council of Women, the Ottawa Business and Professional Women's Club, the Ottawa section of the National Council of Jewish Women, the Soroptimist Club, the Zonta Club, the Quota Club, and l'Association des Femmes Universitaires d'Ottawa-Hull.

²⁴⁸ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Mr. M.J. Devine, Q.C., Secretary, County of Carleton Law Association, from the Ottawa Women's Forum, March 4, 1952. Also letter to Miss H.E. Coldrey from County of Carleton Law Association, Feb. 19, 1952, letter to Judge A.G. McDougall, County Court, from Mrs. Gilleland, Feb. 26, 1952, letter to Mrs. Gilleland from Mrs. F.R. Duminy, Ottawa Council of Women, Feb. 28, 1952, and copy of letter to Miss Coldrey from Mrs. H.M. Epstein, President, National Council of Jewish Women, Ottawa Section, Mar. 3, 1952.

The Business and Professional Women's Club added the news that

as a woman barrister has now made application for admission to the bar in this city, the situation has become more urgent.²⁴⁹

Things reached their lowest point at the end of February, when Mr. Burke-Robertson, the Law Association representative, wrote Mrs. Gilleland to report that a motion for facilities for female barristers had been defeated at the annual meeting. He continued

I think you are rather unfair ...to quote me as saying "we don't want women barristers practicing in Ottawa". I am sure you will recall the rest of my sentence which was "unless of course they are as charming as Miss Ritchie and yourself".

Mr. Burke-Robertson concluded by saying he would be

only too happy to lend all my support towards the erection of a bell tent or other structure suitable for the facilities that you have in mind in the middle of the floor of the barristers' room as presently planned or possibly on the grounds immediately surrounding the Court House.²⁵⁰

The UWCO then spoke directly to County Council, expressing the legal position that the Law Association had no legal right to decide the matter and that County Council were required by law to provide adequate space for all officers of the court. The Club threatened to alert the press, and suggested that County Council should ignore the Law Association and approve the request. Council members responded by commending the UWCO "both for its public-spirited proposals and for the reasonableness with which the Club had acted throughout".²⁵¹ The matter soon resolved itself. The annual meeting of the Law Association brought in a new executive and the old one, including Mr. Burke-Robertson, thankfully disappeared. The new executive quickly backpedaled, claiming the Law Association's previous pronouncements to have been opinions, not decisions, because it really had no authority to decide this sort of thing and did not really want to be involved at all. When County Council received the news that the Law Association had backed off, and that a woman barrister intended to begin practising in Ottawa, they immediately approved the women's facilities.²⁵² But UWCO President Mrs. Gilleland was not yet finished with the Law Association. She wrote to the new executive enclosing a copy of Mr. Burke-Robertson's offensive letter, suggesting that she might release copies to the press and request disciplinary action by the provincial law society. The executive disclaimed all responsibility for Mr. Burke-Robertson's actions, and assured the Club of

²⁴⁹ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Miss Coldrey from Miss Elizabeth Sutherland, Ottawa Business and Professional Women's Club, Mar. 12, 1952; Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, Jan. 14, 1952.

²⁵⁰ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Mrs. Gilleland, from Ewart, Scott, Kelley & Burke-Robertson, February 29, 1952.

²⁵¹ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, "Report to Mrs. W.H. Clarke, Convener, CFUW Committee on the Legal and Economic Status of Women, from the Ottawa Study Group, May 21, 1952.

²⁵² Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Mrs. J.R. Beattie, Secretary, Ottawa Women's Forum, from M.J. Devine, Secretary, County of Carleton Law Association, Mar. 12, 1952; letter to Mrs. Gilleland from Miss Coldrey, Mar. 19, 1952.

the co-operation and assistance of the male section of this Association to the ladies who will have occasion to use the facilities when the Court House has been completed.²⁵³

Mrs. Gilleland also wrote thank-you notes to all the women's organizations involved, citing the protest as an illustration of the

effectiveness of women's organizations when they coordinate their efforts ...if ever the time comes when women work together simply and solely for the benefit of humanity, it will be a power such as the world has never known.²⁵⁴

In her report to the Club, executive member Miss MacLellan cited the episode as proof of the value of persistence as a lobbying technique

in the face of ridicule and repeated rebuffs...If the door is closed in your face, you get more people to knock on that same door, and at the same time you ring other doorbells.

She felt that the prestige of the UWCO had been enhanced with all of the parties involved, including the Bar Association: "We don't think they will say "No" quite so facetiously and so quickly next time." Finally, she lauded the impetus the affair had given to inter-club activity

It has demonstrated in a way that is clearly obvious, the usefulness of concerted action in achieving objectives of common interest and public good.

As a direct result, the eight clubs involved were meeting again to consider the possibility of an Inter-Club Council.²⁵⁵ When the whole affair was reported to the convener of the CFUW Committee on the Legal and Economic Status of Women, she commended the UWCO and suggested that copies of the report be circulated to groups across Canada:

Achievements such as this create precedents which are heartening in the extreme to women facing similar problems elsewhere.²⁵⁶

In April 1955, the UWCO considered a resolution put forward by the Elizabeth Fry Society of Ontario and endorsed by both Penal Reform and Status of Women study groups, which sought to amend *The Jurors Act* by making jury service mandatory for women. The Act as it then existed, permitted any woman who had received a summons and did "not desire to serve as a juror" to exempt herself simply by completing an exemption form. There was no such exemption for men. The Elizabeth Fry resolution sought to delete this section, making jury service mandatory for both men and women, unless they had filed a legitimate written excuse with the sheriff in advance, and stressed the importance of jury duty "as a responsibility of

²⁵³ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Mrs. Gilleland from Mr. Devine, Mar. 26, 1952.

²⁵⁴ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letters from Mrs. Gilleland to Ottawa Women's Forum and seven other groups, Mar. 26, 1952.

²⁵⁵ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, "Report of Executive Committee to General Meeting of University Women's Club, April 7, 1952; and Vol. 18, Minute Book VII, April 7, 1952.

²⁵⁶ Vol. 12, File 6, Representations, letter to Miss Elizabeth Gordon, Convener Legal and Economic Status of Women Group, UWCO, from Irene Clarke, Convener, LESW Committee, CFUW, July 31, 1952.

citizenship". Miss Margaret MacLellan, speaking in support of the resolution, pointed out that the existing clause encouraged women to seek exemption from jury duty, while the proposed amendment would place men and women on the same footing, and stress the importance of this civic duty for both. The Club endorsed the resolution, and sent copies to the Attorney-General of Ontario, and to local M.L.A.s.²⁵⁷ The following year, Mayor Whitton wrote to the UWCO to urge members to volunteer for jury duty. When jury panels were being selected in Ottawa between 1954 and 1956, an equal number of men and women were called. However, more than half of the women who were called had declined, exercising the privilege accorded only to women. An exasperated Mayor Whitton approached all the major women's groups in the city, urging them to respond to the call for jury duty, and indeed to volunteer without being called. UWCO President Mrs. Flaherty assured Mayor Whitton that the Club had long been concerned with this situation, and referred to the 1955 resolution. A list of members willing to accept jury duty was compiled, and by 1957, four club members had been called to serve. That year, the Status of Women Study Group conducted a survey of members to determine their eligibility for jury service. They discovered that a large proportion of apparently eligible women were not marked as eligible on the voters' list, and a smaller number of those marked eligible were not. The Club wrote repeatedly to the City Clerk in an attempt to remedy the problem.²⁵⁸ In March 1960, the UWCO wrote to the Coroners' constable offering help in finding qualified women to serve on coroners' juries.

When Ottawa City Council announced the new appointments for 1959 to city boards and commissions, the UWCO executive was disappointed to learn that there were no women among them. President Ritchie wrote to the Mayor and Councillors, protesting their decision:

Women have never demanded equal representation on Civic Boards, but they had expected more than a token recognition of the fact that they are the teachers, the librarians, the streetcar riders, the housekeepers, the home planners, the mothers, the shoppers, and also drive cars, plan picnics, take the children to public parks and play grounds, guard their health from air pollution, teach them traffic safety rules and in general prepare them for their role as good citizens. In most enlightened communities, women take their place with men on policy-making bodies. Why then is it necessary to ask the reason that Council has passed over this important section of the voting public when making civic appointments from the city at large?²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Hon. Dana Porter, Attorney-General of Ontario, from E.M. Lett, UWCO, Apr. 1, 1955, letter in reply, Apr. 7, 1955, letter to Hon. George Dunbar, M.L.A., from Mrs. Lett, Apr. 12, 1955; Vol. 18, Minute Book VIII, Mar. 14, 1955; Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, press release Mar. 15, 1955.

²⁵⁸ Vol. 6, Annual Reports, "Annual Report 1956-57"; Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Mrs. J.F. Flaherty, President, UWCO, from Charlotte Whitton, Mayor of Ottawa, Oct. 12, 1956, letter to Miss Whitton from Mrs. Flaherty, Nov. 19, 1956, letter to Mr. Nelson Ogilvie, City Clerk, from Mrs. Irving Betcherman, UWCO, Nov. 29, 1957, and letter to Mr. A.T. Hasty, City Clerk, from Mrs. Betcherman, May 2, 1958; Vol. 14, File 4, Reports, "Survey of Persons Marked Eligible for Jury Service in Ottawa".

²⁵⁹ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Mayor, etc., from Miss Ritchie and Miss A.D. Milligan, Secretary, Jan. 2, 1959.

Mrs. Robert Dorman, one of two women members on the eight-member Carnegie Library Board, had resigned after seventeen years on the board. The UWCO was especially incensed that Mrs. Dorman had been replaced by a man, given the large number of women qualified for the appointment, (a list of which was provided by the UWCO). The UWCO also decried the fact that May Nickson, the only woman alderman, had been appointed to only one committee, Tourist and Conventions. They felt that the presence of a woman would have been helpful on the Recreation and Parks, Air Pollution and Housing Committees. Miss Ritchie expressed concern at the "attempt by a few individuals to make prejudice an official basis for appointments by City Council" and asked that the decision be reconsidered:

to give recognition to the ability which women have ever demonstrated in their service to the community. We are sure that every man interested in the welfare of the community will support this position. We feel equally sure that any man would regret receiving an appointment that came as a means of implementing this policy of discrimination on the basis of sex.²⁶⁰

The UWCO began a telephone and letter-writing campaign, and was joined in its protests by the Local Council of Women. Newspaper reports described them as "a storm of angry hornets", "buzzing around the ears" of the Mayor and aldermen, and protesting "in stinging words" what they termed "the bustle and bloomer era of thinking". Some of the aldermen were ready to give in, fearing "they might just stage a protest march on city hall. They sound that mad".²⁶¹ The story was now front page news and the subject of columns and editorials in both newspapers. Even Charlotte Whitton, now a local newspaper columnist, wrote a column in support of the women's position and critical of her old foes at City Hall.

It looked briefly as if the women had won: the male recipient of the Library Board post withdrew his name, and City Council called a caucus meeting to consider a new appointee, including women suggested by the UWCO and the LCW.²⁶² Then, in a close vote, Council rejected Mr. Butler's resignation.²⁶³ Former president Mrs. Flaherty said the women "were absolutely stunned" and President Ritchie charged councilors with breach of trust for reappointing Mr. Butler in the face of earlier promises that they favoured a woman appointee.²⁶⁴ UWCO Executive obtained (or possibly prepared – President Ritchie was a government lawyer) a legal opinion challenging the validity of the Library Board appointment. At the January Club meeting, it presented the issue to the Club and called for its continuing support. Under provincial law, appointments to the Library Board were to be made by Council, Council meetings were to

²⁶⁰ *Idem.*

²⁶¹ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "To Storm Council: Left Off City Boards Women Up in Arms," *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 3, 1959.

²⁶² Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Women Win Civic Battle," *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 5, 1959.

²⁶³ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Deny Woman Library Post," *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 6, 1959.

be open, and secret ballots were not permitted. The decision to appoint Mr. Butler was illegal because it had been made by caucus, at a closed meeting, using secret ballots. By rights, Miss Ritchie argued the *majority* of Library Board members should be female, given that the Carnegie Library was established through the efforts of the Ottawa Local Council of Women, over the repeated refusals of City Council. Miss Ritchie went on to criticize the "lobbying, horse-trading and prejudice" by which the appointment decisions were made in caucus. Where decision makers of "limited intellect" are in charge, the principle of appointment on merit breaks down. It is therefore important to appoint women to positions where their viewpoint will benefit the community, in fair proportion to their numbers. Miss Ritchie decried the waste of female brainpower of which society in general, and City Council in particular, was guilty. She reminded members of the purposes of the club, to "arouse and sustain...an intelligent interest in public affairs...[and] to encourage an active participation in such affairs by qualified women". Once again, she called on the myth of the founders, "From their earliest days they worked for every project which was in the interest of the community". In the end, the Club gave a ringing endorsement of the Executive's actions, and instructed it to continue the campaign "commenced in accordance with the purposes of this Club and ...in the interests of the community."²⁶⁵ A letter was sent to City Council, enclosing the legal opinion and asking it to reconsider the appointment in favour of the appointment of "any qualified woman". The Club reiterated its argument that "a woman's viewpoint is essential among civic nominees to the Carnegie Library Board" and reported to the press that they were considering "legal proceedings".²⁶⁶

When the executive met in early February to review what had happened, they noted that not only had the furor caused some changes in City Council meeting procedures, but there were more inquiries from people wanting to join the Club or indicating their approval of Club actions, suggesting that maybe the Club should continue to participate more actively in public affairs.²⁶⁷ By late February, the executive could report that the Club had received "high praise" for its involvement from local media and the public. Local newspapers had emphasized the need for "a continuing interest by women in municipal affairs". The executive credited the Club for having "exposed to public view" the widespread discrimination against women by Ottawa City Council, and the illegal manner in which City Council operated. President Ritchie reminded members that

civic government is a matter for which women bear greater responsibility than any other group. It is only the larger aspect of the problems with which many housewives and mothers are already concerned...Women cannot leave problems of civic government to their overworked husbands to correct. They

²⁶⁴ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Women Say Council Prejudiced," *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 7, 1959; and "Ottawa Women's Groups Stunned by 'Rebuff' on Appointments," *Ottawa Citizen*, Jan. 7, 1959.

²⁶⁵ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, "Statement by Miss M.E. Ritchie, President...", Jan. 12, 1959.

²⁶⁶ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to the Mayor of Ottawa, etc., from Miss Ritchie, and Mrs. E.A. Watkinson, First Vice President, Jan. 17, 1959.

²⁶⁷ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, "Preliminary Report to Executive", Feb. 2, 1959.

must share with men the responsibility for local government. If educated women do not make use of their education by participating in civic matters, can we blame others for not doing so?²⁶⁸

In May 1959, the UWCO discovered that the Civic Parking Authority was being increased by two members, and cheerily wrote to each member of City Council with the name and qualifications of a "well-qualified woman" to fill the post. President Ritchie argued the merits of having a woman, as opposed to a merchant, on the Board (as if the two could not coincide):

It need hardly be added that women are greatly concerned with parking space, can be the major users of parking facilities and have demands in respect to parking facilities which differ from most male users.²⁶⁹

A week later, a disappointed executive wrote an open letter to City Council expressing regret that City Council, in its recent Parking Authority appointments is still insisting that a body concerned with matters affecting every individual in the City, men and women both, can best operate if it is made up only of members of one sex.

The executive requested a list of all civic boards and committees, the "qualifications required of candidates for these appointments", and a list of all civic board members, with the date of appointment and the appointee's relevant experience. They also reiterated their stand that appointment decisions should not be made in secret meetings.²⁷⁰ President Ritchie also sent letters to each alderman, praising the appointment of Mrs. J. Maurice Rochon to the Recreation Authority, and protesting the failure to appoint a qualified woman to the Parking Authority. Each alderman was asked to reveal and defend his votes in the Library Board and Parking Authority appointments.²⁷¹ Some councillors complained of the "impertinence" of these requests, and President Ritchie fired back: "Good members of City Council...welcome representations from their electors." In letters to the editors of local newspapers, she stated triumphantly

The purpose of the letters – that of drawing the unhealthy attitude of certain members of City Council to the attention of the public, - has been achieved. The attempts of such members of Council to evade replying, show how successful the letters have been.²⁷²

In July 1959, President Ritchie reminded City Council of the Club's unanswered request for information and reiterated the complaints over the Parking Authority appointment. Given City Council's admission that its appointments were on the basis of representation of groups rather

²⁶⁸ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, "Report on Ottawa Municipal Affairs," Feb. 23, 1959.

²⁶⁹ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter from Miss Ritchie, May 1, 1959. The woman in question was a lawyer with Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, specializing in public housing and urban redevelopment, who had also worked with the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps in the problems of movement of vehicles and personnel.

²⁷⁰ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, "Open letter to the Mayor and City Council", May 8, 1959.

²⁷¹ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter from Miss Ritchie, May 11, 1959.

²⁷² Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to the editors, *Ottawa Citizen*, *Ottawa Journal* and *Le Droit*, May 23, 1959.

than on the basis of qualifications, Miss Ritchie questioned "Why, then, has it denied representation to the largest group of citizens?" With respect to the Parking Authority

the largest individual group of shoppers are women. They are responsible not only for their own individual purchases, but for those of their children, their households and of their husbands who are preoccupied with other matters...It should be unnecessary to point out that the community spends a great deal of money to educate women as well as men. It is unbelievable that when women are interested in repaying the cost of their education by using that education for the benefit of the community, they must face discrimination on the part of persons prepared to deprive the public of the advantages their experience can provide.²⁷³

In November 1959, the Business and Professional Women's Club put forward the name of local realtor (and university graduate) Miss D. Jane McLean, for appointment to the Housing Authority. The UWCO wrote letters supporting Miss McLean's appointment on the basis of her particular qualifications and experience. They also sought to justify her appointment by listing advantages attaching to her gender, even though these considerations may not have been true of a businesswoman:

It is, of course, important that the point of view of women should be adequately taken into account because women spend more time in the home than their husbands can. Women are responsible for running the house and attending to the many details and problems that are likely to arise."²⁷⁴

In September, the Club received a letter from the City Clerk admitting that "there are no known qualifications for appointment to civic boards or committees" and that it would be impossible to produce a standard set of qualifications, since Council members might not always agree on what was required. The Club crowed triumphantly

It is now clear that the exclusion of women or of men from any body dealing with matters of public interest can no longer be justified upon the imaginary ground of non-existent qualifications. It has confirmed the wisdom of those members of City Council who agreed that women, like men, are entitled to representation of their interests and viewpoints on all civic boards and committees. It has also confirmed the wisdom of drawing from the experience and talents of both sexes in all matters of appointment.²⁷⁵

The Club commended City Council on the recent appointments of women to two city committees, and took this as Council's recognition that appointments should be made "from the ranks of women as well as those of men." To illustrate its position that highly qualified men and women should be represented on civic boards, the Club proposed a male candidate who would be well-qualified to fill a new vacancy on the Library Board. The UWCO had come up with the candidate in cooperation with other local women's organizations.

²⁷³ Vol. 1, File 1, Correspondence, letter to Mayor Nelms from Miss Ritchie, July 19, 1959.

²⁷⁴ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letter to Mayor Nelms, etc., from Miss Traynor, Nov. 25, 1959.

²⁷⁵ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to Mayor Nelms from Miss Ritchie, Oct. 30, 1959.

In January 1960, City Council announced its new slate of appointments without appointing any new women (there were four reappointments of women). President Ritchie reported to the Club that the approach of suggesting women candidates for civic appointments to City Council was not working. In December the Mayor had publicly denounced the submission of names and qualifications by the Club. The story was picked up by the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, who used it in an editorial criticizing the Club for "trying to put in women as women and without regard to qualifications". Miss Ritchie wrote to the *Globe* editor to set the record straight, but received no retraction. She confided to Club members that she had "endured in silence... a great many personal attacks by Controller Tardif, the Mayor and others". In January, Miss Ritchie and Controller Tardif appeared on a local television together, and, to the crew's delight, she went on the attack. Miss Ritchie felt she had won the argument, but "I do not want wish to be put in such a conflicting position again." In January, a weary president confided to the Club

all attempts at working with the present City Council can only provoke more of the recriminations which serve no purpose. We have repeatedly done our best to cooperate, but City Council has used personal abuse to arouse civic friction... City Council is afraid to have a housewife in there who might ask embarrassing questions.²⁷⁶

The Club decided to cease all communications on the matter for two months while they reconsidered their policy and talked to other women's groups. In the meantime, members were told they could help by writing to the *Globe and Mail* editor to protest the editorial, by commending those who supported the Club's stand, and by writing letters to the editors of the local newspapers, commending their support.²⁷⁷ Throughout the whole ordeal, the UWCO had received sympathetic coverage from both local newspapers. In May 1959, President Ritchie thanked the editors for their editorials:

You have expressed beautifully our feeling that it is in the public interest to have representation of women as well as men on civic boards and committees to obtain a breadth of viewpoint and experience which will benefit the whole community.²⁷⁸

In August 1959, an *Ottawa Citizen* editorial echoed the Club executive's arguments in saying that qualification and not 'sex', should be the main criterion in making civic appointments. Men and women should be considered equally on their individual merits. However, for some boards, such as those dealing with children or "the special problems of shoppers" (such as the Parking

²⁷⁶ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Rebuffed by Council," *Ottawa Journal*, Jan. 12, 1960. Charlotte Whitton commented to Miss Ritchie "as one who knows, we are not going to get women forward by sending letters. It is time we stopped shooting arrows in this age of atomic bombs."

²⁷⁷ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, "Confidential Report to Members – Not For Publication", Jan. 13, 1959 [sic – should be 1960].

²⁷⁸ Vol. 12, File 2, Status of Women, letter to I. Norman Smith, *Ottawa Journal*, from Miss Ritchie, May 27, 1959; and letter to Marsh Yarrow, *The Ottawa Citizen*, from Miss Ritchie, May 27, 1959.

Authority) "sex is in itself a qualification".²⁷⁹ In September 1959 the Club sent letters of appreciation to the reporters who covered the story.

We are very pleased with the write-ups...Your writing has the professional stamp. It is factual and objective and need not rely on a slanting of the truth to gain readers...you have been careful to check your facts with the heads of women's organizations in all matters relating to them, and have given them an opportunity to make explanatory statements. You may be certain, in following such a course, of the continued co-operation of all women's organizations.²⁸⁰

In April 1960, the Club newsletter lauded the editors of the local newspapers who have so firmly supported the principle that women can best serve the city by direct participation in civic affairs.

The newsletter referred in particular to editorials written on the occasion of the appointment of a Mrs. O'Regan to a city position. The *Ottawa Journal* editor had said

It vindicates the persistent efforts of the women's organizations, the University Women's Club in particular, to increase women's representation. The useful work of putting forth names of well-qualified persons, men as well as women, shows an intelligent interest in civic affairs.

The *Ottawa Citizen* had commented that the interest of women in serving the community should be encouraged at every opportunity; otherwise, much talent and experience go to waste. Lately, City Council has failed, for one reason or another, to appoint women to public posts. It is to be hoped that Mrs. O'Regan's election reverses what seems to have become a trend.²⁸¹

During the twenty-year period from 1940 to 1960, the UWCO, secure in its position as a large, well-educated and well-informed group of women, sought to exert its influence in the community. Other than a brief period of decline in the mid-1940s, likely attributable to the preoccupation of war work and the subsequent exodus of war workers, UWCO membership steadily increased, reaching 400 members by 1959. After 1941, the UWCO no longer required applicants to be referred by existing members, a reflection of its new constitutional definition as an 'organization', not a 'club'. At the same time, it continued to restrict membership to qualified graduates of qualified universities, checking the credentials of every applicant. Free memberships were extended to women whose status the Club wished to recognize and support, including women in the armed services, women with honorary degrees, displaced persons, exchange teachers and graduates of foreign universities who were temporarily in Ottawa. Annual membership lists indicate that during the war years the Club was composed of roughly equal numbers of married (or widowed or divorced) members, but after the war the proportion of married women increased to reach two-thirds of all members. The proportion of members who

²⁷⁹ Vol. 27, Scrapbooks, "Women on Boards and Commissions," *Ottawa Citizen*, August 1959.

²⁸⁰ Vol. 1, File 2, Correspondence, letters to Patrick Best and W.M. Amott, *Ottawa Citizen*, Sept. 18, 1959, from Miss Traynor.

²⁸¹ Vol. 7, Files 3 and 4, Monthly Notices, *The Idea Mill*, April 1960, No. 4.

had earned a graduate or professional degree remained fairly constant until 1950, when it rose, reaching one-quarter of all members by 1960.

Revisions to the Club's objects in 1941 and 1956 reflected an increasing shift away from a club devoted to serving its members' needs, towards an organization that played an important public function. The 1941 revisions focused on the higher education of all women and the creation of a network of university women who could function as a significant voice in public affairs. The 1956 objects described an organization whose primary purpose was to set standards and take action in education, in the political, social and cultural aspects of public affairs, and in the status of women. This later revision mirrored the new objects of the CFUW, an organization in which the UWCO was increasingly taking a directing role. A preamble added to the constitution in 1960 stressed the non-discriminatory nature of Club membership, reflecting an increasing societal concern with racism. Minor revisions throughout the time period sought to address the increasing size of the Club by adding executive positions and committees and detailing the responsibilities of all Club positions.

The UWCO continued to experience difficulty in finding a long-term venue. This was a function of cost, scarcity of accommodation during the war and postwar years, and the increasing size of the Club. A wartime attempt to secure a permanent clubhouse was abandoned for cost reasons, although the UWCO later purchased a permanent share in a private women's club that permitted it to use that venue for smaller events. Two longstanding traditions disappeared after the war: the annual dramatic production put on by the Club's oldest study group, the Drama Reading Circle, and musical performances by Club members during meetings. Towards the war's end, the October meeting became a social event at which the focus was on members acquainting themselves with each other and with the Club. The most popular topics among Club speakers were international issues and cultural issues. In the international realm, twelve speakers raised war issues during the first four years of the war, and ten speakers considered postwar issues during the last three years of the war. In the fifteen years after the war, eighteen speakers discussed the current cultural and political conditions in various European and Asian countries, and the work of international bodies such as the United Nations. Twenty-one speakers considered issues of art or culture, ten speakers discussed educational issues, ten speakers described geographic areas and cultural groups within Canada, especially the far north, eight speakers discussed Canadian political and defence issues, eight speakers raised health issues, and only six speakers considered the role of women.

The Club no longer relied so heavily on social events as an instrument for honouring and recognizing women leaders. Only two major social events were held each year: the annual dinner and a tea for new members. Apart from these, there were less than ten teas or

luncheons in twenty years. The annual dinner went through several transformations: between 1942 and 1947 members supplied their own entertainment in a home-made party atmosphere and between 1948 and 1956 it was hosted by a local department store and featured both men and women experts as speakers. Between 1957 and 1959 both Club members and guest performers supplied entertainment, and women leaders were invited as non-speaking guests of honour. The annual dinner was supplemented in 1960 by an achievement year dinner which followed a similar format.

Study groups continued to be popular, with almost as many group memberships as Club memberships in the late 1950s. While study groups had always provided social and educational benefits to members, in the mid-1950s, they also operated as instruments of social action, instigating many of the recommendations for social reform which would later be taken up by the Club. Two of the most significant groups in this regard were the Penal Reform Group, which operated from the late 1940s to the late 1950s, and the Status of Women Group, which operated throughout the 1950s. When the obligation of educated women to repay society for the benefits they had received was raised as a concern in the late 1950s, study groups were put forward as one way in which women could fulfill this obligation. Long-term study groups which continued to meet throughout this period included the Drama Reading Circle, various child study groups, a French conversation group, a literature study group, various music groups, and an interior decorating group. A current affairs group which met until 1951 was succeeded by an international affairs group and a civic affairs group, both of which operated in the late 1950s. In addition to short-term war-related groups, a number of postwar problems groups functioned until the end of the 1940s, including one on women. After the war, a number of groups operated for only a few seasons, including groups for sketching, new members, public speaking and local history. A science group formed during the war operated for almost ten years. A number of study groups were formed during the late 1950s, including groups on art appreciation, investment study, education, Black Africa and Russian language.

The Club increasingly sought to attract press coverage of its events and opinions, and the press was increasingly cooperative in this regard. The volume of printed materials circulated to members also increased in the late 1950s, with published versions of monthly and annual reports, and a Club newsletter. The Club continued to recognize the illnesses, bereavements, deaths, births and achievements of its members, although the volume of these communications became so large that a committee member was assigned solely to this task. Marriage engagements were now recognized alongside births as significant achievements. The Club began to honour and recognize not only the achievements of members in academic and public life, but the achievements of all Canadian women, sending almost fifty letters of congratulations and making frequent announcements at Club meetings.

During the war the UWCO invested its refreshment money, unspendable because of rationing, in Victory Bonds. After the war, it continued to reinvest in government bonds, so that by 1960 it held almost \$4300 in investments, two and a half times its 1940 holdings. The increased income from these investments was used to augment the number and amount of local scholarships awarded by the Club. It also supported the Drama League, now renamed the Ottawa Little Theatre, in its building program and playwriting competitions and contributed to the scholarship fund of a Canadian-American student exchange program. Both Club funds and members' donations supported an IFUW Fund for the educational rehabilitation of displaced professional women in Europe. Outside of these educational initiatives, the Club continued to decline requests for donations of Club funds, acting instead as a vehicle to channel requests for donations of money and time to individual Club members. In this respect, one of the Club's largest ventures was to organize donations of food and clothing by members to be sent to British and European university women. During the 1950s, financial donations were increasingly sought, as the Club ceded the practical work of assembling parcels to organizations like CARE and UNESCO.

The Club became increasingly concerned with maintaining a network of contacts with other organizations, and by 1960, the Club held memberships in ten local associations. It also worked to maintain a network among local women's associations, all of whom gave notice of and attended each others events and worked together on community issues. Its relationship with the CFUW changed in nature, with the UWCO assuming a leadership role in the national organization, both through Club resolutions and the efforts of individual members. In particular, the UWCO worked to transform the CFUW from a scholarship granting body to an active force in Canadian public affairs. As with the LCW twenty years earlier, UWCO women held an increasingly large number of executive positions in the CFUW.

The UWCO itself became an active force in public affairs during this period, lobbying federal, provincial and municipal governments for legislative and administrative change. At the federal and provincial level, the Club's preferred method was to study the issue, either through study groups or a specially-formed committee and then to pass a resolution setting out the Club's position. Resolutions were forwarded either to the appropriate politicians or bureaucrats, or to the CFUW for further study and lobbying at the national level. While it was often brought into issues by other organizations asking for UWCO support, the UWCO increasingly originated its own issues, asking other organizations for their support. At the municipal level, the UWCO also passed resolutions and forwarded them to the appropriate officials, but as issues became more heated, it engaged in letter-writing and telephone campaigns, attended meetings and sought local press coverage. Initially brought into issues by other organizations seeking support, the UWCO also originated a number of local campaigns. In all of these local issues, the mutual

support of other women's organizations was continually sought out, praised and freely given. Concerted action proved effective, and both women's organizations and local politicians and press appeared to be impressed by the force and effect of this action. At the federal level, the UWCO urged the admission of European political refugees to Canada, protested discrimination against women in the civil service, urged numerous penal reforms including changes to the constitutional division of responsibilities, improvements to the parole system and to the care and rehabilitation of women offenders and criminal sexual psychopaths, praised the *Fauteux Report* on penal reform and requested implementation of certain recommendations, urged the immediate establishment of a national library, opposed inadequate provisions for education and citizenship in the new *Indian Act*, recommended changes to the *Succession Duty Act* to lessen estate taxes for widows, urged the appointment of women to the Senate and the Civil Service Commission on the basis of their contributions to the community, urged the appointment of women to international conferences and bodies and to government boards and commissions, recommended changes to the *Income Tax Act* to benefit working wives and mothers, urged amendments to the *Citizenship Act* to restore citizenship to certain married women, and made submissions to a Committee of Inquiry on the Residential Environment. At the provincial level, the UWCO supported the passing of the *Ontario Female Employees Fair Remuneration Act*, urged the appointment of women to various provincial boards and positions, submitted recommendations concerning services for women offenders, objected to amendments to the *Ontario Estate Tax Act* and recommended others, praised the removal of discriminatory provisions in the *Ontario Real Estate and Business Brokers Act*, studied the issue of water fluoridation, eventually favouring its implementation, protested the denial of municipal voting rights to resident tenants and boarders, and protested provisions allowing women to be exempted from jury duty. At the municipal level, the UWCO endorsed resolutions concerning restaurant closing hours, venereal disease, the availability and price of milk. The UWCO pressed for the local provision of mental health services, demanded equality in the salaries and retirement ages of men and women teachers, urged the establishment of a local civil defence organization, supported the local election campaigns of women, ensured that adequate arrangements had been made locally for the new position of woman juror and encouraged women to stand for jury duty, protested the county's failure to provide robing facilities for women barristers in the remodeled courthouse, and protested the city's failure to appoint women to municipal boards and commissions.

Throughout this period, five themes were increasingly apparent in the rhetoric used by the UWCO. First, the idea that educated women had incurred a debt to society, which they had an obligation to repay through public service, was increasingly raised to justify and encourage women's participation in public affairs. Second, the Club and others felt that educated women

were not living up to their obligations and that this was at least as strong a factor in the lack of women's participation as restrictions imposed by government or society. Third, arguments relied on by Club members implied that a woman's point of view included a unique appreciation of certain maternal and domestic realities, regardless of occupation or marital status, and that society would benefit from the inclusion of this point of view in public affairs. Fourth, the Club and other women's organizations with which it worked, repeatedly maintained that women should receive public appointments in recognition of and as a reward for their contributions to the community. Fifth, as it drew closer to its fiftieth anniversary, the Club increasingly developed the idea that the Club's founders had been pioneering and active campaigners for the involvement of women in public service. Arguments for action put forward by the Club were inevitably based on one or more of these themes.

Conclusion

It is probably trite, but fair, to say that an organization, or anything else, has changed over fifty years. Certainly change happened within the UWCO. What is of more import is the type of change which occurred, the factors which might have prompted change, and the outcomes of change.

The Club remained a relatively small organization until the late 1930s, and there was ongoing concern about finances and membership numbers. In 1937, it suddenly doubled in size, and with the exception of a brief period of decline towards the end of the Second World War, continued to grow until it reached 400 members in 1959. The changing size of the Club impacted on its activities: remedial measures taken during the 1920s included changing the regular meeting night. After the influx of members in the late 1930s, the Club was able to offer many more study groups, but was forced to expand its executive and committee structure to handle the increased workload of a large organization. Large numbers, combined with cost and scarcity also restricted the available venues for Club events in the war and postwar periods. On at least three occasions between 1920 and 1945 the Club investigated the possibility of establishing a permanent university women's clubhouse, a popular option for many women's clubs during this period. While the UWCO was never able to realize this possibility it did purchase shares in a private women's club that permitted the use of that venue for small events.

Between 1910 and 1920, the Club was dominated by young, single women, and the typical Club member was unmarried and under forty years old, held an undergraduate degree from Queen's or Toronto, worked for the federal government as a clerk and lived in downtown Ottawa. Significant numbers also held graduate degrees and worked as teachers. Very few married (or widowed or divorced) women were in paid employment. The Club's active founders, and those who participated in the Club executive, were primarily single women and slightly older than the average member. However, more of them were married, held a graduate degree and if single were in paid employment, than in the general membership. In the interwar period, the Club was composed of roughly equal numbers of single and married women, and continued to be dominated by graduates of Queen's and Toronto, although an increasing proportion came from universities in Western Canada. The proportion of graduate degree holders rose slightly and then declined again, while the variety of different degrees expanded dramatically. While an increasing proportion of women held paid employment, the

number of employed married women remained small. During the war years the Club was composed of roughly equal numbers of married (or widowed or divorced) members, but with increased membership after the war the proportion of married women increased to reach two-thirds of all members. The proportion of members who had earned a graduate degree also rose during the 1950s, reaching one-quarter of all members by 1960.

The typical interwar applicant was a single woman in her twenties who had graduated from Queen's or Toronto with a general arts undergraduate degree, lived in downtown Ottawa and worked as either a teacher or a civil servant. Over the interwar period, applicants were increasingly likely to be married and slightly older, have a graduate or professional degree, and have more than one degree. The variety of courses increased dramatically and the proportion of applicants from distant universities increased. There was less tendency for single women to be over-represented at nearby universities and for married women to be over-represented at distant universities. The proportion of single and married applicants in paid employment increased dramatically over time from 1920 to 1940, although the numbers of married applicants were still small. Most were teachers or civil servants, but the proportion of civil servants increased towards 1940. Significant numbers of applicants lived in suburban areas outside the downtown core. After 1940, the typical applicant was a married woman in her twenties who had graduated from a university in Western Canada with an undergraduate degree and described her occupation as "housewife". While fewer women held graduate degrees in the early postwar period, an increasing number did so in the late 1950s. The proportion of both single and married applicants in paid employment, and especially those in the civil service, continued to increase. These shifts in marital status, occupation and origin of applicants were crucial in determining the composition of the Club as a whole, and, arguably affected the interests, activities and modes of operation of the Club. It is worth noting, however, that some of the most active members in the 1950s continued to be single, employed civil servants, as they had been in the Club's early days.

The Club's recordkeeping reflected to some extent the concerns of executive members and their perception of what was important to the functioning of the Club. The way in which members completed Club forms reveals areas where Club and members' priorities may have diverged. Until the 1950s, university and degree were always listed first on application forms, suggesting a high level of importance to the Club, but no provision was made for multiple degrees. Applicants nevertheless struggled to include all

their degrees, suggesting a high level of importance to individuals. Application forms requested an occupation or profession, and applicants in both paid and unpaid positions provided a response. However, when membership lists were compiled, only paid occupations were listed. Application forms requested a course of study beginning in 1925, likely prompted by developments at universities, and applicants responded in increasing detail, suggesting that this information was important to both Club and members. A tendency on the part of members to include a prefix, and in the case of married members their husband's given name or initials, when signing their name, had been replaced by the 1930s by a strong tendency to sign only one's own given name and surname. Meanwhile, newspaper reports of Club events, most of which were supplied by the Club's Press Secretary, continued to use prefixes and to refer to married women using their husband's given name or initials. In the late 1930s, the Club began to ask for husband's initials in the case of married women, and by the 1950s, the use of a prefix was mandated on application forms. Club action in this area appears to have been prompted by the new behaviour of members, and was possibly an attempt to bridge an emerging divergence between the signature style of members and the requirements of polite society.

The Club's primary objects during its first ten years were to look after the social and educational needs of its members. These objects were met by monthly meetings with speakers, an annual dinner and an annual drama night, sponsorship of public lectures, and the occasional private tea. A third goal, to feel a responsibility for women, was met by the significant attention directed to the role of women in society before and after the war through the study of women's topics, the inclusion of prominent women as guest speakers and the congratulations sent to them on their achievements. The First World War acted as an agent of change for the Club, disrupting its focus on women's issues at its monthly meetings, but at the same time sending it in new directions. The war gave UWCO members the experience of working together on social welfare projects, both war-related and those related to local conditions. It was also during the war that the Club finally entered into the suffrage campaign, likely prompted by its working relationship with women's suffrage group on social welfare issues. These experiences led to the addition of public welfare as a fourth object in the Club constitution and prompted the Club to lend its support to various postwar projects to improve the lot of women, something it had not done prior to the war. The Second World War functioned as an even more significant watershed in the affairs of the Club,

signaling changes in its goals, activities, and attitudes. Revisions to the objects in 1941 and 1956 reflected an increasing shift away from a club devoted to serving its members' needs, towards an organization that played an important public function. The 1941 revisions focused on the higher education of all women and the creation of a network of university women who could function as a significant voice in public affairs. The 1956 objects described an organization whose primary purpose was now to set appropriate standards and take action in education, public affairs and the status of women.

The general subject areas from which the Club selected the largest volume of speakers for monthly meetings and special events, remained surprisingly constant throughout the fifty year period, although the specificities through which those topics were expressed, changed over time. More change was evident in the less popular topics with which the Club augmented these main themes. The most popular topics during the first ten years, literature and current events, were succeeded in the interwar period by literature and by national and international issues, especially that of world peace. During both wars, there was a decided preference for speakers on national and international war topics, and, as each war dragged on, for discussions of postwar development. After the Second World War, international issues, including political and cultural conditions in foreign countries and the work of international bodies, continued to be a popular topic. The prewar focus on literature was replaced by a broader discussion of arts and culture, and of education, including the government support of these priorities. It seemed that many longstanding traditions were no longer appropriate after the Second World War: the annual dramatic production, and musical performances during meetings both disappeared after the war, and were replaced to some extent by the showing of coloured films.

Social events became a major part of the Club's work and interest during the interwar period, serving both to reinforce Club community and to honour and recognize female leaders. Through these events the UWCO reinforced certain ideals of leadership and achievement among women. Similarly, the Club's recognition of events and achievements in the lives of individual members functioned to build community and to reinforce certain ideals among women. During the Second World War and the postwar period, the Club shifted its focus from the honouring and recognizing of female leaders through social functions, to the insistence that government institutions similarly honour and recognize women in their political and administrative actions. Much of this work was done through the vehicle of study groups. During the first ten years, the Club was itself

the size of a large study group, and the only ongoing group was the Drama Reading Circle. Interwar study groups built community through small group interaction and provided continuing education for members, but they lasted no more than a few seasons each. In the late 1930s, the Club reached a sufficient size to support a range of successful study groups. Within this broad range of groups, several emerged that were willing to undertake the research and study necessary to produce recommendations for Club action on local, provincial and federal matters, and to perform the necessary followup work. The Club also had sufficient womanpower to form committees to investigate and report on specific issues as they arose. In this way, the Club had not only the inclination, but the equipment to pursue its goals.

The UWCO was one of the founding members of the CFUW in 1920. It was the imposition of the annual CFUW fee that prompted the Club to engage in its first fundraising ventures, including teas, bridges and public lectures, and the Club executive regarded these events primarily in terms of their profitmaking value. Profits from these ventures were invested in government bonds, and were sufficiently large by 1935 that the Club was able to offer local scholarships using the investment income. Wartime and postwar investments augmented Club's nest egg, permitting it to increase the size and number of scholarships after the war, adding two national concerns to its portfolio. Despite its financial success, the Club maintained that it was not a fundraising or charitable organization, and reserved Club donations for certain educational causes or for the national and international organizations of university women. However, the Club functioned as an important instrument through which other organizations could channel their requests for donations and volunteer time to individual Club members.

The Club was a longtime member of the Canadian Federation of Women, the Local Council of Women and the League of Nations Society, but after the war became increasingly concerned with maintaining a network of contacts with other local and women's organizations, joining ten of these groups by 1960. Within the network of groups, there was a significant interchange of ideas and support for issues. In the case of the LCW and the CFUW, there was also an overlap of members, with many UWCO members holding executive positions in these organizations. During the interwar period, the UWCO played a fairly passive role in supporting the CFUW, remaining ambiguous about whether the CFUW's primary role was to provide scholarships or to establish a network of university women. During the war, the Club's relationship with the CFUW changed in nature. The UWCO worked both during and after the war to transform the

CFUW from a scholarship-granting body to an active force in Canadian public affairs, often using it as a vehicle for the national expression of UWCO-originated positions.

The Club was late in coming to social action, intervening only five times in public affairs during the 1920s. During the 1930s, it almost doubled its previous record, acting most often in support of LCW or CFUW-initiated campaigns. Most interwar interventions were in local affairs, although it also lobbied three times at the federal level. During the war and postwar period, the Club became an active force in public affairs, lobbying governments for political and administrative change at the local, provincial and federal level. The most popular areas of action during this period were penal reform, including provisions for women offenders, estate and income tax provisions affecting women, employment discrimination against women in federal, provincial and municipal bodies, the appointment of women to federal, provincial and local bodies, municipal voting rights, arrangements for female jurors, and courthouse accommodation for female barristers. While the Club's original method was to pass a resolution and forward it to the appropriate authorities, it later expanded on this technique, studying the issue through study groups or specially formed committees, before forming a recommendation for approval by the Club. Resolutions were forwarded to the appropriate politicians or bureaucrats, or to the CFUW for further study and lobbying at the national level. Some issues, especially those at the local level, also necessitated personal interviews and attendance at meetings, telephone or letter-writing campaigns, the garnering of support from other women's groups, and the cultivating of sympathetic press coverage. Initially brought into issues by other organizations seeking their support, the UWCO increasingly originated its own campaigns. In all local issues, the mutual support of women's organizations was sought out, praised and freely given. Both women's organizations and local politicians and press were impressed by the force and effect of concerted action.

In its first ten years, UWCO members defined themselves and their relationship with each other according to their status, not only as university graduates, but as graduates of a certain university. A woman's alma mater was part of her identity, and there was concern that all universities be represented in Club decision-making. This became less of a concern over time, as UWCO members increasingly focused on the gender aspect of their status as educated women. After the war, five themes were increasingly apparent in the rhetoric used by UWCO members. First, they felt that educated women owed a debt to society, which they had an obligation to repay through public service. This was put forward to justify and encourage women's participation in

public affairs. Second, the Club reflected the idea expressed by others that educated women were not living up to their obligations, and that this failure was at least a strong factor in women's lack of participation in public affairs, as any restrictions imposed by government or society. Third, when Club members argued for women's involvement in public affairs, they relied on the assumption that a woman's point of view included a unique appreciation of certain maternal and domestic realities, regardless of occupation or marital status, and that society would benefit from the inclusion of this point of view in public affairs. Fourth, the Club repeatedly maintained that women should receive public appointments, and be treated equally by employers, in recognition of and as a reward for their hard work and contributions to the community. Fifth, as it approached its fiftieth anniversary, the UWCO increasingly drew on the idea that the Club's founders had been pioneering and active campaigners for the involvement of women in public service. That this myth had very little grounding in reality was irrelevant, as it served its purpose in justifying and inspiring the women of the 1950s to forge a new path in the participation of educated women in public affairs.

The present study constitutes a collective biography of Canadian women during the mid-twentieth century, in the context of a voluntary association. As such, there is at present very little other contemporary evidence, either nationally or at the local level, with which to compare these findings. This is particularly true of the postwar period. Accordingly, there are at least three areas in which future scholars might profitably augment the findings of this thesis. Firstly, this work has drawn on the internal records of a voluntary women's association to document the goals, techniques and achievements of this group of middle-class, educated women in the mid-twentieth century. The description of each phase of development has been limited and therefore influenced by the materials available for that time period. While the minute books and membership records of the early years serve to chronicle the events and members during this period, they provide a far more restricted view of the opinions and motivations of early twentieth century women than the wide-ranging communications produced, and saved, by postwar women. In this regard, it is important that future studies look to other primary sources to supplement the work of this thesis. While oral history is now impossible with respect to all but the concluding portion of this period, diaries and correspondence may serve to further illuminate some of the themes discovered here. Secondly, the findings of this thesis with respect to postwar women could be complemented by research on the composition and activities of other women's groups during the postwar, but pre-women's

liberation period to show in what way the activities and approaches of these 1950s women led up to the events of the following two decades. In particular, it would be useful to know whether the views discovered in UWCO rhetoric, and used to justify women's demands, were widely held. Thirdly, the research done for this thesis could be replicated with respect to men's groups during a similar time frame. Again, there is virtually no evidence on this topic at present. Such a study could usefully be compared with the present one to indicate whether some of the themes discovered here are gender-specific, or whether they were shared in part by middle-class, university educated men of this time.

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