

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

GIVING FREELY OF HER TIME AND ENERGY:

CALGARY PUBLIC WOMEN, 1910 - 1930

by

SHEILA MOORE JOHNSTON

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

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ABSTRACT

The emergence of Calgary women into public life in the first decades of the twentieth century was aided by continental reform movements, including that of women's suffrage. In the frontier community of Calgary, able women began to make contributions to public life through the work of women's organizations, most of them formed before 1915. Women's church and charitable groups were some of the first formed, followed by community improvement organizations such as the Consumer's League lead by Georgina Newhall and the Home and School Associations, founded by Alice Curtis. In order to provide a united voice to speak for all women's groups, an umbrella group, the Local Council of Women was formed, led by Alice Jamieson. Another such group relating to family health and welfare matters, the Council on Child and Family Welfare, was formed by Maude Riley.

The employment of women outside the home, especially in professions such as teaching and medicine gave impetus to the quest by women for equal rights such as the vote. The experience and skills gained through their organizational work led to the appointment of Calgary women to civic boards such as the library board, and to judicial appointments related to women and children. Alice Jamieson and Annie Langford were the first two city women to receive the latter appointments.

When elected offices were finally open to them, women worked together to nominate and support suitable women candidates. Annie Foote was nominated by the LCW, and elected as a school trustee in 1913, Annie Gale was elected as an alderman in 1917, and they were followed by a slow trickle of other women into elected civic positions during the 1920s.

PREFACE

There are many people to whom I owe thanks and appreciation for their support and encouragement while this thesis was being prepared. My primary words of thanks, however, must go to my advisor and thesis supervisor, Dr. Tony Rasporich, to whose infinite patience, encouragement and help I owe the completion of this task. I am particularly aware that the final thesis stages have carried over into his new job as Dean of the faculty, and added to an already busy schedule. I would also like to thank Professors Palmer, Klassen and Francis of the History department for insights gained from their courses or supervision, and to the first two, along with Professor Mackie of the Sociology department, for serving on the examining committee. A special word of thanks must go to my friends and former colleagues at Glenbow Museum, and especially to Doug Cass, Georgeen Klassen and Lindsay Moir for all their research assistance. Thanks as well to the Secretary of the Public School Board and her staff for their help in the research process.

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INTRODUCTION

The emergence of women into roles of community leadership and political power in western Canada accelerated somewhat after the beginning of the twentieth century. This movement was due to several factors, some common to most of Canada, others specific to the Canadian prairies. Canada, with the exception of the province of Quebec, came under the continental influence of national and international movements for societal reform, including universal suffrage, women's rights and what came to be known as "maternal feminism." Governments and the populace as a whole slowly began to accept women in roles that had hitherto, without question, been occupied exclusively by men. With the rise of a more settled, industrialized society, middle-class women in Canada acquired improved educations, and, in many cases, time to devote to activities outside their homes where domestic servants were employed. Such educational advantages and some professional employment experience led many women to enlarge their expectations both of themselves and of the possible contributions they could make outside their homes.¹

In the rapidly-developing western Canada of the early 1900's social patterns coming with the new settlers had been transferred from a variety of sources and homelands. This lack of cohesive, ingrained social mores, accompanied by the pioneer or frontier situation in most of western Canada of that time, no doubt contributed to the opportunities for women to emerge from the confines of the pervading housewife and maternal roles. Also, pioneer women, particularly in the agricultural west, were

often unacknowledged partners in the family's economic survival; the presence of women occupying such roles in the community and adjacent rural areas made it easier to accept the possibility of women in public community roles.

While most of the factors noted here are self-explanatory, many possible definitions exist for "feminism" and "maternal feminism." The "women's movement" or "feminism" of the turn of the century "identified with women's liberation from all sexual stereotypes and discrimination".² While the usually-accepted definition of feminism is "the theory or practice of those who advocate such legal and social changes as will establish political, economic and social equality of the sexes,"³ feminism of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century has also been defined as "a perspective which recognizes the right of women not only to an increased public role, but also to define themselves autonomously."⁴ Women reformers of the time saw suffrage, or the right to vote, "from the perspective of a general commitment to individual rights, development and reason."⁵ However, this broad reform vision weakened in the process of extending this outlook or perspective within the context of the other reform elements of the time. Evolving along with women's suffrage and the extension of women's rights was the movement usually called "maternal feminism." Sometimes referred to as "moralistic," "social" or "domestic" feminism, this was an egalitarian ideal which advocated equal access by women to voting, public life and professions or employment, but with the assumption that, as women, especially as mothers, they could bring a special domestic perspective

to such areas: "...they extended the realms of motherly responsibility."⁶ Another definition suggests: "...the conviction that woman's special role as mother gives her the duty and the right to participate in the public sphere," and suggests that the "special nurturing qualities, common to all women, married or not," are what qualify her for the task of reform.⁷ In the process of accepting this type of feminism, women limited their possible roles and responsibilities to areas where these attributes were useful and necessary.

While emergence of women into public life was beginning to happen in other areas of Canada, it is important to note here that the extension of the provincial franchise to women, and the entry of women into the corridors of power, i.e., to elected office, came first to women of western Canada, and in the case of elected women, to Alberta and Calgary women. Women's suffrage on the prairies was achieved in 1916, when Manitoba became the first province to vote to extend the franchise to women, Alberta the second, and Saskatchewan the third.⁸ In 1917, Alberta elected the first women members of the legislature within the British Empire, in the persons of Louise McKinney and Roberta MacAdams; and in 1921, appointed the first woman cabinet minister in the British Empire, in the person of the Hon. Irene Parlby.⁹ In Calgary, Annie Foote was the first elected municipal official when, in 1913, she was elected as a school trustee; and when, in 1917, Annie Gale was elected as a city alderman, she became the first such woman office-holder in the British Empire.¹⁰

There were many other women, along with those already mentioned, who, in the years 1910 to 1930 in Calgary, took part or assisted in the entry of women into roles of community influence and leadership. Some of these women are well-known, at least to historians, and a few have received civic recognition, albeit long after they made their community contributions.¹¹ Others are not so prominent, but all of them were part of the movement of women into public life and should be acknowledged as foremothers of the women who today play strong roles in various aspects of Calgary's political, social and cultural life.

It is the purpose of this thesis to trace the emergence of several Calgary women into community organizational leadership; employment, professions and appointed office; and elected political offices. As much as possible, this history traces the chronology and describes and analyses the process of women's emergence into community roles in the years 1910-1930, with major emphasis on the years 1910 to 1925. In particular, the common factors enabling or enhancing this movement will be examined, including the background and social standing of these women and their families, and the processes by which they came to accept public roles in the community. Several women, and in some cases their organizations, will receive major attention because of their contributions both to the city and to the process of women's emergence into Calgary public life. They can be seen as examples of both the new public women and the semi-public women whose support enabled others of their sex to become community leaders. This emergence into public life was accomplished by women who gave freely of their time and energy as

they worked together to achieve common goals for themselves and the women who came after them.¹²

FOOTNOTES - INTRODUCTION

1. For an enlargement on these factors see Carol Lee Bacchi, Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983). Preface and Introduction. pp. vii-ix; 3-12.
2. Wayne Roberts, "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto 1877-1914", in Linda Kealey, ed., A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880's-1920's. (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979). p.17.
3. Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1941).p.369.
4. Linda Kealey, "Introduction," A Not Unreasonable Claim, p.7.
5. Roberts, "Rocking the Cradle," p.20.
6. Ibid., p.18
7. Kealey, "Introduction," A Not Unreasonable Claim, pp.7,8.
8. Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Second edition, 1974). p.66.
9. Ibid., p.74. Two of these women, McKinney and Parlby, were also among the five Alberta women who petitioned the Privy Council in 1929 and won the recognition of women as 'persons' under the B.N.A. Act.
10. Glenbow-Alberta Institute Archives (hereafter GAI) Annie Foote papers (hereafter GAI-AF), and Annie Gale papers (hereafter GAI-AG).
11. An example of this belated historical recognition is in the new book, Citymakers, Calgarians After the Frontier, edited by Max Foran and Sheilagh Jameson, published in Calgary by The Historical Society of Alberta, Chinook Country Chapter, 1987, which contains biographies of Annie Gale, Maude Riley and Amelia Turner Smith, and occasional mention of some of the other women studied here. Both Annie Foote and Annie Gale have received the recognition of having city elementary schools named after them in recent years.
12. The letter written to Annie Gale by Mayor George Webster on the occasion of her retirement from City Council spoke of her having "given freely of your time and energies." GAI-AG, letter of Dec.19, 1923.

CHAPTER ONE

CALGARY WOMEN AND WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS 1910 - 1930

In the first years of the twentieth century, the occupation of most Calgary women was that of "wife and mother"- the domestic helpmate. The small number of unmarried adult women were usually employed as domestic help or, in a few cases, in business or the professions. Living conditions in boomtown Calgary were sometimes fairly primitive, and it was a major task to keep a husband and family well-fed and clothed and comfortable with the resources available. As mentioned previously, women's influence was expected to be confined to the home and its associated responsibilities...her "proper sphere."

The majority of the adult women in Calgary in the years 1900 to 1930 had been born elsewhere, immigrating here as children with their parents, or as adults themselves. Those who came in their late teens or as adults, brought with them to the frontier their education and previous experiences in much less primitive conditions. In particular, those women who came from middle-class backgrounds in eastern Canada, England or the United States were able to perceive, and sometimes articulate the need for improvement in societal (and living) conditions which they found in the new city and region.

The accepted role of women as that of "guardian of hearth and home" made it difficult for women to speak out as individuals. Lower-class women

were unlikely to have the time, energy or background from which to speak, while middle-class women had been taught the boundaries of their accepted roles. Society in general was changing, however, and reform was a matter of concern across western Canada; in fact, social reform was a prominent issue across North America in the first decades of the twentieth century as the progressive or "social gospel" movement spread throughout the continent. The "movement" was, rather, the spread of progressive ideas and ideals which suggested that it was the responsibility of "Christian" citizens to improve the living conditions and "lot" of their fellow citizens, and, further, that the common people ought to have a larger say in their own destiny. One historian has described this "reform movement" in this way:

It was composed of a variety of pressure groups, dedicated to such diverse objectives as tariff reform, the single tax, direct legislation, prohibition, and woman's suffrage. The movement's members belonged to no particular political party and only in Manitoba did they find it necessary to enter party politics to gain their ends. The movement's common philosophical denominator was the Social Gospel, which swept North American Protestantism at the close of the nineteenth century.¹

Reaction to the effects of industrialization and urbanization, visible in the squalor of cities and lives of hopelessness for people caught at the lower end of the class ladder, led to the formation of local and provincial Social Service Councils and a call for a variety of reforms.² In western Canada, in particular, agricultural and regional concerns for change or reform were expressed through the voices of organizations such as the Grain Growers' Associations. Here, too, was a religious flavor as "hand in hand with the organized farmers movement on the prairies has gone religion and social work."³ And, "To a remarkable degree, the social gospel and the ideology of the agrarian revolt coincided."⁴

In particular, two reforms, prohibition and suffrage, gained the attention of those women who were looking outside their own sphere and beginning to organize themselves to attempt to meet the needs of the community around them. The strong thrust, especially in western Canada, of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (hereafter WCTU), the women's section of Grain Growers and other organizations working toward women's suffrage, and allied to it the goal of temperance and prohibition, helped to make all persons more aware of the possibilities and talents possessed by women. More people began to see the advantages to society if women could exercise their vote and leavening influence. This social and cultural awareness was aided by, and to some extent was an effect of, the social gospel and the progressive and maternal feminist movements. The rise of a variety of men's and women's volunteer organizations, many with reformist goals, in North America was reflected in the organization and expansion of such groups in western Canada and such major cities as Calgary.

An American sociologist, J.C. Scott, reporting on a 1947 study on volunteer organizations, defined a voluntary association as:

..a group of persons relatively freely organized to pursue mutual and personal interests or to achieve common goals, usually non-profit in nature. Voluntary associations have qualifying criteria for membership, offices filled by election or selection by representatives so empowered by by-laws, and periodic meetings.⁵

Such groups or units, most often called associations, organizations, societies or clubs, are usually referred to as organizations in this study. Scott's research, while derived from a later time period, gives

us some useful findings regarding volunteer organizations. He found that the participation as members of voluntary associations increased with the amount of education; that Protestants joined voluntary organizations more often than Catholics or those of no religion; and that married persons were more likely to join groups than are single persons. He further noted that "there is a significant and positive relation between membership and social status."⁶ Scott further commented that the leadership, in the hands of a few persons, exercised strong control over organizational composition and functioning. It was, however, sensitive to wishes of the membership, and carried out goals and objectives which had been defined and set by the members.⁷

Voluntary organizations such as businessmen's associations, labour unions and churchmen's groups began to form in the late nineteenth century. Women, particularly middle and upper-middle class women of Protestant Anglo-Canadian or American background, saw needs within the church and community and they too began to come together to form voluntary women's organizations around purposes which could be seen as logical extensions of their "domestic sphere." As well as groups organized for "charitable" purposes, some of the first "acceptable" groups which women began to organize were those whose purpose was to assist their local church congregation. Usually called the Ladies' Aid, the Ladies' Auxiliary, the Ladies' Society or similar names, they assisted in maintenance and beautifying, such as caring for altar cloths and providing flowers. Their teas, bazaars, catering, church suppers and other fund-raising events assisted in the support of both building and

ministry.⁸

As the excitement of the vision of foreign mission fields spread through Protestant churches, interested church women took up the cause, forming women's missionary societies, organizing and sending out women missionaries to both foreign and national "frontier" missions, providing monetary support, as well as educating their members to conditions in foreign countries. One historian commented on the importance of these groups to the development of their members: "Religious faith usually sustained these pioneers in their unfamiliar task and missionary societies were the most important of the first great female alliances."⁹

Experiences in their denominational women's groups provided the opportunities for education around the issues of the day, and for the learning and practice of skills such as public speaking, use of parliamentary procedure, and the ability to chair meetings. The skills thus gained in these areas enabled many women to attain the confidence necessary to move beyond denominational and church boundaries. They began to form more widely-based organizations, around the major issues of concern to their communities; still, as a rule, approaching such issues from a Christian or moral reform perspective. They thus took with them into the public arena a moral justification based on their religious precepts. No doubt they also reflected their own educational and family backgrounds, including in some cases, the importance of their husband's or father's role in Calgary. In many instances, they also bore the "authority" of their maternal roles which enabled them to gain a

hearing as they spoke of the need for reform within the community, the "maternal feminism" discussed above in the introduction. Women's organizations thus became "...a vehicle of entry into the mainstream of public affairs...the mainstream of social and political innovation." ¹⁰

The primary focus of this study is on the lives of the women who pushed back the male-only frontiers in Calgary public life in the early years of this century. This first chapter focuses on those who made at least part of their contribution through a major women's organization or organizations and includes a discussion of some of these early women's organizations. Many of the women mentioned were involved in more than one civic arena and organization, and several of them merit the recognition of major biographical treatment. Most of them will be discussed within the context of the group through which they made their major contribution, such as Mrs. Harold M. (Maude) Riley, who will be looked at in greater depth at the end of this chapter.¹¹

Women's organizations, made up of individuals from a variety of backgrounds, interests and beliefs reflected the dominant concerns common to their members. They also, in some cases, reflected the dominant personalities of their leaders or strongest members. It is difficult, looking back from this distance to make definitive judgements about the strength and prominence of the leaders of the early Calgary women's groups. In fact, we are occasionally left questioning whether the strong women made the organization, or the opportunity to work within the comparative safety of a strong, viable organization enhanced

those individuals' latent leadership qualities, thus enabling them to accomplish things previously not thought possible. For some of the women discussed below, both situations may have applied to some degree.

What we do know is that some strong, very able women did emerge on the Calgary public scene, and that, due to their combined efforts, a variety of reforms were enacted, from regulations governing weights and measures, and food sales, to the appointment of women police and probation officers. Courageous women eventually broke into the previously all-male bastions of the public school board, city council and judicial positions. Each of them did so with the support of other women, and of one or more women's organizations.

Those women's organizations, together with their very able leadership, which contributed to the life of Calgary in the years 1910 to 1930 could be placed in three possible groupings or categories or combinations thereof: church and charity, community improvement and umbrella organizations which attempted to coordinate the work of other groups. These groupings will be kept in mind while looking, as much as possible, chronologically at early women's groups in Calgary. Within each organization the focus will be on the backgrounds, lives, contributions, and where possible, the personalities of significant women leaders.

I. WOMEN IN CHURCH AND CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS

The first women's organizations in Calgary, predictably, were formed around church or charitable purposes, a reflection of one or other of two aspects of their lives, - their religious commitment or their sense of responsibility to their neighbor. People in this time period usually belonged to or had an affiliation or connection with a local church or religious community. Also implicit, and often explicit, in the Christian doctrine was the responsibility to help others in need, to work to support the existence of the church and its activities and to take the "gospel message" to others, especially those in foreign lands who had never been exposed to Christianity.

Most members of pioneer communities accepted the responsibility to help neighbors when they were in need, or when extra hands were required such as in barn-raising: equally there was an allied responsibility to help those "less fortunate than themselves," occasionally taking the form of efforts to reform the societal conditions which caused or contributed to peoples' distress.

(i) CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS

Since church women formed some of the first organizations in Calgary we shall briefly acknowledge the work of some of these early groups. It is useful to see these groups in the context of women's lives at the time:

Indeed, the strength of religious affiliations reflected the restricted nature of most women's lives. The church, the strongest institution in young communities, offered middle-class women in

particular one of their few opportunities to escape the household's confines. There, sustained by spiritual authority, they could regularly socialize in the performance of unimpeachable tasks.¹²

This was true in the western Canadian frontier setting, as well as the more settled eastern environments, and churches were some of the first institutions organized in the new settlement of Calgary, early missionaries having been present at the junction of the Bow and Elbow rivers in 1875 before and after the building of Fort Calgary.¹³

As Protestant churches began to form in the settlement of Calgary, so did parallel church women's organizations. The first Protestant congregation was that of Central Methodist church, started by Rev. John McDougall, who, encouraged by his wife, supervised the building of the first church building in 1877. The Central Ladies' Society began in 1885 with Mrs. W.H. Cushing as president, followed in 1890 by the Ladies' Aid with Mrs. J.A. Lougheed as president. In 1892, the Central Methodist Women's Missionary Society was formed, only eleven years after the first Methodist W.M.S. in Canada was formed in Hamilton, Ontario.¹⁴

Although the first Anglican church building in Calgary was built in 1884, and eventually became the Pro-Cathedral, it is difficult to know just when the first women's groups attached to Calgary Anglican churches began. Since we do know that a Diocesan Board of the Women's Auxiliary, covering the southern part of the province, was originally organized in 1891, then re-formed in 1903, with Mrs. Cyprian (Jean) Pinkham, wife of the local bishop, as honorary president, it can be assumed that some

form of local Calgary women's auxiliary or support organization was in place by 1900.¹⁵ By 1906 there were eight parochial branches of the W.A., and prominent among the names of the first leaders are Mrs. F.C. Lowes and Mrs. Wolley-Dod at Christ Church.¹⁶ Mrs. W. J. (Annie) Gale, was the first president of the St. Mark's parish guild in 1917.¹⁷

Of the seven charter members of First Baptist Church in Calgary, three were women, Mrs. E. King, Mrs. J.B. Eschelman and Mrs. George Constantine, and the first person baptised in the first sanctuary, in 1890, was Mrs Thomas (Kate) Underwood.¹⁸ The first 'Ladies Aid' group at First Baptist church was formed in 1899, "...assuming substantial responsibilities in the young congregation from the earliest days."¹⁹

Like the other churches discussed here, the role of women in the Presbyterian church in Calgary is briefly acknowledged in histories of the early congregations. Three women are acknowledged as promoters of a meeting to encourage the formation of a new congregation, Grace Presbyterian, in 1905.²⁰ Knox women's missionary groups began in 1904, those at Grace in 1909. Calgary Presbyterial, consisting of 11 auxiliary and affiliated societies and one mission band, began in 1911. It extended west to Banff, and included High River, Macleod and Medicine Hat.²¹ Presbyterian and Methodist women, in particular, also became involved in various aspects of social action, many of them through membership in the WCTU, which generally drew its members from the most popular Protestant denominations.²²

(ii) CHARITABLE ORGANIZATIONS

One of the first local charities, motivated by women with strong church convictions, took the form, in 1890, of the newly-organized Women's Hospital Aid Society. Jean Pinkham was reportedly the person who spearheaded the formation of the organization, serving as its president for many years. Out of the activities of this group grew hospital services, and later, the Calgary General Hospital, incorporated in 1899.²³

Along with members of so-called "main-line" Protestant and Roman Catholic churches, there were also people with a more evangelical perspective living and working in Calgary. One of these, who made a major contribution to the welfare of the citizens of Calgary in her day, was Mrs. D. A. (Ethel) McKillop. With her husband, Rev. David McKillop, they extended their church assistance through the Calgary Gospel Mission and their charity through the Associated Charities, formed in 1911, which later became the Board of Public Welfare. Associated Charities was largely a male-dominated organization whose main staff-person for many years was a woman, Ethel McKillop. Her story will be told below in chapter two which focuses on professional women and women who were employed outside their homes.

II. COMMUNITY IMPROVEMENT ORGANIZATIONS

The term 'community improvement' or 'civic betterment' can be used to describe a variety of activities. Most, if not all, of the women's organizations in early twentieth-century Calgary could be described in this way, although their activities and memberships might have differed greatly from one organization to another. Those discussed in this section will be a sample of women and organizations working in the areas of education, improvement of living conditions, and of the quality of life and culture. I shall explore here something of the lives of the leading women who worked to bring about advances or improvements in Calgary living conditions.

Many of the first significant non-church organizations formed by Calgary women had their beginnings in the first two decades of this century, indeed, mainly prior to the beginning of the First World War. One of the first of these community betterment agencies was that of the Young Women's Christian Association (hereafter YWCA) which was organized in 1907. Four women, including Kate Underwood were concerned about the need for suitable living accommodation for increasing numbers of young women who were arriving in the city. The four raised \$1500 and rented a house for the first YWCA residence. Kate Underwood became the first Board chairman, a post she held for ten years, serving until 1917.²⁴ Mrs. R. R. (Alice) Jamieson was also active in the YWCA from its inception.²⁵

The YWCA was formed to bring service, friendship, help and fellowship

within the reach of the young women of the city. To this end the directors organized classes in a variety of subjects, ranging from cooking and sewing to 'A Girl's Influence in the Community,'²⁶ physical training and exercises; social events; and a Sunday Bible class. A Boarding Home was available for short city stays and a Board and Room Directory for long-term residents. The YWCA and the Women's Christian Temperance Union maintained the Travellers' Aid work, meeting all trains coming into the city and assisting those in need.²⁷

The strong leadership given by Kate Underwood was instrumental in the formation and continuing success of the YWCA. Catherine (Kate) Graves Underwood arrived in Calgary as a girl in 1883 with her parents who had come west to homestead. In 1888, she married Thomas Underwood, who had originally come to Calgary as a carpenter and railway laborer, and who had then become a building contractor. His firm built the first Baptist sanctuary in the city. His experiences with his Baptist friends convinced him of the merit of their faith and he became a convert, while Kate Underwood was the first member baptised in the new First Baptist sanctuary in 1890.²⁸ In later years, Thomas Underwood was a very prominent Calgarian, serving as mayor in 1902 and 1903, and later as an Executive member, Treasurer and Chairman of the Associated Charities Board from 1916 to 1923.²⁹

Mrs. Underwood did not confine her activities to the YWCA, for she was also active in the Local Council of Women and as a member of the Women's Canadian Club, where she served as second vice-president in 1917.³⁰ She

was also often mentioned as a guest at major social events, and obviously was a member of the city's social elite during this time period. Kate Underwood's ability to change situations to her liking is illustrated in anecdotes told about her which describe her subtle but effective ways of dealing with others.³¹ The Underwoods, like many of the early Calgarians who came with a skill or trade, moved while here from middle to upper middle-class in the city, visibly illustrating the opportunities for upward mobility that existed in a growing community.³²

Not all the women's organizations in Calgary's early years were formed around causes or to alleviate distress. Some groups came together in an attempt to broaden the cultural experiences of those living in this new part of Canada. One of these, the Calgary Women's Musical Club was organized in approximately 1907, with Alice Jamieson, as secretary-treasurer, as one of its first officers. The club had as its "first object...to create a love of and a desire for music in its highest forms..³³ Many of the prominent city musicians and music teachers in early Calgary were women such as Mrs. Annie Glen Broder, Mrs. Ada Dowling Costigan, Mme. Beatrice Chapman and Miss Gladys McKelvie.³⁴ Mrs. H. H. (Jeanette) Sharples, who arrived in Calgary in 1912 with her husband and son, Eric, was an early Women's Musical Club president who served for several terms.³⁵

The interest of some Calgary women in literary pursuits is indicated by the formation, in 1906, of the Women's Literary Club of Calgary, with Mrs. Wm. Davidson, wife of the publisher of the Albertan newspaper, as

honorary president.³⁶ A less focused but deeply concerned organization involved with current civic and cultural issues was the Women's Canadian Club-Calgary, organized in 1910, with the purpose of fostering patriotism and the cultural resources of Canada. By 1917 it had a membership of 250 women and its president was Mrs. A. (Effie) MacWilliams.³⁷

Equally dedicated to their cause were the women who formed the Consumers' League of Calgary in mid-1913, in response to a concern on the part of many Calgary women about the high cost of living and the difficulty of procuring fresh food supplies. The tremendous expansion in the Calgary population, which multiplied almost nine times between 1901 and 1911-12, was accompanied by a major real estate boom, a booster mentality and general economic expansion. The boom was followed, beginning in 1913, by a down-turn in the economy, leaving behind high prices and ensuing economic difficulties. Women in Calgary responded to this situation, and attempted to influence change, through the formation of the Consumers' League. Further economic problems brought on by wartime shortages and high prices were also attacked by the Consumers' League on behalf of ordinary citizens. A later description of the organization begins thus:

Definite action was taken by women in some Municipal affairs when a Consumers' League, the first of the kind in Canada, was organized in Calgary in 1913. The high prices, lack of farm produce, etc., were all factors determining the action of the League, which grew out of the standing Committee on Economics (of City Council?) and which did much to bring the farmers and producers together and to reduce the prices of foodstuffs. Efforts were made to have the City Charter amended to permit of prosecution of any one guilty of short weight or measure and the standardization of weights and measures.³⁸

Mrs. E. P. (Georgina) Newhall was elected the first League President, and Annie Gale the first Secretary; both relative newcomers to the city, they played major roles in the League's conception and organization.³⁹

Immediately upon its formation, the women in leadership roles undertook a major speaking campaign to enlighten other groups in the city about the League's aims and objectives. Accounts of such talks appeared in the local newspapers such as this item on a womens' page:

Mrs. Newhall addressed the members of the Young Women's club at the East Calgary Presbyterian church on Tuesday night, on the objects of the Consumers' league.⁴⁰

That they were convincing speakers is illustrated by the following note of their activities in the local press:

Mrs. Singley and Mrs. Wade of the Consumer's League, were present yesterday afternoon at the meeting of the Ladies' Aid at St Stephen's. The conditions of the market in Alberta and the prospects of trade with that of British Columbia in the fruit line, were ably set forth by Mrs. Singley. The purposes of the Consumer's League were also explained and the result of the meeting was the acquisition to the membership of the league of all women present.⁴¹

Georgina Newhall was born and educated in Ontario, where she was reported to have been the first woman to take up stenography in Canada. After living for some years in the United States, she came to Alberta in 1911.⁴² Very little seems to be known about her personal life, although she was mentioned often in the newspapers of the day. Her interests in family life and education were illustrated by the 1913 University of Calgary Social Service extension lecture she gave on the subject of 'Ideal Homes and Home Ideals';⁴³ and her 1917 role as the Honorary

President of the Mothers' Club of the Normal Practice School.⁴⁴ Obviously and actively interested in all aspects of what we now call consumers' affairs, she gave leadership to the Local Council of Women, in particular focussing on areas such as food supplies and production problems.⁴⁵

The municipal market had been set up in 1910 by the city on city-owned land at approximately 4th avenue and 4th street south east. Managed under city jurisdiction, it was intended to be a place where farmers could sell fresh produce and dairy products directly to the consumers, thus eliminating the middleman and providing lower cost, fresh produce for Calgary homes. Stall holders paid a rental, with some of the costs being covered by the City. Needless to say, local merchants were not too impressed with the competition which this provided. Equally, the Consumers' League saw the market as a major asset to maintenance of a reasonable standard of living and the provision of better quality food products for Calgarians.

In 1913, the Consumers' League worked to revitalize the market, with Mesdames Newhall, Gale, Simon and Singley working particularly hard on its behalf. The concerns which the Consumers' League had with regard to the Market were best illustrated in the accounts of the November-December 1913 civic election campaign, when a former administrator of the market for the city, license inspector W. H. Manarey, contested the post of commissioner. Prominent members of the League attended campaign meetings and tackled Manarey on his running of the market. Something of

the lively character of these meetings and of the women attending them can be derived from the current newspaper accounts. A sample, rather colorful account of the election meeting sponsored by the Local Council of Women, was headlined, "Women heckle men who would serve in the high places...Gentle voiced woman of a year ago is transformed into the vigorous heckler who can make a candidate uncomfortable." The article went on to describe some of the 'words and actions':

The market was a live issue throughout the afternoon. Wm. Manarey was heckled unmercifully by Consumers' League members, all over the hall... Mrs. Singley, secretary of the Consumers' League, opened fire on Mr. Manarey almost immediately..."will you please tell us how you brought the producers?" she queried. Mr. Manarey replied....--an assertion which brought Mrs. Newhall to her feet with a swift and emphatic denial. Mrs. Newhall had "previously canvassed every producer at the market and only one..had even mentioned Mr. Manarey's name."

"Tell the women why you so bitterly opposed us in an attempt to keep horses out of the market building," admonished Mrs. Gale. Mr. Manarey said there were only a few horses, which didn't make any difference to the women. Mrs. Gale was round-eyed with amazement.⁴⁶

The newspaper account went on to quote Mrs. Newhall's statement that the Consumers' League had made a success of the market after they became active in its management in June, and in spite of the poor construction of the building.⁴⁷ Later in that same meeting, Mrs. Gale and Mr. Hallet, the candidate of the Retail Merchants' Association had a "lively bout" over the possible reduction of licenses to butchers.⁴⁸ These women were, however, not easily won over by words of support for their cause, and they denied their collective support to one candidate because "up to date, (he) had done nothing practical nor had he taken any apparent interest in the movement."⁴⁹

Georgina Newhall presided over the November 28th., 1913, meeting of the

League, at which time Mrs. Singley, now the Secretary, reported on the concerns, progress and accomplishments of both the League and the public market. After having become active at the market, even operating their own stall for a few weeks, the executive of the League were now prepared to "...leave the business of the market entirely in the hands of the market superintendent, paid by the city, unless invited to give suggestions by an advisory committee."⁵⁰ She further indicated that a new market by-law was to be framed by the superintendent "to replace the present obsolete one," and that "the city market should be commended to retail merchants, for it has been a strong factor in educating the public to the value of cash trade over the credit system." Three members of the Consumers' League executive, Mesdames Newhall, Singley and F. R. Wade, had been confirmed as members of market advisory committee appointed by city commissioners.⁵¹

Mrs. Newhall, in concluding the meeting, complimented her fellow members on the "good work being done." Calgary, in her view, held "an unique position as far as its public market is concerned," for "not only can patrons living in the most distant parts of the city travel to and from it for less than five cents, but it is the only market in the whole Dominion which delivers goods purchased there free of charge."⁵²

The quality which emerged from the descriptions of the activities of the Consumers' League, and, in particular, its leaders was one of intense practicality. They were interested in food prices, quality and availability; meat and milk inspection; and conditions at the Market

itself. In 1914, when prices rose drastically because of the onset of the war, the League imported a carload of flour, selling it at the market. Later, frozen fish from northern Alberta was distributed in like manner. They also worked to help improve the quality of potatoes grown in Calgary, and sponsored an apple sale and exhibition of potatoes.⁵³

By early December of 1913, League membership stood at 800 members and was still growing. Concerned with the standard of living of all Calgarians, the leadership of the League took the message to any group willing to listen to the message, not just to the organizations reflecting the middle and upper socio-economic classes of Calgary. A series of meetings among the unions was addressed by the League's president, Mrs. Newhall. A newspaper report said that she:

..has spoken to the typos, the carpenters, the electricians, the plasterers, and the brewery workers. The league plans to continue their work among the unions during the winter. "For," said Mrs. Newhall, "nowhere have we met with such courtesy and appreciation as among the unions. Moreover, they are interested in our work and are joining in large numbers. In this they do much better than the professional and business men we addressed, perhaps, because they have no interests in conflict with those of the league."⁵⁴

As observed of other women who came to the fore in community improvement groups, the leaders of the consumers' movement were educated, middle-class women who worked at meeting a need in the community. It is obvious, also, that they were able to acquit themselves well when it came to confronting those with civic and business power, and when speaking on public issues close to their hearts.

Education was one of the earliest concerns of parents settling in Calgary, with the first school being opened in 1884. By 1914 there were 7,851 students in the public elementary and high schools.⁵⁵ Many of the early school teachers in Calgary and area were single women, from eastern Canada, who taught under sometimes difficult conditions, and received far less money for their efforts than their male counterparts. Rarely were they appointed to such positions of responsibility as Principal or Assistant Principal and they were expected to resign immediately upon marriage.⁵⁶

Teachers such as Miss Annie Foote and Maude Keen (later Riley) stayed on to contribute to their adopted community for many years. The ambivalence of the society of the day to the role of women in education and community was summed up by a later observer:

The Calgary Herald echoed popular attitudes to educated women in an editorial on October 8, 1905, under the heading "Higher Education for Women": "The removal of woman from her natural sphere of domesticity to that of mental labor not only renders her less fit to maintain the race but her brain degenerates and initiates a downward trend to her progeny". In this regard social attitudes contradicted themselves, for on one hand women were expected to be industrious, pregnant, and stupid; yet, on the other, they comprised the majority of teachers who directed the education of boys as well as girls in their classrooms.⁵⁷

By 1913, public attitudes had mellowed enough that a woman, albeit an unmarried retired teacher, could be nominated for a position on the school board, and, strongly supported by women's groups, be elected at the head of the polls.

The quality of education offered to a community's children was of

considerable importance to both parents and teachers. In Calgary these two groups came to work together for a common goal of the improvement and enhancement of the education process. This cooperation first took the form of a 'Mothers' Club' formed by parents and teachers at Connaught School in 1913. Mothers clubs were in operation in the United States as early as 1894, and the movement spread into eastern Canada. It was experience with these Mothers' clubs in Ontario which led a Connaught primary teacher, Miss Willetts, to call a meeting of interested parents, at which she enthusiastically related the benefits of such a parent-teacher cooperative organization. At that meeting, a motion was passed in favor of forming a similar organization in Calgary. It was described later by one of its founding members:

The vision of parents and teachers closely co-operating in the physical, mental, social, and spiritual welfare of children in home, school and community, dimly glimpsed by a few discerning parents on that memorable day, has become a reality with resultant benefits to children an accepted fact.⁵⁸

Mrs. J.H. (Alice M.) Curtis was the first president, and is usually described as its founder.⁵⁹ Formerly an Ontario school teacher, she had moved to Calgary with her husband in 1905.⁶⁰ While the Connaught Mothers' Club was the first 'Home and School' organization in Alberta, Mrs. Curtis organized several other Mothers' clubs in Calgary, and elsewhere in the province, and in 1922 the Calgary Council of Home and School Associations was formed with Mrs. Curtis as the first President.⁶¹ In 1929 the provincial Home and School organization was formed, with Dr. G.W. Kerby, principal of Mount Royal College, as president, and Mrs. Curtis as secretary-treasurer. She subsequently became President. Both Kerby and Curtis were prime movers in the

formation of the Canadian Home and School & Parent-Teacher Federation in 1927, Dr. Kerby as the first national president, Mrs. Curtis as the first secretary-treasurer, -a position she filled for eleven years.⁶² Obviously an involved organizer, she continued to work at the grass-roots of the organization to which she gave so much. In 1917 she was the corresponding secretary of the Connaught Mothers' Club, while other prominent local women such as Mrs. W.M. Davidson, Georgina Newhall and Mrs. C. R. (Harriet) Edwards were also officers of Mothers' clubs in the city.⁶³

When her husband died in 1921, Mrs. Curtis returned to the classroom, teaching in elementary and High Schools in Calgary for ten years, further enhancing her skills with summer courses at the university in Edmonton and at the Banff School of Fine Arts. During these years she remained active in the various levels of the Home and School organization, and even after her retirement, she acted as historian for the provincial federation.⁶⁴

Born into a middle-class family where she had acquired her abiding interest in education she pursued the educational field all her life. She was a member of the Mount Royal Educational Club, to which she gave a variety of papers on subjects as diverse as the civilization of the Incas and the Ming Dynasty. She was an early, and active, member of the Calgary Local Council of Women, the Grace Presbyterian Church, and, in later years, a strong supporter as well of the United Nations Society.⁶⁵ Obviously committed and hard-working, she was described as "an

enthusiastic worker," -an able natural leader who made personal sacrifices of energy, time and money, to further the numerous causes in which she believed.⁶⁶

III UMBRELLA ORGANIZATIONS

By 1912 more than thirty major women's organizations were active in Calgary, with a variety of purposes. The need for a coordinating or 'umbrella' organization which could represent and/or speak for the multiplicity of women's groups led to the formation, in that year, of the Local Council of Women. An attempt, by Lady Isabel Loughheed, to form such a group in 1894 lasted only a short time,⁶⁷ but it reformed in 1912, under the dynamic leadership of Alice Jamieson and other leaders of women's groups in the city, such as Maude Riley, Mrs. P. S. (Lillie) Woodhall, Mrs. George (Emily) Kerby, and Mrs. Wm. (Marion) Carson.⁶⁸ Organized along the lines of the National Council of Women, which had been formed in 1893, it sought to become a federation of women's organizations, coming together to speak and act with one united civic voice. The Council dealt with issues raised by their local groups, and where appropriate, acted to bring them to local attention and to effect social or political change. Issues of provincial or national concern would be forwarded to the appropriate Council level in the form of resolutions. It is thus important to recognize the importance of the local councils in vocalizing the issues common to women and articulating them in such a way as to encourage change. In 1925, for instance, committees of the Calgary Local Council were dealing with various issues

such as: citizenship, education, employment of women, equal moral standards, fine and applied art, home economics, immigration, conservation of natural resources, mental hygiene, the League of Nations, soldiers' pensions, laws, public health, films and printed matter.⁶⁹

Resolutions and nominations brought to the Local Council of Women and passed there had to go to all the member groups for ratification before being acted on. The subsequent action was often that of lobbying or making representations to various levels of government where change could be effected. The success of such pressure was, in large measure, due to the number of organizations and women represented by it, but it was also due, in part, to the status, prestige and well-earned community respect of its early leaders. They were women of ability and energy, with differing interests and backgrounds, but in general, women of stature in the young community--part of an elite urban middle-class. The first president, Alice Jamieson, prominent in her own right, was the widow of a former mayor, while Maude Riley, the perennial laws-convenor was the wife of a prominent businessman and politician.⁷⁰

A major contribution to Calgary by the Council of Women during its early years was the effort it made to declare women eligible for election to civic office, and, further, to educate all women in the city about the issues and the candidates for office. In 1913, the Council sought the right for women to be elected to seats on civic government bodies. When this change in the city charter was made they then publicly sought a

suitable woman to support as a candidate for a seat on the Calgary School Board. Such a candidate was found in the person of retired school teacher, Annie Foote, who will be dealt with in a later chapter, and, with the strong support of the Local Council of Women and help of many other women she was elected at the top of the poll.⁷¹ Perhaps the most notable contribution to civic politics made by the Council was the holding of the public election forum prior to the election.

Societal reform was obviously of major concern to the LCW, and most of the reforms achieved in Calgary in this time period were supported, if not initiated, by the women of the LCW and its member organizations. It is also important to recognize the slowness with which the national umbrella organization, the NCW, moved to engage in major women's issues; for example, they did not endorse women's suffrage until 1910, when it seemed that the national political climate made it acceptable. In the meantime, many of its member organizations, such as the Calgary LCW, took the initiatives necessary to bring about enhanced public awareness and acceptance of proposed changes.

The organizations mentioned heretofore were those whose organizing thrust occurred in the years prior to World War I. It is impossible, from this distance, to do more than sense the major upheaval that the war brought about even as far away as Calgary since the events in Europe clearly had strong repercussions on the local city level. First, large numbers of Calgary and district men, and a few women, mainly nursing sisters, volunteered and left for the war theatre in Europe. Second, the

war's effect on the local economy had become obvious in the shortage of some food and other items, and the rise in prices of consumer goods. The Consumers' League, as we have seen, worked hard to combat these effects on the ordinary household.⁷²

Many native and adopted Calgarians enlisted because they felt it was their duty to the British Empire, and/or their own "motherland." Compounding the shortage of labour to carry out the usual city and private services, were the daily casualty reports which detailed the visible human cost to the community's present and future. A look at those casualty lists indicates that even the prominent Calgary families were not immune: Capt. Ernest Pinkham, son of Bishop and Mrs. Pinkham, was killed in 1917 while his fiance was en route to England for their marriage, James "Yummy" Carson, son of William and Marion Carson was also killed in 1917, as were the sons of Mrs. Ada Dowling Costigan, a pioneer piano teacher on staff at Western Canada College, and of Thomas and Kate Underwood. Mrs. H. H. Sharples, president of the Women's Musical Club lost her only son during the 1917 campaigns.⁷³ Mrs. Arthur J. (Margaret) Lewis, active in a variety of community endeavors, was widowed in 1916. Harold Riley, husband of Maude, lost a brother, and himself served overseas in the army, as did Alice Jamieson's son Jack and Dr. Evelyn Windsor, who had been medical officer for the School Board.

Aside from the sorrow visited on and accepted by, numerous city families of all classes, the war and its losses had a sobering effect on the

whole community. Few women were able to go to war, but those at home threw themselves into both volunteer and paid tasks in an attempt to make up for those away at war. War-relief organizations and Victory Bond campaigns were part of the additional community tasks taken up competently by the women left at home in Calgary, especially those who had personally felt the war's cruelty. Prominent among those women workers were Alice Jamieson, Mrs. Fred (Annie) Langford, Marion Carson and Maude Riley. An ancilliary effect of the war was the acceleration of social reforms of special concern to women, for example, prohibition and women's suffrage, which provided more opportunity for strong women leaders to emerge.⁷⁴

Several of the women discussed in this chapter made community contributions in a variety of areas; some, such as Alice Jamieson, Marion Carson and Maude Riley were active in organizations which fell into all three of the categories mentioned above: church and charitable, community improvement and umbrella organizations. While Alice Jamieson's contributions in the field of justice will be discussed in chapter two, both Marion Carson and Maude Riley, through the breadth and variety of their activities, deserve individual discussion here.

Marion Carson's years of community service and activity, especially in the areas of social betterment, earned her the description "Mrs. Wm. Carson--Noted Social Worker."⁷⁵ Marion Coutts Carson was born in Ontario and married William Carson in 1888. After living for some years in Manitoba, they arrived in Calgary, where William had interests in flour

milling and the grain business, in 1898.⁷⁶ A charter member of the Women's Literary Club in 1906, she seems always to have been interested in civic betterment, especially in the areas of education, including libraries. She was active in the campaign to bring a strong central library to the city in the early years of this century. She was also keenly interested in civic health, and, along with Maude Riley was very active in attempts to combat tuberculosis:

From her first days in Calgary she was impressed by the number of people suffering from what they called in those days the "white plague" who had come to the dry, sunny climate of Southern Alberta, expecting the climate to work a miracle in curing their disease.

Always a humanitarian, Mrs. Carson set about to find some facilities to care for the tuberculosis victims. She was assisted by Mrs. Harold W. Riley and together they obtained a house, hired a qualified matron as a nurse and set up Calgary's first sanatorium for the care of TB sufferers.⁷⁷

Her activities and interests were varied: at different times she served as President of the Tuberculosis Hospital Auxiliary Calgary,⁷⁸ and held executive positions on the Women's Canadian Club,⁷⁹ the Local Council of Women,⁸⁰ and the Alberta Council of Child and Family Welfare.⁸¹ Her eclectic interests also included the League of Nations and chairmanship of the city health committee, where she worked for free school clinics and distribution of milk to needy children.⁸² The Housekeepers' Association was formed in 1915 to "secure a better recognition of the dignity of the position of housekeepers"....and to work toward better conditions and standards for their profession. Marion Carson, Margaret Lewis and Mrs. R. J. Deachman "...a trio of Calgary's outstanding progressive women..," along with the YWCA General Secretary and a local Presbyterian minister assisted the housekeepers in forming a self-help

organization out of a Sunday afternoon Bible class at the YWCA. Carson and Lewis were subsequently members of the Housekeepers' Association Advisory committee, and, in 1917, Marion Carson and the President, Miss Manning, were its arbitration committee.⁸³

In 1920, Marion Carson was elected to the public School Board where she made many contributions. One historian viewed her election as that of a supporter or sympathizer with the working class or labor.⁸⁴ The many efforts of Mrs. Carson "...devoted to Civic, Community activities..⁸⁵ were further acknowledged by the city through her appointment to the Calgary Library Board from 1925 to 1928.⁸⁶ A long-time member of Knox Presbyterian, later Knox United Church, she regularly attended weekly worship services.

While taking part in these many activities, she also was responsible for the raising of six children, three daughters and three sons, one of whom was killed overseas during World War One.⁸⁷ One of her daughters, Evelyn, a school teacher, was also involved in women's organizations, acting as Mental Hygiene committee convenor for the Local Council of Women in 1926.⁸⁸

Described as a "progressive thinker and a tireless worker in the many welfare, community and civic activities she undertook...",⁸⁹ it is still difficult to determine much about her personality. Her contributions in several fields were acknowledged in an appreciative local newspaper obituary which included the following comments upon her "keen" mental

powers and rhetorical skills:

At all the groups of which she was a member, Mrs. Carson was ready to express her well-thought views, and when called upon she could make a bright, witty impromptu speech which always commanded the attention of her audience.⁹⁰

Obviously an "organizational" and "charitable" woman of her time, Marion Carson added the dimensions of both elected and appointed office to her various social interests and civic contributions.

Although she never stood for elected office, Maude Riley was clearly one of the strongest women leaders in Calgary, at times the epitome of the "super clubwoman" in Calgary and Alberta. Alpha Maude Keen Riley was born in Ontario, and took her Normal School training there. She came to Alberta in 1903 and taught the Nose Creek School, just north of Calgary, from 1904 to 1906. In 1907 she married Harold W. Riley, the son of a pioneer southern Alberta family who was deputy provincial secretary for the provincial government in Edmonton. The Rileys returned to Calgary in 1910 when Mr. Riley set up a financial and insurance business.⁹¹ They had three children, the youngest born in 1916. Harold Riley was also a politician, serving as an MLA and as a city alderman in 1914 and 1915. He enlisted in 1915, and served overseas for two years, beginning in 1916. In Calgary, Maude became very active in a multitude of causes, at a time when her children must have been quite young. This would seem to indicate that she had sufficient help at home to make such activity possible, especially while her husband was absent during the war years.⁹²

Maude Riley worked through a variety of organizations, both homogeneous and heterogeneous in gender. A deep concern for the living conditions of her fellow-citizens and a strong conviction that women must work to help and support other women led Maude Riley into activities in many areas of civic improvement. She was active in a multitude of private philanthropic organizations. Two organizations, in particular, appear to have received a great deal of her time and effort over the span of the two decades discussed here, and many years thereafter. These were the local, provincial and national Councils of Women and the group which eventually became the Alberta Council on Child and Family Welfare.

Maude Riley was the first convenor of laws for the Local Council of Women, in 1912, and served as such for twenty of the next twenty-one years. In her 1925 annual report to the Council, Maude spoke of the petitions which have been asked for since 1912, and "pressed for by your convenor and her committee..." The eight pages which followed detailed the twenty-five petitions to city officials, thirty-eight to provincial and twelve, through the National Council of Women, to federal authorities.⁹³

While the Local Council of Women was obviously an important organizational commitment for Maude Riley, it would seem that the most important vehicle for her activities began in 1918 with the formation of the then Child Welfare Association, Calgary Committee, which quickly became the permanent organization, the Calgary Child Welfare

Association. Dr. Mahood of the City Health Department was the first President, Maude Riley the secretary. From the very beginning, this organization began to press for health and social reforms for the betterment of the community. Resolutions which emanated from this group dealt with such matters as the suggested maximum of three hours that milk could remain on delivery wagons before being delivered to householders; the need for well-equipped maternity hospitals; the requirement for both persons obtaining a marriage licence to have a "clean bill of health;" children's hospitals and free clinics.

In 1925, the group became the Calgary Council on Child and Family Welfare, with its stated aims: "To do all in our power to improve conditions in: 1) Child Hygiene 2) Child Labour 3) Education and Recreation 4) Neglect, Dependency, Delinquency and Defect 5) Ethical and Spiritual Development of the Child."⁹⁴ Maude Riley saw this group as a "council of representatives engaged in the different phases of child welfare work."⁹⁵ As such, the organization consisted mainly of the Executive, made up, in the early years, of the following: the president or representative of: any organization involved in some phase of child welfare work, charter organizations in the old Child Welfare Association, the original Child Welfare Committee (namely Dr. Mahood, and Mesdames Riley, Jamieson, Fenkell and Kerby), and any persons holding public positions allied to child welfare work. The next group were the officers, drawn from the above Executive, and consisting of a President, up to twelve vice-presidents representing specific organizations, a secretary and a treasurer. Officers of the Association

were 'not elected in their personal capacity but as representatives of the organization from which they are delegates.'"⁹⁶ This early constitution further instructed the secretary to notify the Presidents of "all women's organizations engaged in various phases of the work, of ...meetings".⁹⁷

The Council consisted of representatives of many diverse groups, sometimes sixty or more. A later member wrote of the Council's two greatest strengths:

First: through the reports given to the Council by the member organizations, all the organizations knew what each one was doing and accomplishing in their own fields. Second: no resolution of the Council was ever presented to government bodies; municipal, provincial or federal, without having been approved by each member organization in its own meeting.⁹⁸

This was an umbrella group, but with a specific focus, that of community betterment in the health and family welfare field. Prominent local women were included on its executive and participated in its activities; for instance, the minutes indicated that, at a meeting, probably early in 1923, Marion Carson spoke about the PTA, and Alderman Annie Gale "spoke of delinquent parents."⁹⁹

In later years the organization became the Alberta Council on Child and Family Welfare (hereafter ACCFW). While this reconstituted body would enable the organization to claim representatives from provincial bodies rather than local Calgary branches, it appears that, in actual fact, very little except the name, changed. The major contribution of the Council was one of pressuring, along with other groups such as the Councils of Women, various levels of government for health and welfare

changes for the betterment of society, especially for children and women. Resolutions passed in the Council were forwarded to the government, and often were taken by Mrs. Riley, and others, to a meeting with the Premier and cabinet. It took many years in some cases, but the reforms did come.

Obviously, the ACCFW members were aware of the latest movements in urban social reform and were trying to keep their city current in these areas. Maude Riley attended the appropriate national meetings of affiliated organizations, for example, in 1926 she represented the Calgary Council at the Dominion Child Welfare Council annual meeting. Interests on the Council ranged far and wide, all coming under the general heading of "child and family education and improvement." In 1928, the Council petitioned the provincial premier to proclaim the 1925 Child Welfare Act, and put into practice the regulations prohibiting children under 14 from being employed between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m.¹⁰⁰ At one meeting Dr. Geraldine Oakley "spoke on Mental Defectives, as being a danger if allowed to reproduce."¹⁰¹ For many years, the Council also sponsored a Child Welfare Week in Calgary to draw attention to their concerns, with films, special programs, contests and clinics all playing a part in this major event of the Council year.

During the thirty-nine years that Maude Riley served as President of the group eventually known as the Alberta Council on Child and Family Welfare, the organization appeared to become almost an extension of herself. She was held in awe and deeply revered by the women who

continued to work with her through the years. According to legend, she was also something of a crusader, who went to battle for what she felt was right, and usually got it. One startling example derives from a 1920 article in the Albertan, headlined "Lively Annual Meeting of Children's Aid Is Expected: Mrs. Harold Riley Has Launched Campaign Against Re-election of the President of the Society, W.M. Connacher." The article goes on to describe a personal and telephone campaign by Riley, citing criticisms of his spending too much money on the children's shelter, and "not being a president to her liking." The article, while detailing some of Mr. Connacher's philanthropic virtues, favourably concluded with this summation of Riley:

Mrs. Riley has a most comprehensive record of local achievements. She is convenor of laws of the Local Council of Women, president of the Great War Veterans' Women's Auxiliary, and officiates in one capacity or another in some sixteen women's clubs in town. She worked very hard for the Belgian relief early in the war and received a medal from the king of Belgium recently. In fact, there are only three women's organizations in town in which she has not at some time taken an active part--the Women's Press club, the Labor Women's league, and the United Farm Women. She is a notable success in a canvas for office, and is seldom defeated in any election for which she is prepared.¹⁰²

Maude Riley was obviously a person of considerable stature in Calgary society. A peerless and tireless fund raiser she organized such diverse events as the tuberculosis hospital tag day and the Belgian Relief Fund. She never worked for pay after her marriage, and she no doubt would have deplored married "career" women with families, yet in all aspects except pay she seems to have had a career, that of full-time volunteer social worker. As a member of the upper middle-class of the city, she was able to gain access to both officials and organizations which might assist in her favorite causes.

While Maude Riley was a woman of independence and education, she also appeared to personify the strong maternal feminist voices of the early twentieth century, who called for necessary social reforms. She did not, however, submit herself for election to public office. Although she seldom worked within a heterogeneous charitable organization, she did act on the Executive committee of the Associated Charities, and on the Children's Aid Board. While it might be suggested that she knew she could play the leading role and "hold sway" better within an all-female organization, it must be noted that she did work with many of the notable women of that era, Emily Murphy, Irene Parlby, Alice Jamieson, and others. She was, for her efforts, called everything from "a composite of autocratic Queen Victoria and your own grandmother"¹⁰³ to "a tyrant or dictator embroiled in fights with premiers, presidents..."¹⁰⁴ A sometimes strident voice, she was, nevertheless, a woman of considerable power and prestige; and she used her strong personality to exercise both in the pursuit of her community-betterment goals.

It should be noted in passing that women's participation in organizations and/or the community was not always met with recognition and approbation. For instance, the newspaper that highlighted the 1913 "defeat" of the police chief, by Alice Jamieson and Maude Riley, on the issue of hiring women police officers also took great delight in highlighting a series of derogatory cartoons depicting hapless or hopeless lady policewomen.¹⁰⁵ A 1925 Maclean's Magazine article entitled

"Is Club Work a Ladder For Society Climbers?" asks if women are sincere, running their clubs for altruistic reasons, or "to further our own personal private ambitions and interests?" The article further went on to illustrate a variety of un-altruistic motives attributable to club women of the upper class, such as notoriety, making social contacts and a release from "the monotony and grind of household duties." But it also allowed that others join clubs because they are sincerely "interested in the cause for which it is supposed to be working...and yet others, because it furnishes them with an outlet for a fund of executive ability and a large amount of spare time."¹⁰⁶

It should be further noted that an upper-class "society" existed in Calgary at this time, as illustrated by the ladies' or women's pages of the local newspapers. Announcements were made of when various ladies would receive visitors, and calling cards were left when calls were made. A variety of teas and "entertainments" were described and several names appear with considerable regularity: Lady Lougheed, Miss Lougheed, Mrs. Pinkham, Miss Pinkham, Mrs. Turner-Bone, Mrs. Wolley-Dod, Mrs. Annie Glen Broder, and occasionally names such as Mrs. R. R. Jamieson and Mrs. Harold W. Riley. As has been indicated above, some of these women played a variety of roles, both social and philanthropic, within the city.

Thus, as one examines the many women's organizations springing into life, particularly in the decade prior to World War One, and their leaders, there are many common threads visible. Common to all the

organizations were purposes and goals which centred around philanthropic and cultural concerns within the city. Members of these groups wished to improve the living conditions and the quality of life, not only for themselves, but for all citizens of Calgary. Most of the groups discussed here were organized by women with homogeneous female memberships. These organizations then moved into the community and spoke with an identifiable "women's" voice, particularly the two umbrella organizations discussed above, the Local Council of Women and the Council on Child and Family Welfare.

The women noted here also shared many common characteristics, primarily an awareness of and empathy for the problems faced by Calgarians, especially women and children, in their everyday lives. They required confidence as well in their own abilities and skills, whether innate or acquired, through their education or leadership experiences, to face public situations and discussion of issues. Most were strong personalities in their own right, and some, such as Newhall, Jamieson and Gale, were capable speakers and chairpersons of public meetings. Along with such leadership capabilities, it was necessary for them to have or quickly acquire, the ability to deal with public criticism.

With few exceptions, these women were born, married or moved up into, middle and upper middle-class society in Calgary. They include many women who had received what were considered good educations for their day; for example, Alice Curtis and Maude Riley had been trained as teachers; Georgina Newhall as a stenographer; and Annie Gale had

received an English private-school education. Many of them had also been self-supporting prior to their marriages. Their husbands often occupied prominent community places, notably the two former mayors, Underwood and Jamieson, politician Harold Riley and clergymen Kerby and Pinkham. In some cases, social station in Calgary was the result of business success in the expanding frontier community which brought further recognition and acceptance into the middle and upper-middle classes. Given the social climate of the day, it can also be assumed that the husbands and families of women activists were at least somewhat supportive of their activities.

Women in early twentieth-century Calgary were clearly aware of the national and international social and political climate of reform which climaxed with women's suffrage and prohibition. Most, if not all, of the women who undertook leadership roles in community organizations espoused some form of maternal feminist ideals. These they attempted to put into practice, by illuminating community failures and needs, and attempting, through the activities of their organization or organizations, to bring about requisite changes. These organizations and their committed volunteer leaders were also, to some degree, mutually beneficial. The women and their leaders cooperated to bring about the goals of the organization, which they could not have achieved as individuals, and, in the process, gained the skills and confidence needed to work within the larger community. These women lived out their maternal feminist beliefs and became a sisterhood working for the common good of all citizens.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER ONE

1. John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978). p.95.
2. Ibid.
3. Presbyterian Witness, June 23, 1921, pp.10,11; as quoted in Richard Allen, "The Social Gospel as the Religion of the Agrarian Revolt," in Berger and Cook eds., The West and the Nation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976). p.175.
4. Allen, "The Social Gospel as Religion," p.175.
5. John C. Scott, Jr., "Membership and Participation in Voluntary Associations" in American Sociological Review 22:June 1957, p.316.
6. Ibid., page 325.
7. Ibid., pp 326.
8. John Blue, Alberta Past and Present (Chicago: Pioneer Historical Publishing Co., 1924). Vol.1, p.419 states that Alberta women "Like all Canadian women they have a genius for organization." He goes on: "A..group of Women's organizations that exert a great influence in Alberta...consists of the missionary societies and ladies' aids of the various churches...devoted women who foster the work of the religious denomination to which they belong. Without their energy and enthusiasm religious and missionary work would be at a low ebb in many places. They are the oldest type of women's organizations in the Province,...and exert a profound influence on the community."
9. Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Setting the Stage': National Organization and the Women's Movement in the Late 19th Century," in The Neglected Majority, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice.(Toronto: McClelland and Stewart,1978). p.88.
10. Annette K. Baxter, "Preface", in Karen J. Blair, The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868-1914 (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1980). p.xi.
11. Married women at this time in history were referred to by their husband's name, as: Mrs. Harold M. Riley. In this thesis, this complete title, together with her "given" name, if known, will be given for the first mention of a married woman, thereafter, her own name will be used, as: Maude Riley. In the cases of unmarried women, Miss or Dr. will be used the first time, with no titles in later references.
12. Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage", p.89.

13. Roman Catholic missionary 'Fr. Doucet was at a mission outpost on the Fort Calgary site in the summer of 1875, and Rev. John McDougall of the Morley Wesleyan Methodist Mission conducted the first Protestant service on the site in the fall of 1875. For further reference see M. B. Venini Byrne, From the Buffalo To The Cross (Calgary: Calgary Archives and Historical Publishers, 1973) for Catholic Calgary history; and J. Fraser Perry, ed., They Gathered At the River (Calgary: published by Central United Church, 1975), a history of Central United Church in Calgary.
14. Perry, "They Gathered at the River", pp.249,257.
15. Daisy MacGregor,ed., The Alberta Club Woman's Blue Book, (Calgary, 1917).p.59, see also ff.15 next. This informative booklet or "Club Women's Record", published by the Calgary Branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club contains a wealth of information about Alberta and especially Calgary women's organizations of the day. It begins with several pages and photos outlining "Alberta Women Holding First Positions In Canada and ends with a "Who's Who in Alberta" giving capsule histories, and some photos, of 53 Alberta women, 31 of whom were from Calgary. This provides a valuable reference to those women who were seen, by their peers, to be prominent and noteworthy. Presumably we have here a look at upper middle-class Calgary women.
16. David J. Carter, "The Anglican Church in Calgary," in The Search for Souls: History of Calgary's Churches (Calgary: Century Calgary Publications, 1975). pp.62,94,95. This book, one of six centennial publications on aspects of Calgary's history prepared for and published in honor of the City's 100th birthday, is a collection of histories of major denominations in Calgary. These histories were also published separately for the denominations involved.
17. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.58, also GAI-AG.
18. Shirley Bentall, "Buckboard to Brotherhood," in Search for Souls, p.167.
19. Ibid., p.246.
20. David J. Crawford, "Blue Flame in the Foothills," in The Search for Souls p.486.
21. Ibid., p.493.
22. Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage," p.91.
23. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.34 and J. W. Grant MacEwan, Calgary Cavalcade(Edmonton: Institute of Applied Art Ltd.,1958).pp.192,193; and The City of Calgary Municipal Handbook 1981, p.20.
24. Bentall, "Buckboard to Brotherhood", p.246, and MacGregor, Blue Book, p.22.

25. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.123.
26. Ibid., pp.22,23.
27. Ibid. p.22.
28. Bentall, "Buckboard to Brotherhood", pp.169-70.
29. GAI, Associated Charities/Board of Public Welfare papers(hereafter GAI-AC/BPW), minutes for 1914-1923.
30. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.67. GAI-Local Council of Women papers (hereafter GAI-LCW), Minutes, Annual Meeting Jan.20, 1921.
31. Bentall, "Buckboard to Brotherhood," pp.244,245, for one such anecdote.
32. Ibid., p.246 indicates a further demonstration of family commitment to the YWCA: The Underwood's daughter, Kathleen Pickard, and granddaughter, Betty Lockwood, both served, in later years, as Board Chairman.
33. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.46.
34. Ibid., pp.119-20.
35. Kathleen Snow, "Mrs. H. H. Sharples" in Susie Sparks,ed., Calgary: A Living Heritage (Calgary: The Junior League of Calgary, 1984) pp.77-79.
36. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.47.
37. Ibid., p.69.
38. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.27.
39. Ibid., pp.125, 121. Newhall arrived in 1911, Gale in 1912.
40. Calgary News-Telegram (hereafter Telegram), Nov.5, 1913.
41. Calgary Morning Albertan (hereafter Albertan), Nov 25, 1913.
42. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.125.
43. Telegram, Nov.10th, 1913.
44. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.26.
45. GAI-LCW, minutes of annual meeting Jan.19th, 1923; Telegram, Dec.8th, 1913; Calgary Daily Herald (hereafter Herald), Nov.15th, 1919.

46. Albertan, Dec.6th, 1913.
47. Ibid.
48. Ibid.
49. Ibid.
50. Herald, Nov.29th, 1913.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.27.
54. Telegram, Dec.6th, 1913.
55. CPSB minutes, Oct 9th,1914, report of School Management committee. mf.p.395.
56. Catherine Philip, "The Women of Calgary and District--1875-1914," unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Calgary, 1975. p.71,74,75.
57. Ibid., p.75.
58. The Alberta Home and School News, Feb. 1951, p.2, guest editorial by Mrs. A.M. Curtis.(GAI-Curtis papers, hereafter GAI-AMC).
59. Ibid., elsewhere on page, editor's comment.
60. GAI-AMC, history of Alice Curtis by two of her daughters, Marion and Helen. p.1.
61. GAI-AMC, tribute by Mrs. Wilma Hansen p.1.
62. Ibid.
63. MacGregor, Blue Book, pp.25,26.
64. GAI-AMC, biography sheet, no author; and letter from daughter Helen Whillans to "Mrs. Elves."
65. Ibid. and obituary, Herald, April 8th, 1957.
66. Ibid., Hansen tribute, p.2.
67. Jennifer Hamblin, a brief ms. history of the Local Council of Women as an introduction to the Glenbow Archives collection of the LCW papers.
68. GAI-LCW. For a look at the LCW activities during this period see their yearbooks, especially 1925 and 1933, their 25th anniversary

year, when they reviewed past accomplishments and presidents.

69. Ibid.
70. Both women appear in the MacGregor Blue Book "who's who," pp.123,126, and often in current newspaper accounts, e.g. Telegram, Nov.8th, 1913.
71. Telegram, Nov.14th, 1913: "The aim of the council (during this election campaign) is to arouse sufficient interest among the women voters to have them take part in the elections and to recognize the fact that they have the power of a vote."
Herald, Dec.9th, 1913 re election results.
72. For further description of wartime economic problems such as inflation and the attempts at food and fuel control see Thompson: Harvests of War, chapter seven, pp.147-172.
73. Sparks,ed., Calgary, A Living Heritage, pp.77-8 for Sharples death and Herald, Nov.27th, 1917 for Underwood death, as examples.
74. Thompson, Harvests of War, pp.95-114.
75. Herald, July 15th, 1950.
76. Archibald O. MacRae, History of the Province of Alberta, (n.p.: The Western Canada History Co., 1912). pp.585-6.
77. Herald, July 15th, 1950.
78. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.34.
79. Herald, July 15th, 1950.
80. Ibid., and GAI-LCW.
81. Ibid., and GAI-Papers of the Alberta Council on Child and Family Welfare (hereafter GAI-ACCFW).
82. Ibid.
83. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.37.
84. Judith Bedford, "Social Justice in Calgary: A Study of Urban Poverty and Welfare Development in the 1920s." unpublished Masters thesis, University of Calgary, 1981. p.79.
85. Herald, July 15th, 1950.
86. Calgary Municipal Manuals, 1925,26,27,28.
87. Herald, Dec.4th, 1917, and July 15th, 1950.

88. GAI-LCW, 1926 Yearbook.
89. Herald, July 15th, 1950.
90. Ibid.
91. Albertan, Jan.2nd, 1946. Harold W. Riley obituary.
92. Ibid., and Herald, July 18, 1962, 'Ken Liddell's Corner', clipping in GAI-Maude Riley papers.
93. GAI-LCW, 1925 Yearbook.
94. GAI-ACCFW, January 1924 constitution and extracts of minutes.
95. GAI-ACCFW, minutes, annual meeting, Feb.25th, 1938.
96. GAI-ACCFW, 1924 constitution, and personal experience of author.
97. Ibid.
98. GAI-ACCFW, article by Myra Harshman.
99. GAI-ACCFW, 1923 extract of minutes, n.d.
100. Ibid., May 31st, 1928, extract of minutes.
101. GAI-ACCFW, extract of minutes, May 31, 1934. This is a reflection of the persuasive influence of the eugenics philosophy on the social and reform climate in Alberta. Historian Terry Chapman discusses this movement and its influence in "Early Eugenics Movement in Western Canada," in Alberta History, Vol 25, No.4, Autumn 1977. Eugenics, or "the use of better breeding to improve the human race," became a part of the reform mentality of Social Gospellers, Progressives and women's suffragettes, whose philosophy of progress was based upon the application of science to society, in this instance, eugenics. Support for such a theory permeated all levels of society, the United Farm Women of Alberta adopted a eugenics programme in 1922, and in 1928 the Alberta (UFA) government enacted Canada's first legislation concerning sterilization of the mental defective.
102. Albertan, Jan.15th, 1920.
103. Herald, Liddell column, July 18th, 1962.
104. Albertan, Eva Reid column, Sept.1st, 1978.
105. Telegram, Nov.8th and 10th, 1913, and other issues in the next few days.
106. Maclean's Magazine, Aug.1st, 1925, pp.58,59.

CHAPTER TWO

WOMEN IN EMPLOYMENT, IN THE PROFESSIONS AND APPOINTED OFFICE

The women discussed in this chapter are representative of those who held jobs or appointed office within the early Calgary community. Some women were members of professions such as teaching, nursing or medicine, while many were employed as clerks, stenographers, 'shop girls', hotel and cafe employees. Some were self-employed, as were the women who operated rooming or boarding houses, millinery shops and other small businesses. The women in appointed office did not necessarily receive monetary remuneration, but they were nevertheless engaged in carrying out a specific task for, or on behalf of, the community at large. They were, in effect, under a contract, formal or informal, to provide the services to which they were appointed. All of the women in this chapter, then, were either employed or involved in activities "outside the home" on an employment or on a "contract" basis. Two of them, Ethel McKillop and Alice Jamieson, who made major community contributions, will be looked at in some depth, while a sample of women in several other occupations will be discussed.

The first white woman in Calgary, Mrs. George Jacques, arrived in 1881 with her infant daughter to join her husband, a pioneer businessman.¹ The majority of the women arriving in Calgary in the city's first fifty years were, like Mrs. Jacques, the wives or fiancées of men who came at the call of the frontier opportunities, hoping to find prosperity. Some of these men hoped to find it through pursuit of

their trade or professions, some by taking up homesteads or ranching nearby, others by capitalizing on the business possibilities available in a new and expanding community. The women who came to join them, sometimes called "the reluctant pioneers"² often brought with them several small children, or had families of several children after settling here.

As well as married and engaged women, there were some single women, obviously possessing a good measure of courage and determination who came to the raw prairie community without the benefit of husbands' or family support.³ Many of these first employed women were school teachers, a form of employment or profession which was gaining acceptance as a job for women. Since facilities to train teachers did not then exist in Alberta, teachers brought with them a variety of training and backgrounds: mainly eastern Canadian, British or American. Since the men outnumbered women in early Calgary, most of the young women school teachers married within their first few teaching years and then, as was the accepted practice, retired to become homemakers and then mothers. There were those among these early women teachers who, for whatever reason, did not marry, and who then devoted their lives to the education and general betterment of their pupils, and the community at large.

The first school in Calgary, was privately organized in 1884 by the parents of its seventeen pupils. The first public school in Calgary was set up with the advent, in January of 1885, of the Calgary Protestant

School District Number 19. A Mr. Douglas was the first teacher with a Miss Grieve being added to the staff in early fall, followed by Miss Rose Watson in October.⁴ In February of 1893 Annie G. Foote joined the public school system teaching staff, and taught in Calgary schools until 1911. Her post-retirement years as a school trustee will be discussed in chapter three.⁵

Another early unmarried teacher, Miss Rachel J. Coutts, sister of Marion Carson, arrived in Calgary and began teaching in 1901. At that time there was only one public school, Central School, in the city, with fourteen teachers and 450 pupils. In a 1925 article in a local newspaper, she was noted as having the "longest continuous service of any teacher in the city."⁶ The article goes on to note that, of her 24 years of continuous teaching service, 17 years were as a member of the staff of Stanley Jones school. "No other teacher in the city schools can boast of such a record."⁷ Her contribution to the community was acknowledged through the number of pupils taught: "on a basis of forty to a class, the one thousand mark will be equalled....at the end of the present term."⁸ The same article quoted her intention to continue teaching as long as she could, since she had "no intention of getting married or retiring."⁹ Rachel Coutts was also active and interested in politics, from a Labour or socialist perspective.¹⁰ In 1919 she was one of the executive members of the new Calgary Branch of the Dominion Labour Party,¹¹ and in 1920 she was among the prominent organizers of a Labor church in Calgary along with Edith Patterson, Wm. Irvine, Fred White, A. G. Broatch and others.¹²

Other women came to teach and stayed to marry and raise families.¹³ As has been seen in the previous chapter, many of these pioneer women, and, in turn, their daughters who remained here, moved out into the community through membership in church, charitable or social organizations. Those with training, skills and drive, as noted previously, moved into the leadership of such organizations, making some major contributions to the betterment of the lives of other early Calgarians. In the carrying out of major leadership responsibilities in the community, the capabilities and talents of these women were recognized by the society at large through their election or appointment to positions on boards and committees in the city and province.

Somewhere between the two worlds which were slowly opening to women, the one world, that of the unmarried self-supporting woman, the other of the married woman, well enough supported by her husband that she was able to become involved in community service, we find the life and activities of Ethel Macdonald McKillop. Ethel McKillop's life experiences incorporated working in volunteer organizations and, also, being employed outside her home. She worked as a volunteer at the Gospel Mission and for Associated Charities for many years, and then, in 1915, became the paid Secretary for Associated Charities.

Ethel Alberta MacDonald, the daughter of Senator and Mrs. John MacDonald of Toronto, joined the Salvation Army as a young woman and worked with them in the Toronto slums, to the consternation of her

wealthy Methodist family. While involved in this work she met David A. McKillop, a YMCA worker. They married in 1893 and continued in this type of work for some time. He then became a minister, and the couple went as missionaries to Jamaica, BWI, under the auspices of the International Missionary Alliance.¹⁴ They served there for fifteen years, moving back to Canada in 1910 to find better educational facilities for their two sons. En route to the west coast, they stopped off in Calgary and found here:

....a struggling branch of the Alliance which wanted to start a church. By the time (they) should have been ready to resume the journey, bothwere so absorbed in the booming little City of Calgary and its needs and opportunities, that they quite abandoned the idea of going further west.¹⁵

Both McKillops were deeply concerned about the plight of the "down and out," particularly the many homeless men drifting into the city. They founded the Calgary Gospel Mission on 3rd. Street S.E., as a "non-denominational Protestant" mission.¹⁶ Mr. McKillop spent time around police headquarters and city hall, sometimes acting as unofficial "padre" to prisoners and other needy people. When changes were made in the Children's Aid department, McKillop was offered the job of setting up a general charities organization, operating with a grant from the city. He agreed to head up this "Associated Charities" which would also coordinate charitable services and donations in the city, and as later described by one of their sons:

...the actual running of the office was left to my father who always felt the burden of dealing with people in a very personal way. My mother was his constant helper and, although my father did the "outside" work of liason and publicity (which was very necessary) my mother did the actual organizing and the detail work inside the office.¹⁷

Associated Charities was, in effect, a coordinating organization for the

efforts of various charitable groups and churches, as indicated by Annual Meeting attendance of representatives such as those of the City of Calgary (the mayor and two aldermen); Police and Health Departments; Children's Aid; Great War Veterans' Association; Pension Board; Patriotic Societies; Military Board & Rotary Club; Herald Sunshine Fund; Social Service.¹⁸ Its ecumenical Christian thrust is illustrated by the attendance of ministers of a variety of denominations,¹⁹ and its social purpose was: "not to pauperize by indiscriminate giving of material relief, but to administer in a practical and yet sympathetic manner, help where it was really needed."²⁰

While the groups represented at the Associated Charities were, on the whole, composed of both men and women, their representatives and the members of the Executive, were overwhelmingly male. No women were named as elected officers; however, in 1915 two women, Alice Jamieson and Maude Riley were elected to the eighteen-person Executive committee. Jamieson served for six years, Riley for four, and they, along with Mrs. Long and Mrs. Ewen who served shorter terms during this time period were definitely in the minority.²¹

Mr. McKillop was the first General Secretary of the Associated Charities and was officially assisted by a Mr. K.W. McNicoll. Apparently Ethel McKillop worked virtually full-time as well, handling organizational matters and some of the case load. She was also involved in other organizations, in early November of 1913, Ethel McKillop was elected president of the Calgary Christian Police Association.²² Later that

month, it was reported that she was ill, and condolences over her illness were publicly expressed by her friends in the WCTU.²³

In the December 1913 civic election, D. A. McKillop was elected as a member of the city Hospital Board, having received public support from at least one city newspaper.²⁴ However, in March of 1914, he resigned as Associated Charities General Secretary, and, presumably from the Hospital Board, in order to take on a position as Superintendent of the City Hospitals. Upon resigning as Secretary, he was appointed to the Associated Charities Executive Committee, where he obviously continued to exercise considerable influence. Mr. McNicoll was appointed to succeed him as Secretary, and Ethel McKillop was designated Assistant Secretary. Ethel initially declined to accept the Assistant Secretary's salary of \$100 per month, but accepted when the Board insisted.²⁵ Aspects of the staff salary issue continued to appear from time to time in the minutes. In early 1915, the Associated Charities executive committee dealt with a request from city hall to reduce staff salaries in line with reductions being given City Hall staff. The executive declined to reduce the salary of the Secretary, but agreed to reduce the salaries of other officials as per the scale suggested by the City.²⁶ It seems fairly safe to assume that Ethel McKillop was now being paid to do the same kind of work she had been doing all along, assisting in the Associated Charities work. In the fall of 1915, Mr. McNicoll resigned in order to join the armed forces, and Mrs. McKillop was appointed "acting Secretary at a salary of \$100.00 per month, salary to date from Nov. 1st."²⁷ As no assistant secretary appears to have been named, it would

appear that the Associated Charities received a bargain for their meagre salary when they hired Ethel McKillop as Secretary.

During these years, Associated Charities continued to act as "relief agent" for the City, using both private donations and a civic grant. A "Bunkhouse" at Victoria Park, and a "Woodyard" operated in conjunction with it, were integral parts of the relief program. Mr. McKillop also organized an old folk's home, and, in later years, Ethel McKillop served as superintendent of this home. As the unemployment situation in the city worsened, especially in the years just after the war, the city appealed to both provincial and federal governments for assistance in the provision of direct relief, and for the introduction of public works to provide employment, but apparently little assistance was forthcoming from the senior governments. Agitation began to have civic relief administered by a civic department, and was further fueled by an organization formed by the unemployed, and by the "civic relief" platform of Labor candidates in civic elections. Attempts to combat this movement, such as changing the name of Associated Charities in 1919 to the Board of Public Welfare, in order to to avoid the stigma of "charity," and by accepting greater city council representation on the executive of the Board were to no avail. Finally, by 1922, in answer to continuing public pressure, City Council set up a civic relief department to administer relief payments.

The Board of Public Welfare carried on, in effect going back to its original purpose, that of helping the needy and destitute in a variety

of ways. Their role then became that of providing supplements to the civic relief, and emergency help of all kinds, especially for those people and cases which did not fit into the city relief regulations. What seems to have been of particular importance to the McKillops was the necessity for the personal touch, and a caring, "Christian" response. As the Board's General Secretary, Ethel was now able to concentrate upon her regular tasks; however, she also had to redouble fund-raising efforts among the member organizations and the public at large. She organized "Violet Day," which was a version of the "tag day," a popular organizational fund-raising technique of the time. Another facet of the work undertaken by McKillop during these years was the maintenance of a "confidential exchange," a clearing house for information relative to assistance supplied by the various charitable organizations and for scheduling events sponsored by the many charitable groups in the city, to avoid duplication of appeals and events.

In February of 1923, David McKillop died suddenly. Aside from other work, he had been assisting his wife with the affairs of the Board of Public Welfare. They had both obviously endured much criticism and stress during the years immediately preceding his death, especially over the unemployment relief issue, but their place in the life of Calgary is evident in the tributes to Mr. McKillop in the Herald. These tributes reflected on the work of both McKillops, and expressed something of the scope of their work. H.B. Adshead of the city relief department expressed to Mrs. McKillop his department's and his personal sympathy: "I have always felt that they have been engaged in a special sphere of

work that this department could not touch."²⁸ Tributes in the editorial columns referred to him as "...a true friend of the poor and of those in distress,"²⁹ and further gave public recognition to Ethel's role, as well as that of her husband. And for her part she did carry on their charitable work through the Board of Public Welfare and, in 1923, also took on the administration of the Calgary Herald charity, The Sunshine Fund.³⁰ She continued this work for many years, finally assisting in the setting up of the Family Bureau, and handing over to it her files.³¹

Ethel McKillop brought to her work many important gifts, beginning with her obvious Christian commitment. This extended to an ability to work with and through the many other organizations engaged in charitable endeavours in Calgary. Her connections within the Calgary community not only gave her access to various forms of assistance for her clients and projects, but also enabled her to call upon these resources for funds for the Associated Charities or the Board of Public Welfare.

That there was some class distinction exercised by even these devoted social workers is evidenced in statements such as the following, made by her, regarding those seeking aid in 1920: "...the class of people who are now seeking aid are decent working people...willing to do anything from scrubbing floors to carrying out ashes."³² It is also obvious that the Associated Charities itself made distinctions on the basis of sex, as illustrated in the saga of Ethel McKillop's salary. She served for thirteen months as General Secretary at the same salary (\$100 per month) that she had been receiving as assistant to the General Secretary, who

received \$150 per month. The salary was then "raised" to \$150! In 1920, it increased to \$200 per month; the justification being that this was "the same salary as was received by the Secretary of the Children's Aid Society."³³

As a married woman, and mother, employed full time outside her home, she was obviously an anomaly within the social milieu of the teens and twenties. Given her situation and the nature of the support of the Gospel Mission which "never passed a collection plate,"³⁴ it seems doubtful that she had hired help at home. She was a skilled executive and administrator which seems to have been socially acceptable, since the nature of her career embodied the exercise of maternal and charitable qualities supposedly inherent in "true womanhood". This, together with her role as a missionary or co-missionary along with her husband, probably accounted for her acceptance within the community as a "working woman". Today, we might well consider her one of Calgary's first career women, and might term her a "maternal feminist" or "social feminist," since she seemingly extended her motherly concerns into the community at large. There is nothing, however, in the sources consulted, to indicate any consciousness on her part of any feminist beliefs whatever, nor of any role other than that of a Christian woman with a "mission" to aid those in distress.

From this distance, it would seem that Ethel McKillop was probably at home in either middle-class or "ordinary, working" situations. Having been born into the middle class, and then choosing to work with people

of all classes, she could be comfortable in any. She was not, as a rule, a guest at the many social events of upper class Calgary, but obviously worked with members of this group in her many community activities. In some ways, she might be described as a "bridge" between classes; raised in one, working in others, between "working" women and housewives or homemakers. Married to a civic worker and sometime politician, she personified the heterogeneous society in early Calgary.

As just indicated, married women who were employed outside their homes were rare unless they were separated or divorced from their husbands or had been abandoned to support themselves and their children. One woman who was separated from her husband when she came to Calgary was Jean McWilliam. Ann Jane (Jean) McWilliam came to Canada in 1907 with her first husband William McWilliam and their two children, under a scheme which required them to work on a farm for two years, in exchange for their fares. When her husband then chose to file on a homestead, "Mrs. McWilliam, feeling that she could not stand the isolation and loneliness of homestead life came to Calgary and headed out on her own."³⁵ She began by doing housework by the hour, and then rented a house and took in boarders. Over the years she extended her boarding and rooming house business and sometimes acted as police matron for the nearby police station. Her business reflected the economic situation during the pre-World War One depression, but during the war she billeted convalescent men from a nearby hospital. Her husband went overseas in 1915, and she became very involved in a variety of causes related to the needs of both the families of men in the forces, and other "poor and..hopeless she met

along the way.³⁶

Jean McWilliam was deeply involved in the labour movement in Calgary and served on the Calgary Trades and Labour Council's central strike committee which was involved with balloting for a local sympathy strike in solidarity with the Winnipeg General Strike in 1919.³⁷ She was also a participant in the formation of the Calgary Women's Labour League, and became their delegate to the Local Council of Women, where she served for many years, especially in the area of child welfare. A self-educated person, she nevertheless contributed her determination and concern to many causes involving people's needs. She was active in the Canadian Red Cross and the Victoria Park Community Association, with the latter group she urged the city to construct children's playgrounds in the district. She had a deep concern for the elderly and advocated improvement in old-age pensions. At one point in the 1940s, when this issue was a prominent one, she and a friend paid their own way to Ottawa to discuss the issue with the prime minister, Mackenzie King.³⁸ Described as "Veteran champion of Calgary's poor," Jean McWilliam McDonald obviously did not allow either her lower-class origins and lack of education or her lower-class occupation to keep her from fighting for and assisting those in any kind of need.³⁹ In spite of her membership and leadership role on the Local Council of Women she does not seem to have attempted to move into the upper-middle class of most LCW members, rather her definition of class would probably reflect the quality of a person's character. She seems to have been a concerned, dedicated and thoroughly decent woman who understood the trials and tribulations and sometimes helplessness of

the poor, having been there herself.

At the other end of the social spectrum, but possessing a similar concern for people in need, was Dr. Evelyn Windsor, one of the first women doctors to practice in Calgary. A native of Montreal and daughter of a clergyman, she graduated from the University of Toronto in 1908, then did post-graduate studies in the United States and overseas. She practiced in Winnipeg before becoming the medical officer of public schools in Calgary.⁴⁰ Medical inspection work began in March of 1915, under the direct control of Dr. Windsor. In 1916, with five nurses, a dentist and an ear, eye, nose and throat specialist under her charge, pupils were examined, advised and treated for various ailments. The doctor herself examined all new children in the schools.⁴¹ In 1916, Dr. Windsor volunteered for military service and was the first woman physician sent overseas by the Canadian Militia. This distinction earned her a place in the "Alberta Women holding First Positions in Canada" pages in the Alberta Club Woman's Blue Book published in 1917.⁴²

While some women moved into the work force others moved into community leadership roles through appointed office. These women had been active as volunteers in a variety of organizations, and through them had demonstrated their interest in and concern for the quality of life of their fellow citizens. Mrs. Charles R. (Harriett) Edwards was one of these committed volunteers who were active in many areas: war-relief tag day organizations; president of the Mothers' Club of the Normal Practice School, and the Women's and Girls' Protective Society; secretary of a

local I.O.D.E. chapter; convenor of the public health committee for the LCW and active on its executive.⁴³ In 1919, she was appointed as a city representative to a committee set up to investigate the high cost of living. Her report went to City Council at the end of that year, where it was adopted with thanks.⁴⁴ In a 1920 Maclean's Magazine article, she was described as 'the first woman on a commerce board.'⁴⁵

During the 1920's both Marion Carson and Georgina Newhall were appointed by City Council to membership on the city Library Board. Carson served for six years, Newhall for four, and they served together during 1925. These appointments were undoubtedly in recognition and appreciation of their efforts as community volunteers, as well as acknowledgement of their ability to act as board members.

Other Calgary women received provincial government appointments which acknowledged their contributions and their capabilities. In 1914 Alice Jamieson and Annie Langford were appointed as judges on the juvenile court, and in 1916, Alice Jamieson was appointed as a magistrate of women's court. Another active community worker, Margaret Lewis was appointed to the post of provincial factory inspector in 1916 or 1917. The major contribution of Alice Jamieson will be examined here, with Langford and Lewis considered briefly as well.

Alice Jane Jukes was born in New York, educated in Chicago and married in Springfield, Ohio, in 1882, to a Canadian, Reuben Rupert Jamieson. They lived in various locations in the United States and Canada before

coming to Calgary in 1902, where Rupert Jamieson was the general superintendent of the western division of the Canadian Pacific Railway.⁴⁶ They had four children, two girls and two boys, and both of the Jamiesons took an active part in Calgary community life.

Alice Jamieson's community involvement took a variety of forms. A personal talent, interest and pleasure in music, was illustrated by her attendance at various musical functions, including performances by the local symphony orchestra. That she herself possessed some musical talent is illustrated by a report that she once sang a contralto solo at a local musical event.⁴⁷ She was a charter member of the Calgary Woman's Musical Club which was formed in 1907, and was its first secretary-treasurer. Besides providing musical exposure for music lovers in the community, the club concerts also supported worthy causes, with the profits going to a variety of organizations and, during the war years, to patriotic causes as well.⁴⁸

Coming to Calgary with her husband gave Alice the opportunity to work, as a volunteer, "in her chosen sphere of service-welfare work and (for) the betterment of conditions affecting women."⁴⁹ This "chosen sphere" of work encompassed a wide variety of community activities, carried out through numerous community-betterment organizations in frontier Calgary. One of earliest of such organizations in which she actively promoted her interest in helping others, especially other women, was the YWCA. She was a founding member, along with president Kate Underwood, of the first YWCA Board in 1907 and continued to be a member of this board for many

years.⁵⁰ Alice Jamieson assisted in the 1909 formation of the Children's Aid Society, and served as the second vice-president for at least one year.⁵¹ She was also a member, and for three years the president, of the Women's Hospital Aid Society which supplied special needs, especially for linens, of the General Hospital.⁵² An active member of the Woman's Canadian Club, she also served on their nominating committee.⁵³

During 1909 and 1910, Rupert Jamieson was the elected Mayor of Calgary, and he appears prominently in pictures of the 1909 inauguration of the new Calgary Street Railway system. Along with his important CPR position and later role as a local businessman in Calgary, this civic leadership position gave Rupert Jamieson, and his wife, a prominent place in the urban upper-middle class elite. In early 1911, shortly after leaving the mayor's office, Rupert Jamieson became ill, and died in June of that year.⁵⁴ Local newspapers reported the many tributes to his character and numerous contributions to the city. An indication of his importance as a community figure can be seen in the city-council resolution of appreciation and sympathy forwarded to Mrs. Jamieson and her family. It read, in part:

Not only has Mr. Jamieson performed a great work in the physical development of Western Canada and especially in the City of Calgary as its chief magistrate during a period of its most rapid advancement but his influence has always stood for that which is highest and best in life.⁵⁵

A contemporary history described Rupert Jamieson as an independent Liberal in politics and a Christian Scientist in religion,⁵⁶ although his funeral service was conducted by the minister of Knox Presbyterian Church, which his wife supported.⁵⁷

Alice Jamieson remained in Calgary, and, in 1912, the year following her husband's death, began her major community organizational contribution: the formation of the Local Council of Women. Active and instrumental in its establishment, Jamieson was the first president, serving in that post for four years. As mentioned in chapter one, the LCW was the major women's umbrella organization, including as it did, a broad spectrum of the most important cultural, religious and philanthropic women's groups in the city. Through Alice's strong, dynamic leadership the Local Council came to have an important influence for societal betterment within the city. The procedures by which the LCW formed its opinions and decided upon proposed actions were cumbersome and often time-consuming. Women who were also working within their own individual organizations spent considerable time and energy within a wide variety of LCW committees, investigating social conditions, and educating their fellow LCW members to particular areas of need or concern. Once the need for change was agreed upon by its member groups, the Council undertook educational and/or action campaigns in an attempt to bring about the desired societal changes.

Concern for the greater good of all citizens was evident in the activities of the LCW, but of paramount importance to all its member-workers was the improvement and enhancement of the situation of women, especially in Calgary and Alberta. As previously noted, an important area in which the Council played a major role was that of making women aware of their civic rights and responsibilities, particularly through

the holding of public election forums prior to each annual civic election. All candidates were invited to speak about their platforms, and those attending were encouraged to ask questions and offer comments. That these meetings succeeded in enabling women to speak out in public is indicated by contemporary newspaper reports of women hecklers who insisted on answers to seemingly embarrassing questions about such issues as the public market.⁵⁸ Mrs. Jamieson usually chaired such public meetings, and seems to have done so with considerable skill.

There can be no doubt that Alice Jamieson played a major role in the Local Council's efforts to have Calgary women declared eligible to hold elected civic office, and, subsequently, in the seeking out of a suitable candidate. In fact, in 1913, Alice, along with Maude Riley and Mrs. Glass, was on the LCW executive committee which was assigned the task of considering candidates for nomination as school trustee.⁵⁹ When Annie Foote was nominated by the LCW to run for the school board, Alice Jamieson's support was illustrated by her signing of Foote's nomination papers.⁶⁰ After Annie Foote's election to the top of the polls, Mrs. Jamieson, as president of the LCW, expressed her pleasure at the result of the election, and was further quoted as saying:

...I am sure...that the present opinion of the public as shown by the endorsing yesterday of Miss Foote will prove to be justified in every way and I hope that next year there are two women in the field. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank the voters who so willingly and splendidly gave our nominee their support, and also the women who worked so indefatigably to encourage the exercise of the franchise by those who possessed it.⁶¹

This short article affirms Jamieson's role as spokeswoman for the LCW

and for the women who campaigned for Miss Foote. She acknowledges here that the success of a woman candidate required the votes of both men and women, and that women could in no way have assumed that the necessary male votes would be forthcoming. But in the tradition of good leadership she at the same time encouraged both men and women to believe in and work for more women candidates the next year.

Working along with Alice Jamieson on the Local Council of Women were many strong women, such as Maude Riley, Marion Carson, Emily Kerby, Lillie Woodhall, and Georgina Newhall, all of whom seemed to have worked well together for LCW common causes. That they were able to do so, spoke highly of the leadership exercised by Mrs. Jamieson, who enjoyed a large measure of respect from her fellow women workers. Part of Jamieson's leadership ability seemed to have been her capacity to be knowledgeable about a broad spectrum of interests and areas of concern. After her four-year term as LCW president, she at various times served as chairman of the LCW committees on citizenship, equal moral standards, mental hygiene, and taxation, and during other years served on several LCW committees, including the committee for the suppression of objectionable literature.⁶²

Alice Jamieson had a great interest in young people, particularly in their education, and in 1914 she became a member of the Public School Board's Evening Schools Advisory Committee and Technical Education Committee. Her name is listed, along with those of Senator Loughheed, Annie Foote and two local women's clubs, as financial donors to the

Technical Education Committee's prize fund.⁶³ According to reports of the meetings of these committees, which often met jointly, Jamieson was a faithful attendee.

An illustration of her active role in attempting to bring about change is seen in the gleeful newspaper account of the visit by Alice and Maude Riley, on behalf of the LCW, to Police Chief Cuddy in November of 1913. The article, accompanied by photographs of both women, each headed "A Reformer", is headlined: "TWO WOMEN WILL BE APPOINTED TO THE POLICE FORCE: Mrs. R. R. Jamieson and Mrs. Maude Riley Persuade Chief Cuddy to Change His Mind..." Indicating that the Chief was not very anxious to add women to the force, the article continued that the petition was largely signed, and that Chief Cuddy "considered the matter for some time and finally decided to make a concession."⁶⁴ The request was for two women officers, as well as a police matron, and the Chief decided to give them one police officer and a police matron with the the police officer's powers. In another article in the same newspaper, the mayor promised that one of the women officers, a probation officer, would be on duty by January 1st, 1914. This article goes on:

Women in all parts of the city are commenting on the proposed appointment of the female officers, and in all quarters the women appreciate the quick action on the part of the chief of police and the city officials in regard to supplying them an officer of their own sex."⁶⁵

How often such requests had previously been presented is not mentioned, but certainly the public response of the press was active and intense on this issue, both in the editorial columns and accompanying cartoons.⁶⁶

In January of 1914, Alice Jamieson began a totally new career, with her appointment as a judge of the juvenile court in Calgary. A local newspaper description of the appointment was accompanied by a photograph:

Mrs. R. R. Jamieson is First Woman Judge of Juvenile Court:
President of Calgary Council of Women Is Appointed to Position.
 The first woman judge to be appointed in Canada is Mrs. R.R. Jamieson, president of the Local Council of Women of Calgary, who has been appointed by the attorney-general to be commissioner of the juvenile court in Calgary. She will have the same powers as a police magistrate and judge of the district court; but will only try cases where the accused persons are under eighteen years of age. She will commence her judicial duties next week.⁶⁷

This appointment came as a surprise to its recipient, and seems to have been well-accepted by the public, an acknowledgement of community respect for her as a person. In accepting Alice Jamieson became the first woman judge of a juvenile court in Canada and the British Empire, holding office from both provincial and federal governments. Under the former she administered the Dominion Children's Act, under the latter she enforced the Alberta Children's Protection Act.⁶⁸ In this post Judge Jamieson heard cases and passed judgment on juveniles who had been charged under one or the other of the appropriate pieces of legislation. She also dealt with matters of school truancy. Later the same year, Annie Langford was also appointed a juvenile court judge in Calgary. A contemporary historian, John Blue, described these appointments as "Juvenile Court Commissioners for the trial of juvenile offenders."⁶⁹

After serving for two years as a juvenile court judge, Alice Jamieson received a further appointment, as magistrate of women's court. This office, entirely separate from the juvenile court judgeship, dealt with

women offenders against the criminal code. One account described the work in this court as "arduous and distressing...Here the magistrate had to deal ...with thieves, drunkards, drug addicts, prostitutes and victims of insanity, as well as with the usual type of lawbreakers coming before the general police court."⁷⁰ Once again, Alice Jamieson was among the "firsts," in this instance the second woman magistrate appointed by a provincial government, the first being Mrs. Emily Murphy, of Edmonton, earlier in 1916.

Alice Jamieson's appointment to the bench was not greeted with wholesale appreciation, in fact the reverse was true in some quarters. Like Emily Murphy, she faced opposition from the bench and police force, and challenges by male lawyers who came before her on behalf of their clients. One lawyer, in appealing his client's conviction by Magistrate Jamieson "Questions Right of Mrs. Jamieson To Sit On Bench...Says Government Had No Right to Appoint Her."⁷¹ At a later trial, the same lawyer objected, on the grounds "that Mrs. Jamieson was not a properly qualified magistrate."⁷² When the appeal reached the provincial Supreme Court, it finally found that she was legally appointed by the lieutenant-governor-in-council to hold the office of a police magistrate in Calgary.⁷³

Alice Jamieson's own version of this stressful time period at the beginning of her women's police court work was quoted four years later:

Well, being the first woman magistrate (in Calgary) was no position to excite envy, I assure you. I had to fight down a good deal of prejudice on the part of certain members of the legal profession and the police department. When I first assumed my duties in the police court, with cold shoulders greeting me on

every hand, I said to myself, 'I don't know why I ever came here-I don't have to do this' and then I drew myself up and said 'well, I'm here -and I'm here to stay.'⁷⁴

After some months, the people with whom she worked in the police courts realized that "her professional activities and her social and homelife were entirely separate affairs; that she heard nor saw nothing in the police court building that did not pertain to her duties and that she was as capable of confidence as the longest experienced detective on the police force."⁷⁵ Another concern voiced was that a woman magistrate would exercise her motherliness and thus be a "wishy-washy" judge. One reporter who had watched her in her courtroom presiding over trials described Alice Jamieson in the courtroom:

..her head tilted slightly backward, her keen, alert mind following every detail of the evidence and her strong womanly face ...immobile. Her forehead is broad, calm, thoughtful. Her gestures...are swift but unflurried. The voice ...is clear and low and finely cultivated. Her strong regular features lend an element of clarity and force to her countenance that is seldom seen in women: but for all her professional coolness and legal acumen, there is...her (sympathetic) woman's heart...a threatening glint of humor...⁷⁶

Among her many experiences on the bench were a variety of threats, visits at home by disgruntled family members of defendants and a proposal of marriage from the husband of one defendant. In December of 1917, she sentenced a fifty year-old vagrant woman, "out of kindness", to four months in jail, where she would be warm and fed during the winter. The defendant was less than appreciative!⁷⁷

It should be noted here that at the time of her appointment in 1914 as a judge of the juvenile court, Alice Jamieson and all other women were not

allowed to vote in either provincial or federal elections. During the years from 1912 onward, Alice Jamieson was also one of the provincial leaders in the fight to gain women's provincial franchise. She worked along with Mrs. Henrietta Muir Edwards of Fort Macleod, who was the convenor of laws for the Provincial (and the National) Council of Women, Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung and others; and as with the request for women police officers, Alice was often a member of the delegation approaching the provincial government to lobby for the vote. They interviewed the premier, Hon. Arthur Sifton, on several occasions, addressed the Legislature in session, presenting the signatures of hundreds of rural and urban women. Part of the contention expressed by the women was that "equal obligations should have equal rights."⁷⁸ On March 14, 1916, the Alberta legislature extended the vote and the eligibility to hold office to women,⁷⁹ and Mrs. Jamieson was in Edmonton at the time of the announcement of the passing of this legislation. She then contacted Murphy and McClung regarding a suitable method of celebration; "Being women, we couldn't go and get drunk; so as we walked down Jasper avenue with our arms locked, Mrs. Murphy suggested that we should go and have our pictures taken."⁸⁰ As is obvious from this incident, Mrs. Jamieson's court duties did not deter her from her organizational memberships and activities. In 1915 she was elected to the eighteen-member Executive committee of the Associated Charities, and continued on the board until her December, 1920 resignation.⁸¹ Her social service concerns were obvious in her acceptance of membership on the finance committee for the 1916 provincial Social Service Council meeting being held in Calgary.⁸²

World War One, as has been noted, affected families in all Calgary walks of life, and the Jamiesons were not immune. Alice Jamieson's son, J. J. (Jack), served as an army captain and was overseas during the war, as were the husbands of her two daughters. True to her organizational roots, Alice Jamieson "served" at home: she was active in the Calgary branch of the Red Cross Society, serving on its executive, also as an executive committee member of the Canadian War Contingent Association, and a member of the Auxiliary for Relief Work for the Victims of the War in Belgium.⁸³ One of her major wartime contributions was, with Annie Langford, to the executive of the Victory Loan Campaign in 1917, -their task to impress upon the women of Calgary the need for Victory Loan subscriptions.⁸⁴ Occasionally the social and war support came together, as in her role as a patroness for the Women's Volunteer Reserve Corps fund raising ball.⁸⁵ Along with her many other activities, she was available for committee work on tag days for worthy causes, or on a Child Welfare Campaign. After the war, she continued both her judicial and social service work, for example, in 1919 she was part of the LCW delegation which approached the city commissioners in support of an elected hospital board.⁸⁶

As with the other prominent women of her time, it is difficult to gain an insight into the private person of Alice Jamieson. Articles about her and reports of interviews given in her later years were uniformly flattering and appreciative of her and her contribution to women and Calgary. One often-quoted interview emphasizes her "womanly and motherly

instincts,"⁸⁷ but little real personality emerges. She was usually acknowledged and described by one of her contributions, either as a volunteer organization leader or member, or as a judge or magistrate, or, perhaps the most apt, as "reformer" and "feminist."

As a reformer, she gave strong leadership in the advocacy of reforms led by the Calgary LCW, especially during its formative years. While she probably saw herself as a reformer, she did not seem to see herself as a candidate for elected office, her own role being that of enabler and supporter of other able women. She had the respect of those she approached in her role as reformer; and the reforms she advocated were what would now be called systemic social changes, social reforms and the extension of women's rights. Social reform for Jamieson meant improving the lot of the unfortunate, and those unable to look after themselves. Children, dependent women, and the poor and distressed were persons of concern, as were even the police officers and others involved in the judicial system. Perhaps part of her success as a reformer, if she was successful, was due to her realistic approach on the issues at hand; for she seems to have reviewed the situation and come up with possible workable solutions not so far out of reach as to be the object of scorn.

But she was also a feminist reformer, and in this she seems to have been very straightforward about her beliefs: equal responsibilities should merit equal rights. A strong believer in the equality of the sexes, she performed her elected and appointed jobs with skill and insight. As one of the city's leading feminists, she, along with Georgina Newhall and

Emily Kerby was a guest at a luncheon given in honor of Emily Pankhurst during her 1919 visit to the city.⁸⁸ But, even Alice Jamieson felt that there was something about being a wife and mother that gave a woman a special perspective on the world, an added quality she brought to her tasks. As such, she would have to be called a maternal feminist, but her major belief was that women and men were equal and should therefore have equal rights and opportunities.

Alice Jamieson moved easily into the community from the "sheltered" world of the upper middle-class social milieu in Calgary where she was the wife of a prominent citizen, representative of a powerful agent in the new community, the CPR, and then, for the years 1909-1910, the wife of the mayor of the city. After being widowed in 1911, she continued her work within a variety of volunteer activities and organizations within the community. Her appointment to the judiciary was a recognition, on a provincial scale, of her contributions to her community. In accepting her judicial roles, Alice moved into a paid position, which she held for many years. Throughout those years she continued to contribute to the community through volunteer activities, giving speeches and supporting causes which she felt were important. A woman of major importance in the history of women's contributions to the history of Calgary, she served faithfully and well, but no civic monuments later commemorated her life and contributions.

Another volunteer woman who accepted an appointed office was little-known Margaret Birch Lewis. She was born in England, where she was

active in the suffrage movement prior to coming to Calgary in 1911.⁸⁹ In 1913, the Calgary Women's Suffrage Society offered to support her as a candidate for school board trustee, but she declined.⁹⁰ Her interest in religion was somewhat outside the usual denominational paths of the day: she was the President of the Unitarian Woman's Alliance. Her husband, Pte. Arthur J. Lewis, was killed in France in 1916.⁹¹ Her personal experience of the war enabled her to contribute to the success of the Next-of-Kin Association, of which she was secretary, and gave credence to her opinion, expressed to the LCW, about the amount of privates' pensions. Active in the LCW, she convened the nursing committee and was nominated to other offices as well.⁹² In 1917, when she accepted nomination for the city hospital board, among those signing her nomination papers was Annie Gale. Lewis was elected by acclamation, becoming the first woman elected to a hospital board in Calgary.⁹³ She was very active in women's progressive movements, and her abilities were recognized in her appointment by the provincial government to the post of factory inspector for Southern Alberta.⁹⁴ Her strong feminist attitudes combined with volunteer experience led her to seek elected office, and accept an appointed provincial job.

The other woman appointed in 1914 by the provincial attorney-general as a juvenile court judge was Annie Langford. Like Alice Jamieson, Annie Langford had been active in the volunteer sector prior to her appointment to the bench. Unlike Jamieson, she also stood for election to public office, that of school board trustee, thus combining in her life the volunteer, appointed and elected roles of women of her time.

Annie Burwash was the daughter of Rev. Dr. John Burwash, a prominent Methodist clergyman of Toronto, and the widow of Rev. Fred Langford, the minister of Central Methodist Church in Calgary at the turn of the century. Annie was an Arts graduate of Toronto University, and came to Calgary in 1900.⁹⁵ By 1913, Annie Langford was the president of the Women's Canadian Club, and a member of the LCW committee on the suppression of objectionable literature.⁹⁶ Her activity on the LCW continued during the war, when she served along with Alice Jamieson on the Victory Loan executive committee. In November of 1917, she presided over a conference of women workers to organize the Victory Loan campaign, and acted as chairman of a Victory Loan luncheon.⁹⁷ In 1917 she was president of the Canadian War Contingent Association of Calgary, also a member of the women's auxiliary to the Great War Veterans' Association, which organized a benefit concert, and she was suggested as a possible candidate for the school board when Annie Foote declined to run for re-election.⁹⁸

By December 3rd, Langford had agreed to stand, and among the signatures on her nomination papers were those of Alice Jamieson and R.B. Bennett. In the final count, Annie Langford was the third of four trustees elected. She attended the school board meeting the day after the election, even though results were not final.⁹⁹ During her term in 1918-19, Annie was active in various phases of the school board work, including being part of the Calgary school board delegation to an Edmonton conference regarding the establishment of the school of technology in Calgary.¹⁰⁰

When she ran for re-election in the fall of 1919 she was supported by the Citizens' Committee which advertised her as one of three candidates they stood behind. Annie Gale was a candidate for re-election as an alderman during this same election. One newspaper suggested that there was a disagreement among prominent women about supporting Mrs. Langford, and possibly Mrs. Gale. Denials were issued, and Mrs. Langford finally issued a statement to the Calgary Herald that she had neither refused to be endorsed by the women's committee, nor asked to withdraw from the Citizen's Committee endorsement. Rather, she indicated she was pleased to be endorsed by any citizen or group of citizens.¹⁰¹ The Calgary Herald, for its part, endorsed her re-election, and on voting day she was the second trustee elected, on the count of first choice ballots.¹⁰²

Annie Langford's second term of office, 1920 and 1921 was particularly eventful, as she was elected chairman of the Public School Board for 1921, the first woman to hold this office.¹⁰³ The School Board minutes for that year reveal her as a capable chairman who carried out her duties with dispatch. At the end of 1921, she declined to run for re-election, and at the final December, 1921 Board meeting mutual thanks were expressed, along with regret at her decision. Appreciation was voiced for "the services rendered to the Educational work of the city by Mrs. Langford during her term of office."¹⁰⁴ Langford had been joined on the Board for the years 1919 and 1920 by Mrs. G. S. (Mary) Corse. In 1921, Marion Carson and Lillie Woodhall were Board members, thereby bringing the number of women trustees to three, out of a total of

seven.¹⁰⁵ Two years later Langford again stood for election, gaining another two year term, 1924-25. During 1924 she served as vice-chairman of the Board.¹⁰⁶

By birth, marriage and education, Annie Langford was a member of the upper-middle class. As the daughter, then wife of a clergyman, and a university graduate herself, at a time when that was a rare accomplishment for a woman, she obviously was able to move in all the "right" social circles. But like some of her contemporaries, she chose to work in areas which would aid the less fortunate. A religious woman, she worked both inside and outside the organized church. A strong supporter of the WCTU, she was the vice-president of their provincial organization in 1917, the year she stood for public office.¹⁰⁷ Obviously interested in the political process, she served a total of six years on the School Board, and often was involved in the nomination for candidates to other civic offices. She can be seen as a connector of the various means by which women of education and ability moved out into the community: first as a volunteer and leader of voluntary organizations on both city and provincial level, then as someone appointed to important judicial office, and finally as a trustee elected to civic responsibility for the school system. In all these roles and functions, her capabilities are obvious, as is illustrated by her election as Board chairman. Only the second woman elected to the Board, she was the first woman to serve as chairman, a fact seldom acknowledged historically.

Her capability has been demonstrated in a variety of ways, but it is

difficult to gain any perspective on her personality. A woman of her time, a wife and helpmeet, a worker in church and church-related causes, she was respected by her colleagues and the general public. But we can only infer from her actions that she was a typical upper-middle class maternal feminist of her time, who took and was successful in the opportunities which were presented to her, and was not afraid to break new ground for other women.

Upon reflection on the lives of the women discussed in this chapter, several common threads emerge. Most of them had a higher level of education than was usual for their time, and all of them had a background which included organizational and leadership experience, enabling them to move into paid employment or appointed, or even elected office. All of the women who either earned their own living or took up appointed office were women of great capability. This background, experience and character was combined with expanding opportunities available to women in public life, and led to the appointment of women to judicial positions and memberships on civic boards, committees and other positions.

As well as the qualities and qualifications noted above, these women also exemplified their feminist and maternal feminist beliefs, which they held in varying degrees. While few of them actually achieved what might be called fame, in spite of being the first in many cases to hold their positions or perform certain jobs, they all served their fellow citizens well. Each of them, in her own way, was a forerunner of public

women in all possible occupations and walks of life today.

Many of the women mentioned in this chapter moved between home, volunteer organizations, sometimes paid occupations, and appointed office, both honorary and "working." And as women gained the experience and the skills to perform these tasks outside the home, they began to be seen by their fellow citizens as capable of acting on their behalf in elected office. This was a major step, sought and fought for by many of the women mentioned in this chapter, who supported each other both privately and publicly, as they tried to attain elected civic office. Alice Jamieson embodied the strength of these pioneer women who sought equal responsibilities and opportunities while Annie Langford illustrates the women who then carried this campaign into the election arena. Then came the real test of women's final acceptance into public life -having put their names on the election ballots for civic office, would the electors of Calgary give them the responsibility of political representation? The combination and culmination of the above factors - the capability and availability of acceptable women candidates, the opportunity to hold civic offices, and the support of others, both men and women, enabled women to move finally into elected public office.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER TWO

1. Herald, Jan.1st, 1940.
2. Catherine Philip, "The Women Of Calgary 1875-1914," unpublished Masters thesis, University of Calgary, 1975, p.28.
3. Catherine Philip, "The Fair, Frail Flowers of Western Womanhood" in Frontier Calgary, ed. A.W. Rasporich and Henry Klassen (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1975). p.115.
4. W.B. Fraser, Calgary, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart, 1967) p.49.
5. GAI-AF.
6. GAI file re Rachel Coutts.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Judith Bedford, "Social Justice in Calgary", pp.56,88.
11. Anthony Mardiros, William Irvine: The Life of a Prairie Radical, (Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1979). p.78.
12. Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-28, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971).p.165.
13. Maude Keen Riley was an example of women teachers who married and stayed in the west.
14. GAI Associated Charities/Board of Public Welfare Papers (hereafter GAI-AC/BPW), folder 5, typescript of undated article by one of the McKillop sons.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. GAI-AC/BPW minutes of Annual Meeting Feb.5th, 1918.
19. Ibid., Feb.1st, 1916.
20. Ibid., early 1914, Annual meeting minutes.n.d.
21. Ibid. Minutes 1914-21, minutes and summaries 1921-36.
22. Telegram, Nov.6th, 1913.

23. Herald, Nov.29, 1913.
24. Telegram, Dec.2nd, 1913.
25. GAI-AC/BPW minutes Mar.20th, Dec.7th,15th, 1914. McNicoll's salary was \$150 per month, Ethel's \$100 per month. The family version is that McNicoll assisted Ethel.
26. Ibid., Mar. 29th, 1915.
27. Ibid., Oct.26, 1915.
28. Herald, Feb.14th, 1923.
29. Ibid.
30. GAI-AC/BPW typescript.
31. Ibid.
32. Herald, Dec.2nd, 1920, as quoted in Bedford, "Social Justice", p.71.
33. GAI-AC/BPW, minutes, Mar.12th, 1920.
34. Ibid. typescript.
35. GAI Archives file re Jean McWilliam McDonald; biography typescript by daughter, Mollie LaFrance.
36. Ibid. p.2.
37. Herald, May 22nd, 1919.
38. Albertan, Aug.18th. 1969.
39. Ibid. In 1936 she remarried, becoming Jean McDonald.
40. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.124.
41. Herald, Sept.29, 1916.
42. MacGregor, Blue Book, pp.5, 124, and Herald, Oct.7th, 1916.
In 1917 she married Lieut. Edward Leacock of the Canadian headquarters staff in London.
43. MacGregor, Blue Book, pp.26,84 and Herald, Nov.27th, 1917.
44. Herald, Dec.16th, 1919.
45. Macleans' Magazine, April 15th, 1920.

46. H.J. Morgan, Canadian Men and Women of the Time, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1912) p.576, and Herald, Oct.1st, 1932.
47. Herald, Nov.5th, 1913.
48. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.46.
49. Herald, Oct.1st, 1932.
50. Ibid.
51. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.123; Telegram, Dec.19, 1913.
52. MacGregor, Blue Book, pp.34, 123.
53. Telegram, Dec.17, 1913.
54. Albertan, June 5, 1911.
55. Ibid.
56. A. O. MacRae, History of the Province of Alberta, (n.p. Western Canada History Company, 1912) p.553.
57. Herald, Nov.5, 1913.
58. See, for example: Albertan, Dec.6th, 1913.
59. Telegram Nov14th, 1913.
60. Herald, Dec.1st, 1913.
61. Albertan Dec.10th, 1913.
62. GAI Local Council of Women papers. She chaired Citizenship in 1920 and 1924, Mental Hygiene 1922-1923, Taxation, 1925 and Equal Moral Standards in 1921. See also Herald, Nov.26th, 1913.
63. CPSB minutes, report to Mar.10th, 1914 meeting. mf.p.301.
64. Telegram, Nov.8th, 1913.
65. Ibid.
66. Ibid., Nov.10th, 20th, 1913.
67. Herald, Jan.24th, 1914.
68. Ibid., Mar.15, 1920.
69. John Blue, Alberta Past and Present, Vol.I, p.423.
70. Herald, Oct.1st, 1932.

71. Ibid., Nov.6th, 1917.
72. Ibid., Nov.9th, 1917.
73. Ibid., Nov.26th, 1917.
74. Ibid., Mar.15th, 1920.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., Dec.10th, 1917.
78. Ibid., Oct.1st, 1932.
79. Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage in Canada. p.2.
80. Herald, Oct.1st, 1932.
81. GAI AC/BPW minutes, December 1920.
82. Telegram, Oct.6th, 1916.
83. Herald, Nov.10th, 1917 and MacGregor, Blue Book, pp.95,104-5.
84. Calgary Weekly Herald, Nov.1st, 1917. Herald, Nov.23rd, 1917.
85. Herald, Nov.27th, 1917.
86. Ibid., Nov.13th, 1919.
87. Ibid., Mar.15th, 1920.
88. Ibid., Nov.10th, 1919.
89. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.123.
90. Albertan, Nov.27th, 1913.
91. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.123.
92. Ibid., and Telegram, Oct.14th, 1916; Herald, Nov.24th and 29th, 1917.
93. Herald, Dec.3rd, 1917.
94. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.123.
95. Ibid.
96. Telegram, Nov.17th, 1913 and Herald, Nov.26th, 1913.

97. Weekly Herald, Nov.1st, 1917 and Herald, Nov.23rd, 1917.
98. Herald, Nov.26th and 27th, 1917.
99. Ibid., Dec.12th and 13th, 1917.
100. Ibid., Nov.17th, 1919.
101. Ibid., Dec.5th, 1919.
102. Ibid., Dec.9th and 11th, 1919.
103. CPSB minutes, Jan.4th, 1921.
104. Ibid., Dec.13th, 1921.
105. Such a situation (three women trustees) did not occur again until 1937.
106. CPSB listings of trustees.
107. MacGregor, Blue Book, p.123.

CHAPTER THREE

"THE FRUITS OF LOYAL COMBINATION": WOMEN IN ELECTED OFFICE

At the beginning of the twentieth century's second decade women in Canada were still without a federal or provincial vote, and rarely had a municipal vote. But the social climate was changing, and the cause of suffrage had for many years been effectively promoted by many prominent organizations and women in Great Britain, the United States and Canada. In 1910 the National Council of Women, the most influential women's umbrella organization and lobby group in Canada, adopted a resolution endorsing women's suffrage. Early in 1916, as mentioned in chapter two, Alberta became the second province to adopt legislation giving women the provincial vote. But, prior to this, Calgary women did have limited access to municipal voting privileges. The 1893 City of Calgary Charter gave the vote to both men and women who could meet the property qualifications: "owners of real property to the value of \$200.00, as tenants of real property to the value of \$400.00 or [with] income to the amount of \$400.00." This 'franchise' was more apparent than real, since married women rarely possessed real estate or other property in their own names, especially to this amount, a considerable sum for the day. Similarly, few single women found themselves eligible to have their names placed on the voters list. In 1913, two polling subdivisions of one ward listed a total of 1629 voters, 65 of whom were identifiably women, just under four percent of the total. Another source described the municipal voting qualifications for women as, "Those who own

property, those who are carrying on business, those who are joint owners of property with their husbands, and women who have houses leased in their own name."¹

In 1913, after considerable pressure, the Calgary City Charter was amended to extend the right to hold civic office to ministers of religious denominations and to women, providing they could meet the even more stringent property qualifications for holding office. This extension of municipal office-holding was not only the result of a general change of attitude in the country, especially in western Canada, but also of a great deal of hard work on the part of Calgary women's organizations, notably the Local Council of Women, who, along with the WCTU and the Woman's Suffrage Society, had also campaigning for provincial women's suffrage. When, along with the limited civic franchise the right to hold office was theirs, the women's organizations began to work toward putting forward a suitable woman candidate to run in the December 1913 civic election. The LCW had been front and centre in seeking the charter amendment which would allow women to hold office and they again took the lead in the finding of an appropriate candidate. This was logical since this group represented all the major women's groups in the city and presented a united and, more important, impartial front, unaffiliated with any political party or group. The LCW decided that they would find a suitable woman candidate to run for election as a school board trustee. There were a total of five board trustees, with two to be elected in December of 1913 for the 1914-15 term.

It is interesting to speculate on why the Local Council chose to enter the election fray at the school board, rather than the city council level. While neither job carried with it any remuneration, the role of alderman was much more visible and seemingly more powerful than that of school board trustee. It seems likely that the women aiming to have a woman elected decided that a run at a city council seat might be less likely to succeed than that for school trustee, or it might look like too big a grab for limelight, power or prestige. By contrast, a try for a school board seat might not be as threatening to male politicians, or possibly even to the electorate. Additionally, a woman who had been elected to the school board and had served well might pave the way for a woman to run for city council in the future. Moreover, it was well known that women had a particular interest in the education of their children, and many of Calgary's wives and mothers had in fact been school teachers prior to their marriages.

For a short time, the Calgary Suffrage Society also considered the possibility of fielding a woman candidate for the school board, not, they said, in opposition to the LCW candidate, but "in the running for the second vacancy on the school board" and as a "help to her colleague on the board."² They then sought a suitable candidate from among their membership, "preferably...a married woman, who is well known and of course capable."³ Several were capable and had had experience in similar positions in other countries or cities, but they were not well known to the general public in Calgary, and there were only approximately two weeks before the election. Margaret Lewis, who had served on similar

boards in England, was one of those approached but she declined for the same reasons, also stating that she did not feel she had the time for the work. The Suffrage Society finally concluded, after some more discussion, that, "It would jeopardize the chance of success for the candidate already nominated and that we most earnestly do not wish to be the means of obstructing success for one woman. So we have decided to let the matter drop for this year."⁴

The Local Council of Women no doubt recognized that they were, by presenting a woman candidate, asking the voters to endorse women officeholders, as well as endorsing the person herself. The LCW executive appointed Mesdames Glass, Jamieson and Riley to decide upon a suitable candidate. Their choice was an apt, appropriate and tactful one -a retired Calgary school teacher, Miss Annie Foote. From the viewpoint of the Calgary women's organizations who asked her to run, she had several positive assets, as well as being a strong and competent woman. She was a former school teacher who had demonstrated her commitment to education and to Calgary through eighteen and one-half years of teaching in Calgary schools, sometimes in less than ideal conditions. She knew the school system from the teacher's perspective, she possessed sufficient real property to meet the property qualification, and she was unmarried, thus she could not be accused of threatening her happy home by running for elected office. But Annie's largest advantage was that she had taught virtually an entire generation of Calgary children, and had earned both their respect and appreciation, as well as that of their parents.⁵

Annie Graham Foote arrived in Calgary in February of 1893, at the age of approximately 38 years, to join the Calgary School Board teaching staff. Born on the family homestead near Elora, Ontario, she was the daughter of the first reeve of Elora. She was educated in her hometown, trained as a teacher, and returned to Elora for her first teaching job. She then taught in at least three other Ontario locations before embarking for Calgary in early 1893. Annie taught in Calgary Central School, South Ward School and Haultain School, teaching "all the grades from primary to high school, inclusive."⁶ She retired from teaching June 30th., 1911, at the approximate age of 56. There does not seem to be any information regarding her economic situation, but it must have been reasonably good for her to afford to retire, and to meet the property qualification for office, i.e. to be "the owner of real estate in my own name in said City to at least the value of one thousand dollars over and above all liens and encumbrances thereon."⁷

A woman of varied interests outside her teaching career, Annie had travelled extensively in the west. She was a member of the Canadian Alpine Club, qualifying for such membership with a mountain climb of ten thousand feet altitude in the Rockies.⁸ She was also active in the Red Cross Society in Calgary. A member of the Presbyterian Church, she served on the executive committee of the Robertson College Guild-Calgary which promoted and supported the Alberta Presbyterian Theological College in Edmonton.⁹

Among the qualities which made her an acceptable candidate from the LCW and women's point of view was her obvious courage and strength of character. She moved out into a previously all-male arena, and regardless of the outcome she had to act with tact and lady-like "womanly" behaviour in order to prepare the way for other women to come after her. But the social and political times were changing, and the women's organizations had done their work well--Annie Foote did not face the intense opposition that she and her supporters may well have been expecting. Because this was the first election in which a woman candidate was a contender, the election campaign itself was a major reflection of the movement of women into the public sector. In order to understand Annie Foote and her contributions, we shall look closely at the campaign and media reactions.

In 1913 the election campaign was short and intense. Election day was December 8th., and the campaign began to warm up just after the middle of November, when the superintendent of schools, Dr. Scott, indicated he would be in favor of a woman trustee.¹⁰ The public announcement by the LCW of Annie Foote's candidacy was accompanied by their expression of pleasure in her acceptance of the challenge, and their pledging of their support in the campaign. Their stated reasons for choosing her as "their" candidate included the respect and esteem in which she was held by former pupils and their parents, her deep interest in city affairs, the time she had available to devote to board duties, and the feeling that she would support those progressive measures which would "advance the welfare of that part of the municipal life."¹¹ The LCW extracted no

pledges and expressed confidence in her ability and judgement. They felt she would represent the "wants and ideas of women in school matters" and should therefore appeal to any women interested in education.¹²

Miss Foote outlined her platform at the LCW meeting after thanking them for their confidence and support, and acknowledging their role in securing the right to have an elected woman school trustee. She indicated that she had the time needed, which was much more than just a monthly meeting. In answer to a question she indicated the qualifications which she believed were necessary or desirable for a school board trustee:

Time to devote to the work...a considerable knowledge of business usage and the management of finances...a sympathy with the whole community...some grasp of the educational situation, the educational thought and endeavor, not only in our own community, but throughout the world...an interest in, and a knowledge of our school laws, our school system and administration of affairs in our city schools.¹³

She indicated that she felt that she was able to meet most of these requirements. She added that she felt that technical education was also important, so that the "hand-minded" as well as the "head-minded" child could have their faculties developed.¹⁴

The campaign was waged in person and through the newspapers. The candidates met voters face-to-face and spoke at election meetings held in various areas of the city, as well as at the Local Council of Women sponsored mass election forum, held the Friday afternoon prior to the election. The incumbent mayor, H. A. Sinnott was re-elected by acclamation, as were the candidates for hospital board, including Rev.

D. A. McKillop. However, there were twenty-three candidates (including Harold W. Riley) for twelve seats on city council, three for city commissioner, four for the two separate school board seats, and four for the two public school board seats, so election meetings were long and lively. Miss Foote attended these meetings and also made appearances such as that of opening of the bazaar and concert held by the Young Women's Club of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church.¹⁵

December first, 1913 was nomination day, and Annie Foote's nomination papers were signed by thirty-seven citizens, at least seventeen of whom were women, including Alice Jamieson, Lillie Woodhall, Emily Kerby, Jessie Glass, Annie Langford and Kate Underwood.¹⁶ The other three candidates nominated for school board seats were prominent citizen James Walker, who had served as a board member for sixteen years (six as chairman, including 1913) and A. C. Newcombe, both incumbents, and J. C. McNeill, a retired contractor and builder.¹⁷

The three Calgary daily newspapers, the majority of the news media at the time, highlighted the campaign, and commented editorially about it. Annie Foote's campaign platform was reported in detail on two of the papers' women's pages, and all three papers commented editorially on the advent of a woman on the civic political scene. The News Telegram's November 20th leading editorial commented on "A lady nominee as a school trustee" in a very positive tone, indicating that Foote had the time and experience and should be acceptable, especially to women voters and lady teachers, and would provide Calgary with the advantage of a "mixed

board.¹⁸ Alongside this positive editorial we find one of the cartoons which ridiculed "when women join the (police) force," and on the same page, the editor's notes couldn't resist suggesting that, if elected, Annie would put her Foote down...¹⁹ The News Telegram followed with other editorials about women wanting representation on the school board, the possibility of ladies on the school and hospital boards, and the advent of women to the local field of reform.²⁰ On December second, its editorial column was headed by an item: "Lively Interest In School Board Election." Attributing much of the interest to the fact that a woman was a candidate, it further commented on the generous support and very thorough campaign being conducted by her women backers. "It may easily be that they will obtain sufficient support before election day to secure Miss Foote's elevation to the important post to which her ambition urges her."²¹

The Herald, in a November 25th editorial, discussed the possibility of women trustees, and asserted that "if there is any public office in which a woman might be expected to render exceptionally good service to the people it is assuredly as a member of the school board." It cites the usual reasons of equal gender populations, the fact that the majority of teachers were women and went on to say that there would be an advantage to having the "feminine mind" to complement the male trustees. The newspaper editor decisively concluded that: "Miss Foote appears to be endowed with qualifications that should make her a satisfactory member of Calgary's school board."²²

The Albertan, in an editorial on December fifth, supported "Miss Foot [sic] for school trustee", indicating that she should be elected. "One reason is because she is a woman." The school board should not be all women, it went on, but one of the five should be a woman. Since half the students were girls, and seventy-five percent of the teachers were women, a "woman representative" was needed in management, direction and control of school matters. Also, Miss Foot(e) is a very competent woman...has been a teacher herself...is right up to date on educational matters...would be a valuable addition to the school board...is an able, businesslike, cultured woman. The ratepayers should vote for her.²³ A further News-Telegram editorial, without mentioning names, suggested that perhaps a "mutual admiration society" existed between some current board members and some Board officials, and that perhaps it was time for a shake-up, by returning "candidates with progressive ideas."²⁴ As noted previously, the campaign did surface on the woman's pages. On the Albertan's "Mostly About Women" page for December 6th, there was a short but sympathetic item entitled "Some Reasons Why We Should Vote for Miss Foote":

Because of her practical experience and her intelligent grasp of educational matters. Because her wide outlook and progressive policy will help solve the problem of fitting the child for the position where his mental qualities and natural aptitude should place him. Because she agitated for technical education that is now giving Calgary a reputation, when it was new and when it was unpopular to advocate it. Because she is free of domestic duties and family demands, and can devote time to the cause of education in the city. Because she is modest and retiring in refreshing contrast to self seekers and publicity hunters. Because her integrity is rock-ribbed and her moral fibre strong as steel.²⁵

The same day, the News-Telegram, under its woman's page banner "Across the Teacups" ran a boxed item, two columns wide, headed "Calgary's First

Woman Candidate.": It called Miss Foote "an exceedingly fortunate...choice of a nominee," and it went on to extoll her:

...sound judgment, clear sense of justice, her mental and moral force...her intellectual grasp on education, her wide experience and practicality, and her progressive ideas, especially toward technical and pre-vocational training." "With her mental attainments, she combines a womanly modesty which is as refreshing as it is rare in this noisy age.

When we have a candidate of Miss Foote's experience and finess, with the moral and mental qualities that will retain the confidence and respect of the citizens, it is to be hoped that the ratepayers will remember they have an opportunity that must not be neglected. In this age when women are taking their place beside men in directing public movements, Calgary may be congratulated on having its first woman candidate for public office one whose worth and efficiency will commend her to the right-thinking and intelligent public.²⁶

The last weekend prior to the election included the LCW forum and public meetings Friday and Saturday evenings. Candidates also placed paid advertisements in the papers, many incorporating their photographs, but Annie Foote does not appear to have been the subject of such an ad. The papers continued to support Foote's candidacy, the Herald indicating that her election was "quite possible,"²⁷ and the Albertan, in a front page article on election day stated that Miss Foote should be elected.²⁸

And she was elected! Not merely elected, but she topped the poll with 3194 votes compared to the second person elected, J. C. McNeill who received 2339 votes. The two incumbents, Walker and Newcombe, were defeated. The newspapers reflected on her victory; one called it 'Miss Foote's handsome vote,'²⁹ another headed its article on her election win with 'Miss Foote attributes Her Success to Efforts of Women on Her Behalf.'³⁰ And then there were the editorials which followed: The Herald congratulated Miss Foote, and regretted the defeat of Colonel Walker. In

an editorial entitled "Heading the Poll," the paper commented on Foote's success and a post-election interview with her. She had attributed her success to the work of her "ardent feminine supporters" who had exerted themselves vigorously and effectively, but the editor suggested at least half her votes came from men who believed that "a trained and thoughtful woman would add strength to the board," and commented further on the chivalrous manner in which the male candidates had conducted their campaigns.³¹ The News-Telegram's editorial was headlined: "A Notable Success for a Calgary Woman," and commented in much the same fashion as the Herald on the large vote (suggesting that Annie and her friends may have been surprised by its size), the chivalry of the male voters in voting for her, and the esteem in which she was held. The editor congratulates Miss Foote: "...who not only enjoys the distinction of being the first woman to attain public office in the premier city of Alberta, but by such a plurality that her victory stands out as one of the most momentous ones in the history of all woman's[sic] movements in the Dominion of Canada."³² High praise indeed! But the editor's notes column which contained short, punning commentaries on people and events in the election also added: "There is no valid excuse for indulging in undue levity over the fact that in the pedestrian class Walker seems to have been badly out-Footed."³³

Mrs. Jamieson's comments as LCW president quoted in chapter two, expressed pleasure in the election outcome, acknowledged the male voters' contribution, and hoped for more women candidates in future. On December 10th, a small card of thanks from Annie Foote appeared in the

News-Telegram, which read:

On behalf of the women of Calgary, let me thank the electors of our city for the hearty support given to our cause Monday. The large vote polled in favor of the woman candidate is a proof of public confidence in a woman's ability to do good work as a member of the school board.

Personally, I am very grateful to those who by their vote and influence placed my name at the head of the poll. By faithful attention to the duties of the office, I hope to prove myself worthy of their confidence. Annie G. Foote.³⁴

This commentary once again emphasized that the election was not just of Miss Foote, but of a woman, and that her women supporters recognized the role of the male voters in her victory. But probably the definitive word on the whole campaign came from the editor's notes column of the same newspaper: "The ladies of Calgary carried one of their sex to victory on the school board, and gave some of the aldermen a good push into office. They have reaped the fruits of loyal combination."³⁵

The News-Telegram carried the campaign a bit further by suggesting in subsequent editions that Annie, -in view of her receipt of the largest proportional representational vote ever received, and as a gracious gesture to the first woman ever elected as a trustee, -should be elected as the new board chairman. The chairmanship would also be, the paper said, "a fitting recognition of her especial ability to perform the duties of this responsible office."³⁶ A fellow trustee, J. T. MacDonald indicated he was prepared to nominate Foote for chairman, for the reasons given above, and because that would give a woman's input into all board committees.

But the newspaper campaign came to naught, for evidently the male

majority on the board were not about to take the newspaper's advice, or entrust their highest office to a new woman member. At the organizational meeting of the Calgary Protestant Public School Board on January sixth, 1914, James Short, who was not present, was elected chairman. He later declined, and S. Y. Taylor was elected to replace him. Annie Foote was active in the nomination process, and was herself elected to chair one of the busiest and most powerful committees, the School Management Committee, the only one of which all trustees were members. J. C. McNeill, the other new member, was elected to chair two of the six committees, all other trustees, including the board chairman, chaired one committee each. J. T. MacDonald was also a member of four committees, McNeill and Short of three, and Taylor and Foote of two, as well as their chairmanships. This was hardly a dominant role for the new lady trustee, especially when we note that her two committee memberships were Playgrounds, Grounds and Sites, and Technical Education.³⁷

Foote was a faithful attendee and committee chair, reporting regularly for the School Management Committee. At her first board meeting she voted against salary increases, and throughout the minutes, it is evident that she made her own decisions and did not always agree with the majority of board members. The major issues facing the board in 1914 were the fate of school medical inspection and, as the year progressed, how to manage teacher deployment as men volunteered to go overseas to fight in the war. Some volunteers, who did not get called to report by October, as they had expected, took voluntary leave of absence from the board to accommodate their replacements. The board also requested a

change of name during 1914, in order to become "the Board of Trustees of the Calgary School District No. 19 of the Province of Alberta."³⁸ A delegation from the Evening Schools Advisory Committee, which included Alice Jamieson, met with the board in October and was referred to meet with the Technical Education Committee, which they did on November seventh. Attendees at that meeting included Annie Foote, Alice Jamieson and a new member of the Technical Advisory Committee, Mrs. J. S. Arnold.³⁹ In July of 1914, Annie Foote was elected vice-chairman of the Board for the ensuing six months, and she again served as vice-chairman in 1917; the highest level of office which she occupied.⁴⁰ The advent of a woman had at least engendered one small change in the meetings, for reports now were sometimes headed: 'Lady and Gentlemen.'⁴¹

The 1915 term was similar to that of 1914. Annie again chaired the School Management Committee, and was a member of two others, out of a total of seven committees. The minutes of the Board meetings, though sketchy at best, do yield some reflection of typical issues dealt with. At the January twelfth regular board meeting, a motion was made that there would be "no discrimination on account of sex in appointment to positions in schools." There is however, no notation indicating that it was carried, although that is the presumption, since it appeared in the minutes. Nor was any mention made of the matter of salary differentials between men and women.⁴² The medical inspection issue was, however, resolved, with board-sponsored medical inspection to begin the first of March, 1915.⁴³ Illustrating her concern for teachers, at the regular May board meeting "Miss Foote drew attention to the inequity existing

between the salaries paid to teachers in charge of two, three and four-room schools, and on motion...the matter was referred to the Finance committee, with power to act." ⁴⁴

Annie Foote worked diligently at her school board duties, and was re-elected in 1915, to serve for 1916 and 1917. At the end of four years on the board, she declined, in November of 1917, to run for re-election.⁴⁵ At the final board meeting of 1917, at which acknowledgment was made of the four retiring members, Annie Foote presented a trophy for competition in Grade eight, for all schools, to go to the school of the child winning the governor-general's medal. In this way perhaps some of her influence endured within the school system.⁴⁶

As mentioned previously, Annie Foote was not interested in education to the exclusion of all other subjects, and through the years she maintained her interest in working for the good of others, as is evidenced by her membership on one of the committees preparing for the national Social Service convention, to be held in Calgary in November of 1916.⁴⁷ In mid-1917 she took over the treasurer's job on the board of directors of the Women's Hostel, and was re-elected to this post for 1918.⁴⁸ In December of 1917 she was one of the Victory Loan workers honored at the banquet given by Pat Burns.⁴⁹ Thereafter, she remained active in Calgary until 1929, when she returned to her hometown of Elora, Ontario.

Much of the background and character, as well as something of the

personality of Annie Foote emerges from the detail of the 1913 election campaign. Her teaching experience, especially in the Calgary school system, and her wide interest in progressive education innovations such as technical education qualified her for a role on the management side of the school system. As a veteran teacher she obviously possessed considerable self-confidence and the personal presence which enabled her to speak in public, to be comfortable and able to respond to questions in the cut and thrust of political meetings. Although her situation as an independent, self-supporting professional woman gave her a solid place within the middle-class echelons, her years of experience with all kinds of children and their parents gave her the ability to move easily among all levels of citizens. The only pejorative newspaper comment during the campaign was the one which mentioned the possibility of her "elevation to the important post to which her ambition urges her."⁵⁰

Her home-life was circumspect and free of those "domestic duties" which took so much of a married woman's time. Living, as she did, so far from her Ontario home and family must have been very lonely at times. However, the sensible middle-aged woman who emerges from the campaign descriptions had a variety of community and personal interests, including her church membership and her mountain-climbing. Those same descriptions give us a glimpse of what later came to be considered the stereotypical early twentieth century "Old Maid"...unmarried, morally upright, righteous, and serious. However, she was also described as "too modest" (she hadn't had a picture taken in twenty years, and refused to do so for, or after, the campaign) and "womanly"..with a "kindly smile;"⁵¹ thus the stereotype was not all pervasive.

Of all her personal characteristics revealed throughout this campaign, primary acknowledgment must go to her courage, in bravely taking on the challenge of becoming a representative of all women as the first female candidate for civic office. Her composure and equanimity were evident in her belief that women's abilities were equal to those of men, and that a woman brought a "woman's perspective" to what she undertook. Further, she accepted the challenge of putting her belief in women's capabilities into action in 1913. As a feminist, we might call her a "womanly feminist" in that she felt women brought a special component to what they did. Moreover, she does appear to fit within the broad definition of maternal feminism given in the introduction. As a single woman of her day, she may or may not have been seen, or seen herself, as bringing a "motherly" perspective to her activities. Annie Foote served as a conscientious and valuable member of the Calgary Public School Board for four years, but her major contribution to Calgary and to the progress of Calgary women into the mainstream of civic life was her acceptance of the challenge to become a candidate for civic election.

As Annie Foote departed from the school board, which now had seven members, other women moved forward to offer themselves for office. The city voters having elected and then re-elected Annie Foote, they were now asked to consider two further women as possible school board trustees, one as a hospital board member and one for aldermanic municipal office. Annie Langford and Mrs. A.L. Grevette accepted nominations for the school board, Margaret Lewis for the Hospital Board,

and Annie Gale for city council,-the first time that a woman had contested this office. In four years, women candidates had moved from one "brave soul" to four others prepared to put themselves before the ratepayers of Calgary. We have discussed above the contributions of Annie Langford and Margaret Lewis, who were both elected in 1917. Of the two others, Mrs. Grevette was defeated, but that most interesting of Calgary "first women," Annie Gale, became the city's first woman alderman in 1917. Like her fellow-members of the LCW, Langford, Lewis and Grevette, Annie Gale came to the point of contesting public office out of a background of volunteer activity and organizational service. Unlike some of the others, she was a relative newcomer to Calgary, having arrived in the years just prior to World War One,

Hannah Elizabeth Rolinson was born at the end of 1876 in Netherton, Warwickshire, England, the daughter of a town "merchant grocer" and his wife. Her family nick-named her Annie, and Annie she remained for the rest of her life. She was an honour student at the Proprietary School for Girls, Dudley, and was one of the first women to take the Oxford Entrance Examination during the early 1890's, which she passed. Her father died when she was fifteen so Annie then helped her mother and sisters to run the shop. An early indication of her independence and indignation at injustice was given at this time in her life when her bicycle was hit and damaged by a butcher's cart, but the owner refused to pay for repairs. Annie, aged fifteen, took him to court, acted as her own lawyer and won her case.⁵²

In 1901 Annie married William John Gale, a civil engineer approximately thirteen years her senior. She moved with him from project to project in Great Britain, and during this time their two sons, Henry and William were born. Encouraged by letters from Annie's sister and her husband who had emigrated to Canada, the Gales decided to accept the challenge of adventure, and emigrated from England directly to Calgary in 1912, arriving just as the real estate boom was collapsing. Bill Gale eventually found a job with the city engineering department, where he worked for most of their years in Calgary.⁵³ Annie's impressions, feelings and attitudes to Calgary and Alberta at that time were astute and perceptive: "I was then a very conservative woman, was not particularly interested in Woman's suffrage, but the wrong conditions prevailing here forced me to take notice." She saw land prices that she felt were "absurdly high" in the boom, with no houses available for them to rent, and the necessity of purchasing a house "to get a roof over our heads." She also saw the real estate dealers as being fevered, with a "gambling spirit". She looked in vain for the industries, such as mills, which she felt were needed to provide stability for the city economy, and commented further on "the want of control of the real estate boom exhibited by the Government of the City."⁵⁴

She was obviously a woman of awareness and concern for those around her. As she settled into her new home, Annie's heart went out to the other English immigrant women whom she met, especially those who found themselves on isolated homesteads, forced to endure not only the physical and mental hardships of life there, but also the added hazards

of childbirth without family, friends, or in many cases, proper medical attention. Her sympathy, practicality, and disenchanted approach to these conditions are obvious when she commented that the government, in its concern for the raising of livestock, would provide a veterinarian to attend the birth of a foal, free, regardless of the distance from the nearest town. She compared this with the plight of "old country women, in many cases delicately nurtured, induced to move and settle with no doctor for thirty miles, some cases more, no provision for the coming of the first baby." Annie Gale expressed her personal response to such injustice thus: "...the injustice and criminal short-sightedness on the part of the various Governments rankles with me still." "Can anyone wonder that I am an ardent suffragette today?"⁵⁵

One of the first conditions she found which goaded Annie into action was the poor quality and high price of fresh vegetables available to Calgarians. The local merchants sold vegetables brought in on contract with British Columbia growers, and apparently made no effort to encourage local growers or purchase their produce when it was available - in spite of the millions of acres of agricultural land surrounding Calgary. This concern lead her to join the founding in 1913 of the Calgary Consumers' League as its first secretary, and Georgina Newhall its first president. Annie indicated that she took on "the work of establishing a Municipal Market where small producers could find purchasers for their products." Actually, the Consumers' League, through a great deal of time and effort, helped revive the lagging market which had been established in 1910 on city-owned land near the Langevin

Bridge. She further described the frustration she experienced in dealing with "reactionary business men," politicians, members of city government, Health department officials and others, and her occasionally expressed feeling: "Why do we not elect women with vision? We could get there so much quicker."⁵⁶

Members of the Consumers' League took advantage of the 1913 election forums to grill candidates on their attitude to the Market, and on food and health issues in Calgary. Annie Gale, as we have seen, was deeply involved in this activity, probably her first real taste of Calgary civic politics. Further to her work in the Consumers' League and the fostering of the city market, was her membership on the Board of the Vacant Lots Garden Club which "represented a typical civic reaction to unemployment and high food prices." The city provided municipal land and some funds so that private citizens were able to cultivate vegetable plots for a small cost. "By 1915, almost 2,000 lots were under cultivation to 1,128 individuals. Potatoes were the most popular crop....In 1917, the Vacant Lots Garden Club had over 6,000 potato plots alone."⁵⁷

Public awareness of this project was promoted by such events as a potato luncheon, sponsored by the Consumers' League, to which various dignitaries, including Senator Lougheed, the mayor, city commissioners and council members were invited. Growing food during these years was considered an aid to the war effort, which was also aided by an \$800 auction sale of Vacant Lot-grown flowers, with R.B. Bennett as the

celebrity auctioneer.⁵⁸ These events must have given Annie a great deal of pleasure, given her earlier concerns about the availability of locally-grown fresh produce.

Gale's social concern for available health care extended to all her fellow citizens, particularly in her activities promoting the Free Hospitals League. As secretary of the League, she spoke at a variety of meetings, trying to convince people of the need for a free hospital system, not unlike the free public school system. She took the message, for example, to the provincial WCTU convention, where she explained that a resolution for free hospitals had been presented to the Calgary Local Council of Women by the Tuberculosis Hospital Auxiliary. This resolution called for "a hospital system as free and far-reaching as is the educational system through the public schools," and asked for the support of all possible organizations in making this request to the provincial government.⁵⁹ Through such speeches Annie Gale was carrying out her belief that "the health of the community should be the first duty of the State."⁶⁰ Her social conscience was further reflected in her attendance at the meetings of the Calgary People's Forum, and she served as its treasurer for two years. She believed, she said, that citizens should not offer themselves for elected office without having "some knowledge of the Labor situation of Canada." She listened, and gained sympathy and understanding of the "so called labor movement" which later gave her both a sympathetic and independent view when she had to deal with civic labor relations as a city council member.⁶¹

In March of 1917, Mrs. W. J. Gale was elected President of the newly-formed Women's Guild of St. Mark's Anglican Church, of which she was a member. The opening meeting was to be addressed by Bishop Pinkham, and a large public meeting was being planned on the subject of gardening.⁶² It was obvious that she could, through the Guild, advance some of her interests and concerns such as gardening, but, as she herself admitted, she could not use this group as a forum to introduce and push for political changes. When women were denied membership in a newly-formed ratepayers association, Annie organized the "first and only Women's Ratepayers Association in the Dominion."⁶³ Here, she could raise her political concerns about current issues, with the male politicians of the day. Annie Gale insisted that she had no political affiliation, and the WRA enabled her, and other women of like-mind, to work for social change. As she eloquently said, she believed that women:

...should be independent of all Party ties and Party Politics. We should be free lances, steering our course by the righteousness and justice of the questions before us. We should be perfectly disinterested, and we could then be of untold benefit in raising the tone of public service, which is generally conceded to be badly in need of such elevation.⁶⁴

By this time, Annie Gale had moved from being a "conservative woman" to one with much experience in dealing with the bureaucratic 'systems' already in place in the fledgling city. Even when she asked "Why do we not elect women with vision?..," she admitted that she "never imagined in those days that we ever should dream of doing such an audacious thing."⁶⁵ But society was changing, and new areas were opening to women. Evidence for this was the call, by the Herald in 1915, for "strong civic-minded women to seek civic office," although this call was

prefaced with the explanation that there was a dearth of businessmen candidates!⁶⁶

The challenge and opportunity were there, and it is interesting to speculate on how and when the personal challenge came to Annie to run for City Council. But run she did, in late 1917, for the 1918 Council, having been nominated by the Women's Ratepayers' Association of Calgary. This association claimed the honor of "having nominated the first woman for a city council in the British Empire--its president Mrs. Gale, a woman progressive, intelligent, with absolute honesty of purpose."⁶⁷ Annie Gale's nomination papers' signatories included R.B. Bennett, Mayor M.C. Costello, Alice Jamieson, Bishop Pinkham and Rachel Coutts. Annie Gale, for her part, signed for hospital board nominee Margaret Lewis.⁶⁸

The campaign, a short one due to the federal campaign prior to the December 17th country-wide election, must have been interesting. Support for Gale came from a variety of quarters. Although she was not sought out and sponsored by the LCW, she did receive their "approval...for the city council."⁶⁹ Apparently Annie also had the support of some of the Labor people in the city, having been a part of the Calgary Forum meetings regularly for a couple of years. She also received the support of the city's Federation of Ratepayers.⁷⁰ Newspaper response, however, was somewhat mixed. The Herald discussed the fact that several businessmen were "being urged to enter (the) contest" for alderman,⁷¹ and in a later column notes which of the "prominent business men are in the running,"⁷² with no mention made of Annie Gale or other possible

non-business candidates. On the Saturday prior to the Monday election the Herald indicated that it was endorsing "generally those men who are well known in the business and community life of the city."⁷³ However, the same paper did note, on its women's page, Annie's endorsement by the LCW and her call to women voters to put her first on the ballot.⁷⁴ Its 'editor's notes' columns on two separate occasions, indicated that 'Mrs. Gale should have the support of...both sexes' and if there are women on school and hospital boards, why not on the city council?⁷⁵ And during the week prior to the election, Annie Gale's campaign picture appeared in one of its columns, under the heading "Only Woman Running For City Council."⁷⁶ Endorsement came as well from the Albertan, which commended her "analytical mind...her marked ability in handling municipal questions...it would be a mistake to leave Mrs. Gale off this board."⁷⁷

Support also appeared from another, unlikely newspaper: that of Bob Edwards' The Eye-Opener. In a December 1917 column, accompanied by a photograph of Mrs. W.J. Gale, the usually unsympathetic publisher wrote, albeit, somewhat patronizingly, of her candidacy:

Now, then, cast your lamps over this cut and tell us if you can possibly resist voting for the original, who is the only woman running for the Calgary City Council. Mrs. Gale has for several years been active in many public movements of a useful nature and enjoys the distinction of having been the president of the first woman ratepayers' association formed in this city. This lady has all the mental and businesslike qualifications requisite for a seat on Calgary's council board. Her husband is Mr. W.J. Gale, the well-known civil engineer.⁷⁸

One other campaign note added some humor, suggesting that Annie Gale's assurance that "women do not talk as much as men," if it were part of her platform, would bring her the votes of city hall reporters.⁷⁹

Thirteen candidates contested the nine council seats. When the final count was in, Annie Gale had been elected sixth out of the nine successful aldermen. Once again the Herald ignored the woman candidate, in the sub-headline of its election-results story... 'Names of men elected to Council now known.'⁸⁰ But Annie Gale did not escape the playful editorial page play-on-words either:-'It does not follow that there will be a storm every time Alderwoman Gale attends council or committee meeting; it will depend largely on the conduct of the mere male members rather than upon the lady in question.'⁸¹

Her election brought her the honor of a number of 'firsts', especially that of being the first woman alderman not only in the city, province and country, but also, apparently, in the entire British Empire. During some of her time as alderman, Annie Gale also served as deputy or Acting Mayor, this being noted as a first for the British Empire as well.⁸²

To her new tasks, Mrs. Gale brought not only her obvious strengths and commitment to service for others, she also brought her own strong feelings about the value of a woman's perspective on civic matters, or "municipal work," as she called it:

To me, municipal work has always meant, not just levying and collecting taxes, policing the streets, constructing sewers--but to give service--to fulfil my duty to my neighbors, to discharge my share of responsibility towards the social welfare of the citizens, the health of the community, the full protection, and guarding of the public morals.⁸³

In a newspaper interview, she gave her further views on women in civic politics:

There is no reason why a woman of average intelligence should not make a successful administrator of the city's affairs. The time has come when the necessity for economy will give those women who

are fitted and those who have taken pains to fit themselves a glorious opportunity to serve. This is especially so of the women of the cities of Western Canada which are all feeling the effects of the abnormal over-development. Women have an intuitive sense of economy which is particularly valuable in working out that close co-ordination, that dove-tailing of the administration of the many details which go to make complete city government.

I have always looked on the city as a large home. The council is the parent, each different class a child, and the welfare of each class is equally dear.⁸⁴

Alderman Gale's experience prior to her election stood her in good stead as particular issues were dealt with by City Council. As secretary of the Free Hospitals League she had been well-versed on the issues and prepared to support the taking over of city hospitals by the municipality in 1918-19. She was appointed to the city's High Cost of Living Committee which tried to alleviate the problems brought about by the wartime economy. One of this committee's recommendations was that the Market should, in effect, enter into competition in the sale of products such as butter, eggs and milk. Appointed by Council as the city Market Advisor in early 1918, Annie Gale conducted a detailed inquiry into the operations of the Market over several months, bringing recommendations to city council in 1919, affirming the value of the Market. In what appears to have been her first report to Council as Market Advisor, in July of 1918, she pointed out several components of the "market problem," including lack of street car service, farmer support, advertising and purchase money for the superintendent. Her recommendations included "a straight, above-board policy of municipalizing the buying and selling of produce, fish, coal etc. at the City Market."⁸⁵ Such civic intervention and direct competition with businesses may be perceived as unusual suggestions to come from the

English shopkeeper's daughter, but she saw the Market as a "leveller of prices", and the means of having available for Calgary housewives the best possible fresh produce.⁸⁶

In September of the same year, she again reported to Council on the Market, citing improvements in volume of business and increased commissions paid to the Market. In this report she dealt at some length with what she perceived to be a major problem, the fact that there was "very little co-operation between the Market and the Health Department," and further that sale of milk by small producers, whose herds required inspection and tuberculin testing, was hampered by lack of co-operation and communication between the Milk and Sanitary Inspectors within the Health Department. When Annie consulted with the Health Department head, Dr. Mahood, and his department, she discovered that the two inspectors did not speak to each other, much less cooperate, and that the department head had allowed this situation to continue for at least a year. Gale stated that "there must be absolute co-operation between the two departments (Market and Health) otherwise the taxpayers' money, in my opinion, was wasted." Needless to say, Dr. Mahood resented this airing of his department's internal workings, and especially Gale's suggestion in her report, that his services should be dispensed with since he "had permitted such a state of affairs in his department."⁸⁷ In 1919, Alderman Gale brought recommendations to City Council affirming the value of the market, which have been described by historian, M. L. Foran:

In a blistering indictment of business practices in the city, Mrs. Gale called for council to use the market "as the greatest weapon in its hand to arrest this profiteering". ...Mrs. Gale's well

reasoned and researched reports recommended civic involvement in public markets squarely to council.⁸⁸

But business influences were still strong on council, and Mrs. Gale's recommendations were not accepted. Foran further suggests that council "favored the interests of local commerce over those of the general public."⁸⁹

City Council had a number of standing committees, one of which, the Receptions Committee, was responsible for the social side of city government. Annie Gale was chairman of this committee in 1919 when the Prince of Wales visited in Canada, and included in the trip was a three-day official visit to Calgary. All of the myriad details of this September visit, replete with protocol, were the responsibility of this committee. Included in the activities was a civic luncheon at the Palliser Hotel where Annie, as official hostess, was Prince Edward's luncheon partner.⁹⁰

A much less pleasant task resulted when a petition was received at Council about the deplorable state of the city jail, and Annie was appointed to a three-person committee to investigate the complaints. She found the conditions dreadful, and cells "filthy, foul and vermin-infested," with bedding that had not been laundered for at least seven years. When persuasion failed, she resorted to burning the blankets on the lawn so that new ones would have to be purchased. But improvements to conditions in the cells, and more staff, did not come soon, in spite of Gale's efforts.⁹¹

Despite suggestions that she might try for the mayor's chair in 1919, Annie Gale again contested an aldermanic seat as an incumbent. Her election advertisement mentioned her two years of service, and endorsement by R.B. Bennett, Canon James, Mrs. Fenkell, W.M. Davidson, and Mrs. W.D. Spence. At one election meeting "Alderman Gale said that she could not say, with some others, that she had done her best; for she had spent most of her time learning; but she declared that she expected to do her best if elected again."⁹² Annie raised the issue of taxation of church property, which she supported, and the battle raged through the Herald's women's page and the letters to the editor. She was accused of "being absolutely ignorant of the real meaning of 'a church'."⁹³ Marion Carson, and other correspondents, defended the principle, and Annie Gale, in their letters-to-the-editor.

A further issue was raised in this paper's guest column on the women's page entitled "Should women run for aldermanic office?," "Woman Reasoner" stated that women should be on school boards, child welfare or playground or even hospital boards, since these are an extension of "home affairs," but they were not yet ready to serve as aldermen since they were not as capable as men. She conceded that there were two or three women in every community who could do the job, but "they are not the ones who usually will run."⁹⁴ The editor of the women's page replied with a column on "the right kind," indicating her belief that women with young families should not seek office, because of their "first duty" to their homes, but that there were women whose families were grown who

were capable of such service. Georgina Newhall, Emily Kerby and Mrs. Fenkell were mentioned as being capable, but reluctant to offer themselves for office, and the subsequent possible 'unpleasantries' of a political campaign.⁹⁵ The last words on the issue included a letter from a 'Mother of Three' who deplored the previous arguments against young mothers becoming candidates, but the page editor refuted all of her arguments. Thus even after six years of women contesting civic offices, the issue of whether or not they should do so at all was still a palpable one.⁹⁶

Annie Gale was re-elected as an alderman for 1920-1921, and during this term she was a City representative on the boards of the Library, the Victorian Order of Nurses and the Children's Aid Society. During this term of office, she expanded her political horizons by deciding to become a candidate in the July 18th, 1921 provincial election. Five Calgary seats were in contention, with twenty names to choose from, each voter to mark five 'X's on the ballot. One other woman, Annie Langford, was a candidate, on the Labor ticket. Annie Gale chose to run as an independent, with a campaign based on her City Council record of practicality and service to the citizens. She campaigned hard, speaking especially to women's groups. She expressed her feeling that women should be responsible for working toward the betterment of women and children's social and working conditions. She noted that "the biggest hindrance that women have in making progress is the contented married woman....women should not be satisfied with the present world conditions." Since girls and boys were being educated equally, mothers

needed to interest themselves in "such questions as equal pay for equal work."⁹⁷ Neither Gale nor Langford were elected in the election which saw the United Farmers of Alberta defeat the incumbent Liberal government. But both women were philosophical about their loss, and Gale expressed her belief that their candidacy would encourage future women candidates.⁹⁸

The civic election in late 1921 for the 1922-23 term also proved interesting. In 1917 and 1919, Annie had the tacit support of Labor, but in 1921 she chose to run strictly as an independent. That did not prevent her from being caught in the middle of some political cross-fire between Labor and the Civic Government Association(C.G.A.), the local "party" which usually represented business and vested interests. In a scathing advertisement in the Herald, the C.G.A. enunciated the campaign issue, from its perspective:

Don't Be Misled: The Albertan is anxious to have Mrs. Gale elected Alderman and is afraid that if four C.G.A. Candidates are elected, Mrs. Gale will be defeated. It has therefore started an insidious attack on R.C. THOMAS, one of the C.G.A. Candidates, hoping that it may succeed in injuring his chances of election. The election of Mrs. Gale would mean one more Dominion Labor Party vote in the City Council. This latest development makes it all the more imperative that all citizens interested in efficient Civic Government should VOTE THE STRAIGHT C.G.A. TICKET. The ad concluded with a list of the "straight ticket" which included Annie E. Langford for School Trustee.⁹⁹

But Annie Gale survived such blatant attempts to defeat her, and, of the six aldermen elected, she stood third from the top.¹⁰⁰ While she did not run on the Labor ticket, Annie never lost her interest in their work, and as late as 1924-25 was listed as a member of the executive of the Dominion Labor Party in Calgary, so the advertisement's suggestion of

her connection with labor may have had some basis in fact.¹⁰¹ This, her last City Council term, included a confrontation with David and Ethel McKillop over Annie's comments in Council about the distribution of charity by the Board of Public Welfare. The result was that the City agreed to pay Gale's legal costs for McKillop's threatened law suit, which did not materialize.¹⁰²

In a 1919 Maclean's Magazine article, Annie Gale described the various aspects of her work as an alderman, which she obviously enjoyed. She mentioned in particular her service on the Special Hospital Committee, the Reception Committee, the Fair Prices Enquiry Committee, as well as her role on the Advisory Committee of the Market, all of which had taken considerable time and energy.¹⁰³ Business interests maintained a strong influence at city hall, but, as Max Foran notes, 'local government did become more non-partisan in outlook' in the years 1914-1920.¹⁰⁴ No doubt the election of the non-partisan Annie Gale was a reflection of this change within city politics. Foran summarized Annie Gale's efforts as a City Council member and offered an analysis of her contribution to Calgary civic government from 1918 to 1923:

Mrs. Annie Gale, the first woman elected to council, provided the best example of the changing mood of the times. Elected to council in 1918, Mrs. Gale strove to relieve social inequities by directing civic attention to food monopolies, public health matters and high food prices. Her efforts in using the civic market as a lever to bring produce prices down showed remarkable persistence and determination. ...Mrs. Gale eschewed party or class politics. Instead her call was for women to bring about necessary social reforms through political action...."I want to to offer themselves for election on all governing bodies." With her crusading zeal, and active involvement on many council investigating committees, Mrs. Gale was easily the most dynamic new element in council during this period.¹⁰⁵

Acknowledgement of Annie Gale's contribution to the city was made by Mayor Webster in a letter expressing appreciation of her "wonderful public spirit, not only as a member of the aldermanic board but in the other activities to which you have given freely of your time and energies," and told her she had "given no mean contribution to the public welfare."¹⁰⁶ During her years on city council, she still made time for some of her other community and leisure interests. For instance, she served as convenor of the Taxation committee for the Local Council of Women for 1923 and 1924,¹⁰⁷ and as the captain of her women's cricket team in 1922.¹⁰⁸ In 1924, as the last act of her Calgary political career, Mrs. Gale was elected to the Calgary Public School Board for 1925-26, where she continued to promote issues that concerned her, such as those of health care for children. However, during the first year of her term, the Gale family decided to move to Vancouver, in an attempt to improve Mr. Gale's health, so Annie tendered her resignation to the Board.

Annie Gale's character, personality, attitudes and ideals are visible through the descriptions of her political experiences, and through the article she wrote. An obviously well-educated member of the upper-middle class who received strong support from her family, Annie Gale, described as "vivacious and articulate," was obviously able to work with other women and to enlist their support in working toward needed reforms. During her years in public service, she survived personal threats and opposition to her reform proposals, aided by her sense of right and a sly sense of humor.¹⁰⁹

Prior to her moving to the coast, many tributes were paid to Mrs. Gale. A tea was arranged in her honor by representatives of various women's organizations in the city where her courage, intelligence, dependableness, and tact were some of the attributes acknowledged by various speakers. She was praised as always following her ideals and never saying unkind things about her enemies, and as always upholding the standards of womanhood. In responding, Annie Gale indicated that she had loved the work, which had been its own reward, and urged Calgary women to "unite in their work on the main issues."¹¹⁰

Annie Gale was a true feminist of her time, feeling that women had unique qualities to offer, however, her major belief and emphasis was equality of opportunity for both sexes. What was unusual, for her time, was that she carried through these beliefs, making use of her training in the volunteer sector and carrying it into the civic arena. In the process, she made a unique contribution to her adopted city. She referred to herself as a suffragette, and her strong sense of personhood was obvious. This did not, however, preclude her from carrying out the accepted female roles of wife and mother; she simply extended them, as she herself said, into the civic arena, "giving freely of her time and energies."¹¹¹

Annie Gale was the sixth woman to be elected to the Calgary Public School Board, eleven years after Annie Foote had become the first. During 1918 the second woman elected, Annie Langford, was the only woman

on the School Board, but in 1919 she was joined by another prominent Calgary woman, Mary Corse of the Typographical Auxiliary, who ran on the Trades and Labor Council slate and who served for two years.¹¹² In 1921, the year Annie Langford was elected the Board chairman, Marion Carson and Lillie Woodhall joined her on the Board.

Turning first to Elizabeth Clara "Lillie" Maddock, she was born in Ontario, of pioneer stock, and married in 1900 to Polycarp Spurgeon Woodhall. In 1902 they moved to Calgary where Mr. Woodhall was in the sheet metal business. Lillie Woodhall was the first president of the Calgary branch of the WCTU, and was particularly interested in its suffrage work. A member of the Local Council of Women, she was a member of the delegation of women who presented a petition to the premier and cabinet requesting the provincial vote for women, and was also present in the legislature when the bill was passed. Woodhall was very busy in 1921, her first year on the School Board, for she was also the president of the Local Council of Women that year, which hosted the National Council of Women meeting. Additionally, she was a charter member of the Women's Canadian Club, serving on its executive for several years, and as president in 1925. Apparently a Methodist in religion, she was described as a member of the Women's Conservative Club, while her husband was a Liberal and a Methodist. Lillie Woodhall served on the School Board for two years, 1921 and 1922.¹¹³

The second of these new 1921 trustees was Marion Carson who served for four years, from 1921 to 1924. During 1923 she was the only woman

trustee, but she was joined by a returning Annie Langford in 1924. For the next year, Langford and Gale were the two female members. Then, in 1926 Amelia Turner was elected as a trustee, again as the sole woman trustee.

A Calgary business woman who was deeply committed to socialist and social gospel ideals, Amelia Turner was born in Ontario in 1891, and came west to British Columbia with her family in 1898, moving to southern Alberta in 1903. In 1913, Amelia, having taught herself typing and shorthand, came to Calgary, securing a job as a secretary in the UFA. She then worked as a reporter for The UFA, the newspaper of the UFA organization, under editor W. Norman Smith. After the defeat of the UFA government and subsequent discontinuation of the paper, Amelia and Norman, who married in 1937, published the Western Farm Leader newspaper.¹¹⁴

Amelia Turner contested the school board election in late 1925 as a Labor candidate and was defeated. However, when a recall election was called in the spring of 1926 over the issue of free textbooks for children, she was elected. She served as a School Board Trustee for ten years, six of them as vice-chairman, and in 1934 served as the second woman School Board chairman. Amelia was keenly interested in politics, co-operatives and the labor movement, and she enjoyed a political career which spanned most of the 1920's, and half of the 1930's. She attended the founding convention of the CCF in 1932, and in 1933, was the first CCF candidate to contest an election. She always kept the needs of her

fellow-citizens at the forefront of her efforts, and made a strong contribution through the School Board to her community. She was a member of, and active in, the Unitarian church, part of a group of keen intellectuals and professional people committed to social gospel ideals.

A colleague in the socialist movement described the dignity and fine character that Amelia Turner had displayed in the provincial election which she lost, congratulated her on what she had accomplished and assured her she would be saved "heaps of worry" by being defeated.¹¹⁵ Turner was an unmarried businesswoman during the years of her political career who epitomized the contention that women were as capable as men of acting in elected positions of responsibility. A strong feminist, she had the courage of her convictions, representing a part of the political spectrum which was not always popular or appreciated.

Amelia Turner was joined on the School Board in 1927 by active community volunteer Gertrude Hindsley. Hindsley had arrived in Calgary in 1911 with her husband who was employed with Burns and Company, and later set up his own accountancy business. Gertrude was elected to the School Board for the 1927-28 term, then was re-elected twice in succession, serving six years in all. Her community activities included membership on the executive of the local branch of the Canadian Red Cross Society. Norman Hindsley contested the Calgary provincial by-election in 1933 as an independent, defeating five other candidates. Amelia Turner was a very close second. While this event is beyond the time period covered here, it does illustrate Turner's political courage, and the interaction

between some of the women in elected office, since Amelia Turner and Gertrude Hindsley were fellow School Board trustees for six years.¹¹⁶

Some of the women holding elected office were colleagues or fellow-members of a political group or party. School teacher Edith Patterson was a colleague of Amelia Smith in the labor movement, and a strong supporter during her provincial campaign.¹¹⁷ Patterson, also a single woman, was the second woman to be elected to City Council as an alderman, serving for four years. First elected for the 1927-28 term, she was re-elected for 1929-30. These were not easy years to serve in civic government. Affiliated with the Labor movement, Edith was also one of the organizers of William Irvine's Labor Church in Calgary.¹¹⁸

The first few women elected by Calgary voters to their governing bodies were unique and courageous but they were also a product of their time, and of their experiences. All had been involved in some kind of volunteer activity, from church groups to political parties, and a variety of organizations in between, and most had come from well-educated backgrounds for their day. Those who were married women apparently had the support of their husbands and families, the widowed or unmarried of their friends and colleagues. Some of the elected women had previously served in appointed office during their public careers, these appointments were an acknowledgement of their contributions to the city. They had demonstrated their concerns and capabilities in a variety of ways before they agreed to seek office. In seeking office, they were responding to a social climate which had become more open to the

candidature of women to high municipal office.

However, the candidates do not deserve all the credit for the advent of elected women on the civic stage--some must go to the women who organized and supported the assault on the previously all-male bastions. As noted previously, the Local Council of Women played a major role in finding and supporting a suitable candidate thus facilitating the 1913 School Board election victory. In later years they vacillated on such obvious partisanship, preferring to give their seal of approval to women candidates, but not a strong public endorsement. Nevertheless, since almost all of these early women candidates had held some office in or been a representative to the LCW, it can be presumed that the women's training ground and network was at work, albeit unofficially. In fact, women candidates did appeal to other women to support them and some of their strongest supporters were other prominent women. Strong cooperation between women in volunteer, appointed and elected public office also existed on many levels and across many issues.

As women moved into the civic political arena they also began to form a variety of semi-political groups through which to channel their efforts. We have noted the 1913 advent of the Women's Ratepayers Association, and in 1919, a group calling themselves the Women's Civic Committee, with Mrs. Grevette as acting chair, and Mrs. Corse as secretary, held a pre-election forum.¹¹⁹ A later note in the same paper indicated that the Women's Labor League was not the sponsor, as reported elsewhere. During the same election, three of the women candidates, (Corse, Grevette and

Gale) were alleged to have "started a counter-attack on the Citizens' Committee,"¹²⁰ one of the community political organizations, which was supporting Annie Langford as one of its candidates for School Board trustee. The article alleged that these women had been members of the Citizens' Committee, withdrawing to form their own organization when they could not dictate policy within the Citizens Committee. In a later paper, the women refuted the charges, and Annie Langford issued a statement indicating that she had not been subjected to pressure regarding her support from the Citizens' Committee, and that she accepted endorsement from any citizen or groups of citizens.¹²¹ It is impossible to determine to what degree this squabble among the women involved in the election as organizers, supporters and as candidates was inflated by the press. It does serve to illustrate, however, that the women were working hard to have other women elected, but not always in unity and harmony. Nevertheless, it also highlights the importance of the women's organized campaign support, albeit through smaller groups rather than the concentrated centralized influence of the LCW.

"Loyal combination," of smaller or larger proportions, still appeared necessary for women to gain election, well into the decade of the 1920's. We have seen this "loyal combination" in the women's organizations discussed in chapter one, in the support of women leaders who were appointed to public office or were in the forefront of employed and professional women as described in chapter two. But this cooperation makes its largest contribution in the efforts expended to find suitable women candidates and ensure their election. Yet it must be noted that

there were only a few women who were prepared to place themselves under the public scrutiny which candidacy, and possible election, involved. From the advent of the first school board trustee in 1914, until the end of the 1920s, a total of eight different women were elected as trustees. City Council representation was much poorer: from Annie Gale's election for the 1918 term, until 1929 only two women, Gale and Edith Patterson were elected as aldermen. A third, Pansy Pue served her first term in 1930. One woman served as School Board chairman during this time period (Langford), and one of those serving as a trustee during this period subsequently was elected chairman (Turner). But those who did contest elections and then served ably and well in office, opened electoral opportunities to all the women of Calgary.

Those first women candidates, who then became trustees, hospital board members and aldermen, helped to enlarge the social perception of what women should and could aspire to, and made a unique contribution to all the women of the city, forerunners of the many women who today are members of civic boards and committees. Each one, in her own way, displayed a singular courage in moving into the male-dominated systems and structures of civic government. They were gracious in defeat, generous in victory, and concerned that other women should see the opportunities and areas open to their service. In the process of thus stepping forward into public life, they made a significant contribution to the political life and social history of Calgary.

FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER THREE

1. GAI-Annie Foote papers (hereafter GAI-AF), a newspaper clipping entitled "Miss Foote Candidate For School Trustee" and labelled Calgary, 1913, no source indicated; date must be after Nov.14th, 1913.
2. Albertan, Nov.25, 1913.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., Nov.27, 1913.
5. Ibid., Nov.25, 1913.
6. Ibid.
7. City Clerk's papers, then at GAI, Box 68, ff.566.; wording from signed "Oath of Qualification for Members of Council," Dec.26, 1913.
8. GAI-AF clipping of tribute article from Ontario paper, datelined Elora, Ont. Dec6th, 1945, telling of Annie Foote's death.
9. Macgregor, Blue Book p.55.
10. Telegram Nov.15, 1913 p.27.
11. GAI-AF clipping (see no.1).
12. Ibid.
13. Albertan, Nov.25, 1913.
14. Ibid.
15. Herald, Nov.26, 1913.
16. Ibid., Dec.1, 1913.
17. Ibid., and Calgary Public School Board, Secretary's papers, list of Board trustees and years of service.
18. Telegram, Nov.20, 1913.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid., Nov.22, 1913; Nov.26, 1913.
21. Ibid., Dec.2, 1913.
22. Herald, Nov.25, 1913.
23. Albertan, Dec. 5, 1913 This spelling is consistent in this editorial, but does not appear elsewhere.

24. Telegram, Dec.5, 1913.
25. Albertan, Dec.6, 1913.
26. Telegram, Dec.6, 1913.
27. Herald, Dec.6, 1913.
28. Albertan, Dec.8, 1913.
29. Ibid., Dec.10, 1913.
30. Herald, Dec.9, 1913.
31. Ibid., Dec.10, 1913.
32. Telegram, Dec.9, 1913.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., Dec.10, 1913.
35. Ibid., Dec.11, 1913.
36. Ibid., Dec.13, 1913.
37. CPSB minutes, Feb.10, 1914, microfiche p. 290(hereafter mf.p.) The other committees were Buildings, Finance and Supply.
38. Ibid., Oct.9, 1914 (mf.p.396) and Dec.12, 1914, (mf.p.436).
39. Ibid., Nov.10, 1914, (mf.p.406) report of Nov.7th joint committee meeting, reported to regular Board meeting.
40. Ibid., July 14, 1914 (mf.p.367), and trustee lists.
41. Ibid., March 10, 1914 (mf.p.306).
42. Ibid., Jan.12, 1915, (mf.p.24).
43. Ibid., Feb.9, 1915, (mf.p.53).
44. Ibid., May 11, 1915, (mf.p.165).
45. Herald, Nov.27, 1917.
46. Ibid., Dec.12, 1917.
47. Telegram, Oct.6, 1916. One of the topics to be dealt with was "Women in Political Life." Other prominent women involved were L. Woodhall, E. Kerby, A. Jamieson and A. Langford.

48. Herald, Dec.10, 1917.
49. Ibid., Dec.4, 1917.
50. Telegram, Dec.2, 1913.
51. Herald, Dec.9, 1913.
52. Judith Lishman, "Alderman Mrs. Annie Gale," privately printed, Ottawa, Ont., 1985 by Sheila Graham, Annie Gale's granddaughter. pp.1-3.
53. Ibid.
54. The GAI-Annie Gale papers(hereafter GAI-AG) include a set of clippings with some notations made by her son Henry, the donor, and an undated typed copy of a five-page article, written in the first person, giving Annie's own views on various aspects of her volunteer concerns and activities and work as an alderman. This appears to be the typescript for the Maclean's Magazine article of Sept. 1919, which contains almost identical wording, except for a short introduction and conclusion. The typescript will hereafter be referred to as GAI-AG Typscr. p.1.
55. Ibid., pp.2,3.
56. Ibid., pp.1,2.
57. Max Foran, "The Civic Corporation," p.224.
58. GAI-AG, Typscr. p.2 and clippings.
59. Telegram, Sept.6, 1916.
60. GAI-AG Typscr. p.3.
61. Ibid., p.4.
62. GAI-AG clippings, probably March 14, 1917.
63. GAI-AG Typscr. p.3 and Lishman, p.12.
64. GAI-AG Typscr. p.3.
65. Ibid., p.2.
66. Herald, Nov.5,8, 1915 as quoted in Foran, "The Civic Corporation," p.180.
67. Family Herald, article by Elizabeth Bailey Price, Aug.16, 1922.
68. Herald, Dec.3, 1917.

69. Ibid., Nov.27, 1917.
70. Foran, "The Civic Corporation," p.183.
71. Herald, Nov.28, 1917.
72. Ibid., Dec.1, 1917.
73. Ibid., Dec.8, 1917.
74. Ibid., Nov.27,28, 1917.
75. Ibid., Nov.29, 1917, Nov.27 or 28?, 1917.
76. Ibid., Dec.5, 1917.
77. Lishman, "Alderman Mrs. Gale," p.17.
78. GAI-AG clippings file.
79. Herald, Dec.7, 1917.
80. Ibid., Dec.11, 1917.
81. Ibid., Dec.12, 1917.
82. Macgregor, Blue Book, pp.2,5; GAI-AG clippings file, including Price article, Aug.16, 1922.
83. GAI-AG Typscr. p.4.
84. Weekly Herald, Aug.16, 1922, Price article.
85. City Clerk's papers, Market Advisor's report, July 15, 1918, with City Council minutes of Aug.5, 1918, p.3.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., Market Advisor's report, Sept.13,1918, p.3, with Sept.16, 1918 minutes, p.3.
88. Foran, "The Civic Corporation," pp.250,251.
89. Ibid., p.252.
90. Lishman, "Alderman Mrs. Gale," p.26.
91. Ibid., pp.30-32.
92. Herald, Dec.9, 1919.
93. Ibid., Nov.10. 1919.

94. Ibid., Nov.18, 1919.
95. Ibid., Nov.19, 1919 p.14.
96. Ibid., Nov.21, 1919.
97. Lishman, "Alderman Mrs. Gale," p.42.
98. Ibid., p.43.
99. GAI-AG clippings and Lishman, "Alderman Mrs. Gale," p.33.
100. Lishman, p.48.
101. GAI John Ford papers, currently being catalogued, letterhead of Dominion Labor Party.
102. Lishman, "Alderman Mrs. Gale," pp.49,50.
103. Maclean's Magazine, September, 1919.
104. Foran, "The Civic Corporation," p.180.
105. Ibid., p.181,182.
106. GAI-AG, letter Mayor Geo. H. Webster to Annie Gale, Dec.19, 1923.
107. GAI-LCW, yearbooks, 1923,1924, Annual Meeting minutes, Jan.24, 1924, p.126.
108. School Board files, Glenbow photo archives.
109. GAI-AG, including Price article.
110. Ibid.
111. GAI-AG Webster letter.
112. Herald Nov.23, 1918.
113. Macrae, History of the Province of Alberta, pp.926,927.
114. GAI-W. Norman Smith papers, Amelia Turner Smith sections(hereafter GAI-ATS) A S663 XII. This reference ff.215.
115. GAI-ATS letter from Edith Patterson.
116. School Board Secretary papers, list of School Board trustees.
117. GAI-ATS Patterson letter.
118. Allen, Social Passion, p.165.

119. Herald, Dec.9, 1919.

120. Ibid., Dec.4, 1919.

121. Ibid. Dec.5, 1919.

CONCLUSION

The Calgary women discussed in this study were part of a continental movement out of the purely domestic to the public sphere of influence. That they were able to contemplate such a step, much less accomplish it, owes much to the social climate of the early years of the twentieth century. The progressive and social gospel movements which captivated people across North America were accompanied by several women's reform movements, including feminism, the drive for women's suffrage, and a specific form of "focussed" feminism--what has been labelled and described here as maternal feminism. The gradual acceptance by society of the viability of at least some of the reform movements, and the acceptance by women, even those with strongly-held basic egalitarian beliefs, of the maternal feminist doctrine set the scene for women's entry into roles of public and community responsibility. Such entry into the public domain was seen, in this context, as an extension of women's domestic duties.

The frontier boomtown of Calgary was a fitting setting for some of the pioneer women's progress into wider public involvement. As we have seen, there were few deeply established social norms and practices, since the new community was barely twenty-five years old by 1910. There were few rigid established social conventions and considerable social fluidity and class mobility. Wealth, or, at least visible prosperity, acquired during the expansion of the frontier economy of the young city enabled many businessmen to move into upper-middle class society, accompanied by

their wives and families. It was also true, however, that many people who came West were accustomed to life in at least the upper-middle class, especially members of the professions such as doctors, lawyers, engineers and clergymen who came hopefully to make their fortunes, or serve the citizens of this new western city. By the end of the nineteen twenties, the upper-middle class was more strongly delineated as wealth and professional prestige brought recognition and elite social status, within the community. Some of the women discussed here would certainly be considered members of the civic elite, if we can judge, for instance, by the social and women's pages of the newspapers of the day. Alice Jamieson and Kate Underwood, as wives of city mayors, Maude Riley as the wife of a provincial official and then MLA, Annie Langford and Emily Kerby as the wives of local clergymen, all had the status of their husbands attributed to them, placing them in the upper-middle class elite of the city. Marion Carson, Lillie Woodhall and Gertrude Hindsley all reflected the status of their successful businessmen husbands. The anomalies were those such as Ethel McKillop who could, by background and marriage to a clergyman, have taken on such status, and Marion Carson who, along with Annie Gale, never lost her sympathy for labouring people.

As well as a more accepting social climate, a comfortable economic and social background, most of the women studied here had much in common by way of personal qualities, experience and social backgrounds. Many, if not most, were well-educated, some as professionals such as teachers, doctors, musicians, others with university or private school educations,

uncommon for women of the time. They reflected a background that also emphasized their social accomplishments and concern for others, all of which engendered strong feelings of self-worth. Although their actual origins ranged from England, to Ontario and the United States, that innate sense of their own capabilities and even possibilities seems to have been common to all of these women, even though it may have been latent until they ventured into the public view.

Single women, such as teachers Foote and Coutts no doubt found it easier to both maintain their professional role and work in the community since they did not have to conform to the pressure to concentrate on the domestic roles of wife and mother. Married women did have to contend with this social pressure and, in order to move successfully into the public arena, must have had the support of their husbands and families. Even if they had help in their homes, all women of the time were accustomed to performing domestic duties, and this kept them attuned to those women who had neither the time nor the economic resources to escape the home. The married women discussed here carried out their domestic duties and had "careers" or vocations, paid or unpaid, outside their homes, as well. Two examples of such careers can be seen in the lives of Maude Riley and Ethel McKillop, both "charitable" women whose concerns for others took different directions. Riley's was that of community volunteer who gained enough power to enable her to bring about systemic change in health and welfare areas of the city life, McKillop's was as an unpaid co-missionary along side her husband in both church and charitable endeavours, and then for many years as a paid Secretary for

their charitable agency. Here we see two versions of the charity mentioned above: in McKillop the old-fashioned dispenser of largess, helper of the unfortunate, in Riley the newer-style crusader for system and attitudinal change. It is ironic that two of the women who most strongly supported the concept of women's paramount role as wife and mother in the home were themselves career women, though not acknowledged as such.

As has been seen in the progression or process of the women's movement into public life, through organizations, employment and appointed office to actual elected office, another type of support was also extremely important--that of their emerging support for each other in their common tasks. Recognition must be given here to the first organizations in which women honed their organizational skills, particularly the churches and their women's organizations. Several of these women were daughters of clergy members' families, three were wives of clergy, and most of them were active in some way or another in support of their own religious denomination. Mainline Protestants were in the majority, but both ends of this denominational spectrum were evident -the conservative and the liberal-labour. It therefore seems possible to presume that part of what both drove and enabled early Calgary women leaders was their individual and deep commitment to their Christian religious beliefs.

When their skills and organizational competence became obvious not only to their fellow women, but also to the city population at large, and when the opportunities to seek public office were presented, these women

proved capable of meeting the political challenge. It is obvious that some of the exceptional leadership exercised by women such as Alice Jamieson, was in the choice of needs to be met, wrongs to be addressed, and also in the orchestration of public acceptance. When elected public office was open to them, capable women were ready, and a suitable candidate, retired schoolteacher Annie Foote was nominated, and strong efforts were expended to get her elected and re-elected. Four years later, an appropriate aldermanic candidate, capable and ambitious, in the person of Annie Gale, was put forward and elected, and again the support of other women was crucial in this success. The electoral successes of Foote and Gale were owed also in no small measure to the leadership efforts of women such as Alice Jamieson, who never ran for public office.

The years 1910-30 thus saw a steady trickle of women into influential organizations, employment and appointed and elected office, but at no time could it be called overwhelming or threatening to the social and political power of male Calgarians. After many years of speaking to and through elected representatives, of lobbying and making representations to various levels of government about needed changes such as those in the area of health regulations, some changes and improvements did come about. As with the aftermath of women's suffrage, the maternal feminists had to accept the result of their social philosophy: women, in reasonable but nowhere equal numbers, were accepted into public life for the contributions they could make, especially those requiring maternal, female qualities, but true equality of voice and opportunity continued

to elude them.

But what of those women whose capabilities and courage, ambition and persistence made them the leaders of the movement of women seeking equal roles in Calgary? Having tasted some power and prestige, they must have felt disappointed that they were not followed by an ever-expanding number of recruits into public service. As well as the power of the entrenched male network, they also faced the return of many male servicemen after the war. While the war brought difficulties and sorrow, it also brought opportunities for women to take employment outside their homes, filling in for men who went to war. But with the return of the veterans came the pressure to return to the domestic woman's role, a social pressure not designed to accelerate equality for women. During the more conservative era of the 1920's, advancement of women proved to be a slow and disappointing process.

Life in Calgary for all citizens, especially women, was enhanced as a result of women's entry into public life and elected office in the years from 1910-30. From the home-away-from-home at the YWCA, to the cheaper and better produce available at the market, to the provisions of women police officers, and many other needed reforms and amenities, the early women leaders made a vital contribution to the improvement of civic life. Male citizens and civic leaders at times reacted strongly to intense, detailed scrutiny by women's groups and their leaders, but Calgary's citizenry generally benefitted from improved health care living and working conditions and a more humane approach to those in

need. To bring about these changes many women, few of whose names Calgarians would today later recognize, gave freely of their abilities and their "time and energies" to make Calgary a better city in which to live.

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