

WOMEN CARING
for KAMLOOPS
1890 – 1975

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PREFACE

This book attempts to fill a major gap in Kamloops history. In the last decade there have been some important publications on the city's past but more studies are required to reveal the contributions of large sectors of the population. In essence, men have been given credit for shaping the community and the intent of this study is to shift the balance by acknowledging women's role in moulding societal values, developing community goals and providing essential services.

The purpose of this study is to track the evolution of women's volunteer associations and document the important contributions they made in caring for Kamloops. The associations selected demonstrate women's caring in the fields of health, culture, education, social assistance for the poor, and the welfare of the community during times of crises. The work of women caring for the community that began in the pioneer period continues to the present and remains an integral part of our community.

Women's volunteer associations can be found in every province and often have similar goals. This book therefore takes into account national and provincial associations to evaluate trends in women's history. While Kamloops women's volunteer associations shared many of the same objectives and adopted similar strategies to improve our community, local disparities made their history unique. To capture their true objectives, struggles and success they need to be studied from a local perspective.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction: Volunteer Associations From the Era of Individualism to the Welfare State

In 1949, it was estimated that well over a thousand women were involved in volunteer organizations, an impressive number for a small town.

Meryl Matthews

“Women themselves recognized the need to transpose their vision of a more caring society into the creation of services for women and children.”

Carol Baines

After a ten year lapse the Kamloops Council of Women felt local social issues in 1977 warranted its re-establishment. In many ways the Council was representative of women’s volunteer work as it acted as an umbrella group for a wide cross section of women from church groups, service clubs, auxiliaries and charitable clubs. The *Kamloops News* “thought it was right on track in becoming a vehicle through which local women may voice their concerns and study area problems.” What it failed to note is that the Council of Women had been “right on track” nationally since 1893 and locally since 1933. Each generation of women faced major social issues and in the 1970s high priority concerns included day care facilities, education, health services, women’s low income, and human rights for women. At the organizational meetings it was agreed that these were complex problems to tackle and the Council would have its work cut out for it but they would rise to the challenge. As one member succinctly summarized, “But someone has to try —nobody’s doing it for us.”¹

In Kamloops and throughout Canada, two major groups of women’s organizations attempted to improve the quality of life within their communities. The first major group incorporated middle class associations that historically had religious affiliations and who often brought their concern for morality into action. The second group constituted secular organizations who were generally motivated by the need to improve living, sanitary, and

health conditions in their community. By 1912 it was estimated that one out of every eight women in Canada belonged to a women's organization and the majority were local groups dedicated to improving the quality of their community. Their importance has been recognized by numerous studies of national, provincial and large city associations but more research on small communities is required to reveal different perspectives and the impact of localism on their endeavours. Local problems and issues were the driving force for women's agency and this provides a new approach to understanding volunteerism. In Kamloops, women were not always motivated by maternal feminist beliefs and tactics; instead they were driven to curb problems created by a new frontier town environment and to create a viable infrastructure for themselves and for future generations.

The Thompson region and the community of Kamloops were unique in their historical, economic, social, cultural and political experience and created different responses. In his review of the evolving meanings of region in Canada, Gerald Friesen, for example, has argued that "those who wish to understand the region should not forget place and history in order to come to terms with its continuing relevance."² While women's associations in Kamloops were a part of national and provincial associations and influenced by them, they also set their own path. Within the city there were many women's organizations within both major categories but due to limitations of space they cannot all be incorporated into this study. These organizations included church groups such as the Women's Missionary Society, Catholic League, Women's Business and Professional Association, fraternities like the Excelsior Rebekah Lodge, Ladies' Orange Benevolent Association, Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, Pythian sisters, Order of the Eastern Star, (Masons), Order of the Royal Purple, (Elks), auxiliaries to men's groups like Kinette Club, (Kinsmen), Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Great War Veterans, self-help groups in the form of Women's Institutes, charitable associations like the Salvation Army, Soldiers' Comfort Club and numerous other groups.

The diversity of local women's volunteer societies and the strong leadership provided by women stands out. Their presidents and executive members often acquired a social status comparable to male politicians, businessmen, and professionals. While most societies were organized by middle class women, their histories reveal a heavy reliance

on all sectors of society in order to carry out their campaigns. The work they did for material, spiritual, intellectual, and cultural development as well as their promotion of social reform to assist women, children, the poor, sick, and elderly all merit praise. In 1949 Meryl Matthews, a reporter for the *Kamloops Sentinel* and activist noted that there were forty-four recorded women's auxiliaries, lodges, service and social groups in the city and more women were also involved in mixed gender groups such as the Red Cross, the Cancer Society, the PTA, the Little Theatre Club, and others. She estimated that well over a thousand women were involved in these organizations, an impressive number for a small town.³ To reveal women's contributions to caring for Kamloops a few organizations from those with religious affiliations and secular groups were selected to disclose the main themes and their evolution from the frontier period to the 1970s. Among the former, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the Young Women's Christian Association were chosen while the secular organizations to be examined include the Hospital Women's Aid Society, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital, the Red Cross, and the Council of Women. All of these organizations were extremely important to the lives and well-being of Kamloops citizens. Collectively, their histories reveal the significant stages of community development from an era when the provision of social services was reliant on volunteer action to a modern state-based welfare system.

Throughout the settlement period and into the twentieth century Kamloops women's organizations provided essential services for the health and well-being of the community. Not only did they take care of Kamloops, they helped shape its social and cultural framework through their support of arts and cultural organizations by promoting the establishment of vital community institutions like libraries, museums, art galleries, and parks. Despite their central importance to the history and development of Kamloops and improvement in the quality of life, women have not been given sufficient attention and credit by historians and society in general. Part of this neglect stems from the general societal belief that if work is not waged it is of little importance. Like domestic work, women's volunteer efforts have been greatly undervalued. Often it is assumed that caring is a natural attribute belonging to women and is their responsibility. As mothers, daughters, wives, nurses, teachers, and community volunteers, they were expected to do the work of caring. It has become so highly gendered as feminine that caring according to

Carol Baines has been “perceived as an embedded part of women’s identity.”⁴ In reality, they became active agents in developing the community because the existing social system failed to provide proper care for its citizens.

Women’s activism was at the forefront of the community and typically it fell upon them to provide the necessary social services and even when the State became more interventionist and began to employ professional experts it still called on volunteer groups to assist it. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Canada remained in the pre-professional era and social organization relied heavily on the unpaid work of women’s associations. They were the main care givers as the State maintained an individualist philosophy and a poor law mentality that ensured that social services remained in a primitive condition.

Provincially the government retained a residualist attitude and left health, education, and social welfare to municipalities. From its point of view it fulfilled its responsibility by providing grants to municipalities, charity organizations, hospitals and schools. Under constant pressure from reform groups and women’s organizations, the provincial government gradually passed social legislation like the minimum wage laws, workmen’s compensation and mothers’ pension plan. The Great Depression also forced the government to become more concerned with welfare and culture and in the 1940s major legislation introduced a comprehensive Social Assistance Act, a Department of Health and Welfare, social housing, income security, and a provincial hospital insurance plan. Collectively, this shifted responsibility from municipalities to the provincial government and necessarily led to the development of more departments and the professionalization of services and staff. Despite the State’s expansion, Kamloops women’s organizations remained important contributors to the community’s social and cultural development. In reality, the women in these organizations were the social service and cultural providers before the province created a professional corp of social workers and bureaucrats to administer welfare and culture and therefore remained important providers of service during this transition.⁵

Many thought that the great expansion in the welfare state would lead to the demise of volunteer community groups but the opposite proved to be true. Only a few groups in Kamloops like the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and the Council of

Women failed to make the transition. Others grew in number and adapted to work with government agencies and obtained funding to meet new social needs and provide more services. Governments in the post-war era generally accepted social welfare liberalism and used volunteer groups to expand services that were low priority for them or that they were incapable of providing. For a period there was an expansion of volunteer work but the rise of neo-conservatism and market based economics in the mid-eighties changed government's relations with volunteer groups. This led to a shifting of responsibility from the government to third parties that actually increased the services required from volunteer groups. The downside of this government approach was an accompanying decline in funding for social welfare community agencies and increased pressure on volunteer groups to provide needed services. Many volunteer groups found the off-loading of social services to the community made it difficult to meet the increasing social needs and when combined with a decrease in government funding it became difficult to operate.⁶ Nonetheless, Kamloops volunteerism remained unshakeable and again it increased to counter the rising tide of social problems. Kamloops as a small town and now a small city still retains a strong sense of neighbourliness and responds quickly and generously to local needs.

The histories of these associations also map women's entry into the social organization of the Kamloops community and its public and political life. To evaluate their initiatives, action, and accomplishments, they need to be compared to women's efforts within national and provincial associations and larger communities. Specifically, what this reveals is that women became involved in important social activity at a time when the dominant social culture assigned women to a domestic role. These comparisons also provide a unique opportunity to investigate whether the social attitudes of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century were more defined and restrictive within smaller communities like Kamloops than in larger centers of population. One of the paradoxes that become evident in frontier and settlement communities was that women were both socially confined and offered greater freedoms at the same time. Kamloops had a definite Anglo-Canadian patriarchal culture that controlled politics, commerce and societal values that placed women in the domestic sphere. At the same time, the new environment still allowed for greater social mobility and opportunities for women

like Alice Mara, Antoinette Saucier, Winnifred Fulton, Eleanor Potter, Violet Lee, Mary Spencer, Emily Beattie, Edith Fitzwater, and Lena Corey to become recognized figures in the community. Often like women in larger cities they joined women's associations out of social duty but they also responded to local social, health, cultural and service problems. In frontier and settlement communities, men generally viewed these issues as feminine concerns and deliberately stayed away from them.⁷ The histories of the Kamloops' Hospital Women's Aid Society, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital, the Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, the Red Cross, the Council of Women, and the Young Women's Christian Association reveal responses similar to larger cities and associations but they were also reacting to the specific needs of a small community. Overall, they were the principal instruments for breaking free of cultural restraints, caring for the community, and providing women with the opportunity to become a force within the city.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND WOMEN'S MOTIVATION

In order to place Kamloops' volunteer associations into their historical context, a brief account of the national situation is necessary. Since the late nineteenth century, women's volunteer work became a part of a national reform movement that enabled them to use maternal feminism to obtain their objectives. While this volunteer movement has at times been identified as evidence that women did not have "a public component and no impact upon the judgment and development of community affairs," Naomi Griffiths dismisses this interpretation as it fails to acknowledge that women "have always had a public voice through their work for the social and cultural welfare of the communities in which they lived."⁸ The reform movement gave them the opportunity to break out of the roles assigned to them by the accepted domestic ideology and claim a space in the public sphere. For women, the domestic ideology was a major societal constraint but it eventually became the key to obtaining a public voice. Imported to Canada as part of the cultural baggage of English immigrants, it stressed the middle class woman's role in the maintenance of family respectability and the home and thereby placed them into a separate feminine sphere. Reinforced by the English evangelical religious values of the late eighteenth century, this ideology sought to create a new national morality. The

position of women in the family was central in this attempt to reconstruct the morals and manners of society. It viewed the home as the best place to curb all the evils of the new urbanization and industrialization and designated women as the guardians of the home and family: she was the “angel in the house” who would regenerate the morality of the nation. Throughout the nineteenth century this domestic ideology became entrenched within English and later Canadian society. The growth of evangelicalism, the dominance of middle class values and the growth of a commercial society that separated the home from work were the principal reasons for the establishment of a domestic ideology and separate spheres concepts. In Canada, its impact was delayed until the latter part of the nineteenth century.⁹

The first wave of feminism in the nineteenth century at first challenged and then adapted this dominant ideology in order to gain women’s place in the public sphere. This goal was achieved in stages and women’s volunteer organizations were a major part of its history. In Canada, the need for reform stemmed from the major transformations being experienced by society in the late nineteenth century. Rapid industrialization, urbanization and massive immigration with the accompanying issues of urban slums, unemployment, poverty, child labour, poor sanitation, the drink problem, and other public health concerns awakened a new social responsibility. Middle and upper class men and women, particularly members of the Protestant church, spearheaded a new social reform gospel. Faced with immense social problems and scientific and historical criticism of the Bible, the church responded by emphasizing the social regeneration of society. Christians felt that they had to regain lost ground by taking on a leadership role as social reformers. This social gospel movement emphasized Christianity as a social religion. Like its eighteenth century English counterpart, the church required women’s assistance and agency to initiate social evangelism.¹⁰ It was not the men who pushed them into social action; instead women who were the most active part of congregations frequently took the lead in finding remedies for social problems.

Prior to World War II a dominant problem according to social reformers was that British Columbia was the least religious province in Canada. The blame was generally directed at the higher percentage of single young men particularly in resource, railway, and agricultural areas. In reality, census material for 1901 indicated that gender was not

the determining factor for secularism in British Columbia as the province had a higher incidence of atheism among single and married women than Ontario men.¹¹ Lacking historical hindsight, evangelicals only saw men as the problem and the need for reform appeared urgent. The urban reform movement initiated by social gospel followers was according to Mariana Valverde's research closely tied in with "the self-styled social purity movement which along with temperance and Sunday observance helped to constitute a powerful if informal coalition for moral regeneration of the state, civil society, the family and the individual." Often the same people and groups were involved but "while the focus of the social gospel activity was the economy and the social relations arising from production, social purity focused on the sexual and moral aspects of social life."¹² This coincided with the goals of groups like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, (WCTU) and the National Council of Women of Canada, (NCW).

Motives other than Christian ethics also have to be considered. The success of the suffrage campaign energized women to seek better laws for the protection of women and children. The Vancouver New Era League, the Vancouver Council of Women and later members of the Commonwealth Co-operative Federation (CCF) like Dorothy Gretchen Steeves and Grace MacInnis adopted a more secular approach and pushed for political solutions to the economic and social problems facing women and children. As Carol Baines noted, "Women themselves recognized the need to transpose their vision of a more caring society into the creation of services for women and children."¹³ Their social duty was matched by their capability. With increased wealth, leisure, and a declining birth rate, middle and upper class women now had sufficient resources to pressure governments to initiate social reforms in housing, health coverage and education. They became part of the movement that attempted to find solutions to the problems of industrial and urban growth.

Because the focus of their organizations was to provide essential services for the health and well-being of families and children in the community, these women have often been categorized as maternal feminists. While this is an acceptable description, it is necessary to go beyond general labels and the usual institutional histories of these associations to reveal the more individualistic motives for women's entry into civic affairs. A closer analysis is required to determine the role of agency in stimulating their

involvement. Sociologists like Anthony Giddens and others have argued that individuals have the power to shape their society. Instead of being helpless victims of social circumstances, individuals are capable of achieving change by “selfhood, motivation, will, purposiveness, intentionality, choice, initiative, freedom and creativity.”¹⁴ The personal histories of the women involved in these Kamloops organizations like Winnifred Fulton, Edith Fitzwater, Helen Millward, Joyce Sowerby, Mary Hedley, Lois Hollstedt and others reveal their strong motivations, will, selfhood and strengths. Some of these women took their volunteerism to another stage of activism by running for and holding civic offices. Important incentives for social participation in groups included religious and moral convictions, status, comradeship, social conscience, altruism, and personal satisfaction in their accomplishments. They expressed their individuality, freedom, and creativity within these organizations.¹⁵ Nonetheless, they still remained constrained by the dominant patriarchal cultural values even until the 1970s.

In the frontier and settlement period, Kamloops women volunteers rarely overtly challenged existing gender relations but by the early twentieth century they often spoke out for the need for greater equality and representation for women. Within the province, Helen Gregory MacGill and Helena Gutteridge became well known activists and leaders of the suffrage movement. Later in the Post World War II era, particularly the 1960s and 1970s, both a greater secularization of associations with religious affiliation and a transformation to modernism occurred as women expressed their agency through their associations to improve their lives and society.¹⁶ From one point of view, their success in this type of activism can be viewed as counter-productive as it tended to diminish their ambition to hold public office. The comfortable environments within volunteer organizations gave them the ability to gain a stronger voice than through the existing male dominated political parties that relegated them to auxiliary assistants. On the other hand, a broader definition of politics than simply office holding demonstrates that their organizations enabled them to shape and impact the political world without holding public office. Direct action to achieve specific improvements in the social and cultural life of the community was their primary tactic. With politics defined in this broader context, the entry of women into public office in Kamloops and other communities was not as high a priority and was a slow process. Men might bring about social change

through politics while women affected social policy through voluntary action. For many women in these groups they already felt that they were accomplishing change within the existing political system.¹⁷ Other women, however, emphasized the power of lobbying and direct political involvement and, in Kamloops, Margaret Macnab, Helen Millward, Meryl Matthews, Joyce Sowerby, and Lois Hollstedt challenged the old stereotypes of domesticity, attacked chauvinism, and pursued election to public offices.

THE KAMLOOPS EXPERIENCE

Another issue to take into account was the uniqueness of the Kamloops experience. Its local history and that of women's associations was determined by a sense of place. This did not just consist of the geographic and political boundaries that defined the region. Historians now view regions as being cultural constructions that change over time. In her research on Pacific Northwest Coast religion and irreligion, Tina Block emphasized the importance of place in establishing the region's secularism and quotes John Agnew, a geographer who aptly defines its relevance to this study. Agnew remarks that place "represents the encounter of people with other people and things in space. It refers to how everyday life is inscribed in space and takes on meaning for specified groups of people and organizations."¹⁸ Katherine Morrissey's study of the Inland Empire surrounding Spokane and Patricia Nelson Limerick's observations on "Region and Reason" add to this theme. Morrissey notes that "While territorial politicians and environmental circumstances influence the shape of regions, the boundaries that govern the residents are those they draw themselves. Perceptual regions are created and developed in people's minds." Nelson Limerick maintains that "regions are much more the creations of human thought and behavior than they are products of nature."¹⁹ Local historians like Mary and Ruth Balf, Ken Favrholt, Elisabeth Duckworth, Susan Cross and Wayne Norton as well as B.C. historian Margaret Ormsby all comment on how each generation of citizens who lived in the area created their own images of their environment. Kamloops, for example, changed from a fur trade post dominated by the Hudson Bay Company to the "commercial hub" of the interior with the coming of the CPR. By 1911 the city boosters made it the "Pacific Treasure Chest" and during the interwar period the Board of Trade promoted it as a health resort and tourist area based in the Heart of British

Columbia's Inland Empire. In the post-World War era it continued to advertize itself as a tourist area but by the 1960s it transformed to a city based on resource industries. Throughout these changes in image one constant theme was that of progress symbolized by the city logo and coat-of-arms that was designed in 1911. The logo, "Salus et Opes," Latin for Health and Wealth and the coat-of-arms with beavers, rivers, fish, a bull, and a winged railway wheel symbolized its history and expectations for the future. These images created by civic leaders, businessmen and developers were obvious boosterism and to find the real image recent researchers on Kamloops' culture like Rachael Nash, Will Garrett-Petts, Donald Lawrence and David MacLennan argue that you have to look at a "more vernacular sense of place." The values held by the people rather than city hall and other institutions provide a better insight into the community.²⁰ Boosterism didn't solve the city's social, cultural and health problems and women's volunteer associations stepped in to remedy these issues and were significant community builders.

While the majority of local women's organizations were connected to either provincial or national associations, it should not be assumed that they all acted in a similar manner to existing social issues and problems. Although Kamloops may have transformed itself from a rural town to a small city within this period, it still retained distinctive features that separated it from larger cities. Women's associations developed and were shaped by local conditions that made their objectives and for the most part their activities different from other communities. For example, the social and cultural impact of a smaller population placed more emphasis on social and status ranking, connections between individuals, caring, neighbourliness, social pressure, and local cultural customs. By the 1890s its colonial sense of place was established with its hierarchies, Anglo-Canadian culture and class structure. Some women, like Annie McQueen found the social conventions already too limiting and chose to teach at the smaller community of Nicola because "I am freer here than I could be in Kamloops."²¹ In the more settled town environment she felt she could not be herself. On the other hand, once outside the restrictions of elite society, the new environment of Kamloops still permitted greater freedom to be independent and to achieve goals more easily than in the more established regions of Canada.

The women's organizations that developed in Kamloops reflect this dichotomy

and require independent analysis to understand their uniqueness and difference to other associations. Some like the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital, (LARIH) had an elite membership but at the same time were fiercely independent and determined to help resolve the health issues that were more problematic than in other parts of the province due to the growth of the town and expansion of the population in the large region the hospital served. Another example is the Red Cross Guild's restriction of membership to single women that made it exceptional to the norm. These young women fulfilled



*Kamloops, 1891, as seen from West End hillside.
Image 5850 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

their patriotic duty during the Great War by doing full-time work and volunteering. Its successor, the Red Cross Society was more conventional in its membership but it was also motivated by local concerns about the lack of health services particularly that for women and babies, and by issues of poverty. Similarly, it was local conditions such as the

“wild and wooly” boom town environment of pre-World War I Kamloops with its rough single male culture of drinking, gambling and prostitution that led local women to form a branch of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union. One visitor to Kamloops, Harold McCracken, described the Canadian Northern construction workers he encountered on the streets in 1913 as “the roughest of all elements of humanity, the riffraff and the unholy.”²² Two other associations, the Kamloops Council of Women (KCW) and the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) again sprang from women’s agency and determination to improve conditions in this continually evolving place. While influenced by affiliations with provincial and national associations, the lack of local health and social services and cultural amenities underlay women’s motives and their participation in community affairs.

Women’s associations need to be placed in their local context to understand their differences to other groups and to reveal their unique history. Each generation of women had strong commitments to the Kamloops’ region and made their own decisions as to what activities they pursued. This sense of place was succinctly described by Meryl Matthews in an interview when she proclaimed that she was “proud of Kamloops.” “I like Kamloops” and “Never wanted to move from Kamloops.” “I have everything here.”²³ She was involved in numerous women’s associations’ projects and through her role as city councillor initiated numerous improvements in the community.

FEMINISM, VOLUNTEERISM AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

From our present perspective, it would be easy to construct an account of women progressively moving from the private to the public sphere. This portrayal of women overcoming oppression by a patriarchal culture is too simplistic as it places women into the role of victims and minimizes their agency. Outside social pressures, however, did exist and led women to express themselves and their feminist concerns in diverse ways. Some feared public criticism for their actions and used the protective veils of religion and morality to care for those who needed help in the community. Others more openly attacked social injustice and feminine stereotypes by demanding the vote and equality.²⁴ Until recently, historians generally placed women’s community activity into either the maternal or equal rights feminist camps. Maternal feminists were depicted as remaining

in a more traditional domestic stance but out of necessity they carried their nurturing and caring into the public sphere. Social feminists, on the other hand, were regarded as women who not only demanded a public place through legal and political reform but also attempted to break down the typical stereotypes that reinforced social inequality.²⁵ The women's organizations in Kamloops generally fall into the maternal feminist camp but individual members were within the social feminist category.

Whether viewed from a national or local level maternal feminism has come under criticism for its moralist attitude by historians like Margaret Little and Mariana Valverde. Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford, on the other hand, accept that moralism existed but feel that their maternalism was "a genuine concern for improving the lives of women and their children and recognition of women's valuable unpaid reproductive work."²⁶ Here we need to acknowledge that the values held by these organizations were socially constructed and, therefore, not without their social prejudices. Culturally, women also played an important role in constructing a "white" rural British Columbia and many of the early women's organizations promoted this Anglo-Canadian culture and at times expressed discriminatory and racist behaviour. Maternal feminism was a middle class movement and not based on universal sisterhood with working class, native or ethnic women.²⁷ These organizations should not be glamourized nor the women made into heroines, each must be judged on its own merits. In a final evaluation, however, women's organizations were extremely important to making and caring for Kamloops.

Increasingly, the maternal and social feminist labels are being discarded for a much wider reading of what constitutes feminism. The new approach recognizes that while women were divided in their principles and objectives, there were some similarities. Maggie Andrews, in her history of the National Federation of Women's Institutes, for example, argued that if the definition of feminism is stripped down to its basics then "any activities by groups of women which challenge the boundaries of feminine behaviour whether in economic, political or cultural terms," may be regarded as feminist.²⁸ Andrews' study led her to "feel there is a real problem in the assumption that, unless an organization rejects domesticity it cannot be feminist."²⁹ Using this framework, the maternal and social feminist, the moral and secular groups and all other diverse women's organizations can be seen as part of the same movement rather than divided. The more heavily politicized

organizations that rejected domesticity can be viewed as parallel to those that did not openly challenge it.

What is important about these organizations is that they gave women the agency to be themselves. Along with Maggie Andrews, other researchers like Carol Baines, Judith Fingard, Janet Guilford and Marilyn Callahan support this theme. Baines, for example, generally notes women's growth of independence within these organizations. "In promoting an ethic of care, women were fund-raisers, managers, planners, and policy-makers as well as providers of concrete services to poor women and children."³⁰ Organizations empowered women and they developed their own subculture and took advantage of societal opportunities to benefit themselves and the community.³¹ Applied to Kamloops, this new definition incorporates the diverse groups under investigation like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital, Red Cross, Council of Women and the Young Women's Christian Association. Many women in these groups retained conservative and maternal values but they were also actively involved in social action. For example, Mrs. Lilly Johnstone, the retiring Red Cross president, demonstrated this commitment by announcing the new challenges that faced women in the post-World War II. "We cannot sit back. We must be determined to carry on. Ours is a privileged responsibility."³² Collectively, they refused to be victims of a social system that failed to provide proper care and cultural opportunities for its citizens.

Despite discriminatory societal attitudes and legal restrictions, women broke through the barriers and were active in the public sphere through their volunteerism. The existence at times of over forty women's groups in Kamloops and the diversity of women's organizations was a primary indicator that they were involved in a wide spectrum of community development.³³ Whether they were concerned with religion, charity, health and welfare, or intellectual and cultural matters, organizations like the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital, Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Red Cross, Council of Women, and Young Women's Christian Association brought women together. In the post-World War II era Meryl Matthews observed that everyone wanted to get involved in community affairs. As a Soroptomist and delegate to the Kamloops Council of Women she noted that "women wanted to work and be together in improving the city."³⁴ They provided a female space where they had an opportunity to demonstrate their skills and

resources. Outside their homes and domestic duties, they gained opportunities to interact with other women, organize themselves into associations, develop resources, handle business and accounting issues, start fund-raising campaigns, speak out at associations and public meetings, present their views and objectives to the press and prepare some women for political offices. Mrs. P.H. McCurrach the president of the KCW argued that maintaining a household budget was good training for handling public finances. She believed that women “could be of great service on the city council, the school board, the hospital board and the parks board.”³⁵ Volunteer work gave women the chance to step outside the domestic role and make worthwhile contributions to the Kamloops community. It also enabled them to express their cultural background by promoting the arts. Generally, the social recognition they received was their major reward. They were able to expend their energy and humanitarian feelings and acquire social prestige and power. Whereas men might join volunteer organizations to improve their public image and careers, women often made their volunteer work into careers. Some women like Fulton, Fitzwater, McCurrach, Sowerby and others were involved in more than one organization and these often created alliances that made them more effective in serving the community.³⁶ Their work in volunteer organizations gave them a voice and entry into public life despite major societal pressure to remain in the private sphere.

WOMEN'S VOLUNTEER MEMBERSHIP

While the leadership and formulation of ideologies and policy were generally controlled by married middle class women, it has long been recognized that the thousands of rank and file both in national and local organizations were from a more diverse social composition and equally as important to the success of organizations.³⁷ In her study of Vancouver associations, Gillian Weiss observed that although the majority of members in organizations were married, a significant number of single women gave a great amount of time to improving society. The leadership tended to be drawn from mature women who were over forty. Among the younger women in the rank and file were teachers, nurses, journalists, librarians and secretaries, the majority of whom did not have university degrees in the period she studied between 1910 and 1928. The majority of these working women who made up twelve percent of the women in organizations were middle class but

a small number of working class women also participated and some were active members on committees. Another characteristic was that most were either of British, Canadian or American origin and Protestant in religion, particularly from the socially active Methodists and Presbyterians. Although the majority of women in these organizations fit into the standard interpretation of being middle class and Anglo-Canadian, the exceptions need to be noted especially in B.C. where there was more social fluidity than in Eastern Canada.³⁸

This local study of Kamloops reveals that the social structure was still fairly open due to the newness of the town. While Kamloops' clubwomen fit into the pattern of middle class leadership, exceptions like the all single, lower middle and working class membership of the Red Cross Guild stand out. The Women's Institutes, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, and Salvation Army were other groups that demonstrate the involvement of rural and working class women in volunteerism. Mrs. Lilly Johstone, the president of the Red Cross in 1938 observed that the Society "belongs to the people as a whole, not merely to the small group that direct its policies."³⁹ Furthermore, the ability of local women's organizations to obtain support from a wide cross section of the town's population also indicates the existence of a more open and neighbourly society.

Since the church was the primary institution of this era, women's most common entry into volunteer organizations was often through its auxiliaries. Almost all denominations had women's auxiliaries for charity and general fund-raising. In Kamloops there were the St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Women's Missionary Society, the Methodist Church Ladies' Aid Society, the Catholic Women's League, United Church Ladies' Aid Society and other auxiliaries. The popularity of this type of activity was evident in the history of the British Columbia Methodist Women's Missionary Society which grew from 900 members supporting two missionaries in 1882 to 44,135 members with 120 missionaries in 1906. This Society was not organized or directed by men. Instead women used the Society to develop a "sense of sisterhood and collectivism to foster its maternal feminist goals."⁴⁰ Their desire for autonomy ensured their refusal to become an auxiliary to male missionary societies. In this manner, these organizations enabled women to both maintain their domestic roles and make their first entry into the

public sphere. Public caring became an extension of what they did in the home for their families.

By the 1890s, women across Canada had formed religious, charitable, public health, cultural, and political organizations to deal with social problems. The existing patriarchal culture remained a major hurdle as it dictated that women remain in the home or private sphere and avoid public affairs. Legal and political restrictions, such as the lack of the vote, further disabled their efforts. Unstoppable, they overcame the societal constraints of the domestic ideology by emphasizing the need to protect women and children from an increasingly dangerous environment. The emphasis that the urban reform movement placed on the role of mothers and children in the community enabled them to be active agents for changing society and providing proper care for its citizens. Being white, Anglo-Canadian and middle class they sought to re-affirm their class, race and status by reshaping society according their values. Furthermore, social problems like unemployment, drinking and tobacco smoking were often still viewed as moral rather than economic issues and this gave them further power as moral crusaders. Most women's associations made positive changes but some also acted in a negative ethnocentric and sometimes racist manner to impose their social and moral regulations on natives, ethnic groups, and the working classes.⁴¹

PROVINCIAL AND KAMLOOPS GENDER IMBALANCE AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

In British Columbia's colonial period up to 1871 and the settlement period up to 1914, the resource based nature of the region created its own set of perceived social problems. The colony and later the province attracted a young working class population who created a rough male subculture based on work, drinking, brawling and frequent liaisons with native women. Church groups were anxious about the large number of "wild" young single men who were atheists, agnostics, or free thinkers and considered prone to disorder. These characteristics were out of step with the middle class Victorian values of respectability, thrift, sobriety, domesticity, and family. To correct this situation, colonial leaders and reformers emphasized women's respectability and morality and hoped to overcome the existing social dislocation by the emigration of British women. The first "Brideship" arrived in Victoria in 1862 and thereafter the British Female Middle-Class

Emigration Society, the Colonial Intelligence League, and British Women's Emigration Association continued to bring women to the west. This process solidified the links between Empire, white women, race and respectability and women became contributors to the "construction and maintenance of white superiority."⁴² In the Kamloops region,



*Canadian Pacific Railway workers at the Kamloops Roundhouse, 1891.
Image 91 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

fur traders John Tod and Donald McLean were among the many men to take native wives in the fur trade period. This practice was also common among early ranchers and ranch hands. In the Cariboo, Harry Marriott noted that the early pioneers depended on "an Indian gal, or kloodch as they were called," to establish their homesteads and families. Ken Mather's study also observed that "A list of ranchers who lived with Native women reads like a who's who of the early ranching community."⁴³ As more white women came into the Interior discrimination against mixed marriages became stronger and many men either abandoned their native wives for white women or kept two separate households for each. Although white women gained power and status above natives and Orientals,

their position within the patriarchal culture of a resource economy and the male oriented political and legal system limited their potential for work and social action. Despite attempts to create a new moral and industrious society, British Columbia remained economically and demographically insecure well into the twentieth century. The so-called “white man’s province” experienced slow population growth and Aboriginals still outnumbered settlers until the last part of the nineteenth century. Furthermore, it remained male dominated, racially split and scattered over a large geographic area.⁴⁴

In the Interior, a reliance on resources, ranching, and orchard economies predetermined an even slower growth rate than on the coast and as a consequence, a rougher and harsher society and culture. Between 1880-1900 Kamloops remained a small fur trade post and ranching and farming area that was too small to be separately recorded in the 1881 and 1891 censuses. When the Canadian Pacific Railway reached Kamloops in 1885, a small village began to take form and the town was incorporated in 1893 with an approximate population of 500. Fortunately for Kamloops the C.P.R. chose to establish a station and maintenance yard in the town that provided employment for approximately eighty men and was a major stimulus to the local economy.⁴⁵ The 1891 census recorded that of the 98,173 British Columbians, Kamloops and its surrounding district had a population of 1,517 – 928 males (288 married, 28 widowed and 712 single) and 589 females (261 married, 36 widowed and 310 single). Railway construction, mining, forestry and ranching ensured a higher proportion of men in the district. Kamloops was first recorded as a separate district in the 1901 census with a population of 1,591 - 975 males and 616 females. In 1911 the population of the city increased to 3,772 but still was disproportionately male – 2,483 men (757 married, 35 widowed and 1,602 single) to 1,289 females (530 married, 62 widowed and 696 single). Kamloops was basically following the provincial trend in that year with only thirty percent of the white adults being female.

Across the province there were twice as many men as women and therefore earned John Belshaw’s title for it as a “Man’s Province.” This also created what Adele Perry has described as a rough homosocial culture based on work and drinking. In this environment, the gender imbalance could either be an advantage or disadvantage for women. They could disregard traditional social conventions, act more freely and defy

constraining customs or, if they felt it necessary, defend themselves by staying within the social barriers constructed by a patriarchal society. By 1921 the gender balance began to shift throughout the province and was reflected in Kamloops with 2,436 males and 2,065 females being recorded in the census.⁴⁶



*Resource industries created Gender Imbalance. Early logging crew.
Image 1204 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

The demographic changes that occurred between the completion of the C.P.R. in 1886 and World War I solidified Anglo-Canadian social and cultural values. The non-native population expanded tenfold but B.C. remained more racially diverse than other provinces. While the Euro-Canadian population tripled and the Chinese doubled, the Aboriginal population continued to decline since the smallpox epidemics of 1862-1864 and other diseases hit the province. As this demographic process evolved, the new social structure and culture reflected the domination by white males and British and eastern Canadian cultural values. The arrival of more British settlers, particularly those from the middle class, perpetuated a colonial mentality that attempted to recreate the British class

structure with all of its institutions like social clubs and private schools. Culturally, they infused their communities with British social norms, values, and morals. In the Interior, the Okanagan valley with its Coldstream Ranch and the Thompson valley British enclave at Wallhachin were symbolic of these attempts to preserve colonial links. Joan Weir in her study of Wallhachin observed how both the men and women maintained the British way of life despite being 6,000 miles from home. While the general population of Kamloops criticized their upper class behaviour as “snobbish,” the elite citizens were eager to participate in the formal activities like balls and copy the latest fashions brought from England. At Wallhachin men retained their patriarchal and numerical supremacy with forty-six men to ten women in 1910. When the issue of women’s suffrage was debated in that year seventy-five percent voted against it. These social attitudes permeated the province and impacted towns like Kamloops and reinforced gender divisions.⁴⁷

Despite this infusion of Anglo-Canadian culture, the frontier nature of



Crew from Iron Mask Mine outside their boarding house. Image 1143 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives

Kamloops' society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century maintained a social fluidity that created numerous contradictions in gender relations. On the surface the masculine culture and British social values placed women in a very restricted domain but the necessity for social action in the development of education, health, and culture provided new opportunities for women to challenge the normal gender restrictions. The predominant domestic ideology and separate spheres concepts generally allocated women to the home, family, and feminine roles. Accordingly, women were constrained in their occupational and social activities and obstructed from full participation in the public sphere. Normally, this culture expected women to marry, to stay at home and look after the family. The myth that the frontier provided golden opportunities for men to achieve their dreams of prosperity, marriage, family life and be the breadwinner was deeply engrained in society. North American concepts of exceptionalism that held separation from Europe created unique socio-economic and cultural traits reinforced the belief that a perfect family life could be established with male breadwinners and women confined to the domestic responsibilities of raising children, cooking, cleaning, and sewing. Paid outside employment by married women was viewed as destructive of proper family life and interpreted as a failure on the part of the male breadwinner. It was more acceptable for single women to work, but only specific feminine occupations like teaching, nursing, clerical, domestic service, laundry, and the food processing trades met with societal approval.

One of the ironies of these prescribed values was that they did not suit the needs of a frontier society that often called for the whole family to contribute in order for it to survive and prosper. In town, married women often did part-time work in stores, offices and restaurants or did cleaning and ran boarding houses.⁴⁸ The requirements of the pioneer farm also quickly broke down the gendered separation of work particularly in the 'drybelt' areas of Knutsford and Beresford where climatic conditions and the limitations associated with the quarter sections provided by government grants made farming even more difficult. Although the government lured settlers to the "Last Best West" through propaganda and the promise of 160 acres there was no support given and settlers from Eastern Canada, America, England, Scotland, Italy, Poland, Ukraine, Norway, and other European countries had to rely on the whole family to survive. Large families tended

to be the norm in all local homestead areas with the largest being that of John and Rose Anderson with seventeen children but the average was six. The traditional patriarchal structure was common but a few women did own their own homesteads or became the sole owners when their husbands died. Because of the heavy demands of farm work most women usually married other homesteaders. Farm women not only did the housework and tended to vegetable gardens and the animals that produced the dairy products but sometimes also did the heavy work of ploughing and harvesting. Dorothy Haughton of Beresford recalled how she helped her mother to supplement the family income by making ninety pounds of butter a week for the family and to sell. “We churned butter until we looked like butter! That’s when we made twenty loaves of bread every week, too.” When haying crews were present the women cooked three hot meals for the large crew and also at times helped in the field. On ranches, women again were responsible for all the domestic work but also took part in the hard labour of horse and cattle round-ups. Whether in town or rural areas, men’s frequent absence to make money in construction, mining or railway projects often made women the sole providers of labour and family care.⁴⁹

Another dichotomy evident in pioneer societies was the desire to keep women within the home when in reality it was essential to seek women’s assistance in building the vital components of a community infrastructure. The hospitals did not have adequate equipment and funding, the public lacked health care, the city’s infrastructure required development to provide clean water and sanitation, the poor needed charitable assistance and the city lacked suitable cultural activities. Here women’s organizations grasped the opportunities created by the fluidity of the frontier environment and a lack of government support to effect many positive changes.

GOVERNMENT NEGLECT AND WOMEN’S ENTRY TO PUBLIC LIFE

One of the major inadequacies that existed throughout the province was the lack of social services to protect against illness, old age, unemployment, widowhood, and poverty. Pre-World War I governments relied on paternalism, individualism, and volunteerism to deal with these issues. Volunteer organizations attempted to provide essential services but the need to meet a basic standard of life for every citizen proved to be beyond their reach.

The State finally began to acknowledge its social responsibilities in the inter-war years but it did not supplant volunteer activities particularly in the Interior. Geographic factors, a dispersed population, and the lack of adequate bureaucratic structures within small communities such as Kamloops retarded the development of social services. Those who required assistance for financial, medical or social reasons were provided for on a local, personal, and individual basis by the basic services that existed. The Provincial Indigent Fund, a form of outdoor relief similar to a poor law was in place from 1880 but it was not sufficient or universal.⁵⁰ The small cities and rural areas of the Interior still remained patriarchal and paternalistic, controlled by male government agents, male municipal officials and male provincial police. Without sufficient funding, personnel, and a mandate from the government, small communities had to rely on their own resources.

These inadequacies created female “spaces” or opportunities for women’s volunteer organizations, female teachers, nurses, and female social workers to develop what Megan Davies identified as a “maternalist welfare state.” Other historians like Temma Kaplan have argued that “feminist awareness” was not the only motivating force and that women were inspired by a “female consciousness” to “preserve, feed, care for and protect their entire communities”⁵¹ For example, The Ladies’ Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital provided necessary supplies and equipment to the hospital, the Red Cross developed a Well Baby Clinic and the Council of Women worked for proper water treatment and other health issues. The women in these organizations were not all feminists but were ready to be the social welfare workers of the community before a professional corp developed.

In the early twentieth century the gap between the middle class ideal of a cultured British society and the harsh realities of settler and working class life became increasingly evident. Trade unions and middle class reformers called for a more equitable society. In B.C. as in the rest of Canada, middle class women and Christians were among the principal advocates of reform and generally wanted to recreate a society based on middle class Anglo-Canadian respectability. Temperance and female suffrage were the social reformers’ major focus. In B.C., the main social gossellers who advocated prohibition were Methodists but they were outnumbered by the more moderate Anglicans who did not favour a total prohibition. Beginning in the 1870s, women presented bills to legislature

for a female franchise with the campaign being led by the WCTU in the 1880s. The WCTU formed a branch in Victoria in 1882 and soon after a Young Women's Christian Association developed. Similarly, in Vancouver, the WCTU was established in 1883, the Council of Women in 1894, the YWCA in 1897. For rural areas, the development of Women's Institutes from 1909 became a significant resource for rural women. They applied the same objectives as urban reformers and sought to improve home economics and child welfare to prevent disease, and to encourage the general improvement of social conditions. Support from the provincial Ministry of Agriculture provided financial backing and educational resources.⁵²

The first sign of political progress to give women a voice in achieving reform was the inclusion of women in school board elections in 1892. In Kamloops it would have to wait until 1914 for the first woman to gain a public office when Mary Margaret Clements was elected to the Board of School Trustees. She had gained entry into the public sphere by being the president of the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire during World War I which was recognized for its valuable war work. When she was re-elected to the School Board in 1918 the *Kamloops Sentinel* remarked "It had been generally anticipated that Mrs. Clements would be returned on account of her manifest fitness for the office, and also as an acknowledgement of the privilege and responsibilities of Woman (sic) in social matters."⁵³ Provincially, the fight for women's legal and political rights came under the leadership of Helen MacGill and Helena Gutteridge and supported by women's groups, labour and by the provincial Liberal party. The Liberal victory in 1916 ensured passage of bills for prohibition, women's franchise and the right to be elected to the legislature. Federally, women received the vote on the same terms as men in 1918.⁵⁴

Increasingly these reform-minded women turned to maternal feminism as an effective method for gaining women's entry into the public sphere but it was not without its problems. As women moved into organizational activity they adopted maternal feminism by directly connecting the solutions to social problems with the vote for women. Their efforts were often curtailed by working class resistance to middle class regulation of their lives and governments that supported the status quo or merely feigned interest to get elected.⁵⁵ Across the nation religion and reform created maternal feminism. For the WCTU, it became obvious that a male dominated political system would never pass a

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Year—and do your shopping
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her gracious compliance.
Rose Rambler.

- MISS HAWI
 - Kentucky Br
 - MISSES JOHNSTON, GUNNE,
 - MRS. McCLUNG
 - May Morning
 - MRS. JEWSBURY
2. LADIES' QUARTETTE
 3. READING
 4. SONGS



*Nellie McClung and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Image E-0619 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives*

prohibition act. Similarly, when the NCW's campaigns for legal rights, reform of housing, immigration, education and public health were blocked by insensitive governments, it prioritized the vote as its major goal. Frustrated by government inaction, women increasingly turned to maternal feminism as their strategic weapon to bring change. Designated to a mothering and caring role within the domestic sphere by Victorian ideals, women now brought these concepts into the public arena. They accepted their special duties to protect the home, family and the morality of the nation, but emphasized that the only way this could be achieved was by full participation in public life and by having the right to vote. The Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union, for example, was evangelical and concerned about local morality but it gave full support to the provincial political campaigns.⁵⁶ While it gained important social, legal, and political rights for

women, this more conservative philosophy buried the more progressive feminism based on natural rights. Nonetheless, the ideology of maternal feminism combined with new theories by social scientists and reform-minded churches created a new public culture by the First World War that called for reforms to create a more stable society. Increasingly, a growing belief developed that the home and the State were indivisible and that more legislation was necessary.⁵⁷

Gradually this type of progressivism and maternal reform was replaced by a more scientific welfare state but during the transition women's organizations remained essential to the community. The process began in the 1920s when male middle class social scientists became the new reform elite. They emphasized a rational and scientific approach that upheld the ideals of efficiency and social stability. This placed women's volunteer organizations with their focus on maternal and moral reform in a subordinate position. Organizations like the Kamloops Red Cross continued to provide health, education and welfare services but the new professionalism based on a male ethos ensured that men controlled the administration of government agencies and policy. Another step away from an individualist social philosophy, government relief based on a poor law mentality, and maternalist provision of services came in 1933 when T.D. Patullo's government created a more professionalized, systematic and effective bureaucracy. Megan Davies' research argues that this was particularly important for rural areas and small towns when the B.C. Welfare Field Service sent a small group of social workers into the Interior in 1935. They formed the backbone of the welfare state by assuming the responsibilities of male government agents, provincial police, and volunteer women's organizations. While this statement reflects the future takeover of welfare by the government there was still a major role left for women's organizations during the early years of the welfare service in the interwar era. By 1934 the Red Cross Well Baby Clinic had functioned for twelve years and was uniquely under the independent supervision of its nurse and received full support of the local doctors and authorities. Social workers often sought volunteer associations' support within communities and this relationship exists to the present day.⁵⁸

World War II witnessed a major breakthrough in women's participation in work and societal involvement. Women's volunteer organizations spearheaded efforts to help soldiers overseas and to ensure that their own local communities continued to function.

In Kamloops, the Red Cross, the Kamloops Council of Women and the Kamloops Civilian Auxiliary co-ordinated their efforts to knit and sew clothing, made up prisoner of war packages and provided hospitality centres for new recruits. The NCW and local councils came to the aid of the government in controlling inflation by ensuring that the guidelines established by the Wartime Prices and Trade Board were followed. Across the country women's associations supplied 10,000 liaison officers to inform consumers of proper prices and the board's regulations. It also helped the government's National Selective Service recruit married women for part-time work in the service industries. In rural areas the Women's Institute helped women cope when they became responsible for the ranches and farms during their husband's absence overseas. Throughout the war women worked in munitions factories, service industries, the Farm Girls' Brigade, Women's Land Brigade and in volunteer organizations but the federal government and public opinion still treated their war work as temporary and that their true calling was in the home. Immediately after the war a major campaign by the government and media emphasized marriage and motherhood as women's real goals but women, especially young women without children, continued to enter the workforce in larger numbers during the fifties.⁵⁹

The post-war concerns of national and Kamloops women's organizations reflected this new reality. Even during the war women were actively making plans for a better world and most local women's organizations were set on improving their communities. While post-war critics patronizingly labelled organizations like the NCW as "club women" who were "great hands at passing resolutions," these organizations were laying the groundwork for the new "second wave" of feminism of the sixties. Generally, they continued their interwar concerns that moved them beyond moral issues and sought improvements in women's status, better economic and working conditions, political advancement and inclusion, urban planning, daycares, health care, recreation, peace movements and the arts. They carried on their work for the local community and made significant improvements. Nationally, their greatest success was the passage of equal pay for equal work legislation by the federal and provincial governments. It was pressure from the NCW that forced the federal government to enact equal pay for the 70,000 women working under its jurisdiction. Other pressure came from twenty-one YWCAs that set

up Public Affairs committees to lobby for anti-discrimination employment legislation. In Kamloops, the Red Cross, the KCW, and the YWCA developed new programs to assist the public, especially women and children, in health clinics, daycare, recreation and education until the government took responsibility.⁶⁰

In the late sixties and early seventies these women's organizations were to be joined by new associations with more radical objectives to begin the "second wave" of feminism. The "second wave" came to Kamloops a bit later than in larger communities but it did have an impact. Beforehand, groups like the Federation des femmes du Quebec and the Committee on Equality for Women started the process of change but much of the support for the latter group came from numerous established organizations like the WCTU, YWCA, and the NCW. Under pressure the government created the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1967 but stalled on implementing its recommendations. This led women to organize the National Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in 1971 and the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) a year later and its provincial groups were very effective in influencing governments usually through its bureaucracy. It had acquired many of the traditional associations' characteristics in the form of effective organization, development of coalitions, and lobbying the government in the expectation of reform. Like the generations of women volunteers before them NAC members were very service oriented and organized locally to create the services they and the community required. At the same time young women began a women's liberation movement and pushed the more sensitive issues like abortion and sexuality to the foreground. These new groups moved away from maternal and family concerns and moderate politics in favour of Marxist or Socialist theory. These rapid changes and new concepts of consciousness-raising were to be too dramatic for some of the traditional supporters of women's organizations while others adapted or found greater strength in the new activism. On the reverse side, radical women's groups were quite often willing to work with the older established organizations.⁶¹

The second wave of feminism was to continue what women had been advocating since the 1890s – improvement in women's health care, education, legal rights, work, and family life. The sixties women's liberation movement actively promoted a woman's right to control her body. This had massive implications on societal attitudes and existing

health services. Previously male opinion, whether it was that of professionals or ordinary citizens, formulated the societal norms that controlled women's lives. In particular, any matter concerned with the female reproductive system like birth control, abortion, sexual diseases, and cancer treatment fell under male control. The first major campaign, the Abortion Caravan of 1970 attempted to make abortions more accessible. In a similar manner to the older associations, women's liberation groups offered direct services to help poor and needy women but they expanded this to a concern for women's bodies and sexuality by promoting abortion, rape crisis centers, transition houses, and women's shelters.⁶²

In Kamloops the 1970s and 1980s were a transition period in which opportunities for education and new services for women became the focus. Following the lead taken by the University of British Columbia the Counseling Department at Cariboo College opened a Women's Access Centre in 1979. Funded by the B.C. Ministry of Education whose objective was to encourage mature women to obtain education and return to the labour market the Access Centre provided informational material on available educational and training programs and courses on Life Planning in order to balance family with educational pursuits, Assertiveness Training, Study and Job Search Skills, and Women in Non-Traditional Jobs. Second wave feminist concepts were brought to the foreground by advisory Board members, Lynn Thomson, Anne Molnar, Jeanne Perrault, Dian Aylwin, and Donna Cameron by organizing a number of regional Women's Conferences. The Women's Work Conference co-ordinated by Sandy Northrup in March 1981 anticipated an attendance of over one hundred women to discuss women's position in the paid labour force. Another conference revealed the need for more services for Kamloops women and led to the establishment of the Thompson/Nicola Assault Centre in 1982. When the Ministry of Environment and the College Board withdrew its funding after two years, Lynn Thomson recalled that the "Advisory Board members, who were committed to continuing services to women, oversaw the Access Centre's transition to a community-based Women's Centre."⁶³ From 1984 it attempted to provide social services and empower women in their rights. Increasingly it suffered decreased government funding. One researcher observed that "because the work which genuinely seeks to empower the powerless is potentially challenging to those in power, women's organizations which aim

to empower women remain largely unsupported by national governments and bilateral agencies.”⁶⁴

Within this book all chapters overlap each other in one consistent theme – women caring for the community. The objective is not to provide a complete history of Kamloops women’s organizations but to selectively demonstrate their evolution from volunteer groups that worked independently and at times at odds with governments to the modern association that maintains its independence but also co-operates and assists welfare state agencies. The chronological framework provides evidence of change over time and women’s increasing voice in public affairs and politics. The following chapters provide key elements in the progress of women’s entry into community life. The support systems that they developed were essential to maintaining the city’s infrastructure especially during crises like the 1918 Influenza Pandemic, the Great Depression, two World Wars and during various demographic surges.

The Ladies’ Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital featured in chapter two reveals the crucial role it had in the early stages of hospital development and its continuous work to the present day. In its early days the impulse to assist the community came from their “female consciousness” to provide for the better health of the small emerging town. Over the years its elite middle class membership became more diffuse as it looked for ways to engage a wider cross-section of the community. At each stage of its existence in over a century it provided the hospital and its patients the vital equipment and services necessary to improve the health of Kamloops and the surrounding region. For the women involved it gave them an outlet to escape from the societal pressure to remain in the domestic sphere and gained them the respect of the community.

Chapter three focuses on the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union that used its connections with church groups and moral issues to bypass society’s accepted role for women. Faced with the social problems created by the homosocial culture of the pioneer and settlement eras they made it their objective to fight heavy drinking and all the abuse that women and children faced as a consequence. The national and provincial associations’ adoption of maternal feminist tactics, its struggle for women’s suffrage and electoral pressure politics set the stage for Kamloops women to participate in the fight for social and moral reform. With membership restricted to women, the WCTU

provided the space for them to learn important organizational procedures, tactics and to become active voices in the community. Local problems called for local solutions and the Kamloops WCTU demonstrated success in its influence over City Council. It also stepped into the campaign to improve conditions for women and children throughout the province.

The activities of the Red Cross discussed in chapter four confirm women's key role in building the Kamloops' infrastructure, particularly in the area of health. The formation of the Red Cross Guild by single young women contradicts the stereotypical views of women's associations being organized by middle class married women and illustrates the diverse nature of these organizations. Despite its evolution to middle class women's leadership and then to mixed gender membership, women remained the driving force and initiators of post-World War I plans to build a better community. Establishing one of the province's first and most successful Well Baby Clinics, a public nurse and other health services, the Red Cross provided social action at a grassroots level. While the separate spheres ideology still kept politics predominately a male preserve the women of Kamloops did not wait for provincial or civic legislation but instead sought to resolve social problems in the community. As the primary co-ordinator of assistance to the poor



*Red Cross Guild appeals for support in World War I by entering a float in a parade in September, 1915.
Image 418 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

during the Great Depression it exemplified the theme of caring for Kamloops and by its work with government agents it was the precursor of future interactions between government and volunteer associations.

Chapter five reveals the activation of women's political voice on a national, provincial and local level through the Council of Women. The Councils explicitly denounced separate spheres ideology that blocked their political participation. Following the lead taken by the national and provincial Councils, Kamloops women's organizations came together into the Kamloops Council of Women to co-ordinate their individual efforts to improve the community and to gain a more public voice. Its history demonstrates the diversity of Kamloops' women's associations and their ability to unite to achieve better housing, health, education and cultural development. The local Council also served as a training ground for greater political participation at all levels of government. Women who sought civic offices like Helen Millward, Meryl Matthews and Joyce Sowerby were KCW members who felt City Council required input from women to achieve social action.

The Young Women's Christian Association dealt with in chapter six illustrates the persistence of separate spheres ideology into the 1960s and women's determination to release themselves of the social and cultural vacuum that existed in Kamloops. Socially active women refused to accept the continuance of married women still being relegated to the home and family. To overcome the isolation of being homemakers, they built on the experience of the Vancouver YWCA to provide a social, recreational, educational, and cultural center for women. Successes and setbacks were part of its developmental history but the women within it stood up to all challenges. In a period when government agencies were increasingly moving into areas where volunteer associations provided services the YWCA adapted and worked to be a part of the system by gaining government grants to support programs and acted as consultants to assist government policy. The new era of second wave feminism also gave some of its members stronger arguments to achieve improvements for women and the entire community.

Collectively these associations and numerous other women's groups made significant contributions to the health, welfare and cultural development of Kamloops from 1890 to 1975. Before the rise of the welfare state they provided essential social services

and would continue to contribute even after the State assumed its social responsibility. The importance of their work has not been given sufficient credit and, at times, it was assumed that women's caring was a natural part of their mothering role. The domestic ideology and separate spheres concepts stereotyped and placed them in a secondary and private role. In Kamloops, women faced stronger conservative cultural restraints and were more subject to the community's scrutiny than in larger cities. The rougher frontier male culture emphasizing patriarchal values took longer to dissipate and communal control over marriage, women's work, and social behaviour remained evident. Women's volunteer associations challenged these gender roles and provided women with entry into social, public and political life. They broke free of cultural restraints and became an active force in the making of Kamloops. Many of the associations were branches of national and provincial associations and this added strength to their social and political agenda but their activity was also unique due to local conditions. Living in a frontier environment and lacking provincial government support, these women's associations took it upon themselves to overcome the inadequacies of the local infrastructure by providing for the health, social and cultural needs of the community. These issues changed over time and with each decade these women's associations evolved to meet the needs of Kamloops.

CHAPTER TWO

Caring for the Sick: Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital

"Humanity demands that the sick be taken care of."

Kamloops Sentinel, October 29, 1918

"We desire to place on record our appreciation of these lives so faithfully lived so strong in service, and whose devotion to the social welfare of this community tended greatly to its development as we have it today."

President, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1928

Central to the quality of life for any community is the care provided by its hospital and in Kamloops the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital became a major provider of assistance. Lacking government funding, frontier communities were left on their own to develop hospital facilities. The struggle to provide public care required volunteers and in the late nineteenth century cultural norms assumed that women's nurturing role over the family naturally extended to public care. Here the standard belief that women confine themselves to the domestic domain was set aside to meet the needs of the community. Kamloops women took on this responsibility in the frontier-settlement era, creating associations that brought them into public life, and continue to be involved to the present day. Up to the First World War the Auxiliary made important contributions toward the provision of the basic necessities required by the hospital. The Great War distracted volunteer work for the hospital as the Auxiliary joined numerous women's groups in a co-ordinated effort to supply overseas troops with needed supplies; at home they looked after the injured and those suffering from illnesses like tuberculosis. The 1918 influenza epidemic placed these organizations in a frontline position and the Auxiliary increased its public service. More challenges awaited volunteers in the interwar years as the Great Depression reduced the hospital's abilities to provide care when the government cut back

its funding. Volunteerism was essential and as in the Great War, women's organizations pulled together to overcome the harsh conditions. The growth in the local population also strained resources and by World War II, new innovative tactics like the creation of a new branch in North Kamloops alleviated some of the financial shortfalls. The familiar theme of government underfunding remained a constant problem in the post-war era and the Auxiliary did its best to supplement the hospital's revenue. By its seventy-fifth anniversary in 1974 the Auxiliary had definitely proved itself to be an effective and efficient fund raiser by becoming a part of the Thompson Valley United Appeal, establishing a thrift shop and gaining control of the concessions within the hospital. It moved from a small group to one commanding community wide support and from providing supplementary funds to bringing in substantial earnings. A hundred years of service to the hospital was recognized in 1999 and the Ladies' Auxiliary must be acknowledged for its unflinching assistance to the city.



Original Kamloops Hospital opened in 1885 on Lorne Street. Matron Eleanor Potter in buggy with nurse and Chinese cook. (1890)

Image 695 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives

In their frontier origins, hospitals and care giving was subjected to separate spheres ideology that delegated men and women to gender specific roles. Male doctors

controlled the internal operations of the hospital while prominent male citizens filled the leadership roles on the board of directors. Women, both nurses and volunteers were left in the caring roles of maintaining health standards and initiating improvements. The coming of the C.P.R. was the catalyst for change and as the population of the district and the town expanded a campaign by the local population led to the construction of the first public hospital in the Interior called the Kamloops Hospital; it opened in 1885 on Lorne Street near the C.P.R. station. It was a two storey wood frame building with only a few beds and was expected to serve the 300 permanent residents, the outlying district, and the C.P.R. construction workers. When it first opened Dr. S.J. Tunstall administered the hospital and as only men were allowed as patients in the first two years, male nurses looked after them. Most of the patients were C.P.R. workers injured on the job. It soon became necessary that the town take over running the hospital since as the *Inland Sentinel* observed, the railway contractors had taken no steps to fulfill their responsibilities.⁶⁵ Traditionally, however, nursing was a female profession and the male nurses were replaced by women. In 1887 the hospital appointed Eleanor Potter, a graduate of the University of Toronto School of Nursing as the matron. She effectively ran the hospital for the next few years but when she married in 1900, social expectations made her give up her career to be a housewife. The separate spheres and domestic ideologies were strong forces in the make-up of early Kamloops culture and other single women like Annie McQueen, a school teacher, provides another example of women who left their position when they married. Women, according to common assumption, were not to remain in the classroom after marriage. Jean Barman notes that marriage in frontier areas remained much more under communal control than in the more settled areas of Canada and that the “community’s approval mattered.” In frontier areas, marriage provided women with the culturally sought after respectability and Annie, for example, revelled in “the marriage state.” Other female teachers like the exceptional five Beattie sisters who opened the Kamloops Select School in 1893 followed social convention and remained single. Gender bias was also evident in the School Board’s refusal to appoint Emily Beattie as principal of Kamloops Public School in 1914 despite her position of seniority over all male teachers.⁶⁶

After the completion of the C.P.R., the town’s population rose to 500 by the time of incorporation in 1893. The hospital expanded to accommodate fourteen beds

in five wards. It officially changed its name to the Royal Inland Hospital when it was incorporated in 1896 by a legislative act that gave the property to the city. The Directors at the time were well established community leaders, professionals, and developers such as F.J. Fulton, R.H. Lee, J.O. Grahame, J. Vair, J. McIntosh, R.E. Smith, G.C. Tunstall, J.A. Mara, M. Sullivan, W.W. Spinks, R. Marpole, and W.O. Miller. Prominence within the community, however, did not necessarily mean that the Directors had the resolve or capability to organize an efficient hospital on their own.⁶⁷ The opposite appeared to be the case in 1897 when the board of Directors came under heavy criticism from the editor of the *Inland Sentinel* who accused them of gross mismanagement of funds when the hospital was shown to have a deficit of \$1,160.46 for 1897.⁶⁸

Often, women's auxiliaries were the main source of assistance that the Directors had for fund-raising and planning future developments. The first to attempt to help the struggling hospital to establish itself was a precursor to the Auxiliary, the Hospital Women's Aid Society organized in September 1890. Its task was to furnish the hospital with the necessary comforts, fund-raising, and planning for the future. Its executive consisted of Mrs. Emily Nash, Mrs. W.M. Cochrane, Mrs. Eliza Wentworth and Mrs. R.E. Smith. The social prominence of the hospital's male Directors was paralleled in the membership of the Society. The group consisted of nineteen married women whose husbands were either business, political or social leaders in the community and three single women.

These women were not just idle socialites who sought outlets for their charitable impulses but instead worked hard to improve hospital conditions. Their motives stemmed from a combination of meeting their social position's duty or responsibility, maintaining status, and as a means to express their inherent humanitarian impulses. Since the majority of the executive came from the same social elite, they shared similar social values and gained social power within Kamloops society by making these influential connections. At a personal level, their involvement was often due to restrictions placed on female employment outside the home and the opportunity volunteerism provided to contribute to worthwhile causes.⁶⁹ For women in this class, it was an effective method of by-passing separate spheres concepts that relegated them to the private and domestic roles and for entering into the public sphere. Often the only rewards they received were tributes given

to the group. For example, the second medical director, Dr. Furrer acknowledged their efforts and praised the work of the Society in his annual report of 1893. He stated that “The Ladies of Kamloops have this year again made great efforts both to assist in defraying expenses and in purchasing whatever seemed needful for the comfort of patients, so that today the Royal Inland Hospital is a credit to Kamloops and the country. I take this opportunity to personally thank the ladies for the kindly interest they have shown towards the hospital.”⁷⁰ Their efforts, however, were not always in agreement with the social expectations and goals of the community.

Despite their elite and conservative background the women in the Society ignored cultural restraints and pushed for equal care for women. The Society’s belief that a Maternity Home or Women’s ward was a major necessity did not receive public approval. The existing patriarchal enclave that dominated opinions was ignored and the Society set it as its main objective. After three years of fund-raising, the *Sentinel’s* editor praised them for collecting \$532.35 but questioned their goal of putting the money toward a women’s ward. From a modern perspective this appears to be a very chauvinistic, exceptional and unjust criticism but in her study of medical attendance in late nineteenth century Vancouver, Margaret Andrews observed that this attitude was not unusual as women did not normally receive the same medical attention as men. “The discrepancy,” she notes, “should not be attributed to a difference in need, but rather to a difference in the importance assigned by society to the two sexes’ receiving medical care.”⁷¹ Men were viewed as the breadwinners for the family and therefore accorded more care. In the end, the editor relinquished his position by stating that because they were volunteers, they could spend the money on what they deemed suitable.⁷² Nevertheless, his comments revealed women’s secondary position within Kamloops’ conventional society.

Social prominence did provide a degree of protection to go beyond the confines of the domestic sphere and the next group to assist the hospital, the Ladies’ Benevolent Society established in 1894 had a membership that was even more socially prominent. The president was Mrs. Alice Mara and the rest of the executive consisted of Mrs. Violet Lee, Mrs. Nora Grahame, and Mrs. Emma Gordon. High family status was their common bond. Their husbands, J.A. Mara was a well known merchant, former MLA, MP, developer and Director of the Hospital Board, R.H. Lee, an architect and surveyor,

and Marshall Gordon, a businessman. The women continued the work of the Hospital Women's Aid Society and brought one of their objectives to completion. Increasingly, women wanted prenatal care and although most still expected to have their babies at home which had been customary, there was a growing shift to hospital births between 1890 and the turn of the century. When in 1895 the government granted \$1000 for the establishment of a Kamloops Maternity Home the Ladies' Benevolent Society took up the task of raising the rest of the money to build the ward and complete it in the following year.⁷³

In spite of the Society's efforts at fund-raising, the hospital remained in a precarious financial position and still lacked proper facilities. This negative environment prompted Dr. A.P. Procter, the resident doctor, to expand volunteer efforts by calling upon the women of Kamloops to set up a Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital in May 1899. At the first meeting,

Procter observed that although the state of the hospital was not ideal, it was not as bad as some made it out to be. It needed help with building maintenance, heating, internal supplies such as bedding, and more nurses. Like the Hospital Women's Aid and the Ladies' Benevolent Society that previously supported it, he expected that they would "not



Family status and volunteerism exhibited in Violet Lee with daughter Edith. On the executive of the Ladies' Benevolent Society, Vice-President of Red Cross, 1920. Image 5757 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives

only assist in raising money and supplying necessaries, but who will not hear it slandered without cause.”⁷⁴ From the thirty-four women attending, the officers elected were Mrs. Emily Nash, president, Mrs. Jessie Wells, vice-president, Mrs. Emma Gordon, secretary and Mrs. J.Vair, treasurer. Three committees for entertainment, sewing and refreshment were established and for its first fund raiser it organized a “ball” on December 28, 1899 that proved to be a tremendous success.⁷⁵

Criticism of the Hospital Directors continued into 1900 and the Auxiliary’s attempt to revitalize positive opinion only drew it into the crossfire. Their support of the Directors led them to be criticized as incompetent and disorganized. Displeased by the circulation around the city of flyers criticizing the Auxiliary, the executive moved.

That this meeting desires to express its regret that there should exist in Kamloops some person or persons so devoid of good feeling and sense of decency as to be capable of writing and publishing the scurrilous dodger and which appears to have been intended to bring into ridicule this society.⁷⁶

The Auxiliary placed the resolution in the paper with a reward of \$25.00 for anyone providing information on who was defaming them. In a small community, gossip and anonymous attacks could damage reputations and had to be stopped. Ignoring the negative publicity, the Auxiliary continued with its fund-raising and according to the *Inland Sentinel*, its next dance was a “brilliant success.”

This “scurrilous dodger” incident and the next dance once again demonstrate how place played an important role in determining types of behaviour that were either condemned or accepted in small towns. Kamloops as a place was socially constructed by its frontier culture and the dichotomies it created were evident at the turn of the century. Charity events like dances were meant to bind the community together but at the same time they could be racially exclusive and insensitive. The Auxiliary organizers decided to add an unusual twist to the ball to attract more people. Unlike the normal fancy dress ball, all the adult participants were asked to come dressed as children. Two participants were described as “a demur little maiden of say 8 summers and close behind her an exceedingly well developed and healthy baby of six feet.”⁷⁷ Although the dance was viewed as a respectable function, the socially constructed values of a frontier society

proved, by modern standards, to be coarse and racist in some aspects. After a program of dances, the newspaper reported that there was “an unexpected visit of ten little nigger boys appropriately dressed in costume, and the little coons contributed considerably to the evening’s amusement.” The common acceptance of racist language at the turn of the century allowed this incident to occur without criticism. Instead the entire dance was regarded as “one of the greatest successes, both financially and saltatorially ever held in Kamloops.”⁷⁸ What makes this incident even more paradoxical was that although discrimination against blacks was common throughout B.C. and Kamloops was not exempt, the town elected John Freemont Smith as its first black alderman three years later. Place worked to create a different local response to blacks. Discrimination was evident in general parodies of black people at masquerade dances and by local musical bands where people and band members wore black face costumes. While minorities such as blacks and Chinese faced racial slurs, Kamloops citizens accepted those individuals like Smith who was a storeowner in Louis Creek and jokingly called himself the first white man to live in that area. Business respectability allowed him to become a member of the Board of Trade and alderman. Fifty-seven years later, the same inconsistency still could be found when the first Chinese alderman, Peter Wing was elected despite an historical record of prejudice against Chinese in the community. Again, he gained respect through business connections, the Board of Trade, and became Canada’s first Chinese mayor in 1966.⁷⁹

Charity events like the Auxiliary dances, bazaars, teas, and the annual balls worked to bring the community together and were financially successful. The *Inland Sentinel*, for example, remarked that “One of the most enjoyable balls of the season and one which is always eagerly looked forward to is the Hospital Ball.”⁸⁰ It had become a major social event not only for the town but also for a large number of people from Revelstoke, Ashcroft and the “Country.” Throughout the whole district, people responded to assist and to be a part of a hospital that provided for them.

The activities and fund-raising tactics of the Auxiliary were diverse and for the most part effective. Their work was “very necessary” as a great number of patients were unable to pay for treatment and this placed even more financial stress on the hospital. To assist the hospital the Auxiliary formed sewing groups that made sheets, pillowcases,

towels and nightshirts. They organized social teas, bake sales, card parties, raffles, tag days, rummage sales and fashion shows. Social evenings often drew over 200 guests and included a variety of entertainments like card playing, ping pong and dancing. By the end of 1902 they demonstrated their success by purchasing one of the B.C.'s first X-ray machines, furnishing two hospital rooms and supplying linen, nightshirts and dressing gowns for patients.⁸¹ The next year they continued their work by spending the \$450.00 raised on furnishing a private ward, renovation and painting, covering floors with carpet and linoleum, purchasing a bathtub and supplying the usual linen and clothing. The newspaper attributed its success to "the interest shown and the help given by the people of Kamloops and the surrounding country."⁸²

These were significant accomplishments for a town that for the first decade of the century was described as "wild and wooly." Some newcomers like Miss May Wilton, the first trainee at the new School of Nursing provided her initial impression of the town in 1910. Typically, trains from the East arrived at 2:00 a.m. and gave travellers, especially women, a unique and at times frightening experience. The train, she noted, had a cowcatcher in front of the engine and a large bell which clanged the whole way through the center of Main Street. The beguiled and confused trainee was accidentally dropped off at Pete's Saloon for her accommodation but after a quick look she beat a hasty retreat to the Dominion Hotel. While registering she observed one of the disadvantages of the train tracks being on the main thoroughfare of the town, (nicknamed the longest streetcar in the world). As the train pulled out to the West clanging its bell a big crowd of cowboys in chaps and spurs grabbed their horses and with a great uproar of shouting and swearing had to pull them onto the narrow sidewalk. Her stay at the Dominion was also memorable as she was given a room with two doors that did not lock. "The one close to the head of my bed," she complained, 'was open about a foot, through it came groans and deep snores." She had to push a chest of drawers against it and then she "laid on the bed fully dressed until daybreak."⁸³

Despite its social nuisance, the C.P.R. trains stimulated the expansion of Kamloops to the point where it required a new hospital. The population in Kamloops increased to 3,772 by 1911, and the Lorne Street Kamloops Hospital became extremely overcrowded. Already the hospital board under the chairmanship of J.T. Robinson



*Main (later Victoria) Street West during the days prior to 1914 when the C.P.R. operated trains through the middle of the original business thoroughfare of the city. "The longest streetcar system in the world."
Image 1625 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

realized that a new hospital was a necessity and acquired the Columbia Street property in 1910 and began construction soon after. The citizens of the community willingly passed a city by-law in support of the new hospital. Its completion in 1912 was a year for celebration as it was also the centenary of the Fort Kamloops trading post. Recognizing the importance of the hospital to the community, the city had it officially opened by the Duke of Connaught, the Governor-General. The new hospital was a large three story Victorian style brick building with 128 beds. The larger facility was a definite progressive step for the community but it also required more financial support.⁸⁴

The nature of Kamloops' location and government attitudes determined the absolute necessity for an Auxiliary and it fell on it to do whatever possible to help the hospital. The government's failure to fund hospitals properly was a constant problem and often created crises in B.C. communities. This was particularly the case for Kamloops because the hospital not only served the town but all the nearby small communities that lacked medical services and the large surrounding rural district. To overcome budgetary shortfalls, fund-raising on the part of the Kamloops Auxiliary remained its primary activity but for an inexplicable reason it became the subject of harsh criticism from Mayor

J.T. Robinson in 1912. In language that was reported to be “more forcible than polite” he went so far as to “deprecate and question their usefulness.”⁸⁵ The *Inland Sentinel* took exception to the Mayor’s accusation that the Auxiliary’s fund-raising efforts for a year could not support the hospital for two days and therefore it might as well disband. The newspaper felt that this attack could only be explained as another of the Mayor’s arbitrary actions and defended the Auxiliary’s work as “a labor of duty and charity, the value of which cannot be estimated in dollars and cents.”⁸⁶ One can only surmise that Robinson identified the limitations of relying on volunteer fund-raising in order to emphasize the need for increased provincial government funding. The cost of operating the hospital strained the city’s budget and in 1914 it had to pass a \$15,000 by-law to support the hospital in order to obtain a matching Provincial government grant to pay off existing debts. This still was insufficient and the Provincial government finally provided another \$10,000 in 1916. While Robinson’s term in office ended in 1913, the community still continued to support the Auxiliary. Disagreements among the executive did occur but were resolved and they remained determined to continue their work despite the attempt to belittle them.⁸⁷ While Robinson’s criticisms failed to decrease support, the Great War disrupted the Auxiliary and drew women’s energies elsewhere and as a consequence it ceased to function during some of the war years. In February 1918, it was revived in order to overcome the hospital’s urgent need for assistance. The Auxiliary wanted to remind the public that the hospital looked after the entire district and at times took care of patients without receiving any payment. World War I generally pushed women’s associations to even greater efforts and the revived Auxiliary was no exception. The War drew associations like the Auxiliary, the Ladies’ Auxiliary to St. Paul’s and the Red Cross together into working groups to provide clothing and other supplies for soldiers. Collectively, these activities were moving women into the public space and the further need for community assistance during the great flu pandemic of 1918 increased their involvement.⁸⁸

Volunteerism by women became the major method of countering the Spanish Influenza epidemic that began in 1918 and lasted to 1920. Without any cure, the only way to survive the flu was through constant provision of nursing care. It has been commonly held that the Spanish Flu spread across Canada with the return of troops who

contracted the disease in Europe. The epidemic had a devastating impact in most cities and Kamloops was no exception. Across Canada there were approximately 55,000 deaths and the infection rate was many times more. Winnipeg, for example, experienced 1,300 and Vancouver 900 deaths by the disease. Vancouver reported its first case on October 14 and within four days it had 758 cases of flu and 17 deaths. Its rapid spread to the general population weakened cities like Vancouver where 30,000 out of the 100,000 population were sickened.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the lack of knowledge about the flu meant that the medical profession remained either undecided or divided about what steps should be taken. In Vancouver, the Medical Health Officer recommended personal hygiene and community sanitation but was opposed to closures of all public meeting places whereas the Mayor wanted town closure. Pressure from the provincial government finally settled the issue and most public buildings were closed but schools remained open as the Medical Officer felt children were more protected in school than out on the streets.⁹⁰

In Kamloops, the location, size and culture of the community all had an impact on the response to the epidemic. On January 15, 1918 the Kamloops Medical Health Officer reported that the community had been free of any epidemic or infectious disease during 1917 and gave the city a good health report. That changed dramatically after the first cases of flu were reported on October 11, 1918. Within a week there were twenty-two cases and two deaths from influenza. City Council and the Medical Officer, Dr. M.G. Archibald reacted to this sudden threat and without hesitation decided to close all public buildings including schools, churches and theatres on October 18. Alderman Crawford summarized their views in his statement that “it was better to take the most drastic measures and err on the safe side rather than be too late in taking action.”⁹¹ Since Kamloops was the health service centre for a large region that only had the Royal Inland Hospital to provide for it made the fight against influenza according to the hospital director, J.T. Robinson, “much more strenuous than in other parts of the province.” The hospital was already financially troubled due to the War and the government only provided “an entirely inadequate per capita allowance” that was not increased despite the influx of patients from the logging, train tie construction and other work camps up the North Thompson.⁹² Three major outbreaks of influenza placed stress on the medical facilities and required the opening of two emergency hospitals. When a number of regular nurses

became ill and it proved impossible to find nurses from other communities who were also under pressure to cope the *Kamloops Standard Sentinel* placed an emotional appeal for any retired nurses to come to the hospital's assistance in these extraordinary circumstances.



*Royal Inland Hospital, 1921. First opened in 1912.
Image 1892 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

It noted that “The increase in the number of patients from outside and sickness of the nurses has placed a burden upon those who are working that is hard to bear. There have been volunteers and they are doing noble work.” It added that “Humanity demands that the sick be taken care of. Those coming from camp and smaller towns in the district cannot be left in the streets to die.”⁹³ The newspaper continued to blame outsiders for increasing the dangers of the epidemic but it recognized that it was a local issue and had to be dealt with internally. “No help can be secured,” it observed, “from outside, and the burden falls upon those here at home.”⁹⁴ This was an early recognition of what historians now identify as place. Although officials felt it their duty to provide health services for everyone, racial discrimination was evident. While white patients were taken in at the hospital and emergency quarters at the Patricia Hotel, First Nations patients were treated separately at the army barracks. The barracks’ hospital remained open until December 3 and the Patricia Hotel closed on December 10 while the ban on public meeting places

remained in effect until December 13.⁹⁵ The Royal Inland Hospital reported treating 600 people in 1918 and the deaths of over forty people. This may appear to be a small number compared to what occurred in larger cities but the population of Kamloops according to census data was only 3,772 in 1911 and in 1921 it was at 4,501.⁹⁶

The size of the community further identified Kamloops' citizens with a sense of place and as a consequence the impact of sickness and deaths was a more personal affair than in larger cities. Within a small community people knew each other more intimately and whenever a death occurred the person was in many cases known to the general public. One by one, the deaths were reported in the paper and what made it more difficult was the high incidence of deaths of young men and women. One example reported on October 22, 1918 revealed the community's personal response: "The unexpected death of Fred Lauder last Saturday about one o'clock was a shock to this community and many could not believe that death had come so quickly to one who only a few days before had been in the best of health and spirits with the full strength and vitality of strong manhood." He was thirty-four when he died but a high number were between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. Another example was the death of W.T. Summers, "a young man, in the prime of life with the world before him, ever courteous and genial, energetic in public affairs, unselfish to the extreme and recognized as a leader among the younger businessmen. No man stood higher in the city, no man enjoyed the confidence of the people to a greater extent. The community could ill afford to lose such a citizen." His death was a "woeful shock to the entire community." Lionel Stobart, aged thirty, a well known stockman also died in the same month.⁹⁷ Examining the social distress created by this experience the *Kamloops Standard-Sentinel* commented, "Never before in the history of Kamloops have the people passed through such trials and tribulations, suffering and sorrow. But the trouble has brought out the very best qualities of the Kamloops people and the spirit of sacrifice and sympathy has been demonstrated to the fullest extent."⁹⁸

When another wave of influenza reoccurred in 1919, the newspaper labeled it the "Black Plague." City Council and the Medical Officer, Dr. Archibald again debated whether closure of all public buildings was necessary but in the end decided to enforce a ban. Fortunately this reoccurrence had less impact. The last outbreak that started in early February 1920 saw 226 cases in one week and the closure of public buildings for three

weeks but there were fewer deaths because the hospital was better prepared. Again almost every women's organization within the city participated in setting up a Diet Kitchen to assist families that could not cook their own meals. During the peak of the epidemic the women supplied food for 110 people twice a day and continued to provide meals until it closed on February 27. Joining in the volunteer work that the newspaper described as a fight for humanity was the newly formed Elks Lodge, the United Brotherhood of Railway Workers, and the Knights of Columbus. At the conclusion of the epidemic, the Chief of Police, E.C. Simmons, who coordinated relief efforts, remarked that "Words are wanting to express my admiration for the many women who assumed the task of preparing invalid food for patients who, under the already abnormal conditions which existed, were absolutely unable to provide for themselves."⁹⁹

Whether it was Winnipeg, Vancouver or Kamloops, women acted quickly to assist those infected by influenza. Their roles in providing assistance were, however, prescribed by separate spheres concepts. Within the patriarchal structure of local society, it was the men on the Hospital Board, the male doctors and Medical Officer, and male civic officials who assumed the leadership roles and decided what preventive action and the relief work was necessary. Society's view of women as natural caregivers created an expectation that they would physically care for the sick by cleaning, bathing, and feeding patients. Middle class women were viewed as doing their social duty by helping the sick and poor and therefore their work was contributing to the social good and maintenance of order. Although not mentioned in the press, this activity also provided women with the opportunity to step outside their normal domestic sphere into the public arena. It also brought them into contact with the working class and ethnic sectors of the community. While men might care for their own families, their public assistance with a few exceptions remained in gender specific roles such as drivers to take patients to hospital and maintenance work.¹⁰⁰

In every community, the epidemic acted as a historical agent that brought multiple societal forces to the surface. A recent study of Winnipeg by Elylt Jones reveals some interesting comparative insights on the motives and impact of volunteerism that can be applied to Kamloops. Over 650 mostly Anglo Canadian women supported Winnipeg's main relief campaign. Described by the press, public health officials and politicians as

heroines, these women were publicly viewed as essential caregivers that provided social order in the chaotic situation created by the epidemic. Like Adele Perry's study of white Anglo Canadian women who acted as gatekeepers and caretakers of frontier society, these volunteers were providing reassurance, order and stability. Their "volunteerism can be understood as an attempt to reinforce the status quo, life as usual, in an unstable context."¹⁰¹ Women were important in organizing the response and in fund-raising but they did not direct the policy, instead they remained caregivers who physically healed the sick. Although their work was within a maternalist and nurturing sphere, Jones along with other new research by Linda Quiney and Magda Farni argue that women entered into an expanded public role by their organizational efforts, fund-raising and interaction with working class and ethnic women. While they were in a more public space, the press, politicians and others saw it as a necessity of social duty and therefore still within the public's image of where women belonged. Larger cities like Winnipeg set up an Emergency Nursing Bureau and Emergency Diet Kitchen, both run by elite Anglo Protestant women. Some members had husbands who were politically active while many were unmarried, educated school teachers or clerical workers and belonged to the Local Council of Women. Its president, Margaret McWilliams was noted for her activism and feminist views. The class based nature of volunteerism was further accented by the fact that teachers who were laid off retained their salaries and could therefore offer their services to the community. The workers in entertainment and public buildings that were mandatorily shut down did not receive any compensation. Class issues were heightened in Winnipeg due to the recent civic workers' strike that divided society. In contrast, working class women and organized labour in Vancouver were a part of the planning and organizational groups.¹⁰²

In Kamloops, a positive aspect was the number of volunteers who quickly offered their service to assist the ill despite the dangers that existed. Trained nurses "who had given up their profession for duties in their home" returned to work and other women also came forward and were quickly trained in basic nursing. A few were married but most were single women, many of whom belonged to the Red Cross Guild. Other volunteer efforts were made by the Salvation Army and two Sisters from St. Ann's Convent who nursed the natives at the barracks. The newspaper praised these "noble women and

self-sacrificing men” who were meeting the “demands of humanity” and saved the lives of those in danger. The newspaper provided a list of twenty women volunteers. Mrs. Jane Anne Burton was a member of the Ladies’ Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital while Misses Slavin, Bannerman, Hudson, Costley, Curtis, and Winterbottom were in the Red Cross Guild. The rest appear to be independent volunteers.¹⁰³ The Hospital Board later publicly acknowledged these volunteer nurses whose “generous sympathy more than compensated for their lack of training.”¹⁰⁴ The extent of the crisis is revealed by the numerous appeals for assistance. On October 29, 1918 the *Kamloops Standard Sentinel* asked for any trained nurses to come forward to help the volunteers who were doing noble work but under a great burden. By November 5 the crisis had escalated and the hospital was facing a shortage of nurses. The Board noted that it would be in a “sad predicament” unless more volunteers came forward. Then on November 8, Mayor H.M. Miller placed a public call for volunteers on the front page of the newspaper. The need for volunteers was urgent as almost every house had one case or the whole family was sick.¹⁰⁵

Although there are no records of what motivated Kamloops women, Elylt Jones in her study of Winnipeg, observed that most volunteers were middle class women who had the time and felt it to be their social responsibility to help their fellow citizens. Individually, more complex motives like testing their courage, humanitarianism, and searching for adventure might also have led to volunteerism. Whatever the reason, in Kamloops as elsewhere, the newspaper noted that “a few of these volunteers have paid for their bravery and self-sacrifice with their lives, while many others contracted the disease.” It felt that “Kamloops would be a veritable stricken city” without the women who volunteered. As in Winnipeg, the type of assistance was gender based with women doing the nursing and men assembling hospital beds and preparing rooms.¹⁰⁶ Twenty-four year old Miss Lucy Jones who first nursed her sister to health at the hospital saw the great need for nurses and volunteered her services. To her misfortune, she contracted the flu and died of double pneumonia soon after. Men also volunteered and the Hospital Directors readily gave their assistance and one of them, W.T. Summers, a previously mentioned well known community member died as a consequence. Throughout the epidemic Kamloops citizens, particularly teachers whose schools were closed for two months, pulled together to help the hospital cope with the “Great Flu.” To demonstrate their gratitude to the

teachers, the Kamloops School Board agreed to provide teachers their salary despite the schools being closed for two months. J.T. Hopgood, chairman of the board of school trustees felt that “those teachers who were able had been exceedingly diligent in taking care of the sick without compensation and that since it was no fault of theirs that the schools had been closed, he thought it would be unjust to deprive them of their regular pay.”¹⁰⁷

On the surface this appears a justifiable acknowledgement of the teacher’s volunteerism, but it also reflects the class and gender based nature of many decisions made by authorities in this era. Other volunteers, particularly women, were not paid. The more mundane work of setting up and running a Diet kitchen in Kamloops to provide families that had been struck by the flu and who remained at home received no wages. Nor was compensation offered to workers who lost their jobs during the closure of public buildings and theatres.¹⁰⁸ Women received their reward only in the praise offered for their work. When the Patricia Hotel and Barracks emergency quarters closed, J.T. Robinson, the president of the Hospital Board had a special luncheon for the volunteers and “thanked them for what they had done laying special stress upon the performance of the women during all the hard weeks of sickness.” They, he noted had “spent so many sad hours together in the service of humanity.” He also acknowledged the “ladies who just as unselfishly devoted themselves to the unavoidable drudgery of the kitchens or wards and the making of pneumonia jackets and masks” and all others “who so cheerfully gave of their time and labors in the cause of humanity.”¹⁰⁹

Women and specifically the Auxiliary were also important players in assisting the hospital deal with the rising financial difficulties. The hospital budget was already strained due to increased demand during the war and government assistance was still based on a per capita allowance for the district. This was totally inadequate particularly because it was not raised during the crisis. The hospital was very hard hit during the epidemic as it served the whole region and a large number of cases came from the outlying North Thompson district. To overcome some of the deficit the Board organized a major fund-raising drive that was to culminate in a Ball organized by the Auxiliary. The special drive raised \$6,600 and the hospital also obtained \$10,000 from the government after a delegation visited Victoria to plead its case and \$3,000 from the city.¹¹⁰

During the interwar era the Auxiliary continued to raise funds by holding dances, annual linen showers, tag days, bridge parties, teas, and concerts that not only successfully supplied the hospital with needed equipment and supplies but provided the community with much needed social functions and cultural activities. These activities not only made money for the hospital but also contributed to a sense of community. Its major project in 1920 was to supply the new hospital laundry with equipment. Fund-raising continued with 1927 being a banner year that led to the completion and furnishing of a nurses' home and additional beds being added to relieve the congestion in the hospital. In her report for 1927, the president Mrs. Annie Wyllie observed the "development and general progress all along the line."¹¹¹ Each year, however, it became more difficult to find sufficient funds to meet the hospital's ever increasing need for up-to-date equipment. The president recognized this problem and remarked that the Auxiliary would do its best until the city fulfilled its responsibility and adopted a "community chest method for carrying on its social welfare work."¹¹² This tactic was successfully put into place by the



*Royal Inland Hospital Float at Dominion Day Parade, 1924.
Image 438 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

Women's Auxiliary to the Vancouver General Hospital and it received funds from the Community Chest for a number of years during and after the Depression.

In Kamloops, the concept did not develop until the fifties and unfortunately the Depression era only worsened the situation because the Provincial government cut support to the Royal Inland Hospital by twenty-five percent. To meet the financial crisis the whole west wing closed and the city had to cover the \$500.00 per month operating budget. The Auxiliary members remained dedicated to its cause and in 1933 it had its best fund-raising year since 1927 and almost reached the \$1000 mark. It was with pride that the president remarked "I have been conscious of a readiness to do without hesitation anything asked of you."¹¹³ Fortunately, the provincial government restored the hospital's original funding in 1934. To overcome the continuing deficit problems, an innovative insurance scheme that charged everyone who joined \$1.00 per month in exchange for free care was developed. This proved to be very popular and pulled the hospital out of its troubled financial state by 1935. The Ladies' Auxiliary tried to assist by acquiring donations from local merchants and then holding raffles. In its work the Auxiliary also received financial donations from other women's groups such as the Beresford Women's Institute. Like the crises created by the Great War and the Influenza epidemic, women's organizations pulled together to overcome the harsh conditions.¹¹⁴

During World War II the Auxiliary carried on its work but as in the previous war, found it more difficult to fund-raise. Nonetheless, it expended over a \$1,000 on linen, pajamas and equipment for the hospital in 1942. The annual St. Valentine's dance, St. Patrick linen shower and tea, a home cooking stall, a fashion show and the usual cedar chest draw brought in the normal amount of donations.¹¹⁵ At the same time the population now stood at 5,959 and strained the hospital's financial and accommodation capabilities to an extreme. Renovations and two new wings were proposed in order to bring it up to modern standards. A city by-law for \$155,000 was approved and matched by the provincial government. Construction began in 1945 but another by-law of \$90,000 was required to cover increased building costs.¹¹⁶ In order to obtain more support to furnish the new wings, a new North Kamloops and District Hospital Association was formed in February 1945. This direct inclusion of the North shore, Brocklehurst and Westsyde expanded the number of people involved in supporting the hospital and increased its

potential for raising money. Like the Ladies' Auxiliary, the North Kamloops and District Hospital Association found that fund-raising could create controversy. When it decided to have a May Day fund-raising campaign at North Kamloops School, some people questioned whether Japanese children should be allowed to participate. Mrs. Beal, the principal, quickly brought the issue to an end by ensuring that they would be included as they went to school there.¹¹⁷ By June 1946, the new Association raised \$550.00 for the hospital ward but the women in the group felt that they could achieve more by creating a women's auxiliary. They "all thought that it was an auxiliary that was needed. Because all at sometime or other were glad to go to the hospital when really sick."¹¹⁸ In the following years, the North Kamloops Ladies' Auxiliary continued to assist the main Auxiliary as an important fund-raiser. Another form of expansion took place in 1947 when the Auxiliary moved beyond local issues and joined the Women's Aids in B.C. Hospital organization and sent a delegate to B.C. Hospital Association's convention. The president felt this created a spirit of co-operation with other hospitals in the province and was a "step in the right direction."¹¹⁹

In the post-war era, the growth in the population and the hospital's very large district remained problematic but the public appeared to be "realizing that a well-equipped hospital is an asset to the community and that the support given is a good investment."¹²⁰ Nonetheless, the hospital still had a deficit in 1950 and its ability to provide service to patients failed to comply with the requirements of the American College of Surgeons. George H. Ellis, the chairman of the Hospital Board expected the addition of new equipment and a Radiology department would bring it up to the required standards. He blamed the hospital's financial difficulties on the government's failure to force everyone to be 100 percent insured. Those without insurance were not paying for treatment and the hospital was losing twenty percent of its income. While critical of the government, he only had praise for the Auxiliary which continued to make major contributions to the improvement of the hospital by providing equipment and other necessities for patients. Another successful method of raising money was the sale of an Auxiliary Cookbook in 1946, 1952 and 1958. In 1952 the Auxiliary had a record year by raising \$5000 that it applied to hospital equipment and supplies. Under funding remained the major problem throughout the fifties. The North Kamloops Ladies' Auxiliary did its best to help out but

there were still problems. To increase revenue the Auxiliary discontinued the traditional tag day and joined the Thompson Valley United Appeal in 1959 and received a \$500 donation that was twice as much as the normal tag day proceeds. This community chest concept had been proposed by the Auxiliary in 1929 as a solution to the city's social welfare needs and finally it was a reality. Some progress was made in the sixties with a new Nurses Residence completed in 1964 and a nine storey South Tower that brought the number of beds to over 300 in 1965.¹²¹

In December 1974, the Auxiliary celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary and compiled a historical report that provided the Auxiliary with a sense of identity. The importance of their historical record had already been showcased in 1968 when eight members re-enacted the first meeting in 1899. All wore clothing from the period and read excerpts from the original minutes. This type of activity helped meld and energize their members and increased their profile in the community. The "Seventy-five Years of Service" compiled by Norma (Betty) Dalglish emphasized the contrasts between its early fund-raising and that of the seventies. Originally it was reliant on teas, bake sales, dances and membership fees of 50 cents from thirty members. The treasurer's records reveal periods of strength prior to the First World War with revenue ranging from \$795 in 1910 to \$1,166 in 1913. The war, however, reduced funds to between \$500-\$600 but it recovered in the interwar years and Great Depression to \$1,000 and the forties witnessed a recovery to \$2,000.¹²² There was a steady expansion in revenues but two major leaps forward occurred when the Auxiliary opened the Thrift shop in 1963 and acquired control over the hospital concession in 1967. Both were run by volunteers and these successful money-raisers were able to provide \$5358 for new equipment within a short time of their operation. The Vancouver Auxiliary also widened its base of volunteers and now included young men and women over the age of fourteen and as a consequence changed its name by dropping Women's from its title in 1975. Like its Kamloops counterpart it gained most of its revenue from the gift shops it opened. The Vancouver Auxiliary had already demonstrated the profitability of opening a shop and since 1949 had continued to accumulate more funds for the hospital. By 1966 its net profit was \$28,590 and a year later its annual budget was at \$32,900 with over 500 volunteers. In Kamloops the Auxiliary was also doing well and in 1974 the concession brought in over \$15,000 and

the Thrift shop collected over \$10,000.¹²³

CONCLUSION

Although the Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital was similar to other hospital auxiliaries in its objectives and tactics, place made its problems unique. From its earliest days to the present, the hospital always had to serve not only Kamloops but also the smaller communities and a large rural district. Throughout its history this situation and the inadequate government funding often placed the hospital in a budgetary crisis that was partially resolved by the Auxiliary. It also required city hall and the citizens of Kamloops to come to its assistance and typically small town generosity and togetherness came to the forefront by support for hospital by-law funding and through donations. A small population created cordiality of neighbourly relations but it also heightened the emotional impact when well known citizens and neighbours became the victims of the Spanish Flu epidemic. It also meant that the pool of volunteers was much smaller than in larger cities.

The social composition of the Auxiliary reflected the gradual evolution of Kamloops into a more diversified and modern community. From a small number of elite women who saw it as their social duty to engage in volunteerism, the Auxiliary expanded and recognized the need to bring in other sectors of the population to assist the hospital. Over the seventy-five years the membership grew slowly from the thirty-four original members to 146 in 1971. While this was not a substantial figure, the services expanded greatly and demonstrated the dedication of the membership. The Auxiliary expanded to seventy-three by 1914 but the executive remained women whose family had status in the community like Mrs. Winnifred Fulton, Mrs. Jane Anne Burton, Mrs. R.A. Bethune and Mrs. Elizabeth Burris.¹²⁴ By 1928 some of the pioneer founders like Mrs. Halla Benzie who served as president for seven years and Mrs. Violet Lee, another strong contributor died. The annual report recorded "We desire to place on record our appreciation of these lives so faithfully lived so strong in service, and whose devotion to the social welfare of this community tended greatly to its development as we have it today."¹²⁵ Mrs. Annie Wyllie served for four years as president before resigning due to illness and was succeeded by Mrs. R.M. Turner. At that point it had a membership of ninety members and remained

at this approximate level for the next decade.¹²⁶ In the 1938 report, the president, Mrs. S.A. Wallace noted the death of Mrs. R.W. Irving “one of our most esteemed and faithful members. Her bright personality and willing helpfulness in this organization can never be forgotten.”¹²⁷ On the fiftieth anniversary she observed that a few of the original members, Mrs. Rlandral Herchmer, Mrs. Mary Aikens, Mrs. Fanny Herod and Mrs. Eleanor Irwin still lived in the community.

The success of the Auxiliary was measured not just in its aid to the hospital but in the spirit of volunteerism that emerged among the members. Mrs. Bessie Whyte, the president in her report for 1947 congratulated the members on the outstanding year of service and attributed it to their “fine spirit,” “splendid co-operation” and that “Christian urge” to help others.¹²⁸ Another president, Mrs. Nellie Scott, saw volunteer work as her “pet hobby” and it was the appreciation expressed by patients, staff and the Board of Directors that was her reward. Providing the extra comforts to make the hospital more livable and a better institution was a worthwhile cause. She summarized her motive by quoting the motto, “It is more blessed to give than to receive.”¹²⁹ Organizing the numerous fund-raising events, however, could be taxing, especially for the president. It was perhaps the realization of these demands that led to the Auxiliary being unable to find a member willing to serve as president in 1953. It recovered soon after and numerous succeeding presidents ensured expansion, development and the adoption of modern fund-raising techniques. With life expectancy increasing and the population expanding more work could be expected. One delegate to the National Convention remarked that “The lady in the smock was becoming as indispensable as the lady with the lamp.” Growth in Auxiliaries was necessary and by 1968 Kamloops Auxiliary had 109 members.¹³⁰

Separate spheres ideology kept the Auxiliary in a secondary and supplementary role of assisting but never leading and always answerable to the Board of Directors. Societal views of women as caregivers made it an assumption that women were doing their social duty. At the beginning it was only the upper middle class women who had the free time and resources to become involved. Nonetheless, the high social status of the women placed them as community leaders that won recognition for selfless work, humanitarianism and determination to succeed at their objectives. They were also given the opportunity to bond with other women and gain access to a public space. Societal

norms that expected women to be the caregivers of the community remained evident during the Great Flu pandemic but volunteerism was more an individual choice rather a consequence of social pressure. Whenever the need increased as in the Great Depression women in the Auxiliary became more resolved to assist the hospital; it was not only in times of emergency that the Auxiliary excelled. Chronic government under funding constantly strained the hospital's capability to meet the health requirements of the population not only for Kamloops but the large surrounding region where health facilities were totally absent. In the post-World War II era the challenges shifted but were constant. Population growth placed additional strain on the hospital's resources and required more effort on the part of volunteers to keep pace. Traditional methods of supporting the hospital were partially successful but by the seventies new fund-raising techniques became the path for the Auxiliary to continue to be of future assistance. In the end it was the dedication and determination of generations of women that cared for Kamloops and improved the health of the community.

CHAPTER THREE

The Drink Problem and the Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union

"Kamloops had a very unenviable notoriety last winter, Pistols and Knives were frequently drawn, in one case it was little short of a miracle that a man was not shot."

John Mara, Kamloops' politician and developer.

"Intemperance was a moral issue to be fought with spiritual weapons."

Mrs. D. Campbell, Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Local social problems, particularly heavy drinking, were evident in the 1880s and 1890s and this became the driving force that brought women together to form the Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union (KWCTU) in 1898. Railway labourers, miners, cowboys, and common labourers, many of whom were young and transient exacerbated the problems of drinking, gambling and prostitution. A rough homosocial culture evolved that at times gave the town a "wild and wooly" or "wild west" reputation. In this instance, place had a negative connotation and the KWCTU worked to change Kamloops from a frontier to a respectable settlement image by emphasizing Christian morality and the family. Although only a few primary records of the Union have survived, it is possible to pull together a fairly accurate sketch of its activities by comparing it to the national and provincial associations. The Kamloops WCTU was formed twenty-four years after Letitia Youmans organized the first Canadian WCTU in Picton, Ontario. Her interest in temperance stemmed from her concern over the damage that alcohol was having on her community. Influenced by the American temperance movement and the formation of the American WCTU a month earlier, she decided it was time to engage in political lobbying to achieve a solution to this problem. She was a stable and moderate leader who attracted other women into the organization by developing a conservative but active strategy. This concern for the community would also be the primary reason for the formation of the KWCTU.¹³¹ While the national Union evolved to take a strong political stance, small town conservative values and evangelicalism ensured that the KWCTU developed its

own brand of volunteerism.

Throughout the late 1870s and early 1880s provincial branches were established across Canada. In 1883 British Columbia organized its provincial branch in Victoria. Local support from each province made the WCTU a national organization and led to the creation of the Dominion WCTU in 1885. By 1900 the WCTU had 10,000 members which made it larger than any suffrage group. The reason for its rapid growth was because it organized unions in both large and small towns whereas suffrage societies located only in large towns. The main goal of the WCTU was prohibition but unlike other reform groups, it did not try to change the individual but instead attempted to create a new moral society. Temperance and social purity became interconnected as the Union set up a department of Moral Education to teach mothers how to give advice on sexuality, reproduction, and family life, a Department of Purity in Literature, Art, and Fashion, and a Department of Health and Heredity. Its main purpose, however, was temperance and this could only be accomplished through legislation. From its standpoint, alcohol caused crime, disrupted homes and families, and victimized women and children. Its objective was to create an environment that would protect women and children in order to “uplift the race.” In their opinion, “women did not merely have babies: they reproduced the race.”¹³² Popular eugenics theories on racial degeneration and the need to purify the race by the institutionalization and sterilization of the feeble-minded were presented in its journal and at national conventions. It was not alone in this belief and most reform minded women within the Provincial Council of Women pressured the government to establish institutions for the feeble-minded in the 1930s.¹³³ The WCTU leaders, however, kept their distance from direct involvement in the campaign. Nonetheless, they reflected the stereotypical views of the period and blamed working class and immigrant men as the greatest abusers of alcohol and held that they had to be controlled. Being white middle class Anglo-Canadian and Protestant, WCTU members saw themselves as racially superior. Its executive members were also mostly married to lawyers, doctors, businessmen, journalists and clergymen who shaped an Anglo-Canadian culture that was intolerant of outsiders and anyone deemed deficient. Although the leaders avoided the worst aspects of eugenicist concepts they acquired ethnocentric and sometimes racist attitudes from their traditional religious, missionary, and imperialist views that equated

white as light and purity and coloured as darkness. They were only saved from the outright racism by their evangelical beliefs that all people were potentially useful citizens no matter their race as long as they followed Christian principles. These prejudicial views meant that they treated native, coloured, and immigrant women as children who needed to be moulded into their image.¹³⁴

In order to create an environment where women could take an active role and be safe from public criticism, the WCTU confined the organization to women. It created a female cultural space and gave women a place in a male dominated society. Nineteenth century social values generally excluded women from public speaking and tended to make them anxious about involvement in organizations, but the WCTU gave them a personal female space where they could explore their creativity. The organizational structure provided women with the opportunity to express their agency. Here, they learned to overcome some of their nervousness and fears of male criticism. Their new experience within the organization and at public meetings diminished these feelings and they developed their own value system and goals. As they became more comfortable, their confidence grew and they gained public recognition for their efforts. The WCTU worked hard to win over the upper strata of respectable women to its membership. Often competing with other reform organizations, it attempted to attract members by creating an active association. A Plan of Work Department ensured efficient and diversified meeting schedules. Meetings started with a short religious service and each committee had an opportunity to be the focal point on a rotational basis. To maintain interest and attract new members it had parlor meetings at prominent women's homes and encouraged rural support by distributing temperance literature to those areas and maintaining links to the local union. To win over the younger generation it began the Young Woman's Christian Temperance Unions and the Loyal Temperance Legions for children that provided education on temperance issues. In 1884, the *Woman's Journal* became its forum for temperance literature. To make the public aware of their campaign, all members wore a white ribbon symbolizing purity and temperance. Further publicity was achieved by announcements, the reporting of meetings and by publishing temperance material in local newspapers.¹³⁵

In these early years, its major focus was to appeal to the government at both the

local and provincial level to restrict the sale of alcohol. It was a moderate policy that reflected the members' social and religious background. At this stage, it preferred not to appear aggressive as it might "alienate support for their cause in the community."¹³⁶ Petitions to the government, however, failed to bring in legislation. Instead, the government held a national plebiscite on prohibition in 1898 and every province except Quebec favoured it. Its reliance on Quebec's political support ensured the government would not move forward. Frustrated by the unwillingness of male politicians to act on social issues, women now turned to suffrage as the tool to care for the home and family.

This emphasis on women's maternal role made prohibition and suffrage respectable and won over many women who were reluctant to become involved in radical reform activity. By continuing to accept the existence of separate spheres, the WCTU members established that they were not 'new' women and emphasized their role as the guardian of the home and family. They would create a moral society by providing leadership and guidance. The WCTU held that mothers had to train their daughters while schools should offer domestic science for girls in order to train them to be good mothers. This attempt to create a moral society, at times, led them to over-react about such issues as nude art, gambling, clothing styles, theatre, movies, and women working as bar maids. On a more positive side, it maintained that women required a greater role in looking after society. For example, the WCTU lobbied for female factory inspectors, women on school boards and in civic offices, and for matrons within the police and in jails. In this manner, the WCTU attempted to extend their social roles but still remain within the accepted domestic ideal for women.¹³⁷

By 1891 British Columbia had the highest Canadian per capita membership in the WCTU. Part of the explanation may be that there were fewer competing women's organizations in the west and therefore the WCTU provided women with the support they required to bring stability and respectability to a male-dominated pioneer society. Moreover, the strength of the provincial membership came from its appeal to women in small towns. While it had Unions in all the major cities, numerous small towns formed their local branches between 1884 and 1898. These included Vernon, Revelstoke, Armstrong, Ladner, Trail, Hope, Moodyville, and Kamloops. Wendy Mitchinson provides three reasons for this pattern. First, intemperance became a social rather than

an individual issue when a town reached a higher population. Secondly, small town residents wanted to stop the drinking problem before it escalated as it had in the major urban centers. The third reason was that prohibition was a local option and therefore each town had to organize a WCTU in order to campaign and win legislation against intemperance.¹³⁸

Other factors that need to be added to Mitchinson's account were the existing social conditions in British Columbia and, in particular, in railway towns like Kamloops. John Belshaw's recent population history describes how the "gold rush ushered in a decade of dramatically distorted sex ratios" and British Columbia became a "Man's Province." Every census recorded a high number of single young men and those at age twenty outnumbered women by more than two to one until 1914. This overrepresentation of single men created an environment that Adele Perry has described as a rough homosocial culture. The resource-based nature of the province attracted thousands of young men



*Frontier Male Culture personified by photo entitled, "Big Game Hunters."
Image 1204 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

who lived in logging and railway camps, mining towns and ranches where their leisure activities consisted of drinking, gambling and sex with prostitutes.¹³⁹ The respectable middle classes, Church groups and WCTU were anxious and concerned about their

behaviour and attributed it to their lack of religious conviction. According to Lynne Marks' research, their fears were justified as B.C. in 1901 had the highest number of atheists and lowest church attendance in the country. She notes that "There was a common late-nineteenth century saying that men left their religion behind them when they crossed the Rocky Mountains."¹⁴⁰ This exaggerated statement has some truth to it as more people in B.C. declared themselves to be atheists, agnostics or of no religion than in any other province. Although atheists numbered only 2,674, they made up 1.5 percent of the population and were symbolic of the greater number of people who were hostile or indifferent to religion.

By 1900 B.C. was definitely a Christian province but most Protestant denominations had difficulty attracting people to their churches. Church leaders blamed the quest for material gain and transient young men who were no longer under the influence of their Christian families for this religious indifference. Geographically, the Interior of B.C. appeared to be the most irreligious and also had the highest numbers of single young men. Marks' study of the 1901 census confirmed that in the Yale and Cariboo district only 32.4 percent of the population was female and this correlated with the "highest proportion of atheists, at 2.4 percent of the total population." The census, however, also revealed that a significant number of atheists were married men, and single and married women but contemporary Christian critics and social reformers focused on the young man problem and called for temperance and Sunday closing legislation.¹⁴¹

Throughout the province, the male dominated pioneer population was prone to heavy drinking. Gold rush miners, lumbermen, cowboys, railwaymen, prospectors and hard rock miners, were generally single men who had very few sources for recreation other than drinking. From the earliest gold rush, mining towns including Kamloops were the centers of drinking, gambling and prostitution. Attempts by the churches to convert them were dismal failures. One missionary, Luden Brown remarked "The mass of people were reckless and ungodly." A.J. Heibert's research on prohibition observed that "Men drank to get drunk and the quicker the better."¹⁴² Payday was the occasion for mass drinking and generally led to drunkenness, fights, accidents, crime, poverty, prostitution, and disrupted family life. The police were kept busy dealing with all the social problems caused by excessive drinking. In the nineteenth century, people consumed



Drinking and Male Culture
Bar of Montreal Hotel, Kamloops, 1905
Image 4363 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives

large quantities of alcohol and considered it a healthy drink that was often more readily available than tea, coffee, and clean water. It was a province wide phenomenon and residents of B.C. surpassed their eastern Canadian counterparts by consuming one and a half times as much liquor. Seasonal unemployment in the lumber and other resource industries only added to the problem and increased the tendency to drink.¹⁴³

The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway which required thousands of transient workers magnified the problems. Railway camps were seedbeds of vice and drinking that could spread their negative characteristics to nearby communities like Kamloops. Railway towns soon became known for their drinking, gambling, and prostitution. The B.C. Provincial Police and local police whose jurisdiction they fell under proved incapable of controlling the situation. Early attempts to legislate prohibition such as the Public Works Peace Preservation Law, commonly called the Dry Belt Law that provided for a 20 mile “dry strip” along the tracks brought in during the building of the C.P.R. in the 1880s and 1890s was unsuccessful because of jurisdictional

disputes between the federal and provincial governments. B.C. law continued to allow licensed saloons and hotels to sell liquor even in the construction zone. The town of Yale symbolized all the social problems that went along with the C.P.R. construction and every night turned into a “tawdry carnival, its long main street resounding with drunken laughter and raucous shouting.”¹⁴⁴ After the usual twenty-four hours of drinking on a Saturday in 1881, an editorial described the situation on Sunday.

“Yale was en fete that day, in a wild and woolly sense and the one long main business street, fronting on the river, presented a scene and sounds at once animated and grotesque, bizarre and risqué. The shell-like shacks of saloons, whereof every third building nearly was one, fairly buzzed and bulged...Painted and bedizened women lent a garish colour to the scene. On the hot and dusty road-side or around timbers, rails, and other R.R. “construction” debris, men in advanced stages of intoxication rolled and fought in bestial oblivion.”¹⁴⁵

Law and order proved to be an impossible task for the one Constable, John Kirkup, who controlled the district. Other laws like the Sunday Law passed in 1891



*Montreal Hotel with patrons outside the bar in early 1900s.
Image 9714 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

were generally ignored by saloon owners, their patrons and the police. The same was true of a night closing act as saloon owners refused to limit their profits by closing early. Before 1900 saloons were open twenty-four hours, seven days a week and were the centre of social life. They were not only a place for drinking and entertainment but served as union halls, employment offices, and club centers.¹⁴⁶

Kamloops fit in with the provincial pattern of heavy drinking. Without many social amenities and a high proportion of young single men, a rough male culture created numerous social problems in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Complaints about the “wild west” nature of Kamloops were forwarded to the attorney general in 1872 by John Mara, a local politician and developer. He was mainly concerned about the “Drovers and Packers from the Wagon Road” as well as the men connected with the railway survey. “Kamloops,” he remarked, “had a very unenviable notoriety last winter, Pistols and Knives were frequently drawn, in one case it was little short of a miracle that a man was not shot.”¹⁴⁷ Mara was expressing a common desire on the part of the respectable part of the community that law and order be maintained and to a great extent it retained a good reputation with few gun fights or murders. One flaw, however, was alcohol consumption and in 1884, the *Inland Sentinel* placed another warning against heavy drinking after a man’s body was found on the Main Street. After a night of drinking, it was believed he fell and broke his neck. Its statement was short and clear, “Whiskey did it.”¹⁴⁸ The construction of the C.P.R. through the centre of the town in 1885 led to the same social problems as experienced by every community on its route.

In 1895 there were eight hotels with liquor licenses and more applications were pending. Mr. Hardwick from the Independent Order of Good Templars criticized the excessive drinking in the community and noted that there was one saloon for every 120 people and one for every fifty males.¹⁴⁹ The situation was not to improve because one third of the population was between sixteen and thirty and young males still were the largest proportion and mostly worked as common labourers. The annual police report for 1900 stated that twenty-nine of the eighty-one crimes recorded crimes were for “drunk and disorderly” or other related liquor offences and this remained the most common crime throughout the decade. In 1912 four women owners of separate ‘bawdy houses’ received fines for selling liquor without a license and although the police announced their

intention to enforce the law and also instructed ‘bawdy houses’ to remove their red lights from the front door it proved difficult to break established patterns.¹⁵⁰

It was not only the transient railway workers who sought drinking as their main social activity. Cowboys from local ranches took any opportunity to visit the saloons. On one night in May 1906 four ranch hands were sent to town to round up a herd of stray cattle near town and instead went straight to the Montreal Hotel and got drunk on \$30.00



*Cowboys assembled at the Edwards Ranch, North Thompson.
Image 1196 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

worth of whiskey. When they finally left the saloon, each took a bottle of whiskey with them to fortify themselves while they did the job. While not causing any damage in the bar, they did knock down some fences while herding the cattle and collapsed in drunken stupors at the bunkhouse without properly looking after their horses. Besides whiskey, local drinkers had easy access to beer after the Imperial Brewery established itself in 1894.

Kamloops definitely was a drinking town and to meet the demand the brewery produced eight hundred gallons of beer a day for local and export consumption. Prohibition put an end to local sales but the brewery managed to survive on its exports and it was bought by Rainier Brewery Company in 1920 just before Prohibition was repealed. Despite the problems created by these local issues, Kamloops civic leaders still retained a small town approach to drinking and the law in the 1890s. The *Inland Sentinel*, for example, felt that the best way to avoid confrontations between drinkers and the authorities was to hire policemen who were well known and well liked in order to enforce the laws.¹⁵¹

Other groups like the Temperance Society, the Good Templars and the KWCTU faced the local social problems more directly and tried to ban the booze. Like most communities, the citizens of Kamloops wanted to create a respectable and responsible town where they could raise their families and not be subjected the problems created by excessive drinking. One of the first steps to accomplish this was the establishment of a Temperance Society in 1888 but it only lasted a year. The Independent Order of Good Templars also promoted temperance and campaigned within the community for both young and old to take the pledge. They gained public recognition when they tried to block the Queen's hotel from obtaining a liquor license in 1895. The owner protested that the petition against him was unfair as there were eight other establishments that had been granted liquor licenses and many of the petitioners were women and young people between the age of fourteen and twenty and therefore did not have legal rights. On behalf of the Templars, Mr. Hardwick stated that the reason for the large number of women petitioners was because "It was women who suffered more from increases in drinking habit than men."¹⁵² He was countered by a leading citizen, James McIntosh, who argued that a great many people used liquor, especially businessmen and without a license at the hotel they would go elsewhere to stay. Surprisingly, Mayor R.H. Lee did not agree and denied the Queen's Hotel a license but in a short time it circumvented the law by establishing a club where alcohol could be purchased. The Good Templars continued their campaign for prohibition during the 1896 Dominion election and tried to make it an election issue. Without success, they continued to meet until 1900 but lost their motivation. It had a brief revival in 1914 and the forty-six members vowed to "further moral advancement due to the efforts of temperance advocates in the fight against the

chief curse of civilization.”¹⁵³ The Good Templars diminished in strength throughout these years but women founded a more successful local branch of the WCTU in 1898. Except for closure due to the First World War from May 1918 to November 1920 it became a constant force in the community.

On the surface the WCTU can be viewed solely as a temperance organization but some historians feel that its importance is only revealed when its role in defining middle-class women’s culture is taken into account. Its creation of an evangelical vision for society was at the centre of the WCTU’s culture and enabled women to break free of traditional domestic roles. Described by historians as “evangelical feminism” it envisioned a reformed society based on the family and Christian values. This ideology appealed to middle class women and enabled even very conservative women to take progressive steps to reform society and rid it of male vice. The Union’s morality campaign came directly from its religious background of Protestantism and, in particular, sects like the Methodists that supported prohibition and made up forty-three percent of the executive. The Methodist mandate for religious activism stimulated the growth of voluntary associations and gave women a public role. In comparison, those who were not as strong prohibitionists like the Presbyterians made up eighteen percent while the more moderate Anglicans numbered ten percent.¹⁵⁴

In Kamloops, the Union’s membership fluctuated from a fairly large number to years when only a few dedicated women kept it going. Its social composition tended to be middle class or respectable working class but its defining feature was the religious orientation of its members. At the turn of the century, Kamloops had a strong representation of religious groups such as Methodists, Baptists and Presbyterians who were strong advocates of temperance. In the early years one member of the executive was Mary Spencer, a Baptist and the photographer who was best known for her portraits of the infamous train robber, Bill Miner.¹⁵⁵ Its middle class membership was evident at the annual meeting in 1911 where Mrs. Lena Corey whose husband was the pastor at the First Baptist church was elected president, and Mrs. Jane Taylor, vice-president was Methodist and married to a contractor. Other middle class women such as Mrs. Austin were the recording secretary, and Mrs. Robertson, the treasurer. Following the national pattern, it appointed department superintendents. Mrs. Annie McCannell took control

of the flower department, Mrs. T. Howell, Sunday school work, Mrs. J. W. Rice, the lumbermen and miners section, and Mrs. Lena Corey, moral education. In the same year another eight new members joined and in the next year, the membership increased about sixty percent. In 1912, another respected citizen, Mrs. Mary Dalgleish, wife of a well known pioneer and entrepreneur, joined the executive as one of the vice-presidents. This social composition fits into the typical volunteer association membership pattern and it continued to remain the same into the post-World War II era.¹⁵⁶

Women had always been active in church affairs and the WCTU provided an even greater opportunity to express their views and act together to bring change. It became their religious duty to agitate for prohibition and the suffrage. As stated by Wendy Mitchinson, the women in the WCTU were “social feminists, not feminists.”¹⁵⁷ They still believed women’s role was to care for the home but this could only be accomplished when women became active in changing society. Prohibition was central to the health of society and this could only be accomplished after women gained the right to vote.

became the accepted culture for the WCTU in the late nineteenth century but its conservatism had to modernize and liberalize in order to deal with increased secularism, industrialization and immigration.¹⁵⁸

These changes in strategy led to divisions between the WCTU locals after 1900. While the national and provincial organizations adapted to modern requirements, Sharon Anne Cook argues that the local unions she investigated in Ontario retained their conservatism. Evangelicalism divided into two camps with the “liberals” approach being more society oriented and the “conservative” more individually oriented. Letitia Youmans’ decision to follow Francis Willard’s American example moved the national organization in a political direction. Legislation became the only way to gain temperance. The national organization also moved to an environmental approach and began to view drunkenness as a consequence and not simply the cause of poverty. The local unions, on the other hand, continued their personal evangelical beliefs. They still valued the family, responsible mothers, and dedicated themselves to support the spiritual and temporal needs of society and saw it as their public duty to help its weaker sectors.¹⁵⁹ Local WCTUs retained a conservative evangelical culture that can be traced back to the middle class ethic of respectability. From here the responsibility to the family and then to society

developed and brought them into active campaigns to improve their communities. This evangelical vision remained strong among local groups but decreased among leaders of the national organization.¹⁶⁰

Small town conservative values ensured that the KWCTU would develop its own brand of evangelical volunteerism rather than follow the national Union. The evangelical culture was at the core of the Kamloops association and determined efforts were made to change society particularly working class men who had a reputation for heavy drinking and gambling. The regular monthly meetings were set up like church services with opening prayers, hymns, a collection, and addresses by clergymen, and closed with a benediction. They believed that religious faith was the key to a moral society and supported any legislation that increased the church's social position. The members assumed that when people gained faith they would stop drinking and lead a respectable life.

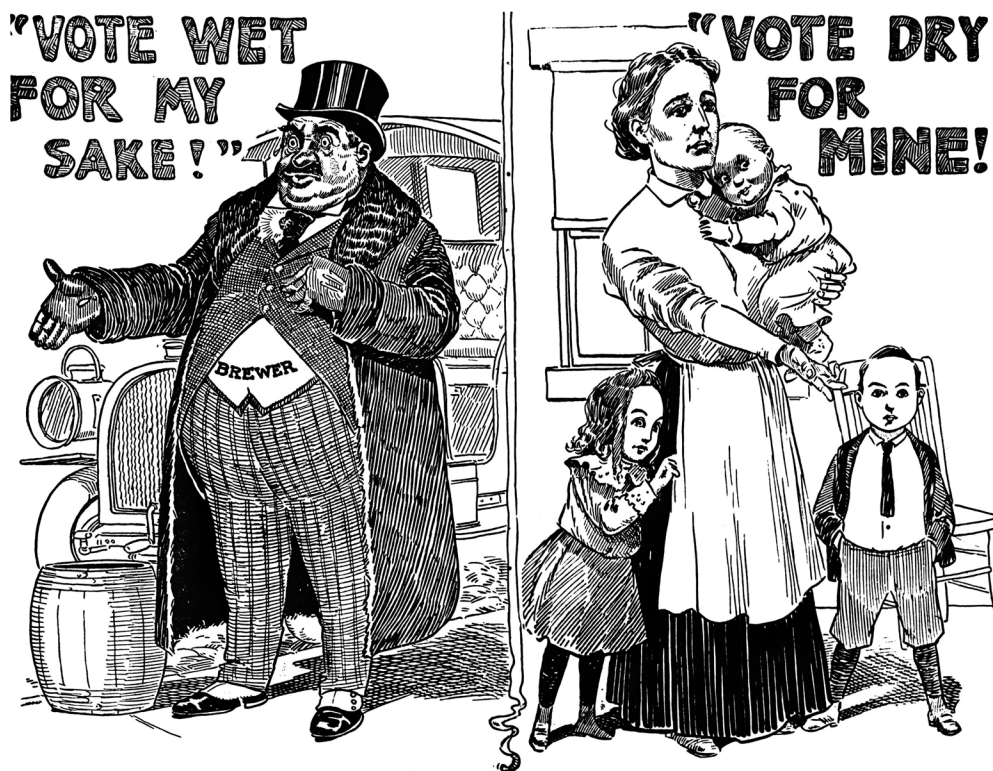
This evangelical approach formed the basis for its Departments that helped the needy or those who they viewed as requiring moral guidance. In 1912, for example, the Union specifically set up a committee led by Mrs. Howell, a member of the mission and literature department, to bring a much needed civilizing tone to the Canadian Northern railway camps where the men were known for their rough hard drinking and unruly temperaments.¹⁶¹ Faced with this working class culture the KWCTU continued its evangelical approach into the 1920s long after the national and provincial Unions became more politically oriented. The Kamloops minute books reveal that it dedicated an entire year to "Women of the Bible" as a theme and often had solos and recitations to reinforce their spiritual ties. Regular meetings at times hosted special guest speakers on Scientific Temperance that focused on the effects of alcohol on the mind, body, and society while other meetings conducted book and pamphlet studies. Together, they reinforced the need to remove the problems of alcohol at a local level by evangelical methods.¹⁶²

These differences between Unions were a common feature of the WCTU. While most unions followed national leadership, there were differences in policy and direction between them. For example, Nancy Sheehan's research on Saskatchewan WCTUs during the period, 1886–1930 bears resemblance to the Kamloops Union. The Saskatchewan Unions were more concerned with charitable and benevolent activities than the Alberta Unions which had prohibition and suffrage as their focus. She attributed

these differences to “local leadership, political differences, and contrasts in economy and settlement patterns.”¹⁶³ In a similar manner, Kamloops was less political than the national and provincial Unions but it did demonstrate progressive leanings by giving strong support for their objectives. The Unions in Saskatchewan, on the other hand, passed very few resolutions dealing with legislation most of their work was charitable and educational. They tended to emphasize moral suasion and work among the poor and youth. Saskatchewan was more involved in charitable work through its Flower, Fruit and Delicacy departments and viewed it as important work because this outside work brought rich and poor in contact. Another activity, the Loyal Temperance League, consumed its energy by trying to introduce temperance to children at the age of seven through meetings and games. It also established a Social Service Department to find solutions to child welfare problems, mental and disease issues.¹⁶⁴

Similarly, the Kamloops Union concerned itself with local issues and was more evangelical than political. The standard tactics were applied to influence and encourage the local population to stop alcohol consumption. Public temperance meetings occurred annually and special public meetings held whenever officers from the Provincial WCTU visited. The members went to all the Sunday schools in town to promote Temperance lessons and established Youth branches like the Little White Ribboners and Loyal Temperance Legions for children to ensure that the young population became aware of temperance ideas. Other tactics included poster and speech contests, a celebration of Francis Willard Day, an annual World Wide Day of Prayer, and the distribution of Temperance literature at public venues like the Fall Fair and to schools. It maintained a public profile by writing letters, circulating petitions that opposed more liquor outlets, beer by the glass, race tracks and other activities that might lead people astray.

The local Union’s main concern was to contribute to the community and it created a number of departments to assist the more needy members of society. The Kamloops WCTU was similar to the Ontario and Saskatchewan locals where the Evangelical Departments focused on the spiritual needs of both members and community and often were the largest department.¹⁶⁵ In Kamloops, the “Departments of Work” distributed Christian tracts, created reading rooms, sewing and gardening clubs, and literacy and temperance lessons. Much of the work was at a very local level and non-political. The



*Temperance cartoon; Victoria
Image D-07520 courtesy of Royal BC Museum, BC Archives*

Fruit and Flower Department, for example, made 210 visits to the hospital in one year and provided bouquets of flowers, baskets of fruit, baby clothes and other clothing. Throughout the twenties, the Union was active in providing assistance to needy families and took on special cases such as befriending a woman who shot her husband in self-defense, caring for a young man who had his leg amputated after an accident, and funding a young English woman so that she could get to her destination.¹⁶⁶

The KWCTU was often fighting an uphill battle against a rough social environment but it made strong efforts to alter working class drinking habits. In the first decade of the twentieth century, Kamloops attempted to improve its image but it remained tarnished by heavy drinking. The population increased from 500 in 1885 to 3,772 in 1911 as the benefits of the C.P.R. began to take effect. Its role as a major employer remained after construction when it established a station and mechanical works in 1887 that employed

seventy-nine officials and employees. Further prosperity occurred as Kamloops developed into a transshipment center. Within the surrounding rural district the population stood at 8,362 and these people visited Kamloops for supplies and entertainment. While part of the population became more stable, there still remained a higher proportion of single young men in both rural and city regions that were prone to heavy drinking. In rural areas there were 3,963 single men as compared to 1,466 married while in the city the ratio was 1,602 single to 757 married. The prohibitionists still had their work cut out for them. To overcome some of the problems the Union created a department that worked among the lumbermen and miners to provide them with alternative recreation rather than drinking. By 1910, the KWCTU appeared to have City Council on its side as it passed a by-law that went beyond the provincial Liquor law by requiring all bartenders to be licensed. It also stated that drunks could not be served and were not allowed to stay in the barroom.¹⁶⁷ This caught the attention of the *Victoria Daily Colonist* and it commented that,

“if it were possible for civic legislation to be more drastic than Attorney General Bowser’s new liquor act, the Kamloops aldermen have succeeded in promulgating such. The new regulations have followed closely the provincial law, but in several particulars have gone one better. If a city can be made moral by law, then Kamloops will soon wear a halo.”¹⁶⁸

The KWCTU continued to remain active in the community and by 1912 it increased its membership by sixty percent.¹⁶⁹

In the next few years, a few other steps were taken by the provincial government against the drinking problem. A 1911 provincial law stated that saloon owners had three years to convert their saloons into more respectable hotels and in 1913 the Sunday Law and the night closing laws were tightened and more closely controlled by the police.¹⁷⁰ By enforcing these new laws Kamloops appeared to be taking action and visitors and locals were more favourably impressed with the community. A local Methodist minister, George Farris, described Kamloops as “a tidy little city,” and like other small railway cities “noted for their family spirit.”¹⁷¹ This image deteriorated rapidly when the Canadian Northern construction workers poured into the saloons in 1913.

Laws might exist, but they were constantly broken and infractions were common and often noted in the local newspaper. The courts were kept busy with people charged

with being drunk and disorderly, possession of liquor, supplying liquor to Indians, and intoxication. Saloons in the Red Light district were notorious for their infractions of the laws. The Pioneer Saloon, for example, was often charged for selling liquor to prostitutes.¹⁷² Police and court records tend to demonstrate that those charged were repeat offenders. From a reform perspective, the most damaging evidence against drink was that many of those charged with robbery or other serious crimes were intoxicated at the time.

The continuance of poor social conditions throughout B.C. gave the prohibitionists greater cause to call for tighter local laws and province wide prohibition. Since its inception in 1883, the Provincial WCTU like the national organization accepted the political views of Francis Willard on the need for women's suffrage as a step to solve the drink problem. When the provincial female franchise failed to be accepted in 1883, the Provincial Union attempted to make inroads into the political system by electing women as school trustees.¹⁷³ The political solution remained in the forefront and from 1885 it conducted annual campaigns to gain the women's franchise. The right to vote and be elected onto school boards was won in 1884 but removed by the government decision to appoint trustees. In 1892 elections were reinstated and Maria Grant became the first woman school trustee in Victoria. It was an important victory as women had proven that reforms could be achieved by lobbying the government to change legislation. Subsequent elections also led to more women being elected to the School Board. Part of the reason for their success was its close alliance with the Victoria Local Council of Women established in 1894 and the WCTU's members' influence on the Council. Together, they created an effective lobbying force. It also worked with the Victoria LCW on numerous campaigns to improve conditions for women and children. In 1901 a Children's Protection Act initiated action to care for neglected, vagrant and delinquent children.¹⁷⁴

In 1898, the year the KWCTU was formed, the Provincial WCTU was pleased that the population of B.C. voted in favour of prohibition during the National Prohibition Plebiscite. It was a short lived victory because the Dominion government pulled away from making it a national law when Quebec opposed it. At the provincial level, the WCTU faced opposition from the Richard McBride government since 1903 and in 1909 it blocked a Local option law. It did, however, bring in the aforementioned Sunday Closing laws and forced saloons to convert to hotels in 1911.¹⁷⁵ Under the leadership of

its president, Maria Grant, the provincial WCTU turned away from politics in 1899 and decided to focus on children in order to save the next generation from the evils of alcohol.

What brought the provincial WCTU back to politics and greater strength was the provincial government's decision to cancel the municipal franchise in 1908. A new campaign brought in 300 new members and by next year it had thirty-seven unions in the province. This activity continued between 1912-14 and together with the Council of Women the primary focus was on the suffrage campaign. Social reform drew many WCTU women like Nellie McClung into political action and they formed the Political Equality League whose mandate was to win the vote for women. Morality issues such as rescue work among young women and girls, censorship of movies, women's work, and curfews for youths also remained important.¹⁷⁶ The focus on women and children continued and generally the provincial organization felt that society created dangers for them that only could be overcome by legislation. Often the law still worked in favour of men and had to be changed. For example, the provincial WCTU attempted to alter a law that placed girls age of sexual consent at sixteen while a male seducer could not be prosecuted until the age of twenty-one.¹⁷⁷

Like other small Unions, the KWCTU maintained an interest in politics by following the Provincial WCTU mandate. It strongly supported the Women's Franchise and members, no doubt, attended meetings of the local branch of the Political Equality League. At a November 1912 meeting the League set out principles that WCTU women would find appealing. It called for the vote on the same terms as men in order to remove the dual standard that disabled women. The other League objective that was in agreement with the WCTU was "to remedy existing evils and to bring to the knowledge of the public the inefficacy of some of the laws of British Columbia especially as they affect women and children."¹⁷⁸ The campaign continued and the next major step came with the 1916 Referendum that enforced prohibition province wide with a vote of 36,392 to 27,217. In Kamloops, the vote for prohibition was 456 as opposed to 168 while women's suffrage received 449 as opposed to 109. The Liberal candidate won.¹⁷⁹

The First World War brought negative and positive effects that impacted the WCTUs. Like other women's organizations it refocused its work to fund-raising and providing soldier's comforts by knitting clothing and providing other necessities. Its

membership reached a high point of 1700 members and 58 unions in 1914 but began to drop as women took up the war effort. As the war progressed suffrage and prohibition resurfaced as major concerns and it continued to press for reform legislation to improve conditions for women and children. The War gave the WCTU more arguments for restricting alcohol as it decreased the amount of grain available for food and lowered the war workers' efficiency. Prohibition became a way to express self-sacrifice and duty. It was also a way for women to demonstrate their involvement in the war effort.¹⁸⁰ Progress appeared to take place when Harlan Brewster's government enacted a prohibition law in 1917 but it was later rescinded in the post-War period by the Dominion and B.C. government. The confusion over the laws, the erratic enforcement and the ease of procuring illegal alcohol led to another plebiscite being held in 1920. With women now having voting power, prohibitionists expected a victory. To their surprise, many women joined those who felt prohibition was not a feasible or desirable goal and it failed to pass. While reformers saw young women's involvement in entertainment such as dance halls, amusement parks and movies as dangerous to their moral purity and might lead them to drink in beer parlours, young middle and working class women chose to be independent.¹⁸¹

"John Oliver Drugstores" became the government's solution in 1921. The Government Liquor Act that established government liquor stores where liquor and beer would be sold at set prices throughout the province marked a new phase in government involvement in public affairs. Tight regulation on sales and enforcement were its hallmark. Bars and public drinking remained banned and tougher penalties for bootlegging were instated. Hotels, however, avoided the laws by setting up private beer clubs and by 1923 pressure mounted to the point where the government held a plebiscite on beer by the glass. The campaign against beer being sold by the glass brought the WCTU, the Methodist Conference, the Federation of Nurses, the Women's Missionary Society and fifty-four societies affiliated to the Local Council of Women into action as they feared that it would bring back saloons and immorality. The plebiscite was conducted by electoral district. In his study Robert Campbell observed that it was the non-metropolitan ridings of Fernie (78%), Lillooet (71%), Mackenzie (70%) and Cariboo (69%) that included Kamloops which supported beer sales. The overall vote for the province was however against beer by the glass. The close results with 73,853 against to 72,214 supporting it enabled the

government to ignore the issue and bring in beer by the glass to be sold in beer parlours. Although they failed in their objective, these organizations demonstrated the growing voice of women and their ability to organize into alliances. It has to be recognized that their campaigns sometimes defended their moral values rather than gender equality. This was particularly noticeable when Vancouver women were banned from beer parlours. Instead of defending women's rights, the coalition under the Vancouver Council of Women remained silent because they saw beer parlours as a threat to women and children.¹⁸²

These were steps back for the WCTU but positive reform legislation such as increased benefits for widows and children under Workmen's Compensation Act, the provision of public school nurses, and the establishment of kindergartens were definite signs of progress. The end of the war also gave five women the opportunity to run for civic offices on school boards and City Councils.¹⁸³ Along with other women's organizations, the WCTU campaigned for a Mothers' Pension as a way to reform society. Many of the members reinforced their maternal feminist beliefs about the importance of the family and agreed with Mrs. J. A. Gillespie from the WCTU when she told the Health Insurance Commission investigating the issue that "We feel the place of the mother is in the home with her child."¹⁸⁴ In this belief they had the support of the majority of women's organizations, reformers and politicians who saw the family as the stabilizing unit in society.

In the interwar era the Kamloops WCTU still felt it had a lot of work ahead of it and became more political in its activities. Laws did not stop people from drinking alcohol in whatever form they could find it. The local police found that many were becoming intoxicated from drinking lemon extract that was still laced with alcohol while others obtained prescriptions to buy alcohol-laced medicine. In B.C. "over 300,000 prescriptions were issued from the date of the prohibition law to April, 1919, during which time only nine doctors were prosecuted for flouting the law."¹⁸⁵ Of course prohibition also encouraged bootlegging and Kamloops was no exception. In the North Thompson construction camps liquor was brought in "kegs of nails, in jam or lard cans and even in carcasses; two or three bottles easily fit into a gutted hog and quite a supply could be carried in a matron's padded corset."¹⁸⁶ Throughout the twenties and thirties, the KWCTU continued a temperance campaign by placing newspaper advertisements and

ads at movie theatres, and distributing temperance literature to members and the public. A surge of political activity took place in 1921 and the KWCTU “received the Banner, as the smallest Union giving the greatest help at the last election.”¹⁸⁷ Annual meetings and conventions of the Okanagan, North Thompson and Selkirk District WCTU in 1925, 1933, and 1939 provided opportunities to reinforce their views and spread the word. Kamloops hosted the District convention in June 1925 and outlined the work done by its numerous local departments such as scientific temperance, public and parlor meetings, young people’s work, little white ribboners, fruit, flower and delicacy medal contests, legislation, petitions, suffrage, and work among railway employees. The major concern at the time of the convention was the recent law of licensing beer parlours and the twenty-eight percent increase in liquor sales.¹⁸⁸ Mrs. Gillespie, the provincial president, spoke on the “Call of Today” which was for service. “Our characters are developed by our action. Character spells efficiency, which is to be accomplished by study, application, sacrifice, hard work and perseverance.” She finished with an appeal to save the nation of tomorrow by saving the children of today. Another speaker, Mrs. D. Campbell of Armstrong captured the Evangelical spirit that still prevailed by noting that “intemperance was a moral issue to be fought with spiritual weapons.”¹⁸⁹

During the Great Depression the KWCTU moved in a more political direction and provided women with opportunities to enter the public arena. Conversely, the main focus across B.C. was on charitable work and as people turned in this direction there was a decline in the organization. Provincially, it dropped to twenty-seven unions with only 556 members. The Kamloops Union continued its work and affiliated with the Kamloops Council of Women in 1933 to co-ordinate charitable and reform issues. When American prohibition came to an end in 1933 the British Columbia Temperance League suffered a major defeat and decided to try to restrict alcohol rather than eliminate it but in Kamloops the campaign against the evils of drink remained strong. There appeared to be a definite need for action as liquor related crimes were becoming a very high profile item in newspaper accounts. In June and July twenty-five people were arrested in eleven days, three for breaking the liquor act by serving alcohol on Sunday or to natives while fifteen were charged with drunkenness. These conditions no doubt explain why it became a more active lobbyist and when the WCTU held a district convention in Kamloops that

year, the vice-president, Mrs. Annie Campbell got strong support from the mayor, D.B. Johnstone. Although not a prohibitionist, he spoke strongly against the sale of alcohol through government liquor stores and the rapid spread of beer parlours. More definite views were presented by Rev. R. J. McIntyre who addressed the convention with a speech "Protecting the Race" that compared the present decadence to other civilizations like Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome which he claimed declined and fell due to their debauchery. He identified the three great evils of the race as T.B., venereal disease, and drink. Alcohol, he stated, "was a narcotic, a drug, a poison affecting self-control, a great enemy of the individual." Connecting biology to hereditary purity he appeared to be reflecting the widely accepted eugenics theories of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. "Their children," he stated, "had a right to be well-born. Biology knew of one unforgivable sin and it demanded that life should be unimpaired." "We must keep our bodies free from this poison and the result will be a better race."¹⁹⁰

World War II provided the WCTUs of the Okanagan, Thompson and Selkirk District with greater incentives. Continued concern for children's health and education were evident at the 1939 convention and the speeches contained a mix of patriotism, evangelicalism and feminism. Mrs. J. Grey, former provincial president called for an embargo against all aggressor nations while Miss Sabbe from Kamloops wanted teachers to set a better example and to promote temperance. As it was the centenary anniversary of Frances Willard's birth, the Unions planted a double white lilac at Riverside Park and gave a speech in her honour. Mrs. Mary Reekie, past provincial president of the Saskatchewan branch, remarked that "better than any monument to the W.C.T.U. founder is the work to raise the place of women in our national life; to increase their opportunities for service; to help them to give as she gave, of their gifts and intellect."¹⁹¹ When they held their thirty-fourth annual district meeting in May 1942 with Mrs. Elizabeth Dierks and Mrs. Annie Campbell of Kamloops as the president and treasurer it confirmed the dedication of the KWCTU to the movement. The local unions reported increased membership and more activity. War work had been added to their list of departments and money and supplies were provided through the Soldiers' Comfort Club. Speeches and resolutions emphasized the need for greater vigilance at a time of war because "we cannot drink ourselves to victory." The Minister of Defense was asked to investigate the

“whole problem of excessive drinking by men in uniform as it is detrimental to recruiting, harmful to themselves and a disgrace to the King’s uniform.”¹⁹² The Kamloops branch denounced the sale of liquor to soldiers and supported a delegation sent to the provincial government in 1942 that called for the closure of all-night liquor stores, the curtailment of liquor advertizing, that men and women be segregated in beer parlours and that they close at 6:00 pm.¹⁹³ The provincial government’s response was to bring in some rationing of beer but it was due to a shortage rather than to outside pressure.

In the post-war period the WCTU continued its campaign against drinking and the moral problems associated with it. Many Protestant church leaders agreed with its position and remained concerned with the growing secularism within modern society. They explained this phenomenon to be a consequence of the province’s position as the last frontier that remained isolated, rugged and based on resource industries. It was a place that valued freedom and lacked strict social conventions. From their point of view, it still attracted rougher transient types of people who were less religious and unwilling to accept Church restrictions. One example was the constant resistance to the Sunday closing laws that were supported by the WCTU and Church leaders. The laws prohibiting the sale of liquor on Sundays were easily by-passed by bootleggers and other back door sales while legislators and the police turned a blind eye. This stereotype of the last frontier still attached blame to white working class men, particularly loggers and miners as the chief perpetrators of secular culture. In reality, religion was being challenged by men and women from all walks of life. Assumptions of female piety also began to fade in the 1950s and 1960s when many women began to view churches as places of patriarchy and sexism rather than centers for social interaction. Tina Block’s research has shown how it was class, race, gender, family, regionalism, apathy, rationalism, and other modernist ideas and not just imagined frontier characteristics that account for the province’s secularism.¹⁹⁴

By the 1950s, the temperance cause found that its moral issues campaign no longer gained much support and this led them to consolidate their position by changing the British Columbia Temperance League to the Alcohol Research and Education Council which based its arguments on scientific facts. The old themes initiated by the WCTU were no longer in vogue and could no longer compete with modern views. With the election of the temperance leaning Social Credit government in 1952 there

were expectations that some recovery might be achieved. Mrs. W.S. Watson from the Provincial WCTU wrote to Premier W.A.C. Bennett congratulating him on his party's recent victory and noted that it was "especially gratifying to us the chief objective of your party is to apply Christian principles in the political realm, and thus endeavour to work for the highest good of this province." "We are indeed grateful that the whole subject will be given earnest consideration by people, who like yourself, are sympathetic to the temperance view point."¹⁹⁵ To placate both the temperance advocates and those who called for expanded public drinking, Bennett called a Liquor Inquiry Commission to examine the distribution and sale of alcohol. The WCTU's goal was to block greater access and especially public drinking as well as placing a ban of liquor advertising. The Commission's report was heavily critical of existing conditions in the province but the government did little to satisfy temperance groups except to provide for a local option clause in the new Government Liquor Act. In 1965 the Kamloops-Okanagan WCTU held its fifty-fifth convention in Kamloops and elected Mrs. J.W. Reeves of North Kamloops as president and given a life membership for her dedicated work among children. The warnings of the evils of alcohol, physically, mentally and spiritually remained the same from most speakers.¹⁹⁶

Provincially, the WCTU felt the need to revive its case in 1969 when the Bennett government appointed another Royal Commission to investigate its liquor laws, regulation and the possibility of extending places to drink such as neighbourhood pubs. The Commission in the end did not support neighbourhood pubs but called for greater liberalization and favoured community clubs that provided food, all types of alcohol and entertainment. Mrs. Rogers from the WCTU attempted to prevent this liberalization and although the Commission recognized her "sincerity and zeal," "her words fell on stony soil."¹⁹⁷ The Commission generally accepted moderate drinking and looked for methods to stop abuse through "prevention, education, treatment, and rehabilitation."¹⁹⁸

Under the New Democratic Party a new move to liberalize liquor laws began in 1972 that would allow neighbourhood pubs. The argument that this would promote moderation was not accepted by a revitalized temperance movement. Another name change from the Alcohol Research and Education Council to the Alcohol-Drug Education Service was designed to keep up with what it perceived to be the modern social problems

of marijuana, LSD and cocaine. This so-called New Temperance movement combined different groups from secular, moral and political quarters. The WCTU continued its opposition to alcohol but was generally being ignored by the press. To gain more support it joined with other groups like the Alcohol-Drug Education Service, (formerly the B.C. Temperance League) and condemned liquor liberalization as leading to abuse. By the seventies politicians like David Anderson, provincial Liberal leader remarked on the atrophy of the temperance movement and how this meant that “We lost a podium, a forum, for discussion of the whole problem of alcohol; the “drys” have been obliterated in effect by the ‘wets.’”¹⁹⁹ Even he admitted that the majority of the province’s citizens wanted more liberal liquor laws. With the return of a Social Credit government in 1975 liquor policy still continued toward liberalization but focused on moderation and greater attention to alcohol abuse. Basically, it tried to find middle ground between advocates of liberalization and temperance by making moderation the key to its liquor policy but liberalization in the form of greater access to alcohol, privatization, and more promotion of it as a consumer item and removal of negative moral connotations relating to drinking. At the same time these moves revived an interest in temperance but government policy both of the Social Credit and New Democratic parties worked against them in order to satisfy popular pressure. Both parties appeared to be more concerned about the public vs. private system of liquor control than with the issue of alcohol abuse.²⁰⁰

CONCLUSION

Since its formation in 1898 the Kamloops branch of the WCTU remained concerned with the community on a number of different levels. Temperance was just one of many issues its members became involved in to improve societal standards. Small towns had drinking and other social problems equal to that of large cities. In fact, boom town conditions in nineteenth century Kamloops and the higher proportion of single young men created a rough homosocial culture that made it worse and expressed itself in heavy drinking, gambling, and prostitution. Kamloops women joined with thousands of others across Canada who wanted to create a new moral society. At the core of the Unions was a maternalism that held women could only guard the family and society when they had the vote. This “evangelical feminism” challenged existing governments and called for a

reformed society based on the family and Christian values. Increasingly, they rejected their confinement to the domestic sphere and lobbied for women on school boards, civic offices, legislatures, and parliament. Perhaps the greatest benefit for individual members was its creation of a female cultural space within a patriarchal society. It gave women opportunities to express themselves, become involved in community affairs, and increase the meaning of their lives.

Diversity was a major characteristic of the national WCTU and created a split between the more politically active and conservative Unions. Local historical events, place and different cultural values between communities created these separate responses. In the early period, the Kamloops' branch reflected the local conservative values and fit more into an evangelical role. Defending Christian values and temperance, it placed most of its energy into charity in the hope that providing assistance to the needy was a step to creating a more respectable and moral society. Encouraging public temperance through meetings, educational tracts for schools and the general public, petitions, and charity to needy individuals and hospital patients, the KWCTU remained a steady force within the community. Despite its conservatism, it conducted some successful campaigns at the local level and gained City Council support to tighten liquor control in 1910 and on other occasions.

Politically, the KWCTU generally took its cue from the provincial mandate for prohibition legislation and suffrage but it demonstrated individual initiative on a number of issues. It was adamant in its attack on beer by the glass in 1923 but it failed to gain the support of the general populace. More success was achieved by its support for provincial campaigns to improve conditions for women and children and health care. Other indicators that it was evolving and moving beyond evangelicalism were its alliance with the local Council of Women in 1933. In that same year the district convention was noted for its strong resistance to government liquor stores and beer parlours. Crises like the Great Depression and World War II naturally saw a return to charitable and soldier assistance programs but the liquor control campaign was always central to its objectives and became even stronger in the post-war period and the Kamloops branch remained active and experienced some growth. The WCTU, however, had to contend with the new societal trends of the sixties and seventies that undermined the old WCTU principles.

In Kamloops some of the members had been with the Union for many years and in 1965 Margaret Frisken received honorary recognition for her almost fifty years of service from the president of the branch, Mrs. H.E. Woodrow. In the same year the Kamloops-Okanagan district WCTU held its fifty-fifth annual meeting in Summerland and forty-eight delegates representing six unions with 172 members attended. The theme remained the same and the main message from the speakers was on “the evils of alcohol physically, mentally and spiritually.” In 1971 another long time member, Dorothy Hungar wrote a brief sketch of the KWCTU’s history highlighting the peaks and lows of the Union’s record.²⁰¹ Increasingly, however, the government was taking control of liquor sales and with the liberalization of liquor laws by the New Democratic Party in the seventies the WCTU was pushed into the background. When the Social Credit government continued the same liberalization program, the WCTU continued to resist but had little impact. The days of effective lobbying had passed and the majority of the population had lost interest in the WCTU’s moral causes.

CHAPTER FOUR

Kamloops Red Cross: From Guild to International Society

The Red Cross demonstrated “the fact that as individuals we can do very little and have found out what a power there is in organization.”

Violet J. Lee, *Kamloops Sentinel*, January 16, 1925.

“The Red Cross belongs to the people as a whole, not merely to the small group that direct its policies. It is truly a people’s movement, with a splendid record of achievement; however, if we are to go forward helping those in distress, our true strength must lie in the numbers of our supporters.”

Lilly Johnstone, President, Red Cross, *Kamloops Sentinel*, January 24, 1939.

While the Red Cross is perhaps the best known charitable organization in the world, one of the best analytical studies of the organization, *Champions of Charity: War and the Rise of the Red Cross*, by John Hutchinson comments that “Professional historians of medicine, war and philanthropy seem to have ignored the Red Cross; one suspects that like their fellow citizens they have largely taken it for granted.”²⁰² To date, the majority of books on the Red Cross are either idolizing biographies of its founder or institutional histories that praise its charitable works. In Canada, most histories of the Red Cross like P.H. Gordon’s *Fifty Years in the Red Cross* and McKenzie Porter’s *To All Men: The Story of the Canadian Red Cross* fit into the latter category. A more analytical and research based history has recently been provided by Sarah Glassford’s Ph.D. thesis, “Marching as to War.” The Canadian Red Cross, 1885-1939,” 2007 and her article, “The Greatest Mother in the World” Carework and the Discourse of Mothering in the Canadian Red Cross Society during the First World War.” Much of her work is based on the more regional, local and gender histories like Hugh MacLean Miller, *Our Glory and Our Grief*, Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons*, Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity* and Linda Quiney, “Bravely and Loyal They Answered the Call.”²⁰³ While national and regional studies provide important background, more local studies like the history of the Kamloops Red Cross are necessary to understand the diversity of how societies were formed, differences in membership patterns and the unique challenges that arose in

caring for a small community.

The scarcity of histories is surprising for an organization that dates back to 1859 when Henry Dunant, a Swiss businessman, witnessed the aftermath of a battle between the French and Italian armies. The suffering of the sick and wounded compelled him to promote a relief society and in 1863 a prominent Swiss citizen, Gustave Moynier, president of the Welfare Society of Geneva took up the cause. He organized an International and Permanent Committee for the Relief to Wounded Military Personnel and called the Geneva Convention that drew up codes of neutrality for those who assisted the wounded in the battlefield that was signed by twelve countries. The emblem they chose to symbolize the organization was a Red Cross on a white background – the reverse of the Swiss flag and the Committee immediately became known as the Red Cross. Under the official name of the International Committee it set out to create a world-wide movement. When Britain signed the convention in 1865, Canada automatically became a participating member but it did not gain any recognition until the 1885 North West Rebellion when Dr. George Sterling Ryerson hoisted a Red Cross flag on a wagon. While he is credited for its Canadian origins, there were many other contributors to its real formation in 1896. Originally, it was organized by men to help men. In these early years it was a weak organization that was always close to collapse until the South African War, 1899-1902 gave it a purpose and direction in helping Canadian soldiers abroad. For assistance it looked to women and particularly the NCW to form branches and soon after it had provincial and city branches in most provinces. Prominent Vancouver citizens, for example, met in March 1900 and established a branch. With most of its assistance being the provision of clothing, bandages, food and comforts, the Red Cross became associated with women's work. It was nurturing and humanitarian but the development of Red Cross Societies during wartime meant that international humanitarian concepts gave way to patriotic endeavours to support their own troops. Later as countries prepared for World War I patriotism became the driving force behind the national Red Cross bodies and a citizen's value began to be measured in the amount of work or money he or she contributed to the Society.²⁰⁴

Both male and female leaders tended to hold strong conservative ideologies about gender relations in society and held that women's role was to serve the nation's interest. It

was assumed that women intrinsically were caring and compassionate and with the men serving on the battlefield, women should do their duty at home. In countries like France and Britain these views led to the Red Cross taking on a strong anti-feminist position and it reminded women that “maternity is the patriotism of women.” In wartime, the only rights women enjoy are “the right to serve and the right to give.” Wartime work was identified as “the real feminism.”²⁰⁵ In Canada, there was a similar tendency to place women into this nurturing role. From its origin, the Canadian Red Cross Society, (CRCS) was gender based with the men controlling the business and political affairs while women undertook the domestic roles of sewing, knitting, fund-raising and sending comfort packages to the troops. Uncharacteristically, P. H. Gordon, the Chairman of the National Executive Committee from 1941 to 1944, dedicated the last chapter of his Canadian Red Cross history to women and found that he could not adequately express the importance of their contributions. He remarked, “I regret that I feel utterly incompetent to put into words what the Red Cross owes to the women of Canada. In fact without our women there would be no Red Cross as we know it. Surely posterity will “Rise up and call them Blessed.””²⁰⁶ Gordon’s observation written in 1969 still applies to the Kamloops Red Cross. It exerted a considerable social influence and made outstanding contributions to the city but has not been properly acknowledged.

Since its formation in 1914, the Kamloops Red Cross went through a number of different stages that were fairly representative of women’s organizations. It, however, had an unusual beginning as it was set up by single women rather than the typical middle class married women who founded most associations. Once it moved beyond being a response to the First World War, it became more maternal in its principal objective and concerned with the welfare of mothers and children. This new role of caring for the community did not restrict women; instead they became more independent and established their place in society. The Red Cross provided them with opportunities to demonstrate their diverse capabilities and its members became renowned for their hard work, organizational skills, and efficiency. Furthermore, they expanded their role beyond caring for mothers and children to being custodians of social services for the poor and needy during the Great Depression. At a time that State assistance was minimal and ineffective, the Red Cross provided the essential services for family survival. The challenges of meeting the needs

of soldiers during World War II shifted its priorities and created gender based structural changes that continued into the post-war era. The crisis of war brought men into the organization to deal with international affairs but it was the women who continued to look after the community. Assistance to all citizens remained at the forefront and it attempted to overcome some of the racist attitudes that developed against the Japanese, Italian, and German population. After the War it continued to expand its social service functions by re-introducing the peace program. It became involved in veteran's assistance, home nursing disaster relief, blood donor clinics and more relief work both at home and abroad.

The above themes capture the purpose, activity, and successes of the Kamloops Red Cross but essential to its story and to an understanding of its motives are the real-life stories of its members. Although all volunteers deserve attention, especially long term members like Lilly Johnstone and Janet Hall, one individual stands out and symbolizes what the Red Cross represented. Edith Norven Bannerman, who married John Edward Fitzwater in 1924, devoted much of her life to the Red Cross. Edith came from a middle class background and her father, James was involved in the community as the Indian Land Agent for the district. She was one of the single women who founded the Red Cross Guild in 1914 and demonstrated her organizational skills by effectively scheduling the cutting and distribution of thousands of garments made during the war. She became president of the



*Edith Fitzwater, 1956. Red Cross President in the 1930s and served the Red Cross for 35 years. Also Vice-President 1933, and President, 1941, of the Kamloops Council of Women.
Image 5917 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

Guild between 1916-1919 and was instrumental in establishing the official Red Cross branch in 1920. This was difficult to accomplish since the average person in the community did not see the need for the organization in peacetime. Seeing beyond the present, she and the other members of the Guild envisioned their involvement in peacetime activities. She acted as the secretary-treasurer when the new branch opened in 1919 and retained that position until 1928 when she then assumed the role of president. During the Great Depression Fitzwater not only administered the funds of the Red Cross but also coordinated the donations of other volunteer associations. In the interwar years she also acted as the convenor of the busy Well Baby Clinic that established important precedents for the care of children.²⁰⁷ When World War II began, she took charge of the workroom committee and put her experience from the previous war into practice. For seven years, she organized sixty-two sewing groups, thirty-three in the city and twenty-nine within the outlying districts. Their hard work was evident in the 63,369 articles they produced. With such a large number of groups involved, it was a logistical challenge to distribute the raw material and wool, and then collect the finished garments. To her credit, she set up an efficient productive system whereby the material was cut out, distributed to sewing groups, inspected, packed and shipped. Fitzwater and the women who worked with her on the committee developed their organizational skills and through efficient management ensured everything balanced. The *Kamloops Sentinel* felt the system was so effective; it “might well be used as a pattern for streamlined production.”²⁰⁸ Fitzwater served as the local president until 1936 and also as a delegate to the provincial branch. On a number of occasions, she was the province’s vice-president and president and responsible for the Red Cross’ work for the whole province. She was rewarded by being made an honorary member of the national central council and awarded the highly honoured Coronation medal. Janet Hall, the Red Cross secretary in 1946 described her as a “modest, retiring woman who has filled all the offices in our society and who takes no credit for what she has done,”²⁰⁹ In 1950 after thirty-five years service, she was given the coveted distinction of being made the first vice-president of the Kamloops branch for life. Her zeal for volunteerism went beyond the Red Cross and led her to be a founding member of the Kamloops Council of Women in 1933. She was a consummate clubwoman and served as its president during World War II and first vice-president of the Provincial Council of

Women. By re-electing her as president of the Local Council in 1952, the women in the community acknowledged the social power she acquired over the last four decades.²¹⁰

War, patriotism and the need for home front support for soldiers explain the origins of the Kamloops Red Cross and yet the response as in communities across Canada was based on local circumstances. Robert Rutherford in his *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War* agrees with other historical studies by Joan Scott, Angella Wollacoat and Billie Melman that there were enormous differences between localities. This divergence in response was evident in Kamloops where young single women were the first to take up the patriotic call and married women followed by forming their own Soldiers' Comfort Club. In August 1914 an urgent appeal for every woman in Kamloops to come to the assistance of the Red Cross in providing soldier's comforts such as knitted socks, mitts and wristlets, generated a typical patriotic response but it was unusual in a number of ways.²¹¹ First, the twenty-four women who responded formed a Red Cross Guild rather than organize themselves under an official charter. Secondly, the women at the inaugural meeting held on September 3, 1914 were single unmarried women except for Mrs. Emily Milton who provided the meeting house and acted as a matron. The Guild established that it was "open to all young girls of Kamloops who wish to help."²¹² While restricted, the Guild added the proviso that "so long as the organization lasted any member who became married did not lose her rights and privileges in the organization." This policy remained in place and while thirteen of the original members did marry by 1918, only unmarried women joined as new members.²¹³

Unlike most middle class volunteers who were married homemakers and sought activities to break free of domesticity, these young women were in the workforce. After large numbers of men left for overseas, they stepped into their places to work in banks, stores, and offices. Their dual undertakings as paid workers and volunteers made them quite exceptional.²¹⁴ The first executive included Nan Bulman, president, Beatrice Allen, vice-president and Norma McNab, secretary-treasurer. Other founding members were Edith Bannerman who served as president from 1916–1919, Maude Batchelor, Alice McDaniel, Hilda and Winfred Hudson. Pre-war census material provides possible explanations for the young women's involvement in volunteerism. It reveals that there were more single women, (696) than married women, (530) in the community. Secondly, prior to 1914

young single men outnumbered women by two to one but all that changed as men went to the battlefield. For the first time the gender balance shifted from a male to a female dominated community. Further information from city directories reveals that these young women in the Guild were either clerks, stenographers, teachers or nurses and their education, occupations and single status gave them a common bond. Most of the clerks and stenographers worked in government offices such as the B.C. Hydrographic office or the Land Registry office and some might already have been friends or acquaintances. Each year the Guild attracted more young women from similar occupations and it soon had over forty members involved in its activities.²¹⁵

Fund-raising also became a community event and the focus of numerous wartime cultural activities. The Guild acted quickly to raise money and provide clothing for soldiers and allies overseas. Individual members provided the base funds for the Guild by contributing 50 cents as an admission charge to the meetings and providing their labour. Committees established tag days, benefit nights at the New Opera House, sock days that collected on average 200 and up to 600 pairs of socks, auctions, home cooking sales, dances and war teas. Collectively, the Guild later to be called the Junior Red Cross Auxiliary of Kamloops made contributions to the Canadian Patriotic Fund and arranged for food, socks, underwear, shoelaces and cigarettes to be sent overseas throughout the war both for soldiers in the field and those, the newspaper reported in the typical jingoistic language of the day, who were “languishing in the Hun prison camps and facing virtual starvation only avoided by reason of the donations of sympathizers at home.”²¹⁶ Beginning in 1915, the Guild directly supported five prisoners of war and sent \$100 to the prisoners of war fund that became a major focus for the Red Cross as the war progressed. Its international affiliations gave it resources to help POWs whereas other volunteer groups lacked this capacity. From being mostly an unknown organization at the beginning of the twentieth century, the CRCS became the “Good old Red Cross by 1918. Despite its overseas concerns, the Kamloops Red Cross did not neglect the home front and attempted to alleviate the dislocation caused by the war years by providing for the poor and entertaining poverty stricken children with an Ice carnival in January 1915.²¹⁷

At the same time, more traditional women’s organizations composed mostly of married middle class women like the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire, (IODE),

and the Soldiers' Comfort Club expressed imperialistic and maternal views in their support for a "final victory." For Kamloops, the Soldiers' Comfort Club is of particular interest as it had close ties to the Red Cross Guild and its members not only helped to form the first official Red Cross branch in 1920 but also constituted most of its executive. It began in 1915 with prominent citizens like Mrs. Winnifred Fulton as president and Mrs. Violet Lee as vice-president and Mrs. Annie Wyllie, Mrs. Emily Milton, Mrs. Jessie Anne Bulman, and Mrs. Jane Anne Burton as members. Their exclusion from the Red Cross Guild explains the formation of the Club and in many ways parallels the motives and actions of most Red Cross branches. Sarah Glassford's research observed that comforts for



Red Cross Guild presenting the colours to the 172nd Rocky Mountain Rangers Battalion just prior to the departure overseas in World War I.

Image 7584 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives

soldiers were comparable to comforting a sick child and provided them with "something familiar, homelike, and personal into the austere and regulated existence of recuperating soldiers." "By framing their care work for sick and wounded citizen-soldiers in terms of mothering, Canadians bestowed that work with symbolic and moral power that boosted

domestic support for the Red Cross, and simultaneously helped some Canadian women extend their work and influence into the male-dominated public sphere.”²¹⁸

Like the Red Cross, the self-proclaimed “Greatest Mother in the World,” the Soldiers’ Comfort Club sent knitted socks, clothing, and other comforts such as chocolates and cigarettes to assist the men overseas. All of this took time and skill to ensure that the goods met the required standards. Not all women had the skill to use four needles to turn sock heels and to avoid rough seams so the Red Cross sent out instructions to its branches and inspected items to guarantee good quality. The Club maintained the same objectives and by July 15, 1915 had 300 boxes of comforts ready for shipment. A few setbacks occurred such as when some volunteers knit socks, scarves and mitts in colours that were unsuitable for the battlefield. Knitting socks also became somewhat of a universal joke as it was thought that it was impossible to use the millions of socks sent overseas. Nonetheless for the women involved it remained an important task and when thanking those who knitted for the Club, Fulton noted how many might think of it as routine but in reality “the importance of work being done in these regular and quiet ways cannot be over-rated.”²¹⁹ One historian, Paul Ward who examined Britishness and imperialism in women’s lives in the Great War verifies Fulton’s statement and argues that the most common patriotic act by women was knitting for the troops. At the time the majority of women were still confined to the domestic sphere but knitting became a form of active patriotism that brought them out of the home and provided opportunities to express their citizenship. Glassford confirms that Red Cross work provided women with an outlet to serve their country and demonstrated that they had fulfilled their collective responsibility as a moral community. Rutherford also found that responses across the country tended to be local initiatives and gave citizens the feeling that they were working for the national cause.

In small towns like Kamloops peer and societal pressure could also play a role in motivating women to contribute to the war effort. Young women openly answered the patriotic call to help soldiers but they could also have felt obligated to join their co-workers at government offices and schools to volunteer. In a similar manner, prominent women were under pressure to fulfill their public duty. Gwen Szychter’s study of the war work of rural women in Delta revealed similar pressures to be actively involved in some

form of public patriotism by contributing to the war effort. Expectations existed that women knit goods, sew, hold teas, or organize fund-raising raffles and women stepped up to these tasks. As their reward they received public praise but this was a double edged sword. Often the names of contributors were published in the newspaper and this gave them recognition but in a small community those who failed to make an effort would be identifiable. This lack of privacy, therefore, was an added reason to participate.²²⁰

Whether the motive was caring, mothering or societal pressure, generally Canadian Red Cross women and other women's groups like the Soldiers' Comfort Club received accolades throughout the war for their patriotic and humanitarian endeavours even from the patriarchal and conservative sectors of society. Some anti-feminists converted to recognizing women's right to vote because they proved their capabilities. Across Canada, newspapers viewed their work as being "second only to that of soldiers" and that it gave them "a new and higher status." Through her volunteer work woman "has placed herself beyond all question the equal of man; hers is no longer the weaker sex, but one that in a great emergency proves itself strong and true."²²¹ For the greater part, most feminists placed the suffrage campaign on hold when war was declared and became ardent supporters of numerous groups dedicated to assisting the war effort. Like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Council of Women and others, the Red Cross concept of caring fit in with maternal feminism and at the same time helped women to cross over the barrier of the domestic ideology into the public sphere. Combined, war work and maternal feminism created a new political awareness among women. Their control over associations and the aid they provided gave them a public power despite the continuance of patriarchy.

In Kamloops the Red Cross Guild's dedication to war relief work generated praise from both local and Vancouver newspapers. In the 1918, The *Kamloops Standard-Sentinel* stated that "no patriotic club in any city of this size has done better work than the Red Cross of Kamloops, and members as well as the people of the town and district appreciate the tribute paid by Mabel Durham, a special correspondent of the Vancouver Province." Durham commented that "To raise nearly \$8,000 for patriotic purposes since the beginning of the war is not a small achievement for a group of forty girls."²²² The generosity of the local population was evident on numerous occasions. In one instance,

the public contributed \$1000 in support of a two day “Bazaar of the Allies” just before Christmas. This money was sent to buy surgical tools for the front and then it became necessary to raise another \$1000 to support hospital treatment of invalid soldiers at home. Undaunted, the president rose to the challenge. “We’ll have no trouble in getting it.” “Our girls always work better when they have something big to work for. When we are just going along in a routine their enthusiasm flags, but when they have some big definite object before them they bend all their energies to it. Difficulties seem to stimulate them.”²²³ Providing for returned soldiers consumed much of the auxiliary’s time and it worked hard to give soldiers suffering from tuberculosis at the Tranquille Sanatorium items to brighten up their lives like fruit, croquet sets, fishing tackle, clothing and other leisure items. They also assisted in the welcome back soldiers’ campaign by visits to the trains where they handed out 350 packages of cigarettes donated by the YMCA over a four month period. Often regarded as merely a symbolic gesture, these greetings were in reality a very important morale boost for war weary veterans.

At the end of the war, the care of returned soldiers continued until December 1919 and then the Auxiliary decided to follow the pattern of the Soldiers’ Comfort Club and gave notice that it had served its purpose. To wrap up its work it held a New Years Dance that was described by the newspaper as a grand affair and the best of the season. It recognized their work caring for soldiers in the trenches, the wounded, sick, and POWs which was deemed important at the time but once the war ended their volunteerism no longer seemed essential and could easily be forgotten. Like other Red Cross societies across Canada their work according to Sarah Glassford has “been overlooked or trivialized, cast in the deep shadow by male-dominated aspects of Canada’s war effort such as munitions production, recruitment efforts, political battles and military campaigns.”²²⁴ This local history of Kamloops women recaptures their importance to the war effort both on the home front and overseas.

In the interwar years the CRCS changed its mandate to public health and this enabled it to move beyond being strictly a wartime association. Nonetheless, it still had to convince Canadians that it could resolve the problems in public health care better than the government or other health agencies. At the international and national level it focused on supporting public health services, particularly venereal disease, typhus,

malaria, tuberculosis, child welfare, public health nursing and preventive medicine. It also had to prove to its own provincial branches, volunteers and other associations that this was the right path to take. Some women's organizations like the IODE, Victorian Order of Nurses and Women's Institutes felt that the Red Cross was intruding into their areas of service and might make their groups redundant. Progress in this direction, however, was slow and the change in mandate from assisting the sick and wounded in war to helping the public unfortunately came too late to be of any assistance to the victims of the 1918-1919 influenza epidemics. The national society left it to the provincial and local societies to handle this major crisis and in Kamloops the Guild was one of the principal volunteer groups to work with the LARIH to alleviate the suffering taking place. The epidemic did make it clear that public health was a major issue and locally tuberculosis, child welfare, public health nursing and preventive medicine became the driving force for a new movement.²²⁵

It was not by chance that a woman, Adelaide Plumptre, whose outstanding service to Red Cross leadership and the NCW, drew up the plans for CRCS National Peace Policy. To give the Society a new direction and a justified purpose the public health program was equated with nation-building. It was a strategic move but one that was very suited to the needs of most Canadians who lacked adequate health services both in towns and rural areas. The pre-World War I social reform movement's concern about race degeneration had increased during the war as more people became aware of the poor physical condition of those who signed up to be troops and of the general population. The loss of the young men during the war and the influenza epidemic gave reformers more cause to look after women and children as the building blocks of the nation. The Red Cross theme of being the Greatest Mother on Earth continued to be used but now for promoting the public health movement. Maternal themes were applied to Red Cross work and emphasis placed on safer motherhood and better babies. This civic work gave women greater access to the public sphere and broadened their objectives beyond the pre-war focus on women to concern for the wider community. It also extended this community outward and recognized the need to improve health services in rural areas.²²⁶

The CRCS launched into health services and maintained control by acting as an auxiliary to the new federal Department of Health and co-ordinating and assisting

the provincial branches. But because health and education were under provincial jurisdiction, the provincial and local branches were on the frontline to interpret the National Peace Policy and provide the necessary programs that were required for their region. This proved to be a workable solution as health care requirements and standards varied greatly by region. Another good reason for giving provincial and local Red Cross societies more control was that they expanded during the war and now had a greater sense of autonomy. In some provinces its involvement in health care directly impacted the formation and direction of provincial departments of health but in B.C. its new direction created distrust. Later in 1939, George Davidson, Director of Social Welfare criticized the Red Cross as being opportunistic.

“They serve as just another example of those people or organizations who think they have a mission in life and, because they have some official recognition from the Federal Government, they think that they have reserved to themselves the divine right of doing anything and everything that government departments are not doing in a given community.”²²⁷

This complaint had some validity in that the CRCS was stepping into the new area of public health but it did not overstep its role and continued to be an auxiliary to municipal and provincial governments.

After the war Kamloops citizens generally felt that there was no longer a need for such an organization, but a core group of members realized that the Red Cross still retained an important place in looking after the community. On December 14, 1920 a reorganization meeting was held to create a chartered branch and to join in the national and provincial CRCS peace program. The main focal areas were to be care for veterans, public health, Junior Red Cross, and outpost hospitals. Moving from a Guild status to a chartered member decreased independence and tied the group into the directives set by the provincial and national Societies. Nonetheless, the main focus in these years was in helping the local community. After acknowledging the auxiliary's tremendous work in raising over \$10,000 during the four years of the war, the new group outlined its Peace program to continue assisting sick and wounded returned soldiers and the general public. Practically all veterans with tuberculosis in B.C. were at Tranquille Sanatorium and

benefited from Red Cross assistance as did the civilian population who contracted the disease.²²⁸ Two other important community needs that captured the Red Cross' attention were general public health and child welfare. In the immediate post-war years when health care was inadequate and government assistance non-existent, the Red Cross maintained that the community's quality of life was dependent on creating a healthy population. In the interwar years it would often concern itself with improving the material conditions of life by its concern for health, housing, water supply, and recreational facilities. Its first step was to initiate a program of preventive medicine and care to improve the community's welfare.

The reconfiguration of the Guild into a chartered branch added a new dimension to its social composition that changed the gender balance and appeared to comply with the general post-war reversion to a patriarchal society. Once the soldiers returned the normal expectation was that women would go back to their family and home duties. In the Red Cross the standard practice of the national organization was for the Council to the local executive to be dominated by men but women's experience in associations during the war ensured that they remained at the forefront of the executive and controlled the real work. Locally, the men who joined the Council were prominent lawyers, businessmen and politicians that included F.W. Anderson, H.F. Mytton, W.A.G. Marlatt, A.E. Dodman, S.C. Burton, and G.M. Sinclair. Similarly, the women leaders, many of whom had been on the executive of the Soldiers' Comfort Club, were important members of the community like Winnifred Fulton, Edith Fitzwater, Violet Lee and Adelaide Johnstone. Across Canada, the Great War confirmed women's place in the public sphere and in the Red Cross they held important offices at the branch and auxiliary level. These women continued to be active and often took on executive roles in other associations as well.

Winnifred Fulton became the new president and was an exemplary representative of women who devoted themselves through organizational activity to the community. Within the fifty-two years that she lived in the city, she belonged to four important volunteer groups. Winnifred was the third daughter of a well known pioneer family. Her father was Hon. A.E. Davie, premier of B.C., 1887-1889, and her mother, Constance Skinner, came from another pioneer family and her uncle was provincial premier, 1892-1895. Winnifred married Frederick John Fulton in 1909 who was minister of lands

and works in the Sir Richard McBride government. Soon after he resigned they moved to Kamloops and she had four sons, Alexander, Edmund Davie, Frederick Joseph, and John. Her husband served as MP for Cariboo riding from 1917-1921. Of the four sons, two became well known to the community. John (Moose) Fulton was a famous World War II bomber ace and first commander of No. 419 (Moose) Squadron of the RCAF. He was killed in a bombing mission over Germany in 1942. Edmund Davie became the MP for Kamloops in 1945 and represented it for a long period. Like many women, Winnifred



*Winnifred Fulton, c.1910
Soldiers Comfort Club, 1915, President of the Red Cross, 1920, and
Kamloops Council of Women, 1933.
Image 4278 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

gained some of her volunteer experience through church activities. Early on, she involved herself with the Catholic Women's League and through the years served in almost every office. She was known for her organizing ability and concerns for education.²²⁹ During the First World War she was elected president of the Soldiers' Comforts club that supplied clothing, knitted and donated socks, and other items for soldiers at the front.²³⁰ She also helped organize the Kamloops Council of Women and became its first president in 1933 and national vice-president in 1934. Winnifred was also well known for her work with the SPCA but the Red Cross was the one organization that she helped the most. Her multiple roles on executives gave her power and a strong public presence that transcended

the normal expectations placed on a politician's wife. She appeared to be working for herself, other women, children and society.

Other elite women in the Red Cross included Edith Bannerman, vice-president, whose father James was the Indian Land Agent, and Mrs. Violet Lee secretary, whose husband was on City Council, a surveyor and the City Engineer. Violet first gained mention in the local newspaper because she and her daughter were on the Titanic when it sank on April 15, 1912 but it was her volunteer work that won her recognition. When she died the Red Cross president remarked that Violet Lee was a "faithful and enthusiastic worker since the branch was granted its charter" while the secretary added "It needs no word of ours to eulogize Mrs. Lee-her keen and sympathetic interest in all that was for the betterment of society, her wonderful executive ability and tact, and most of all her unfailing charity to those who were unfortunate will long be remembered."²³¹ Edith Bannerman married John Edward Fitzwater who later served as mayor from 1952-1961. Another president, Adelaide Johnstone elected in 1923 had a successful husband who was a realtor, owned an insurance company and was an alderman. While the new branch was founded and run by middle class women, its membership and the day to day work relied on a wide cross section of society. Much of the fund-raising came from the work and resources of ordinary citizens, the working class, farmers, ranchers, ethnic groups and they were actively involved in sewing clubs, social teas, balls, and other diverse functions.²³²

The first step taken in Kamloops to develop the Peace Program was the hiring of a district public nurse, Miss Christina Thom in 1920. Her annual salary of \$166.22 was half paid by the city. Then in 1921 she was appointed as the regular school nurse so that her salary and responsibilities were now in the hands of three agencies.²³³ Following the post-war trend toward public health education, Thom offered home nursing and hygiene classes for high school girls and evening classes for adults. The classes provided information on "the structure of the body, and the location and functions of the various organs."²³⁴ She emphasized that health was the normal condition. The local *Kamloops Standard Sentinel* reporter noted that it was comforting "in these days when the word bacteria was on everybody's tongue to learn that while there are over 1500 known germs, only seventy-five of these are harmful."²³⁵ Members of the medical and dental professions

assisted Thom in her public lectures but she provided the core material for the twenty lessons in 1922 attended on average by ten adults. Equally important was her position within the schools because it gave all children the same chance of “timely discovery and remedy of retarding defects.”²³⁶ By 1922 Thom was making a difference to the city’s health and within one month she made forty-three home nursing visits and attended three medical cases. She also made thirteen visits to schools, four home school visits and gave four school treatments. Altogether, she found sixty-seven defects and provided treatments.²³⁷

At times, it became difficult to maintain the momentum for the Peace Program but the determination of its members carried it forward. Across Canada wartime volunteers drifted away and many did not view public health as their issue and questioned whether the Red Cross was the appropriate association to deal with it. Often, it was only the old regulars who attended meetings and spearheaded the Relief, Tranquille, Royal Inland Hospital and other committees. Progress, however, occurred and throughout the twenties, membership increased particularly among teachers and nurses and the Council expanded from twelve to sixteen members while the general membership increased to 376. For the *Kamloops Sentinel*, this indicated that the city believed the Red Cross was doing “real work in the community.”²³⁸ According to the president, Violet J. Lee, it demonstrated “the fact that as individuals we can do very little and have found out what a power there is in organization.”²³⁹ Although the work continued to be mostly done by small committees, the general membership rose to 508 by 1930. To ensure that its program reached the younger population, a Junior Red Cross was established in 1928 thanks to the help of teachers and the school nurse at Lloyd George School. Like the CRCS, it viewed the Junior Red Cross as an important influence on the next generation’s physical and moral development. Initially, it started during World War I, and had three objectives, education in health, self-government and international relations. For Canada, it could help build a better nation by creating healthier and more socially responsible citizens. It would maintain what was considered the most important aspect of the war years, the spirit of service and sacrifice shown by millions of Canadians. Internationally, its membership in the millions was considered a tool for generating better understanding between countries. These ideals made the Junior Red Cross a symbolic activity that

promised rejuvenation and world peace.²⁴⁰

Throughout B.C., the Red Cross Peace Program's main theme was preventive medicine. The Great War with its loss of young men led women's organizations, physicians and the government to view the health of children as a patriotic duty. For the State, children were viewed as national assets that would improve future productivity and efficiency and therefore much of its focus was on childhood diseases such as rickets, diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping cough and measles. To overcome these illnesses, governments launched campaigns to vaccinate, isolate infected children and programs of public education. The Federal government established a Department of Health in 1919 and provided funding but left most of the responsibility to the provinces. The Red Cross, for example, provided funding to the Provincial Health Branch to support a public health nursing program and also funded a Chair of Public Health at the University of British Columbia.²⁴¹ While the medical authorities were fully aware of the benefits of preventive measures, the public still remained fearful of immunization programs. The Vancouver smallpox epidemic in 1925 led the Provincial Board of Health to establish free smallpox clinics throughout B.C. but at first they were not successful. As elsewhere, Kamloops citizens feared that vaccination might actually increase the chance of contracting the disease. One positive step was taken when the local School Board made it compulsory for children to be vaccinated except when the parents objected. The school nurse proceeded to vaccinate 302 children but there still remained 649 parental exemptions. With more public education, the fears diminished and by 1930 when a diphtheria epidemic threatened, forty percent of children were inoculated and in 1934 an even greater number. Slowly, preventive medicine was being accepted and the education provided by the Red Cross can be given much of the credit for this transformation.²⁴²

In Kamloops, the local branch decided that one of the best methods for caring for the future population was to establish a Well Baby Clinic. In the post-war period the State was becoming more involved with the development of child welfare clinics and visiting nurse programs within larger cities. Both symbolized the new preventive medicine in action. For healthier babies, they encouraged breastfeeding, better quality milk for artificial feeding and improved infant formulas. In smaller communities like Kamloops, women's organizations continued to lead the way in providing better standards for babies.



*Kamloops Red Cross Well Baby Clinic officially opened with Christina Thom, public nurse and Dr. M. G. Archibald in attendance, 1922.
Image 1724 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

Preliminary steps to start a Well Baby clinic were taken in June 1921, and it opened its doors on a fortnightly basis in May 1922. The Clinic was one of a few established in B.C. and maintained a high standard.²⁴³ At the initial clinic over a dozen mothers had their babies weighed and height recorded by Dr. Archibald and Thom. Fulton stated that the work of the clinic was “To weigh and measure each baby to ascertain whether it comes up to the average weight and development for its age and if not, to inform the mother when it fails and suggest to her the best way to remedy it.”²⁴⁴ Statistics were provided to demonstrate that once underweight children were detected, steady improvement was recorded in the following months. By September 1923, it had forty-three babies on the roll. Thom proved to be a popular and efficient school and public nurse. Her “charming and unobtrusive helpfulness” had “endeared her to the people of Kamloops” and there was a general regret when she resigned in May 1923.²⁴⁵

In its first three years, the Red Cross established a solid foundation but like most

volunteer organizations, it encountered tensions that tested its own internal structure. The difficulties arose as a consequence of the personality of the successor to Christina Thom who was sent by the provincial branch and assumed all her responsibilities. Unfortunately, the new nurse, Mrs. A.E.F. Pope became the central figure in a public controversy with the school board. In January 1924, parents accused Pope of mistreating the children by placing iodine on children's faces for ringworm, writing "dirty neck" on a child's neck with an indelible pencil and kicking students who did not stand in line properly. Pope denied the charges and called for an enquiry. Mrs. Adelaide Johnstone, president of the Red Cross, brushed off the charges as "frivolous and trivial," but the accusation remained a serious concern. Dr. Archibald defended Pope as a hard worker and efficient while others noted her war record and that she was a recipient of three King George medals.²⁴⁶ Since the Red Cross had brought Pope to the community, the Society was more responsible for her actions than the other authorities. After a long public meeting over the charges and whether Pope's reputation had been undermined, Mayor Colley stepped in and offered to mediate between the parties. In the end the parents and school board withdrew the charges. The newspaper agreed with the chairman of enquiry, Rev. H.R. McGill, that cooperation with the nurse would provide the community its best results and that she should be supported by all. It added that "Her work is no sinecure, it is often thankless." Most agreed that the nurse did a good job of training children in cleanliness and "this helps toward keeping down epidemics and making the city and community generally safer and happier."²⁴⁷ Despite her exoneration, Pope resigned on May 1, 1924 after she became involved in an internal conflict with the executive. Perhaps disillusioned with the school scandal, Pope planned to apply for a position at the Tranquille Sanatorium but came under criticism from some executive members for attempting to leave her position without the proper thirty days notice. Pope, on the other hand, denied the charge but felt she could no longer work with the Society and put in her notice to resign. After the resignation of Mrs. Pope, the clinics were discontinued but revived when Miss Campbell, the school nurse began to help out in 1925. The local Red Cross survived its first setback and remained determined to serve the community²⁴⁸

Gender bias within the Canadian medical profession and society were also potential obstructions to the success of the Well Baby clinics. In Kamloops, however,

local conditions cleared the path for a woman to take leadership in the management of the Clinic. The situation came to a crisis during the interwar period when the continued success of the Clinic was marred by the difficulty of finding a doctor to attend on a regular basis. When it was first suggested that the new nurse hired in 1927, Olive M. Garrood handle the clinic by herself, it raised concerns about the proper spheres for doctors and nurses as well as engrained societal expectations of each. Winnifred Fulton, the president, felt that a nurse acting on her own “might cause the mothers to lose confidence in the clinic and defeat the very thing it was formed for which was that the doctors by their examinations should be able to detect ailments in their first stages and thus be able to treat them.”²⁴⁹ Fulton still retained the accepted public belief that in a male dominated medical profession men did the curing and women the caring.

Generally, the traditional women’s support system that relied on other women disintegrated as the male medical profession took over from maternal caregivers like midwives. In her recent research, Debra Brown notes that there was a “paradigm shift” from personal to professional care in the 1920s. Doctors had social authority because they wanted it and the public supported this premise.²⁵⁰ In Kamloops, Dr. Archibald and Dr. Irving proved to be exceptional in that they felt that Garrood’s excellent training gave her the competency to be in charge. She had trained under the famous New Zealand child specialist, Sir Truby King, who founded the Mothercraft Training Society in London, England in 1918.²⁵¹ She was also a recognized authority who the Red Cross Geneva headquarters chose to review a child welfare book. The situation in Kamloops was rather unique. Generally doctors recognized that nurses were essential to spreading knowledge on child and maternal welfare but were usually determined to keep control of the nurses. The patriarchal medical profession found it difficult to allow nurses to be independent. By placing Garrood in charge in 1929 Kamloops was in a “unique position” with a female in charge and as being the only baby clinic running under rules established by King. Nothing similar existed until 1931 when Toronto began a Mothercraft Centre following the English model.²⁵² In Toronto, this created opposition from the male medical profession as the Centre was staffed entirely by Truby King nurses and not under the supervision of physicians. In particular, the nurse’s role of prescribing infant feeding challenged doctor’s authority and therefore met heavy criticism from

pediatric experts. Large cities like Toronto already had a Division of Maternal and Child Hygiene department and this organization resented any intrusion in its established and recognized authority. Dr. Archibald and Dr. Irving were unusual in their acceptance as most doctors in small towns according to Comacchio's study of Ontario found child welfare nurses, their "modern" teachings and clinics to be a threat to their livelihood and status in the community. Many doctors treated child welfare nurses with indifference or open hostility.²⁵³ In Kamloops the opposite appeared to be the case.

The small number of doctors in Kamloops and the heavy case load from the town and surrounding region created a different situation and may explain their willingness to accept Garrood's management of the Clinic. The public also appears to have accepted her leadership and again in 1933 the *Kamloops Sentinel* praised her work. "Kamloops is indeed fortunate in having a nurse of Miss Garrood's reputation and ability in charge of the baby clinics."²⁵⁴ Under her direction, the clinic's attendance increased to the point where they had to be held every week rather than fortnightly. Forty-one clinics were held during 1933 with an attendance of 969, an increase of 304 over 1932. To add to the Clinic's program, Garrood also established pre-natal clinics in 1928 that supplemented the doctor's advice to expectant mothers. Nonetheless, the president Edith Fitzwater still felt that "A good deal more should be done in child welfare work in the city and district." She concluded her 1930 report by stating "It is better to place a fence at the top of the cliff than maintain an ambulance at the bottom."²⁵⁵ After twelve years in operation, the 1934 annual report noted that the Well Baby Clinic's "importance cannot be overestimated for upon it depend not only the health of the infant but also the education of the mother in the care and feeding of her child, and, to a large extent the future health of that child."²⁵⁶

Although the Red Cross focused on the care of women and children, it remained cautious of more progressive feminist objectives. In 1933 Laura Vaughan from the Vancouver Birth Control Clinic was invited to Kamloops by a group of women to speak at a public meeting chaired by Margaret Macnab, a strong supporter of the CCF. Interest in the community was very high and the meeting so well attended that many had to be turned away. One of the Kamloops women attending the meeting, Vivian Dowding, went on to become the strongest campaigner for birth control in the Interior. Unable to stop pregnancies by traditional methods of douching she was one of the many women to

acquire a diaphragm at a special meeting held after Vaughan's public talk. So concerned by the difficulties of low income women who faced annual pregnancies, she obtained a position with the Parent's Information Bureau and from 1937 to 1944 travelled throughout the Interior over rugged roads into logging and mining camps to provide women with information on how to obtain birth control supplies such as contraceptive jelly, condoms, and diaphragms. At the 1933 meeting discussions occurred about opening a birth control clinic but it would take another forty years for one to be established. Because the Red Cross Society ran the Well Baby Clinic and expressed concern for women's health people in the community assumed that the Society was involved in these plans. Strong opposition from the Catholic church ensured that the Society would keep its distance from such a controversial issue. Soon after it decided to publish a clarification denying its sponsorship before it began to affect its fund-raising.²⁵⁷ While it avoided a public controversy over the birth control issue, other problems arose.

Despite outward appearances of harmony, some internal conflicts existed between the Well Baby Clinic's convenor, Fitzwater and Garrood. The minutes indicate that the March 12, 1937 meeting featured disagreements, "very stormy discussion" and "much unpleasantness." Undisclosed accusations levied against Fitzwater by Garrood divided the executive until Garrood admitted making a mistake on how Fitzwater expended money and provided an apology.²⁵⁸ There was also a decline in attendance at the clinic during the latter part of the thirties and by the time war began both Garrood and the executive felt the Society's attention should be focused on the war effort. Although Garrood still considered "child welfare work" to be of "prime importance," she felt that doctors were now providing effective post natal advice.²⁵⁹ In reply, the Society thanked Garrood for the years of efficient service and her unselfish work to provide for the health of children and to make the clinic "one of the outstanding ones in Canada."²⁶⁰ While Garrood and the executive agreed to close the clinics, the *Kamloops Sentinel* criticized the withdrawal of this important community service. In retrospect, the newspaper reflected the real situation because Canada generally lagged behind in providing proper medical care for pre-natal mothers, at delivery and in the post-natal situation. Despite the work carried out by the Red Cross and other volunteer organizations, there was still a need for government intervention to overcome health problems.²⁶¹

An even worse scenario existed for women in rural areas and led the Red Cross to develop a very valued Outpost hospital program. First started in Alberta in the 1920s, it was part of the new program of public health that focused on rural rather than urban problems. Studies had shown that women and children in remote areas were worse off than their urban counterparts. To overcome the problems created by isolation, particularly for pregnant women, the CRCS worked to provide graduate nurses for these areas. Outpost nurses faced many hardships due to remoteness, long hours and the need to travel long distances under rough conditions. Like the rural school teacher they often became one of the most valued individuals in the community. The Kamloops branch, for example, set up a nursing station in the Shuswap region and the nurse allocated there was revered. "To mention "Red Cross" there is to have the nurse's name referred to with veneration. Ask any doctor what these nurses are doing and he will tell you that in many cases they are rendering aid as skillful as physicians."²⁶² Seeing the need for a resident nurse in the Blue River region, the Society wrote numerous letters to the Department of Health and Canadian National Railway Employees Medical Association to achieve this goal. From 1930, two outpost hospital services were provincially started and maintained at Pouce Coupe and Grand Haven near Fort St. John. Each province sponsored its own projects and expected the community to supply the building and general upkeep while the Red Cross provided the nurse's salary, equipment and other supplies. When the community became established, the Red Cross moved on to another area. This program which the local society contributed to was of "inestimable value in pioneer districts."²⁶³

During the interwar period, another major component of the Peace Program was the Tranquille committee that continued its frequent visits to soldiers suffering from tuberculosis. The CRCS contributed \$90,000 to the Canadian Tuberculosis Association between 1918-1925 but because the sanatorium was a provincial institution, visiting and gift expenses for magazines and other comforts were paid for by the provincial branch of the Red Cross. In 1920 they gained assistance from the Kamloops women's auxiliary of the British Columbia Anti-Tuberculosis Society when it decided to dissolve and merge with the Red Cross to be able to carry on its work. The Society had run into financial problems in maintaining Tranquille Sanatorium and began to negotiate with the government for its takeover. Throughout its history, women kept the Kamloops branch

functioning particularly through the service of long term executive members like Isabel Costley and Susan Wood.²⁶⁴ Like other societies it raised money through Tag days, and social events to maintain the Sanatorium and help poor patients in the institution and the city. The women of Kamloops, Susan Wood declared were “every bit as interested in public matters as the men,” and in field of anti-tuberculosis work, they were definitely more involved than men.²⁶⁵ In 1924, the Red Cross soldiers and civilian committees visited the sanatorium twenty-two times, and this was regarded as a great accomplishment as the institution was nine miles out of town. During the Depression the number of visits reduced to fourteen per year as expenses needed to be cut back. The committee was still visiting soldiers and citizens twenty years later and had to increase the size of its members because the sanatorium had added thirty more beds.²⁶⁶

With the onset of the Great Depression, many Red Cross branches suffered severe financial setbacks with the loss of fund-raising but in Kamloops it became the core social welfare institution for the community. Janet Hall, the secretary in 1946 recalled how “no one had any money, and everyone came to us for help, for we were the clearing house for all those in trouble, doing the work now undertaken by the social assistance branch.”²⁶⁷ Since its foundation, the local branch adopted this role by setting up a social service committee for the purpose of assisting needy families with clothing and food. The 1920s already witnessed depression conditions in the surrounding agricultural areas due to drought and plagues of grasshoppers. While the close knit farming communities shared water, food, equipment, and labour to survive, in the city the Red Cross assisted eight families and several individuals in 1922 and thereafter took on a leadership role in caring for the community. It often appealed to the community to become more involved by providing assistance to needy families in the form of clothes, boots, food, money, and moral support. Its other relief work included providing money, clothing and furniture for a family who lost their home to a fire, and helping two children to go to the Vancouver school for the blind.²⁶⁸ Throughout the twenties, its relief work grew and in 1928 the committee supplied thirteen women, 140 children and thirty-nine men with 630 articles of clothing. Working in conjunction with other associations like the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire and the Ladies of the Royal Purple and the provincial authorities, the Society was able to provide room and board for two weeks in 1929 to a

family whose father had taken ill.²⁶⁹

The work of the relief committee took on a new dimension as the Great Depression began to take its toll. In Kamloops as throughout British Columbia and across the nation the Red Cross became the first defense against the ravages of unemployment and poverty. Within the city, it often became the co-ordinating agent for the entire community and acted as a constant liaison between the poor, civic officials, and the provincial government authorities. In 1931 Edith Fitzwater the president reported that “the Red Cross has a place of importance in this community as well as in the province and the dominion.”²⁷⁰ The local population experienced unemployment, low wages, and diminished financial resources and it was the volunteer agencies through past experience that had better administrative and investigative tools than municipal governments to deal with the problems. City Council only offered sporadic relief in the form of a public works program to employ men in 1930 and provided a soup kitchen in 1931 but both quickly ran out of funds as local citizens and transients pushed the demand from fifty to over a hundred meals per day. The city did not work out a relief plan until 1935 when it finally began to provide relief assistance to 222 married men and twenty-eight single men in the community. This program cost \$2,600 per month for the city while the province contributed sixty percent of the cost.²⁷¹

Despite women’s lower wages than men, this did not save them from unemployment. It still remained customary for employers to maintain the breadwinner ideology and to hire men. During the post-Great War prosperity period the average male industrial wage in Kamloops was \$29.20 while single women who worked at Woolworth’s received only \$12.50. Women who worked in the tomato canneries were paid piece rates that were also much less than the men’s hourly wage. Another disadvantage was the continuance of the “marriage bar” concept at many places of female employment. This was evident in the teaching profession where School Boards automatically expected women teachers to resign when they married despite the fact that they made up seventy percent of the profession. This practice continued up to the mid-century and during the Depression the overall opposition to married women working increased and the male breadwinner concept was reinforced. Men and women were separated by a two-tier welfare system whereby men were covered by a federally funded rights based unemployment scheme and

women were under a provincial and municipal needs based relief fund. They lost the pre-Depression women's rights based on maternalism. In B.C., the Department of Labour recorded that women lost twenty-two percent of their jobs by 1933.²⁷² In Kamloops, paid employment for women tended to be seasonal in the canneries, domestic service, waitress or other feminine work. In this year seventy-eight of the 117 employees at Bickford's tomato canning plant were women. To survive and provide for their families many women also did part-time work such as sewing, selling preserve foods or taking in boarders as well as maintaining a family garden.

Locally the Red Cross assisted eighty-six families with an average of five children, eighty-two single men and fifteen single women and twenty infants in 1929. By 1931 the situation had worsened and 169 families in the city and district required assistance. Each monthly Relief report indicated the increasing problem of poverty.²⁷³ In 1932, the government Relief Agent issued approximately 2000 relief slips per day that entitled an unemployed person to twenty-five cents per day. These relief tickets only allowed for the purchase of meat or other groceries. It was not permissible to buy clothes, shoes or tobacco and items of that nature could only be obtained from the charity and volunteer organizations in the city. Transients received \$2.00 for groceries on condition that they "don't come back."²⁷⁴

While other associations helped their own members, the Red Cross was the main provider of direct relief for the entire community. At a time when government relief payments provided only for food and rent, the donations of blankets, clothing, and other comforts collected by the relief committee were extremely valuable. After a couple of years, the executive felt a need to co-ordinate relief efforts with local churches and organizations in order to prevent overlapping. It called a public meeting that was attended by city officials, churches and other organizations and concern was expressed that some individuals might be getting more than their share of relief through duplication of services while others might not obtain enough help due to increased demand. Following the example of other communities they decided to establish a Community Chest in 1932 to collect and distribute all relief funds.²⁷⁵ The Red Cross, however, could not join this local association as it had to maintain its independence as stated by the national constitution. Furthermore, the Community Chest restricted itself to relief within the city while the

Red Cross served the entire region. Nor did it deal with issues that were important to the Red Cross like child welfare. As a consequence, it remained independent but continued to work with the Community Chest.²⁷⁶

Due to its location and particularly the existence of the C.P.R. and C.N.R. large numbers of transient unemployed congregated in the community and placed more pressure on Kamloops than on other small towns. Two “hobo jungles” formed, one for B.C. transients at the north end of the Red Bridge and one for out of province transients at Mission flats. In his personal account, *Depression Stories*, Sydney Hutcheson described life in the “jungles” and the relationship of transients to the local population. There he found “a continuous flow of men going through the jungles every day. While we were there at least a thousand men and women were living in the Kamloops jungles.”²⁷⁷ With so many men in the camps, the Kamloops jungles were large enough to constitute a small town. Within them, Hutcheson noted that every type of man could be found from doctors, lawyers, dentists, barbers and men from every trade. They had their own code of laws and ensured that good relations were maintained with the city. Theft from city stores, for example, was prohibited. The police chief, Anderson, did not go into the camps but kept tight control over anyone who crossed the bridge and came into the city. While some citizens regarded the “hobos” as nuisances and loafers who would not take a job and instead preferred relief payments, others did all they could to help out with food, clothing and shelter.²⁷⁸

Some historians have questioned the motives behind the assistance given to the poor by volunteer organizations and have asked whether their objectives were altruistic or concerned with social control and societal stability. The Red Cross is not free from this debate as the majority of its executive were from the middle class and those assisted, in most cases, were working class.²⁷⁹ While organizations like the WCTU had the alteration of morality, attitudes, and behaviour as their principal objective, the Red Cross was less concerned with manipulating societal norms. Nonetheless, it had a solid middle class executive and at times their cultural background determined who they felt to be deserving of assistance. In Kamloops, the executive and committee members during the Depression were staunchly middle class and therefore their motives require clarification. The members included Mrs. Edith Fitzwater, president, Mrs. Evelyn Sadler-Brown, vice-

president, Mrs. D. Menzies, secretary, Mrs. Janet Hall, treasurer, with Mrs. Elizabeth Burris Mrs. Winnifred Fulton, Mrs. Maud Whitmore, and Mrs. Edgar Jackson on the executive committee. Mrs. Elizabeth Turner, Mrs. Lilly Johnstone, and Mrs. Jane Anne Burton were on the supply, relief, and purchasing committee respectively.²⁸⁰ Their middle class background gave them the time to do the volunteer work and their husbands' status and positions as lawyers, doctors, politicians, and businessmen gave them a great deal of influence in the community. While their social position placed them among the defenders of social order, the record of their dedication and self-sacrifice provides clear evidence of their altruism and humanitarianism.

The personal record of Lilly R. Johnstone who almost single handedly dealt with all relief issues throughout the Depression effectively illustrated their commitment to societal improvement. Arriving from England in 1927 she dedicated her life to improving the welfare of the community by volunteering for the B.C. Tuberculosis Society, Red Cross and later the Cancer Society. During the Depression the newspaper reported that the relief committee really meant "Mrs. Johnstone," who found "she could be in closer touch with the people by doing it alone."²⁸¹ Her work was described as "decidedly onerous" as she had to visit those in need throughout the entire district in every type of weather and at any time of day. Her efforts were backed up by "willing and enthusiastic workers" and the general public. The committee provided an assortment of clothing items and footwear, furniture, groceries, milk and the old standby, cod liver oil. At times, it also helped to ensure that the poor received proper relief assistance by reporting their cases to the provincial authorities.²⁸² Johnstone's perseverance was recognized in 1934 when she was honored by the national Red Cross and elected to honorary membership in the central council. This "coveted distinction," the *Kamloops Sentinel* noted, "cannot be purchased with money or procured by 'pull.'" It was in recognition for her outstanding service in co-ordinating the relief committee since 1925 which became the main focus of the local Red Cross and the reason for its success.

In its assistance and defense of the poor the Society appeared above and beyond the accusation of self-interest. Another factor that diminished the need for social control tactics was the size of the community. Class divisions were not that evident and tensions during the Depression arose outside the community in the form of the relief

camp protests and the On To Ottawa trek.²⁸³ Only one issue that never became public marred its reputation. Racial prejudice against natives persisted within the community and in 1935; Johnstone and Whitmore moved “that a committee be appointed to investigate possibilities of having the Kamloops reservation removed as it was considered detrimental to the health and morals of both Indians and whites to have the reservation so close to town.”²⁸⁴ On investigation the committee found that it was impossible to move the reserve and the issue was dropped.

For the most part, citizens were strongly connected by place and small town community values came to the foreground and the Red Cross noted that the “people of Kamloops are very generous, often not even waiting to be asked for donations.”²⁸⁵ Although most of the work was done by a core group from the executive, there was no lack of interest from the local citizens and it never had to cut back on its operating budget. With support from all sectors of the community, the branch’s running expenses for 1930 were only \$33.87 as everything required was donated. The executive was also surprised that the annual membership drive remained strong despite high unemployment in 1930 and they were able to enroll 508 members and collect over \$90.00 in donations. During 1933, the Red Cross relief committee continued its work and remained the main welfare association. It assisted 285 families and 40 single men. Besides clothes, bedding, food, and fuel it attempted to ensure the health of the community by supplying milk and cod liver oil to families with small children, the elderly and invalids. The public health nurse’s report held that malnutrition among children decreased as a consequence. City Council provided it with a headquarters at the old court house that included light and heating, the *Sentinel* provided free publicity, White Way Laundry did the laundry for the Well Baby Clinic at no charge, and they had the cooperation of the provincial officials, the city police and road departments. Most important, however, were the citizens of Kamloops who provided donations in money, clothing and services and this generosity continued throughout the Depression.²⁸⁶

Looking back over the last few years, the 1933 president, Edith Fitzwater commented on the “weary road the world had been travelling” and how the crisis had “none of the excitements of the war.” “It has been a monotony of disheartening and dispiriting weeks and months, weakening the natural optimism and energy of our people.

But it has called forth reserves of courage and devotion and drawn all classes together in a fine sympathetic co-operation that has meant much to every community.”²⁸⁷ Urban people gave to farmers whose crops failed and farmers sent food to those who had insufficient funds to sustain themselves. Different classes and districts worked together to overcome the hardships. In an annual report for 1938, the president, Mrs. Lilly Johnstone, remarked the Red Cross “is truly a people’s movement, with a splendid record of achievement; however, if we are to go forward helping those in distress, our true strength must lie in the numbers of our supporters. We want sharers in the work, rather than mere spectators.”²⁸⁸ She felt fortunate that new members were taking up the work.

To overcome some of the weariness of the Depression, the Red Cross developed a new method of raising funds by combining charity with entertainment. A clothing benefit was organized in 1933 with the assistance of the Little Theatre players and several local artists who sang, played music, and performed skits. It was a great success with 600 in attendance and raised two and a half truckloads of clothing and \$100 cash. The Little Theatre benefit became an annual event and in 1934 it drew 700 people into a full house performance at the Elks auditorium. Over 470 parcels and \$67.00 were collected at the door. The audience was entertained by a three-act comedy by the Little Theatre players, Irish and Spanish dancing, a variety of songs and skits.²⁸⁹

As the Depression continued there was little change in relief tactics until the Kamloops branch independently created a unique Self-Help workroom in 1937 that demonstrated its ability to initiate new schemes. In its normal relief work, the Community Chest generally supplied the funding while the Red Cross purchased and distributed the clothing and footwear. This co-ordination provided assistance for 301 families and thirty-eight single men in 1934.²⁹⁰ By the fifth year of this relationship, the Red Cross was looking for an alternative scheme to assist the poor. At this point the local branch developed the innovative Self-Help workroom that opened on December 2, 1937. Here, under the direction of a competent seamstress and with materials supplied by the Red Cross, women could make garments for themselves and their families. The self-help workroom continued until the war when the room was taken over for making war materials. Like the NCW that established sewing centers where women received wages for re-working used clothing, the Red Cross project was not without its faults

as it restricted women to domestic labour and contained an element of moralism in its attempt to inspire initiative and morale among poor women. Lilly Johnstone, for example, commented that “From my experience I find the right people would rather work than accept relief.”²⁹¹ Despite this underlying tone, the Society in 1938 noted that the plan received “the highest commendation from our provincial division and is being used as a model for our provincial program.”²⁹²

The relief committee still remained the backbone of the Society and in 1939 it assisted 457 families and 211 single persons. Community support still remained strong with the BOPE (Elks), Monte Lake Ladies’ Guild and others providing money. It also received vegetables and fruit from T.G. McBride and the “foreign settlement” in Brocklehurst made up of German, Japanese, Chinese and other immigrant groups.²⁹³ Relief work continued into the war period but by 1942 a decline was finally recorded due to greater employment opportunities. Only thirty-two families and twenty-eight single persons were given assistance.²⁹⁴

Throughout the interwar years, the Kamloops, provincial and national Red Cross made enormous contributions to the betterment of society by implementing its National Peace Policy but they could not remove the major impediments to a safe and healthy society. Reviewing the situation in 1940, the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations reported that to improve the health of society required the involvement of all three levels of government. The inadequacy of health services stood out across the country and despite the efforts of the CRCS and other voluntary public health groups large sections of the population were not receiving care. The Great Depression worsened conditions particularly in the western provinces where poor health, poverty and government inaction made the problems faced by the CRCS insurmountable. The federal government’s refusal to accept responsibility for relief or to offer any support to the CRCS efforts to provide hostels, soup kitchens and other forms of assistance multiplied the suffering. Later the Royal Commission report recognized the earnest work of volunteer groups during the interwar years but recommended that they co-operate with each level of government and that government agencies become more active. It was a forewarning of the future when volunteer public health services would be replaced by the welfare state constructed during and after World War II.²⁹⁵ For the present, the outbreak of World War II ensured

that the Red Cross at all levels remained a leader in supporting the troops, public services and emergency response.

War also led to a major gender shift in the Kamloops Red Cross structure but as in the Great War women remained the core members. Prior to the outbreak of war, the Red Cross already called a meeting to prevent overlapping of work with other groups and to avoid the mistakes of the Great War where many unsuitable articles were sent overseas. An emergency co-ordinating committee, later called a War Council, consisting of the Red Cross, Women's Council, IODE, Rebekahs, Monte Creek Ladies' Guild and Women's Auxiliary to the Canadian Legion was set up for supporting soldiers. Thirteen men, half of them from political and military spheres like T.J. O'Neill, MP, H. Carson, MLA, Mayor C.E. Scanlan, Alderman C. Spencer, Lieutenant-Colonel, D.O. Vicars, Major A.E. McElligott and other leading figures like Judge J.D. Swanson, Bishop Wells, Rev. R.R. Morrison, Canon Bushe, R.E. White, J.E. Andrews, Charles Miller, (St. John Ambulance) were on the War Council. Almost two hundred volunteers, mostly women, attended this meeting and enrolled in emergency war work. Structurally, many of the Red Cross committees became gender specific with the men handling areas like Disaster Relief, Transportation, Finance and Publicity. Committees like the Home Nursing, Next of Kin Relief and Welcome Home were consigned to women where it was thought their feminine and maternal instincts would be useful. The time consuming and arduous task of canvassing for community funding also became their responsibility. They were the foot soldiers of the organization while the men tended to be the managers. The one exception was the Kamloops Red Cross Corps established in 1941 whose young female members carried out the feminine task of being hostesses at the Hostess House but also worked in the more masculine areas like the Air Raid Precaution Unit control room and as ambulance and truck drivers. Meryl Matthews was one of the first to join under the commandant Mrs. Elizabeth Burris and later assumed this leadership position.²⁹⁶ Women were dedicated to Red Cross and by the end of the year it had thirty-nine sewing groups in the city and district working on an assortment of goods – socks, bed gowns, sweaters, bandages, and other comforts. At the 1939 annual meeting Bishop Wells praised women's contributions during the Great War and drew laughter when he described how some of the socks were "fearfully knitted" but he concluded that "You can't send them too many

socks.” In January 1940 the Red Cross vowed that all money “collected since the outbreak of war will be spent on war work and war work only.”²⁹⁷ Despite this patriotic statement the Red Cross continued to support the Kamloops Council of Women’s resolutions for better health care, daycare, improved working conditions for women, and larger Mother’s Allowance payments.²⁹⁸

Some of the groundwork for emergency conditions had already started in 1938. The National Red Cross began country-wide home nursing classes and Kamloops joined in and produced a series of twelve lectures presented by nurses and doctors for sixty-one participants. “The need for such home-training was most clearly demonstrated during the influenza epidemic of 1918 when thousands of Canadians died from lack of proper care.”²⁹⁹ With the outbreak of war, the president, Mrs. Lilly Johnstone, noted that these classes were of value to women in their ordinary life and invaluable to those who want to take an active part in emergency nursing services.”³⁰⁰ Once the War began, the executive established a Disaster Relief Committee in case any local emergency occurred and a transportation committee to organize both local and overseas shipping of materials.

Community support was the key to Red Cross success. Teas, bazaars, art exhibitions, and raffles were sponsored by local citizens, artists and businesses. Free services were provided by the *Sentinel* and *Advertiser* in promoting events; City Council arranged for free rooms and electricity for the War Work and Relief committees and B.C. Coachlines provided the transportation. The city and district generously donated funds and in October 1940 it could report that it passed its objective and raised \$7,498.³⁰¹ At the annual meeting reviewing 1940, T.J. O’Neill, MP remarked that “for a town of its size Kamloops Red Cross was an outstanding one in Canada.”³⁰² Behind the statistics of money, food and clothing collected or made, were hours of labour by “women, girls and children and men too.” Three tons of completed soldier and civilian comforts were sent from Kamloops in 1940 and two years later its success was even greater when it collected “breath-taking” \$20,422 for supplies.³⁰³ There were a large number of groups within the city, North Kamloops and the district working directly for the Red Cross while numerous church auxiliaries and fraternal orders offered assistance. In 1943 a separate Kamloops Civilian Auxiliary was set up to provide supplies to two specific groups, the warship, H.M.C.S. Kamloops and the RCAF (Moose) Fulton Squadron. The Red Cross branch

now not only included Kamloops, North Kamloops, and Tranquille, but extended north to Albreda, south to Stump Lake, west to Savona, east to Magna Bay into the Okanagan to Falkland and into the Cariboo to Alexis Creek.³⁰⁴



*Red Cross sending parcels overseas during World War II.
Image 8174 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

During the war, the Red Cross rose to become the most important relief agency both at the local, provincial and national levels. Locally, a Hostess House was established in 1941 at the Leland Hotel so servicemen would find a home away from home. The women in the Red Cross Corps and local branch ran the House that had a recreation room, library and dining room that provided Sunday evening meals. By the time the Canadian Legion War Services took over in 1943 and established a new recreation centre the House served as a base for thirty men a night. The branch's Disaster Committee and Corps also worked with the Air Raid Precaution Unit to supply it with ambulance drivers

and other personnel. It participated in several blackout practices in order to improve the city's readiness and home nursing classes were held to prepare for an emergency. The one committee to experience a reduced workload was the Relief Committee as unemployment evaporated. With their entire attention devoted to the war, the treasurer reported that it raised over \$20,000 in 1942.³⁰⁵ Again, its success was assisted by church, fraternal, patriotic and welfare societies who recognized that under the Geneva Convention, the Red Cross was the only vehicle for providing certain types of assistance to "our armed forces, civilian war victims and prisoners of war." The president, nicknamed Red Cross Johnstone by local residents, noted the "ever-increasing reliance which the whole civilized world is placing in the Red Cross as the greatest national and international vehicle ever devised in the relief of human suffering."³⁰⁶ In the last year of the war the Red Cross reached a peak in its success with 4,225 members and raised \$25,669.58.³⁰⁷

With the end of the war, the CRCS refocused its efforts into a peace program but at times the Kamloops Society had difficulty meeting the demands and standards set by its immediate superior, the provincial branch. The growth of the welfare state meant that the CRCS could not repeat its interwar year's leadership in a public health movement. While it continued some of those activities, its wartime focus on blood collection for overseas now became the vehicle for ensuring the Society's survival by creating a nationwide free blood transfusion service. The CRCS once again had to reshape its objectives and take a new path.³⁰⁸

Priorities for Kamloops included supplying plasma to Canadian hospitals, continuance of the Outpost hospitals and supplying liberated European countries with necessary food and clothing. It also provided a war brides and returning soldiers welcome service.³⁰⁹ Some controversy developed when the Red Cross was accused of failing to welcome troop trains when in reality it was the responsibility of an independent Citizens Committee. Another area that the Red Cross was accused of neglecting was the Home Nursing class in 1946 and here it admitted being at fault and acted to remedy the problem. On the positive side, Connie Vicars, a volunteer noted that planning for a Blood Donor clinic began in October 1946 and the first clinic was successfully held in September 1947.³¹⁰ In June 1948 it demonstrated its ability to act quickly during emergencies when the region experienced flooding. The Disaster Relief Committee was the one committee

run by men and provides another example of the segregation of tasks according to gender. In the same way that the War Council had its contingent of male participants, the job of handling emergencies was given to men, Frank MacCallum, chairman, and Charles Spencer, acting chair. Due to MacCallum's absence, Spencer made all the arrangements to deal with the flooding that occurred in June, 1948. It was expected that 250 people would have to be evacuated but fortunately it only turned out to be seventeen women and children. They were provided with tents, mattresses and meals. It should be noted that Mrs. H.J. Smith, the president, did not let herself be pushed into the background and instead went with Spencer to Heffley Creek to deal with the flood.³¹¹

The local branch was not without its faults and in 1950 it again came under criticism from the Vancouver headquarters for failing to take part in the province wide emergency program "Operation Mercy." To its credit the local society demonstrated its preparedness for an emergency that occurred in 1950 when two passenger trains collided at Canoe River. The local branch quickly responded with the necessary nursing personnel, blood transfusion packs, and transportation needs but in the end the accident was not as damaging as first thought and its services were not required. Janet W. Hall the secretary summarized events, "Talk about a topsy-turvy year! We were lauded to the skies, then raked over the coals; lived for a while on top of the world, and were then relegated to the doghouse; fell down on routine duty and then redeemed ourselves by rising to an emergency."³¹²

Except for these few instances, post-war activities remained regular and constant. Reporting in 1948, the secretary, remarked "How can an annual report avoid repetition, be interesting and still stick to the facts."³¹³ True to her statement the reports for this era outline the steady progress of the Blood Transfusion Committee, outpost hospital at Blue River, Disaster relief, home nursing classes, swim lessons, junior Red Cross, and Tranquille visiting.³¹⁴ Although it might be routine work it did not decrease its importance. For instance the annual blood donor clinic collected an amazing 2000 pints within four days while the Tranquille visiting committee assisted patients since 1926. The women's work committee continued to help the needy by sewing and knitting clothing. While it received little publicity, the *Kamloops Sentinel* acknowledged that it "accomplishes much toward the happiness and well-being of many."³¹⁵ One change did occur in 1950.

Frank A. MacCallum replaced Mrs. H.J. Smith and became the first man to be elected president. At the time, Mrs. Edith Fitzwater who served the branch for the 35 years since it began was made a honorary vice president for life.³¹⁶ Other long term members, Mrs. J. MacEwan, Mrs. A.C. Taylor, and Mrs. Janet W. Hall, also received honours at annual meetings. In 1956 the Red Cross recognized Janet Hall “to be unequalled in volunteer service to the community.” She served as secretary, publicity chairman and “indefatigable worker” for the Red Cross during the last 28 years. Three years earlier she explained her dedication to the Society. “There is something about the Red Cross that gets right into your blood and you can’t give it up. No one knows that better than I.”³¹⁷

The older executive gradually began to retire in the fifties and to be replaced by a new generation like Mrs. Joyce Sowerby, who was president both of the Red Cross and the Kamloops Council of Women. Other members of the executive in 1955 were for the most part middle class women and three men. While men like George C. Hay and Fred Scott acted as president and vice-president in 1959 the majority of the working committees were controlled by women as were most of the volunteers. A case in point is Phyllis Marion Parkes who started volunteering with the Red Cross in Salmon Arm, then England during World War II and when she moved to Kamloops in 1948 she continued to be an active volunteer at Blood Donor clinics, a social convenor, and fund raiser. She also served as Disaster Services manager in the 1970s and directed assistance for people who lost their homes due to fires and the major flood of the Thompson River in 1972. In a recent interview she stated that “after her family, the Red Cross has always been my first priority.” Her dedication stemmed from personal motives and a sense of repayment to an organization that helped some friends who were prisoners of war survive and by the memories of a Red Cross nurse in Salmon Arm assisting her mother to save her life when she had scarlet fever at the age of nine. Her summary of the Red Cross is a succinct explanation of why it survives to the present. She remarked that “Though the Red Cross Society has undergone many changes since my involvement at a very early age, it is still “People helping people.” This also drew her to volunteer for the Women’s Institute, the LARIH, John Howard Society, YWCA and other associations. Her constant work for the Red Cross since 1918 was recognized by a seventy-one year service pin in 1989 and a Volunteer in Profile Award Trophy in 2002.³¹⁸ The Red Cross has always been a

community effort and had the support from a large membership and city sponsors like the *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, CFJC television, City Council, Junior Chamber of Commerce, church auxiliaries, fraternal and social organizations, Graduate Nurses Association, and numerous businesses.³¹⁹

CONCLUSION

Throughout its history the Red Cross provided women with access to community affairs. Personally women were given opportunities to move outside the domestic realm and develop organizational skills, and be managers of complex aid groups during wars and peacetime. Besides the personal satisfaction acquired by its members, the Red Cross stood out in its contributions to the city. It was very open in its community mandate and established links with city and provincial government officials and numerous associations. It not only received assistance from associations like the BOPE (Elks) and the Ladies' Guild of Monte Creek, but supported others like the Community Chest and the Council of Women.³²⁰ It became an affiliate of the local branch of the Council of Women in 1933 and involved in pressure group activity. Although it assisted the Council in various campaigns to improve social welfare, there were numerous cases when it would not give its approval to projects. In 1934, for example, it approved of the Council's attempt to get the government to restore to mothers the amount established by the Mothers' Pension Act, but rejected a call to enforce medical inspections of both men and women before marriage as this might complicate marriage laws. Nor did it support a minimum wage for boys as the executive believed it was better to work for a small wage than to be unemployed.³²¹ The Society continued to discuss various resolutions presented by Vancouver Council of Women on law reforms regarding sex crimes involving children, drinking, and labour legislation.³²² It was still providing support in 1944 by approving a number of the local Council of Women's resolutions. Included was an item to improve the position of household workers in the post-war period, to establish more infant schools, and training through a home demonstration bureau for new farm women that it regarded as essential to the government's land settlement plans. It also voiced support for an increase of the present inadequate sum of \$30.00 for Old Age Pension to \$50.00 per month.³²³

The Kamloops Red Cross was a vital component in maintaining and building the

community's infrastructure. Although its national and provincial affiliations determined general policies, it was local issues that provided the focus for their volunteerism. Its support for soldiers during two World Wars was in response to the large enlistment of men from the town and district into the armed forces. In civic affairs, women provided the time, dedication and work to improve the quality of life in the city. While the Society never adopted an overtly feminist philosophy, women's involvement and actions demonstrated their civic importance and undermined social conventions. Women entered into the role of caring for the community not because they were natural nurturers but out of necessity. Comparatively, these women were similar to nurses who were also branded as being natural nurturers but in reality were trained specialists who acquired skills, attitudes, behaviour patterns, and responsibilities. The majority of young women who provided support to overseas soldiers developed numerous skills to organize their home front and overseas campaigns and continued to offer their services to make much needed improvements to the city's health and living standards.³²⁴ Prior to the post-World War II era government assistance was non-existent particularly in small towns and as a consequence the women in the Red Cross took it upon themselves to create preventative medicine programs to establish a healthy population. Key elements of this program were the hiring of a public nurse, health education classes, immunization and the Well Baby Clinic. Women had found that there was power in organization and in this manner improvements could be made to the city. Crises like the Great Depression made it the principal social welfare institution and provider of assistance for the unemployed and poor. Small town values of neighbourliness, cooperation, and a community spirit that crossed class lines led to a strong support of the Red Cross' efforts and made it a people's movement. With the outbreak of World War II gender divisions came to the forefront as men assumed control of the War Council while women were assigned to committees that emphasized their maternal and nurturing capabilities. With the cessation of War and the return to a peace program women came to the forefront in most programs that once again concentrated on improving public health and community living standards.

CHAPTER FIVE

Strength in Union: the Kamloops Council of Women

Women's Associations were attracted by the Council's objective "to unite women's organizations so that they may be a force for progress in the community."

Kamloops Sentinel, December 14, 1934.

The Council could "be of use to the community only if you take a keen interest in the needs of the city." "The Council should be what its title implies – a clearing house for the ideas and ideals of the women of the city."

Edith Fitzwater, President, Kamloops Council of Women, *Kamloops Sentinel*, January 29, 1945.

Like other women's organizations that have contributed immensely to the community's quality of life by promoting social welfare, recreation, and culture, the Kamloops Council of Women has been ignored by historians. The Local Council established in 1933 was to generally follow the guidelines and principles of the National and Provincial Councils. At the same time it adapted and added new features to meet local needs. The Local Council provided the network for supporting diverse women's organizations in the community which under normal circumstances would have remained fragmented. The importance of the Council to women's social, cultural, and political progress definitely merits a closer historical examination. When the women of Kamloops organized their own Council they were becoming a part of a forty year history, and therefore some account of the National Council of Women, (NCW) and Provincial Councils is necessary to place it into perspective. Some historians like Mariana Valverde maintain that "the NCW probably had little effect among rural and small town women," when in reality there were numerous councils in B.C. small towns and they were also assisted by women's rural groups.³²⁵ Even before Kamloops women formed a Council many independent associations like the KWCTU, Red Cross Society, Beresford Women's Institute, and LARIH supported the provincial and national councils' lobby activity to improve women's positions and therefore were already a part of its history.

From its earliest origins in 1888 when the American activists and suffragists, Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton founded the International Council of

Women, it acted as an umbrella organization for all women's associations. Under the general rubric of reform it attempted to change society by philanthropy, temperance, missionary work, improvement in hospitals, prisons, and working conditions, and by altering the legal and political system. These issues remained its core objectives. After a delay of five years, Lady Ishbel Aberdeen founded and became the first president of the Canadian NCW with the same premise. It welcomed all women's organizations, placed ideology to the side, overcame existing differences between religious denominations, and allowed its branches great autonomy. The NCW was organized on a national, provincial, and local level. This strategy gave the Council both a regional and national capability. Being the wife of the Governor General added to Lady Aberdeen's power and influence but what made the NCW special to British Columbia was her part-time residency at their Coldstream Ranch in Vernon and her tremendous drive to provide the West with a woman's voice to match that of Central Canada. Diversity, a wide range of objectives, and consensus policies became its hallmark and enabled it to last and obtain major changes. In the process, women gained a political space and a public voice.³²⁶

The National Council did not try to change the social or political structure of society. Instead, its leader, Lady Aberdeen, and the Council believed that women had an important role to play in improving the existing society. Veronica Strong-Boag categorized it as a "gigantic maternal union." The Council, she noted, applied society's view that women had more humane feminine characteristics and were a nurturing, spiritual, and moral force for the purpose of bettering society.³²⁷ By the time of its formation, there existed numerous women's associations like the YWCA, WCTU, women's missionary societies, and the Girl's Friendly Society that were trying to improve conditions for women and children. The Council's mandate was to provide a forum for these community-minded women and to increase the efficiency and power of these separate women's associations.

The early activities of the NCW that included lobbying for women's suffrage, improved legal and working conditions for women, better health care, education, and child care have often been labelled as belonging to the maternal feminist camp. Like other "maternal feminist" organizations it has been criticized as being conservative and holding back a women's rights movement in Canada, but more recent studies emphasize its feminist rather than feminine role. As feminists, the Council organizers made it their

goal to acquire a public voice and become civic leaders. In this manner, they turned an essentially conservative position of women's moral responsibility into an activist role to not only protect the home but also women and children in all aspects of society.³²⁸ "By conflating homemaking with nation building and motherhood with statecraft they created a new political creed that both challenged and conceded the practical division of male and female labour prescribed by the middle-class ideology of separate spheres."³²⁹ The evolution of this theme can be seen at the national, provincial, and local level.

In British Columbia, the first local councils owed their existence to Lady Aberdeen. The Aberdeens had already purchased two ranches in the Interior in 1890 and 1891 named Guisachan and Coldstream. As the Governor-General's wife, Lady Aberdeen travelled the country and took this opportunity to establish local councils, first in 1894 in Vancouver and Victoria and then Vernon in 1895. The Vernon Council was personally formed by Lady Aberdeen in 1895 and its main concerns were health issues such as the anti-tuberculosis movement and the establishment of the Vernon hospital in 1896. At the time, local women remained apprehensive about joining an organization that had feminist and suffrage objectives but admiration for Lady Aberdeen's good works won them over. Recruits like Alice Barret Parke admitted her reluctance to step outside her designated feminine role and yet joined in order to improve women's conditions.³³⁰ The Vancouver Council was particularly concerned about the lack of medical and nursing services throughout the province, especially in small towns and rural areas. In 1896 it sought the NCW's support in finding a means to overcome the perils faced by women in the rural West during childbirth. Over the next few years Lady Aberdeen and NCW lobbied government officials and the medical profession to accept the establishment of the Victorian Order of Home Helpers and then the Victorian Order of Nurses. The Home Helpers specific purpose was to help women during and after childbirth while the latter organization gave smaller communities and rural areas what they wanted and desperately needed, trained nurses. From the beginning, the NCW was an active supporter of cultural activities and each Council had an Arts and Culture Committee to support local libraries, craft shows, music and drama festivals. For children, they provided reading clubs, art and science lectures, and scholarships.³³¹

In the first decade of the twentieth century the local councils worked for improvements in women's suffrage, women's working conditions and minimum wage, health, divorce laws, homestead rights for women, custody rights over children, and benefit issues. The Victoria Council that had the strong backing of the WCTU was the first to pass a provincial Women's Suffrage resolution in 1908 and the NCW established a Standing Committee on Suffrage and the Rights of Citizenship in 1910. Along with the Councils, other women's organizations became more active and it led Helen MacGill to claim that "From 1905 to 1910, inclusive, was a heyday of social and public welfare organizing in Vancouver."³³² Throughout these years the NCW attempted to gain a women's minimum wage and the Vancouver Council made a submission to the British Columbia Royal Commission on Labour Conditions in 1913 but it was ignored.³³³ The First World War changed the focus of the councils to war work, and most affiliated societies assisted the Red Cross in fund-raising but they also continued a home front campaign for better housing, health and women's employment.

During the War the State still clung to pre-war individualist beliefs and a reliance on charity. The one exception was its involvement in the regulation of activities that were within women's sphere in order to establish a healthy population and future workforce.³³⁴ To ensure that they had influence over government legislation effecting women and children the Vancouver Council felt that a provincial Council should be formed. At the time, Lady Aberdeen felt that provincial councils might weaken the national organization and therefore did not support the concept.³³⁵ Despite her resistance the Victoria local passed a motion on the need for a provincial council in 1918. Their argument stated, "What cannot be obtained through appeals from individual local councils could often be obtained through appeals from united women of the province. A provincial organization would unite rather than separate Council nationally."³³⁶

After a series of meetings that began in 1919, the Provincial Council was formed in 1921 and represented as well as co-ordinated the work of the local Councils, including the future Kamloops Council of Women. "Because women during the war had become used to taking a more prominent part in public affairs, and had achieved the vote in B.C. in 1917 and nationally in 1918, a need was felt for provincial councils in order to petition provincial legislatures."³³⁷ They had to wait until 1921 for the NCW to change

its constitution. In the interim, the provincial vice-president and executive committee were endorsed to present resolutions to the government. The concerns of these meetings were women's employment, the Factory Act and the appointment of a woman inspector, compulsory teaching of English to aliens, the admission of the wives and families of Hindus into Canada, and Civil Service Pensions. Other major issues included the need for legislation to allow women to sit on municipal or school boards and to gain greater representation in the legislature.³³⁸

Women were forcing entry into political life and in 1918, Mrs. Mary Ellen Smith, who was a council member and campaigner for women's and children's rights, became an MLA but would be the only woman in the provincial legislature for the next ten years. Her activism enabled a number of pieces of legislation that the Councils supported to pass. These included a minimum wage for women, an act setting the standard for registered nurses, and mothers' pension.³³⁹ Throughout the war the NCW and Vancouver local advocated a minimum wage as necessary to protect future generations and the government, business and labour movement began to see some advantage to the legislation. If enacted, the government would fulfill its responsibility, business might prevent a larger tax burden by this minor legislation rather than pay more for unemployment insurance or free health care, and labour might block the unfair competition of lower paid women. Lobbying activity by the NCW and the WCTU branches including Kamloops led to the formation of the B.C. Minimum Wage Board in 1918 but the minimum wage for women remained nominal and could not be regarded as a step forward. The legislation also treated women as secondary due to their lack of full citizenship and contractual rights and identified them as needing protection because they were the reproducers and nurturers of the next generation.³⁴⁰

One of the largest issues of the early twentieth century and one that bound many women's organizations throughout the province together was the Mothers' Pension campaign initiated by the Vancouver Local Council. The protection of women and children became of paramount concern as the province industrialized and working conditions for the male breadwinner became more dangerous in lumbering and mining camps. Family stability appeared threatened from increased deaths, disability, and separation of men from their families. The impact of the First World War and the 1918

influenza epidemic increased the incidence of widowed, deserted, and unwed mothers who could not properly look after their children some of whom were neglected or became delinquent. In her research, Cynthia Comacchio found that the NCW pushed for a post-war reconstruction based on maternal feminist principles and focused on improving the health of children. In its lobbying it stated, “Now, when so many valuable lives are being sacrificed for the cause of greater world freedom, the prevention of infant mortality becomes, more than ever, a vital necessity of national importance.”³⁴¹

Collectively, women’s organizations called for a mother’s allowance and placed pressure of the State to redefine its role and responsibilities. The great loss of men provided women with the argument that they required government support to repopulate the nation and create a healthy population. Together, women and the State would create a new national efficiency. The NCW, for example, argued, “if women were to be the most ‘valuable asset’ of the nation—that is, fit citizens—then the state should pay for this female burden of developing Canada’s future citizens by funding well-baby clinics, free milk stations, and education for scientific motherhood, as well as a national scheme of mothers’ pensions.”³⁴² Other organizations like the Red Cross were also promoting a similar post-war reconstruction. In Kamloops, the Red Cross initiated its Peace program by hiring a public nurse and establishing a Well Baby Clinic.

Women’s organizations’ repetitive use of the argument that motherhood was the means for national social regeneration developed a “sense of community” that tied the State to the family. It created a new definition of social citizenship that entitled women to State protection through legislation like mothers’ allowances. In B.C. there was added the perceived fear that the white Anglo Celtic population was being overtaken by immigrants and attention focused on the large number of Asians being drawn to the province as cheap labour. For many middle class women it became their duty to save the race and preserve the ideal white family with the man as the breadwinner and the mother and children in the home. When this became threatened by the absence of the husband, women needed to be supported by the State.³⁴³

Other women’s groups like the WCTU and the University Women’s Club joined them to lobby the government for reforms. Influential women such as Helen MacGill, the first B.C. female judge, and University Women’s Club, Helena Gutteridge, labour

activist, Cecilia Spofford, WCTU and Children's Aid Society and Maria Grant, WCTU, convinced the government to establish a Commission on Health Insurance in 1918. They maintained strong beliefs in the importance of the family but their concern about single mothers led them to break away from standard moral definitions and almost every woman's organization supported the inclusion of unwed mothers as recipients of the pension. While liberal in this sense, no organization was willing to extend these rights to non-British subjects and this revealed the strong sense of racism that prevailed at this time. With the leadership of Mary Ellen Smith in the legislature the B.C. Mothers' Pension Act was passed on 17 April 1920 and was the most progressive in the country and based on a mother's right to bring up her children. It was a very inclusive act for white single mothers but it still remained racially tainted by excluding all non-British subjects and even naturalized citizens of Asian origin. Another problem with the Act was that the allowance paid out was well below the subsistence level and further cutbacks were made as the economy worsened in the 1930s.³⁴⁴ Nonetheless, it was a first step in developing a new public culture that broke away from individualist philosophy and charitable relief by recognizing the state's responsibility to the family.

The progressive steps made in mothers' pensions and attempts to gain legislation ensuring welfare for mothers and children met strong resistance in the interwar period due to continued beliefs in economic individualism. Across the nation, government administrators undermined the concept of State support and reverted back to self-help themes. They replaced the concept of mothers' pensions that allowed them to stay at home to look after the family with mother's allowances restricted to widows and women with incapacitated husbands. Instead of social citizenship, they emphasized social obligation and scrutiny by the State before allowances were given.³⁴⁵ A further deterioration of women's rights to State support would take place during the Depression when fears turned from a lack of population and manpower to unemployment.

More success was achieved in the political arena when in 1929 the National Council's campaign to have women legally declared persons won the approval of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England, the highest court of appeal in Canadian law. Specific campaigns to improve child welfare, education, culture and town planning were launched. The Provincial Council also made significant inroads to the

political system by establishing regular meetings with the Premier and cabinet in 1932. Women continued to be lobbyists as all parties still treated politics as a man's game. Of the 800 candidates nominated for elections during the interwar years only four percent were women. Even the entry of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation into provincial politics in 1933 did not alter the situation dramatically as the party was more concerned about economic rather than feminist issues. Some progress was made with the election of two socialist women, Dorothy Steeves in 1934 and Laura Jamieson in 1939.³⁴⁶

At the time the Kamloops Council of Women organized, the Provincial Council was lobbying for a diverse set of objectives. These included major issues on Health Insurance, opposition to the amounts paid out under the Mother's Pensions Act, Juvenile Delinquency laws, Old Age Pensions, and minimum wage for boys. Other concerns were health examinations for men and women before marriage, the conditions for women in Oakalla prison and their safe transport on release. The onset of the Great Depression required that they alter their focus to the relief of the poor. Directly related to the Depression, the Provincial Council attempted to persuade the government to prohibit the placing of boys under twenty-one in camps with older unemployed men, and to have a woman representative on all relief boards. Subsequently, the B.C. Economic Council asked the president of the Provincial Council, Anne Bagley, to offer suggestions on how to improve conditions and another member participated on the Industrial Relations board that administered the Minimum Wage Act, the Female Minimum Wage Act, and the Hours of Work Act. Like other local Councils the main way they helped women was to provide aid to the unemployed and the general population.³⁴⁷

The inaugural meeting of the Kamloops Council of Women, (KCW) took place on November 28, 1933 and was immediately recognized as a step forward for civic progress. The Provincial Council felt that Kamloops was a key city and an excellent place to expand its organization throughout the Interior. Mrs. Annie Campbell, president of the local WCTU initiated the organizational meeting by asking the provincial council to organize Kamloops women's associations. Women in Kamloops enthusiastically accepted the Council's structure and recognized its potential for achieving social change more effectively than possible by independent associations.³⁴⁸ Anne Bagley, the provincial president did not hesitate to start a new local branch. She emphasized that the Council

was not just another organization, but a federation of women's associations whose objective was "civic, provincial and national service to humanity."³⁴⁹ By co-ordinating the aims of various organizations it could prove the need for action and present a united front for legislation at different levels of government. No doubt the large number of women's organizations in Kamloops and their record of success impressed the Provincial Council and it expected Kamloops to be "very active."³⁵⁰ Twenty-one women's organizations were at the inaugural meeting but only a small number immediately joined. They included the Business and Professional Women's Club, Canadian Daughters' League, Cherry Creek Women's Institute, Daughters of England, Grand International Auxiliary to Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, Imperial Order, Daughters of Empire, Ladies' Aid of St. Andrews Presbyterian Church and Caledonian Society, Women's Association of the United Church and the KWCTU.³⁵¹

As with the Red Cross, the KWCTU and other women's organizations, the executive of the Local Council was to a great extent drawn from the middle classes. Mrs. Winnifred Fulton was elected president, Mrs. Annie Wyllie, first vice-president, Mrs. T.J. O'Neill, Mrs. Edith Fitzwater, Mrs. R. Butterfield and Mrs. J. Furiak, vice-presidents, Miss Margaret J. Hall corresponding secretary, Mrs. P.H. McCurrach recording secretary,



*Kamloops Council of Women planting a maple tree in Riverside Park.
Image 1517 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

and Mrs. C. Anderson, treasurer.³⁵² The first real meeting in January 1934 drew fifty-two women and signaled its success. The local was immediately drawn into the provincial council's agenda and discussed the thorny subject of advocating health examinations before marriage. After a long discussion the difficult resolution was tabled but agreement was reached to support the re-establishment of the original amount of mothers' pension aid and for the government to administer it.³⁵³ During the next year, the local Council gained strength and stability with the inclusion of well established associations like the Beresford Women's Institute, Red Cross, Ladies' Auxiliary to RIH, and Pythian Sisters. They were attracted by the Council's objective "to unite women's organizations so that they may be a force for progress in the community."³⁵⁴ As the number of affiliates increased, the Council gathered more strength to develop their programs.

With the Depression already in full swing, the NCW decided that the best way to deal with its problems was to leave relief programs in the hands of local councils as they had better knowledge of their communities' needs.³⁵⁵ In Kamloops, the Red Cross had established itself as the main relief organization and the co-ordinator of all volunteer efforts. The KCW joined in and worked to improve conditions by the provision of basic needs like food, clothing, shelter, and health services.

By 1935, the Kamloops Council established a number of standard committees and throughout the thirties it achieved important progressive changes in the welfare of the community. Although the government closed the relief camps in the area in 1933, a camp hospital was maintained and the Council at the request of the Federal government helped the unemployed and transients whenever possible by providing reading material and games for it from 1934 until it closed in 1936.³⁵⁶ Its natural resources committee also made a report on the operation of local canneries. A laws committee studied Helen G. McGill's book, "Laws for Women and Children" while the public health group examined means to prevent diseases. The housing and town planning group placed pressure on the school board to beautify the school grounds which at the time were a "blot on an otherwise well kept city."³⁵⁷ While the city was well situated, envied by Californians because of the rivers, and well kept with tree-shaded streets, there was room for improvement. There still existed old sheds being used for dwellings without proper sanitation, and outbuildings that had no purpose and were in a deteriorated state. City by-laws had overcome previous

overcrowding by providing clear spaces between buildings but more still needed to be done.³⁵⁸

Another major concern for the Kamloops local was support for cultural developments in the community. Since its foundation the National Council had sought to provide cultural leadership by establishing an Art and Letters committee. Generally it supported Canadian artists at a national and local level. In her centennial history of the association, Naomi Griffiths remarked that “the support of cultural activities was another area where the activity at the local council level was traditional, effective and essential for the quality of life in many communities.”³⁵⁹ In Kamloops, the local Council encouraged City Council to support libraries, museums, auditoriums and other cultural forums. It also attempted to set proper standards for books, radio, and film, particularly for children. To ensure that quality movies and plays came to the city, it established a cinema and printed matter committee to vet material.³⁶⁰ The local council’s agenda generally followed the lead taken by the provincial and national body but it also demonstrated initiative by presenting resolutions for prohibiting the entry of “salacious” magazines into Canada and supporting the need for visits by the government mental clinic to the Interior, and the development of a highway commission to the provincial and national councils.³⁶¹

Each step taken by the Councils accessed women’s entry into the social, cultural, and political life of their communities. Despite the progress in women’s citizenship rights, communities were predominately controlled by men and, therefore, women’s organizations provided parallel means of influence and overcame their exclusion from the establishment. While the executives of the Councils retained an upper and middle class membership and, therefore, have been criticized as class based organizations, they were the driving force behind women’s general entry into the public sphere.³⁶² For example, in the thirties, the Provincial Council pushed for the representation of women on the Board of the Tubercular Sanatoria and other public offices.³⁶³ The National Council was also concerned with who and how politics was run. In 1938 it advocated placing women on all public boards, electing them to city council, legislatures and parliament, and appointing them to the Senate. In Kamloops, the local president, Mrs. P.H. McCurrach, urged women to join in despite their tendency “to shrink from public work.”³⁶⁴ Her call for women to enter public life was echoed by Mrs. Rolston, the Provincial president, at

the annual meeting in 1939 when she stated that “in British Columbia the women in civic life are all Council women – three members of Provincial Parliament, two on the parks Board and one on the School Board.” It seems that leadership is the prime requisite for our times, Councils must give it, or step down!”³⁶⁵

The first woman in Kamloops to fulfill this challenge was Helen Millward who became the first woman alderman in 1947 and re-elected in 1953 and 1957. She had before her the example of Margaret M. Clements who was the first woman elected to public office as School Board trustee in 1914 and became its chairman in 1918. Mrs. Adelaide Johnstone also broke ground by being the first woman to run for City Council in 1921 but she failed to gain a place. Millward gained experience in the public sphere by joining volunteer groups like the Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire and the Women’s Institute. When some women suggested that she run for City Council she did because she “liked a challenge.” Her personal philosophy was “better to try and fail than not try at all.”³⁶⁶ From Millward’s first day in office she worked energetically to improve the city. One observer noted that she was an “Amazonian go-getter” whose name could be viewed most frequently in the newspaper as she got involved in one project after another. Among her many accomplishments were improvements in school playgrounds, the first woman to serve on the Parks Board, chairman of housing and town planning committee, director to the Aquatic Society, member of the Arts and Crafts Club, Heritage House, Art Gallery, promoter of a by-law that transformed the library from a volunteer association to a city run institution, supporter of the Museum and the Women’s Institute campaign for the formation of Kamloops Restroom Association. Commenting on the Heritage House and Art Gallery in a later interview she said that they “gave the people of Kamloops a pretty sound understanding what art can hold in the progress of a city and people’s lives.” She also acknowledged the community spirit that existed and noted that “no one does anything alone. You have to do it with like-minded people.” Her numerous efforts to create a better community were recognized at KCW dinner in her honor where Mayor J.E. Fitzwater presented her with a symbolic key to the city.³⁶⁷

During her second term in office beginning in 1951 she continued to initiate the formation of community groups and to take positive steps for the health of the regional community by promoting the establishment of the South Central Health Unit and

then acting as the first chairman. Commenting on her efforts, the KCW felt that “Mrs. Millward has proved that a woman whose ideals are high and who is not afraid of working a full day to further those ideals can fill the position of Alderman well and truly.”³⁶⁸ As a member of the KCW she was chairman of the housing and town planning committee and organized the first public meetings to form the Kamloops Senior Citizens Housing Society in order to construct the low rental Glenfair homes. To enhance the culture of the community she pushed through the formation of the Thompson Valley Community Concerts Society and worked to promote it. While a supporter of women’s equal rights and involvement, she was ambivalent in her gender politics. She remarked that she “still wanted to retain feminine aspects” in City Council but did not want to be treated as “a woman, just an alderman.” By not creating “any bad feeling toward women” she felt that this opened the gate for other women to move into public offices.³⁶⁹ The next woman to gain a position on City Council was Meryl Matthews in 1973 whose experience in volunteer associations like the Red Cross Corps, Soroptimists, Council of Women and work as a reporter for the *Kamloops Sentinel* gave her valuable knowledge of the city’s needs. A strongly independent person, Meryl later commented in an interview that she “never felt that I was inferior to a man.”³⁷⁰ After years of work on City Council, the School Board and Hospital Board she was awarded the Freedom of the City in 1987.

Whether it was at the national, provincial or local level, the main focus of the Councils was the provision of social welfare and health services and cultural development to improve the quality of life. By 1943, the fiftieth anniversary, the NCW included twenty-one nationally organized societies from diverse ethnic, religious, and social backgrounds. Among the national groups being examined in this study, the WCTU, Red Cross and YWCA were prominent members, but what made the NCW unique was the melding of groups like the National Council of Jewish Women, Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs, Salvation Army, and Ukrainian Women’s Association of Canada. Many of the basic needs of society like food, clothing, housing, and health were met through the efforts of its affiliated organizations. Over the years, the National Council lobbied municipal, provincial and federal governments to take more responsibility for the provision of community services. Although it is difficult to measure its impact, improvements in areas that specifically concerned the Councils like improved

mother's allowance, care of infants, the elderly and infirm, education, health, culture, and recreation, confirmed their success. In this process, constant lobbying moved the care of the community from individual and volunteer initiatives to government funded social services.³⁷¹

Throughout World War II, the National Council directed its work to the war effort and the home front. Social welfare and cultural development still remained a priority but support for the armed services became an obvious necessity. While the National Council became involved at the federal government's request in a campaign to recruit more women in the armed forces, and married women for part-time work in the service industries, the locals were heavily involved in providing supplies for soldiers abroad and improving the social welfare of their communities.³⁷² During the war the Provincial Council suspended some of its work to develop a low income scheme, health insurance, and Old Age Pension expansion and their work shifted to raising money for War Savings Certificates, promoting the immigration of British children, the protection of women workers, and provincial nutrition.³⁷³ Protecting women's working conditions and improving their wages became of greater importance as more married women joined the workforce in the twenties and thirties in order to meet family needs and to fulfill their own aspirations. From 1929-1939 the number of married workers increased from nineteen to twenty-two percent but it was the war that created the largest jump with thirty-seven percent being married in 1943. Although many left the labour force after the war, they began to make their way back and by 1951 married women accounted for thirty-nine percent of workers.³⁷⁴

The Kamloops Council also worked for the War effort and at the same time continued its campaign to improve the social welfare of the community. By lobbying City Council it obtained the purification treatment of the water supply and improvements to a number of properties. It also claimed responsibility for an increase in good movies for children, a better high school library and the reduction of objectionable magazines at newspaper stands. In 1941, the housing and planning committee under Mrs. Edith Fitzwater, who was also elected president in that year, still expressed small town conservative views on the need for extra policing, more stop signs, and the enforcement of the liquor act with regard to Indians. A more progressive plan to establish a park in the

east end was also put forward. She concluded that the Council could “be of use to the community only if you take a keen interest in the needs of the city.” “The Council should be what its title implies – a clearing house for the ideas and ideals of the women of the city.”³⁷⁵ Fitzwater concluded that women were taking their places beside the men in the services and at the home front. She also stressed the need for Canadians to be healthy so that they could do their jobs effectively and not waste time due to illness.

The demands of the war effort led to a loss of momentum for certain cultural activities promoted by the KCW. The arts and letters committee noted that the Junior Symphony Orchestra ceased to exist and regarded this as a major loss. Nevertheless, a core group of activities like the choral societies at various churches, St. Ann’s and the public schools, the Outdoor club, Shakespeare Club, Public Library, Little Theatre Association and the Harmony club were able to survive. Several Kamloops artists were still able to show their paintings at the B.C. artists’ exhibition. These cultural activities continued in 1943 with special mention being given to Mrs. G.R. Williams, Mrs. Candido and J.D. Gregson who exhibited their art at the Vancouver Art Gallery. The Council also had a Recreational War Services Committee that organized frequent dances, whist drives, bingo games, movies, concerts, and parties on special holidays like Christmas and Halloween.³⁷⁶

To recover societal losses caused by the war and ensure the creation of a better society, the National Council developed a progressive Post-War planning program in 1943 that the locals adopted. The main features of this endeavour included International Collaboration, National Unity, Social and Economic planning, National Health and Nutrition, Education, Social Insurance, Housing, Immigration, and Fitness and Health. The final point was specifically directed to the improvement of women’s status. Furthermore, they requested more involvement in government at all levels and representation on administration boards and bodies dealing with peace terms and reconstruction. To protect improvements in women’s employment, they criticized the replacement of women workers by returning soldiers and discrimination against women workers and especially married women. Other major goals set by the NCW were to achieve equal pay for equal work and that citizenship should not be tied to marital status. Whereas the majority of the program paralleled the Liberal government’s reconstruction plans, this final section provided a feminist perspective that went beyond government

proposals. It demonstrated the Council's determination to take an independent and positive position about women's place in public life. Although these plans were beyond the capability of each local to implement, the Vancouver Council of Women which included ninety-nine women's organizations and 35,000 members in 1954 became heavily involved in improving health, housing, recreation, economic issues, and international affairs.³⁷⁷

In Kamloops the Council was already preparing for the post-war period by establishing a Rehabilitation committee. It set to work by appointing a veteran's welfare officer and setting up a central co-ordinating committee for post-war issues. It provided assistance to thirty-one local and eight district discharged service men and support for the Tranquille visiting committee where sixty-nine discharged service men were being treated in 1945.³⁷⁸ During the war, housing problems became more evident because building construction had been cut back. This created concern over health and housing issues as overcrowding became more evident as the population increased. A survey conducted by the Council in 1945 revealed a shortage of 300 houses. Schools were also overcrowded and this increased the dangers from T.B., diphtheria and other diseases. Its recommendations for a program of x-rays, immunization and pasteurization of milk were soon put into practice. The Council was also instrumental in organizing a Parent-Teacher Association and promoting recreation by supporting the Little Theatre Association, library, museum and helping to raise \$175,000 for a Memorial ice rink centre.³⁷⁹

The progressive plans and the original NCW's objectives were, however, being undermined by 1943 with the transformation of the liberal/individualist state to a welfare state. Historians like N. Griffiths observed that "Since the Council itself was the product of women's volunteer work in associations largely dedicated to social service, the arrival of a state-organized system of social welfare was bound to change the aims and methods of many Council members."³⁸⁰ Increasingly, traditional concerns like maternal and child welfare were taken over by the medical profession and State agencies. Doctors might accept the assistance provided by women's organizations but were opposed to their sponsorship of midwifery, maternity benefits, and health insurance. Women's organizations still fought to retain the importance of the maternalist family that gave women the responsibility for children and emphasized that the 1944 Family Allowance Act should give payments to mothers not fathers. In reality, the Act supported the male

breadwinner concept and family responsibility was transferred from being maternal to male centered.³⁸¹ The institutionalization of health and welfare at the State level therefore had positive and negative impacts.

The Kamloops Council's Rehabilitation committee became redundant as the government took over this role and also appointed a Veteran's Welfare Officer. While women were pushed out of certain social services, Vera Kelsey in her travels around B.C. in the 1950s observed that women in Kamloops remained devoted to community work and provided the example of one woman who had just completed a project to raise \$110,000 for a seniors' housing project and another woman who donated the land for the library-museum building. "Women," she noted, "are as active as men in initiating and supporting all manner of social welfare."³⁸² The Kamloops Council remained focused on practical work for the "public good" from a community and national perspective. The old objectives of child welfare, health, women's work and rights, education, recreation



*Kamloops in the 1950s. Victoria Street looking East from First Street, Bank of B. C., 1952.
Image 5636 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

and culture remained constant. The standing committees included arts and crafts, cinema and printed matter, housing and town planning, national resources and industry, public health, radio, national recreation, and moral standards.³⁸³

Other major changes in the post-war era affected the Council and introduced new issues and concerns. Increased immigration and the rise in population altered the

ethnicity and balance in towns and cities and gradually the domination of British cultural values gave way to a more multi-cultural society. White-native relations were another concern that led the Provincial Council to launch a campaign to inform the public about native history and contemporary culture in order to remove the apathetic and patronizing views held in the 1950s. The period also witnessed more women involved in the workforce and new feminist demands challenged societal values and, sometimes, the principles of some volunteer organizations.³⁸⁴

In the fifties and sixties the awakening of women's political needs led to progress within the public sphere. While the NCW continued its service to the community, the fifties witnessed an increased interest in political issues and women's entry onto the political stage at the national, provincial and local levels. The process of change was still very slow. The Second World War brought women into greater political action and the 1941 provincial election witnessed the election of five women, (three Co-operative Commonwealth, one Liberal and one Conservative). When the CCF lost ground in the 1945 election the three women MLAs lost their seats. Post-war emphasis on women's place in the home worked against women's political involvement and from 1945 to 1969 women accounted for only five percent of MLAs. Generally, it was difficult for women to get nominated to run for office and the Council of Women has been criticized for its failure to support candidates because of its policy of non-partisanship.³⁸⁵

Contemporary feminists encouraged women to take action and to break the bonds of apathy. Some positive achievements occurred in 1955 with the appointment of Florence Elsie Inman, who had been an advocate of women's right to vote in the 1917 campaign, as the sixth woman senator and the placement of Cairine Wilson, the first senator in 1930, as the speaker in the Upper Chamber. At the municipal level women also made great strides after Gladys Porter of Kentville, Nova Scotia, was first elected mayor in 1946 and by 1955 there were twelve women mayors across the country. The largest number were from Ontario and were perhaps following the lead of Charlotte Whitton, the first elected mayor of a major city, Ottawa in 1951. Known for her witticism, Charlotte admonished a board meeting by stating, "Speak up gentlemen, I am not opposed to male participation in government."³⁸⁶ These political gains were recognized by a contemporary Canadian Press staff writer but he also acknowledged that



*Kamloops Council of Women in the Kamloops Diamond Jubilee parade, 1953.
Image 3157 courtesy of Kamloops Museum and Archives*

women's "behind-the-scenes activities played no small part in social betterment, the arts and cultural development generally."³⁸⁷ More women became mayors in the sixties and the national total rose to seventeen by 1965 with five being from the B.C. communities of Fort St. James, Ladysmith, Lake Cowichan, Mission City, and North Vancouver.³⁸⁸ Kamloops had to wait until 1990 to get Kenna Cartwright as its first female mayor.

Few women, however, used their local positions to move into provincial or federal politics. Social pressure and the separate spheres ideology still held that women did not belong in politics and the mass media continued to view those who became involved in the words of Agnes Macphail, speaking decades earlier, as "freaks." Another block noted by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women was that the major political parties kept women's auxiliaries on the sidelines. The Liberal and Conservative women's auxiliaries perpetuated gender divisions and left women to do the menial tasks rather than promote them as candidates for office. Despite the Commission's recommendation that they be incorporated into the main parties, they were merely reformatted rather than abolished. Why women accepted this secondary role has been explained by either the hindrance

created by family responsibilities or by an indoctrinated acceptance of gendered divisions of labour. To correct this situation, the second wave feminists in the sixties and seventies placed women's political participation as one of their goals but it did not begin to have an impact until the 1980s and even then it was mainly confined to the New Democratic Party. In the 1986 election thirty percent of the nominees in the NDP were women and in the 1991 election sixteen NDP women were elected. The Social Credit party, however, was much slower to change. Described by Jean Barman as a "male government," the number of female candidacies decreased during the sixties and it did not support women's entry into politics until Rita Johnson became party leader and ironically the first woman premier in Canada.³⁸⁹

At a provincial level, the Council demonstrated its growth in lobbying skills by gaining more members on government boards and here they made an impact on different boards such as B.C. Labour Relations Board and Provincial Curriculum Advisory committee. A major concern in 1952 was the government's move to relax liquor control laws and the effect this might have "on the health, efficiency, economy and welfare" of the province. Petitioning the B.C. Liquor Commission the Provincial Council made its views clear on the need to curtail consumption rather than allow for more access and emphasized that it had the widespread support of a variety of interests through "welfare, health, educational, political and church groups." Specifically, it stated "we do not believe in neighbourhood taverns in residential areas."³⁹⁰ The Provincial Council also lobbied the Cabinet in 1954 for further assistance with its campaign for Housing Projects for Old People, more residences at U.B.C. for women, a woman probation officer at Oakalla, increased allowances for Old Age Pensioners, establishing a government program to save historical sites and other issues. It achieved success on the appointment of a woman probation officer and the increase for pensioners. To its credit, it sponsored eleven laws for the benefit of women and children that were now in the statute books as a consequence of its efforts. Among the more notable were the Mothers' Pension Act, Women and Girls Protection Act, Minimum Wage for Women, Employment of Children Act and the Married Women's Property Act. The Provincial Council also lobbied the government on a wide range of social, legal, health and welfare issues. With support from local service clubs and federal, provincial and local grants sixty community health centers were built

in the 1950s that gave public health nurses proper facilities to assist communities.³⁹¹

While the Provincial Council was making progress and demonstrating more effective lobbying, the KCW found its efforts blocked or delayed. Municipal concerns about rising costs and City Council's fear of becoming unpopular due to a need to increase taxation frustrated many organizations. Attempts to improve recreation facilities, for example, took years to accomplish. Joyce Sowerby who became president in 1953 led the campaign for improved recreation. As a young woman, the former Eleanor Peden from Victoria had won many swimming awards and currently was on the Red Cross Water Safety committee and president of the Kamloops Aquatic Club.³⁹² Independent recreation clubs were providing services for their members but the KCW felt that a city based Recreation Commission was necessary for the benefit of the entire community. The KCW asked city hall to call a public meeting and Sowerby attempted to persuade the council by noting that there were already 125 recreation commissions in the province. After reviewing the request, City Council stated that it was in "no way obligated to set up a commission here," and expressed concerns about costs.³⁹³ It remained neutral and left the calling of a public meeting to the KCW. They had more success in establishing a park for the east end of the city but it required years of work to achieve its goal. It started petitioning city hall to demolish the dilapidated army barracks on that site in 1941 and the project finally was completed as Prince Charles Park in 1956.³⁹⁴

These struggles with city hall may have led the KCW to change its organizational structure and might also explain why they began to seek candidates to run in civic elections. The *Sentinel* remarked that the Council "aroused interest in the civic elections by trying to find a candidate for civic office."³⁹⁵ Griffiths attributes the Councils with serving "as an educational training ground for women in many, if not most, aspects of community politics," and that appears to be the case for Kamloops.³⁹⁶ Within the Council structure women gained confidence and experience in how government worked and, most importantly, involvement in public life. Joyce Sowerby, president of the Kamloops Red Cross, past president of the Kamloops Aquatic Club and president of the KCW made her first bid for office in 1956 when three aldermanic offices became vacant. Her other community work included executive work for Senior Citizen's Housing and vice-president of the Citizenship Council. She entered the political field because of her "keen

interest in the community” and felt that there was “a definite place for women in office.”³⁹⁷ Sowerby ran an effective campaign and drew 815 votes but was unsuccessful. In the next official civic election in 1957, Helen Millward, the first woman on City Council who had already completed two successful terms was once again elected but Sowerby failed to gain a seat. Millward’s son Peter who had been inspired by his mother’s term in office had already been elected to Council in 1956 and now they set a precedent for Kamloops and perhaps the province by being the first mother and son on City Council. One of the reasons that she was pleased to be elected was that “the housewives of this city need a woman on council” and she was sorry that Joyce Sowerby was not joining her.³⁹⁸

The twenty-fifth anniversary in 1958 provided the KCW with the opportunity to reflect on its own history, success and to more clearly define its objectives. By writing a short account of its activities, it helped members to realize the importance of their endeavours. It still retained its original structure as a federation of organizations with the usual dozen affiliates sending four delegates each to meetings. In this manner, a cross section of women’s opinions from “all political parties, all nationalities, all religions, and mixed groups,” could be heard. Its aim was to create a united effort in the fields of “1. projects for the good of the community, 2. legislation for the good of women and children, 3. the distribution of information for the good of all.”³⁹⁹ To make the KCW more efficient and to incorporate modern trends it condensed its numerous committees under three main groups. A radio committee covered the cultural aspects of films, printed matter, education, arts and letters, the Health and Welfare committee focused on public health, mental and moral health, recreation, housing and social welfare, and the Current Events committee concentrated on citizenship, migration, United Nations, international affairs, laws and economics.⁴⁰⁰

Although the membership was diverse, it for the most part represented white middle class women. Of the founding members like the KWCTU, Business and Professional Women’s Club, and Women’s Association of the United Church who were still active only the Grand International Auxiliary to Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers had obvious working class roots. Other affiliates who sent delegates to meetings included the Red Cross, Girl Guide Association, Woman’s Association of Kamloops, Social Credit League, Order of the Royal Purple, Senior Citizens’ Association, Women’s

Association to Calvary Temple, and Ladies' Auxiliary to Royal Inland Hospital. Some of the accomplishments not already mentioned included purchasing instruments for the Junior Symphony Orchestra, persuading the city to establish a health unit, creating a Citizenship Council to assist new immigrants to fit into the community, providing a weekly radio show on important local social and cultural items, successfully promoting low rental housing for seniors at Glenfair in 1955, co-operating with Provincial and City Health departments to provide Home Help and Welfare Services when people were faced with emergencies, and setting up a Used Clothing Depot for needy persons.⁴⁰¹ Through its committees that included so many diverse groups it had achieved much more than could be accomplished by a single association.

The expansion of State services, however, was rapidly overtaking the purpose behind the Councils. Two of the indicators of the quality of life set by the National, Provincial, and local Councils of Women had always been social welfare and cultural development. Ironically, success in gaining legislation such as mothers' allowance, Medicare, unemployment insurance and old age pension undermined the need for the dedicated volunteer.⁴⁰² This process that began in the 1940s witnessed government bureaucracies taking over the functions of volunteer organizations. Government offices and employees now replaced the volunteer. Now instead of lobbying government officials, the Councils had to work with the civil service. In the sixties William Dixon, head of the School of Social Work at U.B.C. observed that volunteer organizations should work closer with local governments and described this as a "new kind of pioneering."⁴⁰³ The transition, however, proved to be difficult for volunteer groups. Similarly, the support for cultural activities previously came from volunteer organizations and frequently the KCW provided the leadership for cultural life by its support of artists, music, drama, sports and recreation. Here again, national development like the founding of the Canada Council in 1957 began to decrease the community's dependency on volunteer organizations. Government agencies began to fund and direct venues like concert halls and theatres. There was, however, still room for local councils and the sixties proved to be a very active era of support for artists, drama festivals, exhibitions, and concerts. Cultural activities were an area, Naomi Griffiths observed, "where activity at the local council level was traditional, effective and essential for the quality of life in many communities."⁴⁰⁴ They

still remained important in advising municipalities and obtaining government and other funding.

The shift in the women's movement symbolized by the establishment of the National Action Committee, NAC, further decreased the NCW's membership and influence as the voice for women. From the government's perspective the NCW was too broad as it now faced pressure from more specialized pressure groups. Simultaneously, councils continued to lose members and found it difficult to attract younger women to its organization. It did not attract three important groups: college women, the disadvantaged, and the activist professionals who found women's liberation more appealing. The National Council and most of the locals retained their traditional concerns and generally refrained from becoming involved in the more assertive feminism of the seventies. When the NCW did support a motion to decriminalize abortion, it lost the support of the Salvation Army and the WCTU.⁴⁰⁵ Some historians like Griffiths felt that the portrayals by the media of feminists as being opposed to marriage, family, and homemakers, deepened the split between traditionalists and the new feminists. On the other hand, Judith Fingard in her study of women's organizations did not find any evidence of tension between the traditional and the new women's movement. The NCW's history as an association composed of diverse affiliates who worked together ensured that they were willing to adapt to new ideas and methods. Nonetheless, local councils were not attracting the younger generation to their movement and many were not making the effort to overcome this problem.⁴⁰⁶ As the government took over its activities and as the older generation of middle class volunteers became more estranged from modern ideologies, local councils began to collapse in the sixties and Kelowna, Mission, and Kamloops suffered this fate.⁴⁰⁷

CONCLUSION

The Kamloops Council of Women continued to meet until 1967. At that point, the executive felt that insufficient interest had been shown by its affiliates and to continue was too much work for a small core group. In 1933 the KCW stepped into a forty year struggle to improve women's social position and community standards. Immediately, the affiliates saw the potential that amalgamation of existing women's organizations had for bringing social and cultural change to the city. The successes of the KCW were

numerous but its most important achievement was that it provided women entry into public life. With governments at all levels controlled by men the Councils provided parallel channels of influence and a training ground for entry to political activity. By 1938 the KCW was advocating women's entry into civic office on City Council, school, hospital and park boards. The experience provided by membership on the executive gave women like Joyce Sowerby the confidence to run for a position on City Council in order to overcome resistance to change. Throughout the thirty-four years of its existence, it rejected the socially constructed role for women and acted as their voice on local, provincial and international concerns. Its early concerns with Kamloops women's work, public health, housing, and recreation were important to civic progress. State organized welfare and cultural initiatives gradually decreased the community's dependency on volunteer organizations but on a local level their assistance was required to fill in many gaps. Through its initiatives groups like the Yale-Cariboo Musical Festival Association, the Parent-Teacher Associations, the Senior Citizen's Housing Society, Mental Health Association and the Boarding Home for Senior Citizens were organized. Later in the sixties it expanded its activities to include international concerns and promoted legislation to control nuclear testing. After its closure, women continued their involvement within their independent associations and in 1977 they decided to resurrect the Kamloops Council of Women to deal with numerous women's issues and legislative measures. It incorporated a wide cross section of women's groups and was committed to improving day care facilities, education, women's wages, and human rights for women. One initiative was to sponsor an all day Workshop on Alternate Work for Women in October 1977. Although it would be overtaken by the new feminism and the growth of the welfare state the KCW provided the networking necessary to achieve improvements in Kamloops' quality of life and gave women a greater sense of community leadership.⁴⁰⁸

CHAPTER SIX

Kamloops Young Women's Christian Association: Volunteerism and Social Action

Mary Hedley helped organize the Kamloops YWCA, "To give back what the Y had given me."

Mary Hedley.

"The Y was an important contributor to the development of women's issues in the community. It provided women with opportunities to develop their individuality, make choices, express their initiatives, and creativity."

Lois Hollstedt.

Although a Kamloops branch of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) was not formed until the 1960s, it rapidly became an important provider of recreational and social services for women and children. While the post-World War II period reinstated the domestic and separate spheres ideologies' expectations that married women stay at home to raise their children, women were breaking free of these restraints. A pent up local demand for social activities and need to feel that they were contributing to the community, created the initial impulse by young married women with children to develop the Kamloops YWCA. The new Association often gained advice and followed the policies of the provincial and national associations, but its key initiatives were created by local social pressures and problems. While still considered a small community, a rapid growth in population in the sixties created new challenges for recreational activities, youth programming and family services. Government agencies were finding solutions to some of the basic social problems but others remained unresolved and required attention. As a new organization without any history the Kamloops YWCA entered into this environment and took every opportunity to fill the gaps and improve the community. Starting from a focus on providing individual improvement for women, it moved to social activism in the areas of recreation, education, youth and abused women. In its programs it collaboratively worked with governments at all levels but retained its independence and emphasized the importance of volunteerism. Whenever possible it took advantage of the

small town connections that could be made with influential women and developed close relations with government agencies to guarantee the success of its programs. While still retaining its volunteer and independent status, its adaptation to modernity, the expansion of State intervention in society and to new feminist and cultural concerns ensured its success.

A brief sketch of the national organization's early history is necessary to understand its historical roots, objectives and the gradual secularization of the association. This background enables a better examination of the major changes experienced by the organization as it moved from a maternal and evangelical ideology to a more feminist and secular approach. Concerns over moral issues gave way to the provision of social services. The YWCA was first established in St. John, New Brunswick in 1870 and became a national body in 1895. By 1930, the YWCA built thirty-nine branches across Canada. They were generally located in larger cities where young single women sought employment and education. These larger branches provided what was to become one of the main features of the YWCA: permanent accommodation for young women in the form of boarding houses and temporary quarters for women travellers. Perhaps the most important function that the YWCAs offered was a public place for women and new opportunities to advance themselves. They quickly established the YWCA as the principal women's centre in numerous communities and provided a range of services that focused on female leisure and cultural development. These included libraries or reading rooms, classrooms for evening courses in bookkeeping and sewing, gymnasiums for fitness, team sports, and swimming lessons. It also provided cafeterias, information and employment bureaus and was generally the meeting place for women's clubs.⁴⁰⁹

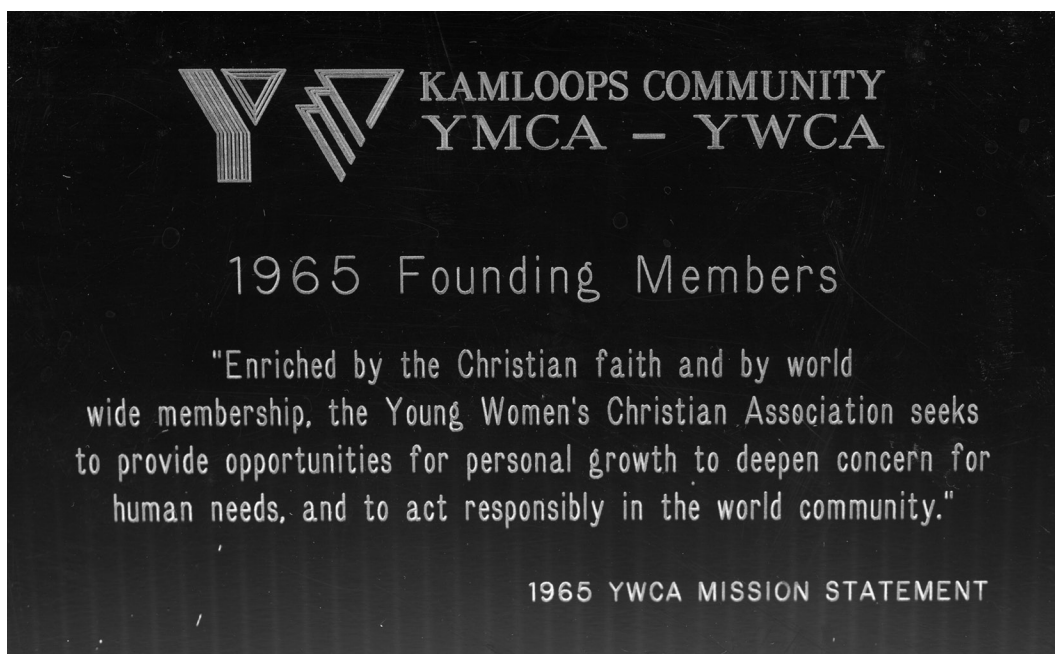
The small population base of Kamloops in the first half of the twentieth century determined that it had few jobs to attract single young women. Those who were here such as teachers, nurses, clerical workers, shop assistants, and domestic servants found their accommodation by other methods. A nurses' home established in 1912 and a larger one built in 1927 provided for this segment of young women.⁴¹⁰ Many single English women sponsored by immigration groups passed through Kamloops but moved on to Vancouver where the Colonial Intelligence for Educated Women society provided accommodation at the Queen Mary's Coronation Hostel between 1912 and the 1930s or went to the

British Women's Emigration Association's Kelowna Joyce Hostel set up in 1913.⁴¹¹ This might explain why the YWCA did not see it as necessary to establish an association in Kamloops until the 1960s.

Historically, the YWCAs fit into the first major category of Christian women's organizations whose moral concerns led them to care for the community. Generally, older middle-class women from prominent families who had connections with various Protestant congregations established them. Often, they were seeking opportunities to become active outside the home and involved in the community. In a similar manner to women in the WCTU, they often had an evangelical desire to provide social services, particularly for women. They believed that Christians who achieved salvation by accepting Jesus had the duty to save others. Many of these women were conservative by nature and found the YWCA a good outlet for involvement without having to commit to more controversial issues like suffrage.⁴¹²

In the early twentieth century, the YWCA was part of the larger movement to reform the city and solve all its social problems. Its attention, however, focused on young women. This need became apparent because many of the other reform groups like the WCTU were so concerned with the problems created by men, they ignored women. From the YWCA's point of view, the "girl problem" was an equally important and a growing issue as more young women left the protection of the family to seek employment and education. Urban centers were experiencing an influx of young women from rural areas, and other countries, especially Britain. YWCA leaders decided that they must protect the vulnerable young rural women and other newcomers from the evils of prostitution, drink and crime. Although they supported women's employment and education, they at the same time feared that it might cause young women to lose their traditional role within the family and home. The solution according to the YWCA was for it to act as a parental substitute and provide religious guidance to young women so that they could avoid the dangers presented by the city. In her research on the YWCA, Diana Pedersen found that one leader saw this as a way of "keeping our good girls good."⁴¹³ As evangelicals, they believed that individual conversion would create a Christian nation and eliminate the social problems of poverty, prostitution, intemperance, and class conflict. In this process, young women were important players as they would determine the moral and

religious standards of future generations.⁴¹⁴ Like the WCTU, the YWCA's evangelical women concerned themselves with improving conditions for children as they saw them as potential saviours of the future cities. This led them into working class districts to set up day nurseries and kitchen garden classes and in this process they stepped into public areas that had previously not been a part of respectable women's lives. Their activity gained them a new autonomy and a public presence.⁴¹⁵



*Kamloops YWCA Mission Statement, 1965.
Image YWCA 02 courtesy of YM/YWCA*

YWCA leaders held that within cities the masculine culture of drinking and sex endangered young women's physical and moral lives. To protect them and preserve their purity and respectability they had to offer a public space free from immoral activities. Night classes, gymnasiums, swimming pools, and reading rooms provided sound alternatives to dance halls and movies. Boarding houses for working women were also necessary to provide safe environments away from slum housing.⁴¹⁶ These services also offered opportunities for the YWCA women to apply their maternal and evangelical principles in an attempt to forge a Christian Kingdom. While some young women rejected the YWCA because of this moral tone, others were very grateful for its services.

The Travellers' Aid program that helped find accommodation and work was especially welcomed by new arrivals to the city while their boarding houses and respectable recreation facilities were popular as they provided a safe place for women to gather.

On the negative side, the YWCA policies and programs were too controlling over the young women's lives and failed to include them in the decision making and problem solving. Instead they were treated as "the problem." Furthermore, by focusing on young women's role as future mothers the YWCA reinforced the concept that women workers were merely temporary and thereby justified the payment of lower wages. Another criticism that has been levied against its policies was that their plan to protect women from men's sexuality in the end led to tighter control over women. By trying to keep young women respectable, the early YWCA perpetuated many stereotypes that actually worked against women's independence and freedom. As the twentieth century evolved, the YWCA proved to be more adaptable and adopted a more secularized and modernist tone while at the same time it continued to be a primary provider of services for numerous communities. In 1954, for example, it joined with other influential women's groups, the NCW, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women, and the Federation of University Women and successfully lobbied for a Women's Bureau in the federal Department of Labour.⁴¹⁷

By 1960, the YWCA had ninety years of organizational experience and had proven itself invaluable in larger cities like Vancouver and Victoria. It was the positive experiences gained by two women in Vancouver who now lived in Kamloops that led to the formation of a local branch. Mary Hedley originally grew up in Kamloops and moved to Vancouver in the fifties as a young married woman with a six year old child and sought out the YWCA to provide her with an outlet separate from the home. "To give back what the Y had given me," she began volunteering and then served on the Board until her move back to Kamloops.⁴¹⁸ Lois Hollstedt worked on the association's staff for five years before moving to Kamloops. For Lois, the Vancouver YWCA provided incredible role models and the acquisition of strong values based on YWCA principles. Mary Hedley had moved back to Kamloops six months prior to Lois Hollstedt and was already discussing with other women the possibility of developing services and programs to meet the new social needs of teens and adult women. She met Catherine McArthur, a school teacher

who had started Y-Teen Groups at Kamloops Senior High School.⁴¹⁹ Discussions of the possibility of forming a YWCA took place in 1962. While women like Mary and Lois could join other women's groups like the Kinettes, an auxiliary of the Kinsmen to which their husband's belonged, they found it too much a social club based on couples and the family. It didn't provide activities for women on their own. Many women's clubs were auxiliaries to men's groups while others like church groups or charities generally focused on helping others but what was needed was an association where women could be independent and do something for themselves.

This need for programs for women, particularly those with young children who were tied to the home during the day became the spark for starting the YWCA.

Women needed the opportunity to talk to other women and to become involved in social, educational, recreational and cultural activities. For Mary and Lois it became "quickly evident that we could build something that would be good for ourselves."⁴²⁰ Two years later at a meeting in March 1964, chaired by Mary Hedley the plans were



*Lois Hollsteadt and Mary Hedley, YWCA, co-founders.
Image YWCA 03 courtesy of YM/YWCA*

set for the new association. Other local women who attended and joined Hedley, the president, on the executive were Lois Hollstedt, secretary, Elizabeth Bogel, treasurer, Sheila McCannel, director, Helen Collins, director, Irene Mulford, program chairman, and Marg Dommett, Mrs. D. Skinner, and Mrs. J. Mullen, program committee. This group of women was “smart, young and energetic.” Mary Hedley noted that the quest to establish a YWCA “encouraged women to feel free to speak out.”⁴²¹ With Mary’s and Lois’ leadership and knowledge of what the YWCA had done elsewhere they recognized the need and opportunity to establish a YWCA.

At this point, certain basic questions were put forward as to whether Kamloops needed a YWCA, or whether it should be a YMCA/YWCA. The need for a building and the type of services to be provided was also considered. Bette Zdan from the National YWCA headquarters who became the local association’s mentor outlined the various types of Ys and noted that they were not just for business girls but also benefited mothers by providing them with a break from regular home routine. She noted that before a YWCA could be started a survey by the National association had to be conducted to find out whether residents supported it and what services they wanted. Financial support generally came from the community and in many small cities they were supported by United Appeals. She also made it clear that “The purpose of the organization is to build a fellowship of women and girls devoted to the task of realizing in our common life those ideals of personal and social living to which we are committed by our faith as Christians.”⁴²² The YWCA still retained its Christian evangelical spirit but it had taken on a modern tone. It now emphasized a concern for social issues and that it was non discriminatory and open to all women and girls.

The first steps towards establishing a Kamloops YWCA were set in motion. The meeting concluded with a committee of women and men being struck to develop a survey. A group of volunteers decided that the best way to deal with this was by forming a Y-Neighbours group. This group originally thought that they could open a YMCA/YWCA but the response from the men in the community did not materialize. As a consequence, the women pressed on and contacted the British Columbia YWCA organizational secretary to get further information on how to proceed.⁴²³ After surveys to establish the community needs and interest, it was decided to start a Y- Neighbours project

in November 1964. Designed for young married women with children, it met weekly on Tuesday mornings and within YWCA circles was known as the Housewife's Holiday. It provided women with the opportunity to escape from their homes, meet other women and talk about their issues. Using the Boy's Club as their base, they established fitness and interest group programs such as flower arranging, investment counselling, travel, home decorating and added personal grooming, films on interior decorating, swimming lessons at a local Slumber Lodge motel and discussion groups. The original fifteen women soon expanded to forty members and a move to the IOOF hall enabled them to launch more programs on Thursdays. An essential key to the success of these programs was the provision of day care for the women with young children who participated. Its rapid growth was a symptom of pent up local demand.⁴²⁴

The group was not just a source for personal satisfaction and already it was putting forward plans on how the community could be improved. The Y-Neighbours attempted to become involved in the Centennial project but realized that big cost items like an indoor swimming pool, parks, or a Senior Citizens Boarding Home did not have public support. The public did, however, express some interest in a recreational facility. Another envisioned project was the establishment of a woman's hostel similar to the recently opened Christian Men's Hostel. At the next meeting in March, they planned to discuss setting up a local Y association. The time had come to form a local association and a survey of Kamloops conducted by the National Association confirmed that the city was ready.⁴²⁵

A major step toward starting a local association came with the appointment of a Board of Directors composed of Joyce Simpson, president, Mary Hedley, Lois Hollstedt, and approximately 22 other women.⁴²⁶ Two Kamloops delegates then went to the 1965 National YWCA Convention where they requested and received provisional association status. After the first year, Joyce Simpson reported that "we are now a part of the history of our community. That just as our forefathers pioneered this country – we, of the first Board of Directors pioneered an idea."⁴²⁷ The YWCA had grown rapidly and she acknowledged that it was due to the volunteers' hard work. Recognizing the stress connected to starting a new association, she noted that they should not "be overburdened to the point where the enthusiasm of a great idea dies."⁴²⁸ To relieve these heavy workloads, the appointment

of an Executive Director appeared necessary and they expected the national association would come to their assistance. Other major recommendations included building an indoor swimming pool, and the development of a Recreation Commission for Kamloops comparable to the successful one in North Kamloops.⁴²⁹

In order to establish a YWCA, the Board now had to find sufficient financial resources. YWCAs were locally organized and financed associations and most programs had to be self sustaining while costs for staff and operating expenses were also locally raised. The National Association assisted local groups by providing training grants, seminars, program ideas and materials. The first step, Hedley noted, was to seek adequate financial support from the community and soon after it applied to the 1965 Thompson Valley United Appeal for assistance.⁴³⁰

With these major steps in place, the Board applied for and received official recognition at the National convention in June 1965. They achieved this in record time. The *Kamloops Sentinel* reported that “It is the first time in the history of the Canadian YWCA that a local group had received recognition in such short time. The local Y was chartered in less than 18 months, when most groups have taken five years or more.”⁴³¹ Much of the credit for the fast pace of the development was the energy, enthusiasm, and determination of the volunteers. Spearheaded by Mary Hedley, Lois Hollstedt, and Joyce Simpson, these women used their connections to the National and Provincial YWCA, the United Appeal and other influential women in the community to achieve their goals. Strategic connections according to Hedley and Hollstedt were the key at all levels. Having grown up in Kamloops, Hedley had a number of friends who were young, married and had children and were equally eager to become active. Most of the women on the Board had strategic positions within the community and made connections with other women who could present the YWCA’s position before City Councils and government agencies. Kamloops was a small community and the Y women knew which influential women could assist them. Their will, motivation, and drive made the YWCA possible and their strategic influence made it happen. Lois Hollstedt, for example worked for the United Appeal and knew the process as well as had the connections to obtain the all important grant that enabled them to establish it. In July, they received a Thompson Valley United Way Award and Mrs. E. Davie Fulton, chairman of the United Appeal

Society, welcomed the “YWCA into our family of United Appeal agencies and know that the services they will offer will be a great asset to our community and particularly to our teenage population.”⁴³² While waiting to receive the United Appeal funds, the association asked both the North Kamloops and Kamloops City Councils for \$1500 each in financial assistance. Mayor Cyril Day of Kamloops agreed with Joyce Simpson’s presentation that there was little support for girls whereas boys were being well looked after. She compared the \$3,000 funding for 325 boys the city granted to the Boy’s Club and its tax and rent free space provided by the city to the request from the YWCA that asked for \$1,500 to provide programs for 500 girls and women. Council turned over the request to the finance department but no money was provided.⁴³³ The YWCA had to wait for a United Appeal grant that gave them a budget to hire a part-time secretary and when business girls and teens asked for an evening program they hired a night steno. Otherwise everything was done by volunteers and supported by donations. Like other YWCAs, it ran a room registry service for young women since 1966.

After months of work writing up a constitution the YWCA of Greater Kamloops came under the B.C. Societies Act in 1966 with 240 members. The Constitution outlined its seven objectives. It was “to provide opportunities that will assist each individual to reach her full stature as an adult” and to “take part in the life of the Association and the Community.” The Association was to “work for social justice and to co-operate with other groups toward this end.” It was “to work as a part of the Christian Community for the extension of the Kingdom of God.” To carry out this work it recognized itself as part of the YWCA of Canada and the world YWCA. The sixth objective was “To carry on a general recreational and educational program for people in the Kamloops, British Columbia area, and without limiting the generality of the foregoing to carry on physical fitness classes, social activities, of a recreational and cultural nature, sports activities and Christian devotional fellowship activities amongst its members.” The final objective was to ensure that the membership be open to “all girls and women of any race, creed or nationality.”⁴³⁴ The new YWCA achieved its organizational success by its connections to the national and provincial associations but it remained a unique body. Its future path, whether it was in recreation, youth or women’s hostel programs was determined by local conditions and issues.

From the beginning, its growth and achievements excelled and it proceeded down an exceptional path of development. Soon after its formation, it became apparent that further growth required a full time professional staff member and a grant request was submitted to the National YWCA. Although it usually expected the local community to give this support, it provided a grant for a director and in October Doris Pals was hired. In its Annual report the National YWCA explained its reasons for providing the exceptional grant. It noted how the Kamloops YWCA had “made tremendous progress, growing in the past year from two Y-Neighbour groups to an Association with a fast-growing and very active membership and a wide variety of programs. They were given approximately six weeks of Extension staff assistance at a very strategic point in their development and they really capitalized on it.”⁴³⁵ The group quickly developed their Board and committees and functioned effectively. They obtained the necessary financial support from the Kamloops United Appeal in 1966, their municipalities, service clubs and private sources. The volunteers and part-time staff developed such an active program that a full-time qualified Executive Director was now required and justified. As a consequence, the National Board agreed to give the necessary financial assistance for this fall term and to find a Director. After a few years of relying totally on volunteers, Mary Hedley, the president, remarked that this addition lifted their spirits and the Board was pleased to have the Association under the control of a capable administrator.⁴³⁶ In her first year as Executive Director, Doris Pals was impressed by the extent of the existing services already established by volunteers and its wide coverage with members from Kamloops, Westsyde, Brocklehurst, Valleyview, Dallas, Savona, Heffley Creek, Chase, Barnhartvale, and Magna Bay. She stated that her role was to be “Helper, Clarifier, Mediator and Mobilizer.”⁴³⁷

In 1966 the YWCA took one of its first steps in expanding its service to the community by changing its focus on women to providing for all members of the family. The programs committee under the leadership of Lois Hollstedt, initiated three sessions that constituted 32 weeks of programs for 648 members that were led by volunteer instructors. The physical education program proved to be very popular with 670 people attending while the interest groups like ceramics, painting, charm, and hand-craft experienced growth. This attempt to spread out its services was generally successful

but initially it did not attract teenagers or men. The original Y-Neighbour groups that offered Flower Arranging, Investment Counselling, Travel, Home Decorating, etc. remained popular. Swimming lessons continued to be held at the Centennial Pool and at the Slumberlodge Motel. To augment the day programs, a babysitting service was necessary but it had to subsidize half its cost. Membership continued to increase to 691 and required a move to a larger facility at the Masonic Hall on St. Paul St. where 20 fitness, swim, and interest programs were offered to women and children. Outside their own programs, YW members assisted the Kin Showcase, the United Appeal Campaign and the Social Planning Committee in developing a list of available recreation facilities in order to create a Directory of Community Services.⁴³⁸ To meet the need for further expansion it appealed to both the Kamloops City Council and North Kamloops Council for \$1500 each. Their own ways and means committee had raised \$1000 in 1966 but the need for more space for the winter program in 1967 left them short. Alderman Ralph Shaw praised the Y for what it already accomplished and referred the request to the finance committee.⁴³⁹ Despite the need for funding, the YWCA was at a stable stage in its development. Changes in the executive occurred in 1967 when Mary Hedley resigned as president due to ill health but Catherine McArthur stepped into the position until Lorraine Seibel was elected. Enrollments for the fall term were very good with 351 in classes and 73 in baby sitting service.⁴⁴⁰ Fitness, interest groups, day camp, family life courses and workshops remained its main work.

While the Board of Directors followed the YWCA's century old basic principles of concern for the individual, they were fully aware that their programs had to fulfill the needs of women and girls in a modern society. Lois Hollstedt observed that the "whole evolution of the Y in Kamloops was very interesting in its timing from that perspective because that was just in advance of the women's movement" and "there was becoming more dialogue about it." From the Y's perspective, there was an opportunity to tap into that need to talk. She also felt that it brought women together in new situations that were outside the Churches that had been the traditional place to gather. The YWCA "in a very unstructured way gave women some new options and new choices."⁴⁴¹ The YWCA still retained its evangelical stance by maintaining a Christian Emphasis Committee that collected devotional material to be used by members and participated in

the National Association's World Week of Prayer by supplying booklets such as "Blessed are the Peacemakers" to radio stations and newspapers.⁴⁴² In this environment, the Board and staff members attended a variety of courses and workshops on Physical Education, Family life education, and personnel relations to keep up to date. The steps toward a more modern approach had the support of experienced National staff members who visited and provided advice on various programs. To further ensure that this relatively new association was on the right track, the executive began an evaluation process in 1967 and found that participants felt a sense of fellowship which was regarded as a true 'Y' tradition.⁴⁴³ The future of the Association also required consideration and, following the National Board's mandate, Doris Pals, the executive director reiterated the National's requirements for the next decade. "If the YWCA did not exist, what kind of organization would need to be created to do what needs to be done in the Seventies? A community, a body of individuals, organized into a unit, is needed that is equipped to help the whole woman – infant, teenager, young married or older woman – to achieve total fitness. The equal sides of the YWCA triangle represent physical, mental and spiritual well-being, with no side more important than the others. Remove any side and the triangle collapses."⁴⁴⁴ The Kamloops YWCA, she concluded, had gone far to establish the elements of the triangle.

Although the YWCA was successful in its own programs, the president Lorraine Seibel felt it was necessary to push the association in new directions and emphasized the need to work more closely with other agencies in the community. Recent concerns over the increasing use of drugs by young people provided the incentive for a new outreach program and brought the YWCA into the wider community. The National YWCA was already involved in attempting to counter this trend and purchased a film on LSD that it rented out to locals to provide information to educators, public health, welfare, and youth workers.⁴⁴⁵ The local YWCA took this opportunity to become further involved in the community by showing the LSD film at the Y, the Indian Residential School, the Ridgecrest Baptist Church and the First Baptist Church and it was viewed by 330 people. The new outreach program was well received but fitness, interest groups, day camps family life courses and workshops remained its main work.⁴⁴⁶ Its accomplishments to date were impressive and recognized by Laura Van Every, Director of Personnel for the YWCA of Canada who praised the volunteers and what had been done by such a young Y.⁴⁴⁷

Despite its success, the YWCA like all volunteer organizations had to adjust to modernity and the new role of the government as the primary social service provider. In the sixties and seventies both the federal and provincial governments brought in major reforms in health, social housing, and higher education but there was still room for volunteer associations to expand their services to meet new social needs. As this transformation took place the National YWCA took the lead and realized that a major change in the Board's objectives was necessary. At the annual meeting of the National YWCA, in October 1968, the president, Mrs. P.J. Chadsey outlined the structure of the old style Y board, revealed its weakness and the need to change. Principally, the old board was "a policymaking group of socially minded volunteer citizens drawn from the educated, professional and management levels of society and a paid staff of agents to carry out their will."⁴⁴⁸ This old type of board, she stated, was unsuitable for a new modern society. The traditional programs no longer worked and the YWCA had to go beyond just thinking in terms of residences, clubs, crafts, the pool, and gym. The problem with the old style of board was that they "are not too aware of changes in the community and are reluctant to try new experimental activities for fear of disturbing the status quo."⁴⁴⁹ It often acted independently and failed to relate to other organizations in the community. While this type of board was adequate a few years ago, now universal education had made people more willing to question old practices and authorities and to search for new alternatives. The modernization in systems, techniques, and communications required new people to organize and apply them to a new society.

Furthermore, with the government accepting increased responsibility for social welfare including "housing, food, clothing, education, recreation, medical care, care and protection of children, the aged and the physically and mentally handicapped," it had to be asked, "Where does a voluntary organization fit? What used to be done by voluntary organizations was "now done by governments and on a scale no voluntary organization could afford."⁴⁵⁰ Both the National and local YWCAs had to ask questions about their future role. "What should the Y offer now? What people should it serve? What should its relationship be to the community? Where among the sky-rocketing costs does the money come from?" Within the answers to these questions, she held, the Y would find its new role. A part of its new role was to integrate with other groups rather than remain

independent. Chadsey called for the YWCA “to move beyond the traditional services and provide for the new needs of the community that are not covered by government or other agencies.”⁴⁵¹ Its membership had to break from its middle-class roots and attract people from all classes so that it could be more representative of the community. It was necessary to become more socially active and develop a “clear progressive organization policy” and have good relations with the community.⁴⁵²

In December 1968, Lorraine Seibel, the president of the Kamloops YWCA used Chadsey’s address to outline a new direction for the local association. She felt that the Board was changing and this had been brought about by the new emphasis on youth. Again she reiterated the theme of “adapting our traditional heritage to meet these needs.” At the annual meeting, the Board’s discussion groups called for the YWCA to “do something” about social issues and “to get involved with other agencies engaged in the eradication of social and economic injustices.”⁴⁵³

The attempt to move in a new social direction came at a difficult time. The Executive Director, Doris Pal, just resigned for health reasons and the YWCA like many volunteer organizations was exhausting its resources. It relied on a few dedicated members to run its programs. The new Executive Director, Helen Burkholder who evaluated the Y, found that the Board was working too hard and that it had to get more people involved to share the workload. She also felt that the Day Care service provided by the Y had over-extended itself and required a new look at this program as it was not meeting the standards set by them. At the same time, she noted that cautious growth had to be accompanied by new ideas. Burkholder felt that “If the ‘Y’ is to meet the needs of the total woman, we need to lift our sights and deepen our insights as we plan for the winter term.”⁴⁵⁴

The Kamloops YWCA took its first major social action in 1965 by initiating a study on the need for Day Care facilities. Here, local needs were the direct reason for presenting this brief on the need for more daycares. The expansion of the YWCA’s programs required more staff for looking after children and more women in the community wanted to go back to work but were held back by the lack of daycare facilities. At the national level, the Status of Women Commission found that 2,296,000 women were working in 1967. One in four was married with children under sixteen.

It expected this number to increase and therefore urged the establishment of day care centres. Canada, it reported, lagged behind. Throughout the fifties and sixties municipal, provincial and federal governments were unwilling to provide daycares and general public opinion still felt that married women with young children should be at home. Women were forced to send children to unsupervised day care or child minding services where there were no controls and at times abuse occurred. In Kamloops, meetings with Welfare, Public Health, and Canada Manpower confirmed the need for additional services. It found that 1,250 married women were working outside the home and approximately 900 had pre-school children. At this time there was only one licensed Day Care, the Peter Rabbit Daycare Centre on Tranquille Road and the YWCA Group Day Care Centre for forty-eight children between three and six. Lois Hollstedt, the chair of the Day Care Committee reported that there was a definite need to expand these services, especially for children after school and under three years of age.⁴⁵⁵

Over the next few years, the YWCA continued to expand its community service and deepen its ties to all sections of the local population. It reached out to other women's groups and offered to speak at their meetings to provide information on its programs.⁴⁵⁶ Greater co-operation with the First Nations population, expansion of the room registry, development of a women's hostel, a youth program, and more counselling service were at the forefront of its activities. Discrimination and segregation of native people remained prevalent. Paul Tennant, a well known political scientist who grew up in Kamloops and later studied native-white politics remarked that in the fifties and sixties "the Whites lived on the one side of the river and the Indians on the other. The Indian reserve was the centrepiece of the local landscape, and the red-brick Indian residential school was for years the most prominent building in the valley. Yet, from the perspective I acquired, the Indians could have been on another planet."⁴⁵⁷ To overcome this separation the YWCA joined forces with the women on the Paul Creek reserve and offered a number of classes and a drop in center for rural women at the Reserve Hall. In most cases, they were approached by local agencies like the welfare department, mental health, Indian affairs, and probation office to assist them in their work. These were vital connections that gave the YWCA a strong presence in the community. Helen Burkholder observed that the new tactics were working: "There was growth in activities; new faces appeared among us,

and a deepening of understanding between the “Y” and the community.”⁴⁵⁸

A survey conducted in 1969 also revealed its growing popularity and many respondents found the Y essential for the community. Previously some people had the wrong impression that the Y was for a select group or for the upper income bracket and the survey undermined this notion by demonstrating that those surveyed found it a very friendly association. This according to Helen Burkholder was the Y’s intention and it worked hard to create an atmosphere where everyone relaxed and could be themselves. She stated that “The heart of the Y program is individual growth and development.”⁴⁵⁹ At present, it was widening the age range and broadening the programs to include musical comedy, dancing and career planning for young women. Membership figures for 1970 confirmed its success. There were 812 members and approximately 1,300 women and girls participated. Fifty-four women were on its board and committees and ninety-five women and girls were instructors, leaders of groups, baby-sitters, and other volunteers. This growth in membership once again forced the Y to move from the Masonic Hall to the United Church in order to gain more space and enable it to add more programs.⁴⁶⁰

Two major social concerns of the seventies were the women’s hostel and youth programs. The need for a women’s hostel for working girls and women and wayward girls was increasingly becoming a concern. Catherine McArthur, chair of the YWCA room registry, described it as “a desperate need.” The Y maintained a list of apartments and rooms that it inspected but it was not able to meet the demand. McArthur held “The only way further accommodation can be brought about is through community support.”⁴⁶¹ A step forward was made in 1970 when it hired a full time program worker for the first time and opened a hostel for transient girls between July 15 and August 31. It also decided to give priority to youth needs.⁴⁶²

The Y expanded youth programs in 1970 by establishing hostels for young travelers and appointed Geraldine Dennis as the program worker. In the same year, Joan Boon replaced Helen Burkholder as the executive director and brought her previous experience as a social case worker for the Calgary Family Service Bureau, Yukon Children’s Aid Society, and Kamloops Tranquille School of Social Service Department into play. As a member of the Canadian Association of Social Workers and treasurer of the B.C. Association of Social Workers, Kamloops and District Branch, she provided the

valuable linkage between government agencies and the YWCA.⁴⁶³ In order to draw in the community the YWCA held a press conference to outline its concern for travelling youth. It suggested that there existed three types of transient youths – those travelling around Canada during the summer in search of work, runaway youths from bad home situations who were dealt with by social agencies, and High School or university students travelling to see Canada or find work. The local Y felt it could assist the last group. The Canada Welfare Council recommended the establishment of a network of hostels for travelling youth and thought a national organization like the Y could do the job. The Y agreed but it needed money and asked for local donations to pay for a house mother to supervise the hostel. In that year it managed to establish a Summer Hostel for six weeks that provided accommodation for sixty-one girls from other countries and other provinces.⁴⁶⁴ As funding was always difficult to obtain locally, it applied for and received a \$9000 Federal Government Hostel Program grant for the first time in 1971. This enabled YWCA to run three hostels for transient youths that were well used with 4000 bed nights being recorded.⁴⁶⁵

The new mandate for social action reinforced the YWCA's philosophy of caring and engendered a feminist spirit by "getting women involved in solving some of the issues" that affected them. This approach was clearly stated at the 1971 annual meeting when the executive outlined its new position.

"We believe women need to have their own structures in society to voice their concern about abortion or our status as individuals in a world run by men. We believe women need the opportunity to learn how to plan, execute and administer large programs and budgets. We believe women need to be concerned and consulted about racism and hunger, all of the problems of the world and develop confidence in their own abilities to cope with these problems, and we wholeheartedly agree with the 450 delegates to World Council Meeting in Ghana that "we are convinced the YWCA has a special task as a women's movement to enable women to fulfill their potentiality as persons."⁴⁶⁶

Feminist concerns came to the forefront in the seventies and they received full support from Lois Hollstedt, the past President who was now the Executive Director.

The second wave of feminism with its agenda of employment equity, women's control of their bodies, and access to power effected her personally, the YWCA as an institution, and Kamloops society. In an interview with Meryl Matthews she stated that "The whole fabric of the city has changed in the past ten years," and she was "hopeful that the YW is managing to keep up with the pattern changes."⁴⁶⁷ In these years, her views were becoming more open and public as she increasingly questioned the socially constructed roles enforced on women. Taking a pro-active position, the YWCA invited Jackie Ainsworth, an organizer with the Working Women's Association, to speak on the need for a working women's union. The Association promoted 'equal pay for equal work, subsidized or on the job day care, job security, maternity leave without penalty, dental, medical and pension plan benefits, and absolution of discrimination in hiring for jobs.'⁴⁶⁸ Only twenty percent of working women were unionized; the rest faced inequalities, unfair employment practices, low wages, and discrimination. To the general question: "Why are working women the objects of the grand "put down"?" Lois Hollstedt replied, "It's our own fault when we allow ourselves to be brain-washed into it." "We are conditioned to be narrow and it's difficult for any woman to get out of the conditioning niche she's in, change needs a lot of emotion and energy stimuli." "Look at the small group of working women here today (15) and relate that to the hundreds of working women in this city."⁴⁶⁹ Later in an interview she stated that the Y was an important contributor to the development of women's issues in the community. It provided women with opportunities to develop their individuality, make choices, express their initiatives, and creativity.⁴⁷⁰

Her personal experience provides a classic example of women's agency and capability to prove that they were not just victims. Born in Winnipeg in 1938, she came from a troubled family with a father who often became violent due to drunkenness and a mother who used alcohol as a crutch to survive poverty and the difficulties of raising children. Her mother's survival skills and the stability provided by her grandmother and aunt coupled with a move to Vancouver when she was thirteen gave her the opportunity to obtain a solid education and a strong personality. Women role models in her family, especially her aunt, taught her to be independent. She recalled that "they all talked to me about what women could do beyond the narrow role of wife, mother, family caregiver, the broader role and I always had that sense in myself that there were lots of possibilities for

me.”⁴⁷¹ Although she would have preferred an academic education, finances limited her to commercial training that would provide her with office employment after graduation. Generally, she found work in a male dominated office disagreeable because the women were treated merely as part of the equipment. They had to accept male authority. After three years in this oppressive situation she joined the YWCA staff in Vancouver and found a totally different environment where everyone from the executive director to the janitor was asked for their input. Working in this collaborative situation that emphasized inclusion and recognition, she realized that it was this input that made for a successful operation. On the Y staff in Vancouver, she added numerous skills beyond her typing like budget control, personnel management and operation control and by 1964 she was a branch assistant in Vancouver.

Separate spheres concepts and the domestic ideology were still alive in the sixties. These social ideals, however, did not fit the reality faced by many women who needed the income. Public attitudes toward married women working changed slowly in the sixties to an acceptance of childless married women being employed but resistance to married women with children working continued. After Hollstedt’s move to Kamloops with her husband and two year old son in May 1964, her daughter was born in August. Being a young family they required two incomes and Lois obtained a position as secretary-manager of the United Appeal in November and worked for it during the next three years. When she joined the Kinetite club, there was some criticism of her working while raising her children. Some women questioned “how she could possibly be a good mother if she is working?”⁴⁷² Her fourteen years experience with the Vancouver YWCA gave her the will, independence, and motivation to work despite the criticism. The need to meet like minded women led her to get in touch with Mary Hedley to set up the Y in Kamloops. Lois quickly related to the feminist movement because it “gave me authenticity for myself” and confidence to talk to other women. Through the Y she met other working women and gained a feeling of connectedness. She noted “the Y gave us all a vehicle to talk about women’s issues.” Here they had an independent and stronger voice than in the auxiliaries of men’s social groups. Hedley also felt that it was a time when women were “coming of age” and were much more active. At the same time the YWCA was a safe traditional Christian place where women would not be labeled as being “women libbers.” The YWCA “made it

easier for many women, I think, to take on the feminist cloak that was safer.”⁴⁷³ Belonging to an association empowered women and gave them greater independence. It provided a female space and opportunities to learn skills through fund-raising, leadership of groups, planning, and policy making.⁴⁷⁴ After being on the Board of Directors and president, she took on the position of Executive Director. It was supposed to be a three-quarter time job but she worked much longer hours. “My responsibility,” she stated, “is administration of the organization, and for carrying out policy as laid out by the board of directors, discussing programs, seminars, and new services which the YW can offer the community, and any planning.”⁴⁷⁵ It became her intention to obtain government funding and to work with social service agencies to achieve the Y’s objectives.

In this position, she became a strong advocate for women’s hostels and received the strong backing of the Board. Mary Hedley, noted that it was the “dreadful abuse” of women in the city that made hostels “such a necessary thing.”⁴⁷⁶ Hollstedt criticized societal attitudes that placed women in an awkward position by generally viewing them as protected and always looked after. This she said was not true anymore. Increased family violence within Kamloops led many women to seek assistance at the YWCA because nationally it was generally known as a provider of residences for women. The local YWCA, however, only had a room registry that assisted young women find accommodation. Most women who needed help had children and this made a hostel even more urgent. Furthermore, it was not just a lodging concern; women needed counselling.⁴⁷⁷ In another article in the paper, Lois Hollstedt emphasized the need for counselling to deal with alcohol, drugs, and abusive husbands: “There is a hostel for men but the community fails to realize that women have the same problems as men, sometimes many more problems.” “I really don’t see why the community can’t see the need and recognize it for what it really is a complete and utter neglect of another human being.”⁴⁷⁸

The Y’s attempt to establish a women’s hostel proved to be a frustrating experience when its Local Initiatives Project proposal became caught up in the bureaucracy between provincial and city governments. The latter while supportive could not make any move until money was on hand. The present system of looking after women was unfair and costly. Whereas men who required overnight accommodation could go to Human Resources and receive money, women had to go to the RCMP for a voucher for lodging and food.

Often, they had to be put up in hotels because there was no cheaper place. Finally, a Local Initiative Program grant for \$13,800 enabled the Y to set up an emergency housing unit for women and a second unit for single parent group living in January 1974. This was regarded as a major “step forward in the Y history of room provision for women.”⁴⁷⁹ The Y Women’s Hostel opened at 43 West Seymour and could accommodate fourteen guests, a cook and three and a half staff.

The Hostel experience provided a primary example of the need to work with government agencies in order to accomplish significant goals and how local initiatives were important. Whereas some women’s organizations like the Council of Women that focused on assisting women and children could not adapt to the government takeover of social services and began to decline, the Kamloops YWCA did not have a history and this made it more adaptable. The city administered welfare services until April 1973 when the provincial government took control but the transition was smoothly phased in by retaining the majority of the employees. This ensured that the staff who had knowledge of local welfare issues was there to co-ordinate services. As the change occurred the YWCA worked out new relations with the government departments and their agents like Manpower, Welfare, Indian Affairs, and Mental Health. Some linkages were created because there were women in social service departments who saw the YWCA as an opportunity for providing services from a local perspective that might work better than the provincial schemes. Government agencies were also so overloaded they were pleased to have a respectable organization take on this problem. Another advantage was that some YWCA members like Joan Boon who acted as the executive director for awhile and Helen Corness who was the project director for the Women’s Hostel and whose salary was provincially funded, were both from a social worker background. Besides the Local Initiative Program grant, the YWCA had to give consideration to future funding to give it permanency.

Lois Hollstedt observed that the Y had to learn how the government worked, how to acquire funding but not be totally dependent because “then our voice would be gone.”⁴⁸⁰ The Hostel therefore remained financially sound by relying on a mixture of government funding, money from its program fees, and volunteers to support the infrastructure. For both the YWCA and the government it was a learning experience as the government was

not used to dealing with volunteer agencies. The Kamloops YWCA was unique in its day to day relations with the government. While it followed the National association in its policy issues and what was needed to be done, the National was not good at ways of finding ways to pay for projects. Here the local Y had to look to the government and determine what the Y could accomplish. It had to develop the right balance of opportunity, find resources and apply it to a project. It was a collaborative effort with the government requiring the volunteers' assistance and the Association requiring funding. Through negotiations and sound business practice on both sides projects like the Women's Hostel were a success.⁴⁸¹

The Hostel provided a service for the following categories of women and children; long term referrals (e.g. hospitalized psychiatric patients), persons in genuine crisis, (e.g. marital, housing), persons seeking to relocate (e.g. employment or residence), persons of no fixed address (e.g. travellers, run aways)⁴⁸² After a temporary move to 213 Battle St., it established itself at 222 McIntosh and purchased the building in 1977. It held ten Hostel beds and five longer term Community Care beds.⁴⁸³ In order to work closer with families the hostel expanded its services in 1977. The T.V. program "Intimate Strangers" on battered wives emphasized the need for half-way houses for wives and children and brought the Hostel a great deal of local publicity. A sense of permanency was added when the Community Y Women's Hostel obtained a license under the Community Care Facilities Act. The hostel served a diverse set of women, fifty percent between eighteen and twenty-five, the rest an even spread between thirteen to eighteen and twenty-five to eighty. It provided accommodation for women who had no funds, the disabled, sick, and mothers with children who had no place to stay. Often, women and families who were subjected to wife beating and child abuse did not realize that they could escape these circumstances. To overcome this they were given free counselling in adjusting to "personal crisis, family and social relationships, money management and other problems."⁴⁸⁴ At the hostel, they could stay three months or longer if necessary. No blame was attached. Their problems could be short or long term, but if they stayed longer, they along with their husbands were encouraged to take counselling. The hostel also assisted former women prison inmates who were on work release. Besides Helen Corness there were five full staff and three part-time who did shifts. Someone was always there to help as many as

seventeen residents. There were only a few house rules and it generally ran on mutual support.⁴⁸⁵

Challenges, change, and crises were central to the YWCA's organizational history and even after eight years of operation in Kamloops, it still faced financial difficulties. Being sponsored by grants from the United Appeal Campaign created a crisis in 1971 when the appeal did not generate the usual donations and the Y's budget was cut by \$7,000. To overcome the shortfall, it organized a Walk-A-Thon, reduced staff, cancelled some programs, and closed the building for two months. In conjunction with the Walk-A-Thon on May 29 it also organized a bike rally over a thirty-five to forty mile route. The two events raised over \$5,000 in pledges and the Y asked the city for a \$2,500 grant.⁴⁸⁶ In the same year it had to re-establish the programs in September, hire a new Executive Director and elect a new President. Despite the heavy workload, the executive found time to apply for a Local Initiatives Program grant offered by the Federal government to provide opportunities to develop new programs. The next year, the YWCA again faced a budget cut of \$6,417 due to a United Appeal shortfall and had to lay off staff including the Executive Director for three months and the staff for a month.⁴⁸⁷

Despite the financial setbacks, the YWCA continued to move forward in its social activism. Lois Hollstedt recalled that the Y's social agenda was going in a "more holistic way." It was trying to bring people what they needed and facilitate the best possible life by providing a support system to allow them to achieve these goals.⁴⁸⁸ Two Local Initiatives Grants in 1971 and 1972 enabled it to go in a new direction that brought them into the "total community." The President's report noted that "With the concept of providing worthwhile employment for people and identifying and dealing with specific human needs, we became committed to a strong role of social action in Kamloops."⁴⁸⁹ The project provided a Volunteer & Information Bureau and a Community Workshop that would provide a staff person to train leadership development to program volunteers. It also gave it the opportunity to take on the role of assisting numerous areas of the community to grow by using the Ys staff, knowledge and facility as a Community resource. In this way the Y was not only providing programs but helping groups to help themselves.⁴⁹⁰

Continuing its second major focus of assisting youth led the YWCA to expand the variety of its programs: "The whole concept of youth programming grew out of that

sort of need to look at the whole family, the whole person, life stages. The community had been talking about community based solutions and it just became a natural extension of our socially conscious work.”⁴⁹¹ The Y looked for gaps as it did not want to duplicate what other people were doing. By obtaining a \$7,200 grant from the Vancouver Foundation it hired a youth worker “on the street” to reach youths who were alienated from society. In this way, it expected youths could create something to help themselves. The Y staff would “help provide recreation and begin to deal with the social issues facing youth, such as drug and alcohol abuse, and their self images in a changing world.”⁴⁹²

At times, these concerns for youth problems were met by negative responses. When the Y applied for and received a federal grant of \$9,575 to open two youth hostels for transient youth during the summer of 1972, it met resistance from some City Councillors. A resolution placed before Council urged the federal government not to sponsor youth transients and instead reallocate the funds to senior citizens. These reactionary attitudes against transient youths were due to misunderstandings of why students traveled and a failure to realize the value of youth hostels for youths traveling in search of jobs, foreign students visiting the country or Canadian youths traveling to learn about their country. Fortunately, the Canadian Council on Social Development on Transient Youth services examined these issues and suggested that these negative images could be dispelled by working together.⁴⁹³ With funding in place a transient Youth hostel was again set up and hired seven local young people with the intention that they run the Hostel program the next year.

By 1973, the YWCA was nine years old and had grown from fifteen women and one program per week to 735 women and men and 310 girls and boys. Over 1,500 women and men and 1,400 girls and boys participated in approximately two hundred programs. The main thrust of the YWCA was to provide social services to the community. Seven different services were offered. To ensure proper instruction for its programs it provided personal development and leadership training for more than 450 volunteers. They in turn offered recreation programs for approximately 2,500 people each year. Recreational programs included pre-school social and development, after school and Saturday morning groups for girls and boys between the age of six and twelve, early evening co-ed groups for tennis between thirteen and eighteen, women’s daytime and evening gym, yoga and

interest groups, swim programs for both sexes and all ages, evening mixed adult interest groups such as bridge, hobbies, noon hour men's fitness and assorted interest groups.

Although the government had increasingly taken over the provision of social services, the YWCA continued adjunct assistance with its emergency counselling and referral services. During this period it was working closely with government organizations like Family Life, social welfare, legal aid and others. It offered accommodation, referral services, a women's shelter, special needs service for handicapped children such as swimming lessons, single parent assistance, summer hostel programs, and social education groups on women's changing role in society, and consumer education.⁴⁹⁴ Despite its extensive coverage, the Y was still initiating new programs to meet community needs in 1974. Among these was an orientation for non-English speaking immigrants to the Canadian way of life and assistance in learning English, a post-natal course, downhill and cross-country skiing, snow shoeing, skating and swimming for the mentally handicapped, golf and crochet lessons. Along with a community committee, it also helped establish a forty bed Summer hostel and by using a provincial grant, Innovations '74, the Y hired three people to set up a series of weekly day camps at local and provincial parks.⁴⁹⁵

While the President, Jean Hardy, became concerned by a growing trend to question volunteerism due to the need for women to work during a recession in the economy, the Y still had many hard working volunteers. Their general motive was that they recognized "the economic and personal value of volunteer impact into the community."⁴⁹⁶ In 1975 the Kamloops YWCA presented its first life membership to Catherine McArthur for her valuable contributions to its development. She was a charter member of the Soroptimist Club since 1946, a home economics teacher from 1946 until 1965 when she retired, led the Y - Teen group at Kamloops Senior Secondary School and was a charter member in 1965. Since then she worked on committees for day camp programs, single parent family groups, and others. She was president, volunteer instructor and advisor. Involved in all aspects of its work, she was an inspiration for others and in 1976, 624 volunteers continued to keep the Y going.⁴⁹⁷

In the seventies, the YWCA continued to recognize the transition to the modern Social Service State by working closely with government agencies to modify and expand its youth programs. Assistance and funding came from the Department of Special Services

to Children and the Department of Human Resources. The program's objective was to provide meaningful life style models and alternatives to juveniles who were experiencing behaviour and emotional problems. By providing leisure activities with its informal counselling and referral services, the program attracted a small number of youths.

The program became more group oriented when an increase in staff allowed more organizing and supervising activities. The Y also felt that by offering more activity alternatives, it increased the opportunities for life style changes. "We have attempted to involve the individual teen by developing an atmosphere in which programming is informal, the tolerance level is high and a wide range of activities is offered. It is felt that it is better to develop and reinforce positive behavior than to punish bad behavior."⁴⁹⁸ The program had more flexible boundaries than most other youth groups and for this reason it attracted alienated teens. The committee also worked closely with groups such as Probation, Special Services, Schools and the Department of Human Resources to assist them. Part of this activity included working with the families of participants and acting as a "middle ground" in order to encourage inner-family communications.⁴⁹⁹ The youth program in 1975 included a six night drop-in center, youth street workers, recreation program for six to thirteen year olds, and a coffee house featuring local blues and folk musicians.⁵⁰⁰

Another major focus for the YWCA was to establish a permanent facility to serve the community. Since its origins, temporary buildings served their purpose but as early as 1968 it envisioned a new civic centre that included a swimming pool, gymnasium, club and craft rooms, kitchen, outdoor sports, and parking.⁵⁰¹ In the community, there was interest in the concept but a lack of funding always blocked any progress. The YWCA, however, remained determined to move forward and a building committee was formed in June 1972 and suggested the facility contain an 80 – 100 bed co-ed residence to provide low cost housing, a 25 metre indoor pool, saunas and full gymnasium and four courts for handball, and squash.⁵⁰² From its initial conception to its actual construction, the YWCA developed a five year planning process that eventually led to a new facility. Aware that it could not raise enough money by itself for a \$1 million facility the Y asked eight other groups to get involved. It felt that it made more sense for the city to build a community centre to be shared by other agencies rather than to build an independent YWCA.⁵⁰³

While a number of service agencies expressed an interest, none made a commitment until the next year.

In 1973, Jean Hardy, President of the YWCA estimated that the proposed community centre would cost \$1.5 million. If the total funding was not available, the Y decided to create a priority list that could postpone certain things. First on its priority list was a residence on a co-ed basis, next was the swimming pool.⁵⁰⁴ To fund a new building the Y started a Capital Fund Campaign that involved 400 volunteers and raised \$358,000, at that point the largest amount ever raised by a campaign in Kamloops. The goal of \$500,000 appeared to be possible. Staff at the Royal Inland Hospital organized a Walk - A - Thon to Paul Lake. The Hospital Board also put aside five acres of hospital holding lands to the Y and the Provincial government was looking into this allocation. The only drawback was the lack of road access. In 1975 the building campaign now had \$372,979 but it still had not acquired land.⁵⁰⁵ In the first few months of 1977, the final plans for the Y Fitness Centre were completed and negotiations with the City and School Board for a one third interest in the pool took place. Construction started in early June and was designed to be completed in stages. The new facility opened in 1978 and work then began on the upstairs rooms with a completion date of 1979.⁵⁰⁶

In order to expand its community connections, the Kamloops YW began to consider the possible benefits of melding with the YMCA. Hollstedt noted that in most communities independent YW and YM existed before a YM/YWCA established itself, - "this would be the first time a YM could develop as a result of a YW."⁵⁰⁷ Already, Victoria and Prince George, had melded and Kamloops planned to study their constitutions to evaluate its viability. In the discussions that followed the benefits and drawbacks were thoroughly examined. Nationally, the YM/YWCA was becoming the model for small communities as it allowed for growth and was more economically sound because of its recreational and family oriented programs. The YWCAs, on the other hand, had a social service model and were being put out of business in small towns by government agencies.⁵⁰⁸ The National organization discussed this issue but remained opposed to it. Yvonne Cocke, president of the New Westminster YM/YWCA who addressed the 1975 annual meeting, also warned that in many melded groups the board representation was 50-50 but the decision making was not split evenly and usually dominated by men. She

felt that Kamloops was in a better position because the women had so much experience on their own.⁵⁰⁹

In Kamloops, the all-women's Board expressed conflicting views that led to divisions, frustrations, and anger. Many members like Mary Hedley wanted to retain their independence and follow the lead set by the National association. Others, however, noted that at a time when they were building a new Y that was family centered, the Association should reflect on whom they were serving - women, men and children. One of the founding members, Lois Hollstedt, felt that for the sake of equity and progress in a changing community, melding into a YM/YWCA appeared the rational choice. When taken to a vote of the Board and then the membership, it passed both times.⁵¹⁰ The advantages outweighed fears of being submerged by men and on June 9, 1975 the Association voted to affiliate with the National Council of YMCAs but it still retained its membership in the YWCA of Canada. In January it changed its name to the Kamloops Community YMCA-YWCA. It became a full member in September and it expected to expand services to the community. From this point, the Board of Directors began to include men but a year later the Board of Directors remained predominately women except for the addition of three men. The only new program added was the summer program consisting of opening the Y one day a week during July and August. The usual programs like Yoga, swim, fitness, pre-school, immigration, and general interest remained the mainstay of activities. With the melding over a year in the past, the annual report observed that "men are finally making themselves visible within our walls."⁵¹¹ Men's activities such as weight-lifting, fitness and volleyball were added and becoming more popular.

A part of the melding with the YMCA included a gender shift when George Alliston, who had twenty years experience with the YMCA in various cities and was the program manager for the Victoria YM/YWCA for six years, replaced Lois Hollstedt who resigned as Executive Director when being elected to civic office and her opening of a small business consumed her time.⁵¹² As a tribute to Lois Hollstedt's thirteen years of service to the Association, members representing the Y, United Way, affiliated agencies, City Council, and the City Department of Parks and Recreation attended a Testimonial Dinner and Dance in her honour.⁵¹³

Hollstedt's years of YWCA experience dealing with planning, press, politicians, government agencies and public speaking gave her the confidence to run for public office. She challenged the old stereotypes of domesticity and separate spheres. Her entry into civic politics derived from her view that she had to influence City Council's and the administration's plans to move toward developing recreation programs. To her it appeared the city was taking over the programs the YWCA had been developing for years and hiring volunteers that the YWCA had trained to run them. Her first campaign in 1974 was hindered by the existing electoral system that placed her in competition against a popular incumbent Meryl Matthews. She ran again in 1976 and successfully gained a seat on council for the next four years. Much of her focus on Council was to develop volunteer work in recreational and cultural affairs. Support for the theatre, art gallery, and providing the infrastructure for parks were some of her keen concerns during this period. She was a strong believer that the city should facilitate volunteerism, not shut it down.⁵¹⁴ Hollstedt returned to Vancouver and became executive director of the YWCA for fifteen years and then chair of Community Living, B.C. In recognition of her dedication to volunteerism and community work she received Spirit of Vancouver and Order of Canada awards. Mary Hedley continues to reside in Kamloops and received a YWCA Life membership tribute in 1975. She summarized her work with the following statement, "to be a part of something that's good for Kamloops – it's been a blast."⁵¹⁵

CONCLUSION

The YM/YWCA continues to provide Kamloops with valuable recreational and social services that are well recognized by the community but its roots within the YWCA need to be acknowledged. Despite all the positive contributions of women's organizations, the socio-cultural environment of the sixties still left women in a void. Many women felt that there was no association that adequately expressed their needs or provided opportunities for their desire to contribute to the community. The history of the YWCA demonstrates women's agency, initiative, energy and determination to do something for themselves and the community and their ability to rebuke the social conventions of the domestic and separate spheres ideology. From its origins the Kamloops YWCA not only concerned itself with women's issues but also the wider interests of the public from infants to senior

citizens. The founders pioneered an idea that made them part of Kamloops history. The Y was fortunate in its volunteer membership whose enthusiasm, will and hard work spurred it on to success and made a “showcase” of how to create an effective organization. In the YWCA, women found their public voice and strategically used all resources available to achieve positive solutions for community problems.

Although closely connected and assisted by the national and provincial associations, the Kamloops YWCA was driven by local issues and created independent responses. Daycare, youth programs, and women’s hostels were pressing issues in the rapidly growing population of Kamloops. While government agencies provided social services they were incapable of covering many issues. Here the YWCA stepped in to fill the gap. As a new organization it had a willingness to experiment and co-operate with government agencies in order to reach out and assist all sectors of Kamloops society. The new feminist milieu also ensured that the YWCA set its goals on solving problems that affected women in employment, health, child care and abuse. It worked with government agencies by offering its volunteer services, providing counselling, and covering areas of social welfare not dealt with by the government. It stepped into this role without losing its independence and became even more committed to social action and assisting the total community. The melding of the YWCA with the YMCA in 1975 was yet another step in this desire to serve the entire community. Women’s participation and their social concerns and needs still remained at the center of its philosophy and action.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

Women's organizations were the planners, organizers and activists that accomplished the necessary tasks of improving the quality of life by caring for human health and the social and cultural needs of Kamloops. Their contributions have remained invisible for too long and they need to be recognized for their social contributions. This study has only provided an outline of a few of the organizations and deals with only a small number of the thousands of women who contributed to Kamloops' progress. Although the majority of the women involved were middle class and fit into the standard characterization of clubwomen, exceptions like the Red Cross Guild did occur among the associations investigated. Other organizations like the Women's Institutes, Salvation Army, Ladies' Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, fraternal and church groups were more grassroots and working class in origin. They are also deserving of future study and credit for their accomplishments. Kamloops' small town environment also contributed to a social fluidity that brought a wide spectrum of people together for fund-raising events like music hall and theatre performances, balls, teas, and charity auctions. Small communities had to rely on their own resources to overcome existing problems and this brought people together from all walks of life.

The Ladies' Auxiliary to the Royal Inland Hospital was a typical elite middle class group but the members motives were diverse and ranged from social obligation, maintenance of status, personal satisfaction and a genuine recognition of the importance of developing a hospital capable of meeting the town's and region's health requirements. These women broke free of the domestic ideology, challenged their critics and in the end gained the enormous respect of health professionals and the community. It assisted the hospital when government funding was seriously inadequate and during an era when the general populace could not afford to pay for hospitalization. Over the years they demonstrated their determination and adaptability in developing new fund-raising

strategies and incorporating a broader membership in order to assist the hospital with its ever increasing expenses. Changing with each new decade the LARIH passed by its centenary in 1999 and still remains one of Kamloops' major volunteer associations.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was less adaptable and found it increasingly difficult to deal with governments that were more tolerant of alcohol and the public's more liberal social values. At its prime in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century it faced the problems created by Kamloops' boom town conditions, a homosocial culture, and a heavy drinking single male population but often gained the support of City Council, the public and provincial government in its temperance campaigns. Equally important it provided a venue for women to talk to women and to acquire the new ideas of maternal feminism and to move into the public sphere not only to lobby for temperance but for improvements in women's and children's welfare.

The Red Cross with its local, provincial, national, and international connections has been a constant provider of volunteer services. Since its foundation in 1914, first by single women and then by mostly married middle class women, the Kamloops Red Cross counted on and succeeded because of widespread support from all classes in society. Its focus on community health such as the Well Baby Clinic, the provision of a public health nurse, health education and relief for the poor made it an essential local service particularly before the establishment of government welfare provisions. While it obtained its policies from the national and provincial branches, local problems created a local response.

Women's abilities in co-ordinating their volunteer services are best represented by the Kamloops Council of Women. Nationally and provincially it was also the most political and this drew the KCW into numerous lobbying campaigns to improve conditions in health, education, housing, senior's assistance and culture. Most women who entered into civic office received inspiration from the Council or were active members. By the fifties and sixties Kamloops women had sufficient experience and confidence from volunteerism to enter public office and often received high praise for their civic work.

The transition to modernity becomes even more evident in the history of the Young Women's Christian Association. Women demonstrated their desire for independence, for expressing their self will, their creativity - their agency - in building an organization for

themselves. Unwilling to be auxiliaries to men's groups or consigned to being homemakers, the Y women created numerous programs to help themselves. But their main objective became community service as they turned to social action in establishing programs for youth groups and abused women. It achieved its goals by obtaining government funding and working closely with government agencies while still retaining its independence. In this manner the Y demonstrated the importance of volunteerism in an increasingly social service environment.

All the organizations investigated were connected to national and provincial organizations and while they often identified with common philosophies and policies, local issues stimulated their activities. Most of the women involved did not openly express maternal feminist concepts but were still a part of a social movement that sought change. They joined in the numerous campaigns to improve the conditions of women, children and the community. Some women's motives stemmed from religious and moral convictions while others acted out of necessity or female consciousness to improve the community. In an era of government neglect and individualist values, local problems and issues became their source of agency. Gradually the State expanded into the realm of social service but women's associations still remained important providers of care. In the interwar period they co-operated with the fledging social service workers to assist them in providing the core requirements for the community. The Red Cross, for example, worked with the poor to insure that they received relief payments and the other necessities for survival. During World War II the KCW continued the interaction with civic and provincial agencies to achieve better health care, working conditions and urban planning. The real test for the survival of these associations came in the fifties and sixties when they not only faced being outpaced by government agencies, changed social values and Second Wave feminism that proved to be more attractive to the younger generation and in the case of the National Action Committee to be more effective in lobbying for its objectives.

Some historians like Jill Vickers maintain that women's organizations gave women a greater voice than their involvement in politics. She concluded that "the realm of women's associations and institutions, community services and movements has its own norms and values, which reflect woman-centred experiences." She described this

woman-dominated sphere as “the politics of getting things done.”⁵¹⁶ While the majority of women preferred this type of activism over holding public office, the associations were at the same time the training ground for women’s political engagement. Most women who entered into political life remained at the civic level and generally found themselves relegated to auxiliaries when they became involved with the major provincial parties.⁵¹⁷ Women’s reluctance to get involved in politics may be partially attributed to frustration caused by exclusion and conversely to the satisfaction they gained from working through women’s organizations.

The long history of the LARIH, KWCTU, Red Cross, and KCW as well as shorter but dynamic growth of the YWCA gave Kamloops’ women opportunities to become involved in public affairs and bring about major changes. In this manner, these organizations were not only important to the community but to the women themselves. Within these groups women gained numerous skills as office holders, fund-raisers, policy makers, bookkeepers, and administrators. They stepped out of their designated domestic roles out of necessity and a number of them became well known figures in the community in their own right rather than because they were the wives of prominent men. Fulton, Fitzwater, McCurrach, Johnstone, Millward, Matthews, Hollstedt, Hedley and others received major tributes like Life memberships, public acclaim in the press, and keys to the City. The problems they faced were for the most part local issues and their solutions were more immediate and visible. In a number of cases, it was the resistance of male politicians to the objectives of women’s associations that led them into the political arena as either lobbyists or politicians. Here their membership experience gave them the administrative, campaigning and political skills to run for civic office.

In their efforts to improve the community, women’s associations recognized the need to go beyond caring just for the white Anglo population and served all disadvantaged people. Paradoxically, they had their faults and often reflected the contemporary social and racial bias of the societal period that surrounded them. The LARIH’s colonial origins explains its early acceptance of racial splits and segregation of white and native patients during the influenza epidemic but at the same time it crossed class barriers by trying to provide good health care for everyone in the community. The WCTU often supported the popular eugenics theories on racial degeneration and the need to purify

the race while at the same time defending the need for reforms to protect women and children. The Red Cross can also be seen to join in the discrimination against natives in the 1930s but it was also the major relief agent during the Great Depression and later tried to stop discrimination against the Japanese during World War II and in the post-war period attempted to develop a closer liaison with the native communities in the region. The KCW continued to maintain its non-discriminatory and non-denominational membership to advocate improvements for all women but its non-partisan political position can be viewed as holding back women's entry into politics. YWCA's were also criticized for their early focus on morality and concern for a narrow sector of society but once they became socially committed the YWCA became involved in defending First Nations rights, women from all walks of life who required housing, shelter and counselling, youth and various ethnic groups.

The associations that survived until the sixties did so by adapting to modern trends and at times accommodating new feminist concerns. The old ideas had to adjust to modernity and to a great extent they were so gradual that it did not offer any great challenge or create divisions. Some traditional organizations like the LARIH, Red Cross, and YWCA survived and thereby demonstrated that they were still important community assets, others like the KWCTU and KCW did not make the adjustments necessary to continue and ceased their activities. They would be replaced by new feminist groups that took their lead from the National Action Committee and who were much more willing to be openly political and use government funding like the federal Local Initiatives Project grants to achieve their objectives. At present, women volunteers continue to provide essential services for the community and the diversity of their activities continues to expand. As in the past, their objectives are not to replace government social and cultural services but to promote further change to overcome inequities and ensure the inclusion of all individuals in the community's life.

ENDNOTES

- 1 *Kamloops News*, May 4, 1977, section 3, 13.
- 2 Gerald Friesen, "The Evolving Meanings of Region in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review*, 82:3 (September 2001): 530.
- 3 See *Kamloops Sentinel*, Feb. 7, 1949, 7, (Hereafter *KS*) The 1941 census places Kamloops at 5,955 while the 1951 recorded 8,099. Census Statistics for Kamloops, 1941, 1951. See also Maribeth Plommer, "Sources for Women's History in Kamloops," Unpublished research sourcebook, 1985, Mary Balf Archives, Kamloops. (Hereafter *MBA*). The division into two major groups is outlined in Wendy Mitchinson, "Early Organizations and Social Reform: Prelude to the Welfare State," in Allan Moscovitch, and Jim Albert, eds., *The "Benevolent" State: the growth of the welfare state in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987, 77-89. The estimate for women's participation is from Jim Lotz, "The Beginning of Community Development in English Speaking Canada," in Brian Wharf, and Michael Clague, eds., *Community Organizing: Canadian Experiences*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997, 15. For their importance, see Naomi Griffiths, *The Splendid Vision: a centennial history of the National Council of Women of Canada: 1893-1993*. Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1993, 5. Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, Naomi Black, et. al., *Canadian Women; A History*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1998, ch. 8.
- 4 Carol Baines, Patricia Evans, and Sheila Neysmith, eds., *Women's Caring: Feminist Perspectives on Social Welfare*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1998, 9. Louise Toupin, "Social and Community Indicators for Evaluating Women's work in Communities." Status of Women Canada Policy Research Fund, Feb. 2001, 19, cites Ginette Boyer and Lucie Belanger's research that argues that women's work for the community is treated as "extended mothering" and therefore it becomes invisible. See also Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford and the contributors to a study of Halifax who feel that this is a significant gap in Canadian historiography, not only in terms of social welfare but women's activism. They also argue that more community case studies rather than national studies are necessary. Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford, eds., *Mothers of the Municipality: women, work, and social policy in post-1945 Halifax*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005, 13.
- 5 Michael Prince, "At the Edge of Canada's Welfare State: Social Policy-Making in British Columbia." in Kenneth R. Carty, *Politics, Policy, and Government in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996, 248-52. Megan J. Davies, "Welfare Amazons or Handmaidens of the State? Welfare Field workers in Rural British Columbia, 1935-42." in Diane Purvey and Christopher Walmsey, eds., *Child and Family Welfare in British Columbia: A History*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises, 2005, 197.
- 6 Agnes Meinhard and Mary Foster, "Differences in the Response of Women's Voluntary Organizations to Shifts in Canadian Policy." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, (2003), 32, no.3, 366-7, cited in Debra Andrews, "In the Company of Women: the Work We Do," *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Thompson Rivers University Undergraduate Conference*, Kamloops, Thompson Rivers University, 2009, 31-32, Judith Fingard, "Women's Organizations: The Heart and Soul

of Women's Activism," in Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*, 26-27. In their studies of Halifax, the editors, Judith Fingard and Janet Guildford and the other contributors found some of the same themes such as women's activism, state expansion into social service and secularization of associations that were common to this study of Kamloops. Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*, 9-11.

7 Paul Voisey, *Vulcan: The Making of a Prairie Community*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988, 212.

8 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 1. For the American situation, see Firor Scott, *Natural Allies*, 2.

9 Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000, 18.

10 Baines, *Caring*, 25-26. Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985, 4-6, 33-4. Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s*. Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1979, 2-6. The Reverend Benjamin Fish Austin held that "if society is ever to become thoroughly permeated with the Christian doctrine and spirit, if the world is ever to become regenerated, it must be by the agency of Christian women." Quoted in Cook, *Regenerators*, 70.

11 Lynne Marks, "Exploring Regional Diversity in Patterns of Religious Participation, Canada in 1901," *Historical Methods*, 33, 4, (Fall 2000), 247-52. Recent research has observed the continuance of this anomaly in the post World War II era, see Tina Block, "Everyday Infidels; A Social History of Secularism in the Postwar Pacific Northwest." Ph.D. thesis, University of Victoria, 2006.

12 Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 17, 18.

13 Baines, *Caring*, 26. On social gospel and agency see Baines, *Caring*, 26. For the important role of women in the Protestant church, see also Christie, *Engendering*, 18.

14 Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self Identity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991, 213, M. Emirbayer and A. Miche, 'What is Agency?' *American Journal of Sociology*. 103: 4 (1998): 962. See also Derek Layder, *Understanding Social Theory*. London: Sage Publishing, 1994, 210-14.

15 Similar findings were evident in Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*, 9-11 and in Maggie Andrews, *Acceptable Face of Feminism; The Women's Institute as a Social Movement*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997, 12-13.

16 For MacGill and Gutteridge, see Jean Barman, *The West Beyond the West: The History of British Columbia*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991, 217-18.

17 Similar findings are found in Fingard, "Women's Organizations," 26-7. Tina Block's review of this introduction pointed out the need to give politics a broader definition in order to incorporate women's history. Rusty Bitterman makes this point in his study, see Rusty Bitterman, "Women and the Escheat Movement, The Politics of Everyday Life on Prince Edward Island," in

Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994, 24-7, 38. See also Kathleen McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women Philanthropy, and Power*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990, 11.

18 Quoted in Tina Block, "Religion, Irreligion, and the Difference Place Makes: The Case of the Postwar Pacific Northwest," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 43:85 (2010):12. For theories on the social construction of place, see John Agnew and Jonathan Smith, eds., *American Space/American Place: Geographies of the Contemporary United States*. New York: Routledge, 2002 and Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History: Colonialism and the Frontier Myth in a Rural Canadian City*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

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20 These themes are examined in Mary Balf, *Kamloops, A History of the District Up to 1914*. Kamloops: Kamloops Museum, 1969, chapter 2, 4, 6, Ruth Balf, *Kamloops; 1914-1945*. Kamloops: Kamloops Museum, 1967, chapter 4, 15, Ken Favrholt, *Kamloops; meeting of the waters*. Canada: Windsor Publications, 1989, chapter 4, 5, MBA, Newspaper article, N675, Elisabeth Duckworth, Kamloops, Land of Promise, MBA, Newspaper article, N766, Susan Cross, Kamloops in 1904, Wayne Norton, "When Travellers Come to Town," in Wayne Norton and Wilf Schmidt, eds., *Kamloops: On Hundred Years of Community; 1893-1993*. Merritt, B.C.: Sonotek Publishing, 1992, chapter 2, Margaret Ormsby, *British Columbia: a History*. Vancouver: Macmillan, 1958, 305, 359. For recent research, see Rachel Nash, "Change and Resistance: Kamloops' Civic Symbols and Identity in the 1990s," and David MacLennan, Donald Lawrence, Will Garrett-Petts and Bonnie Yourk, "Vernacular Landscapes: Sense of Self and Place in the Small City," in Will Garrett-Petts, ed., *The Small Cities Book; On the Cultural Future of Small Cities*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 2005.

21 Quoted in Barman, *West Beyond the West*, 56.

22 Quoted in Wayne Norton, *Kamloops History: Fictions, Facts and Fragments*. Vancouver: Plateau Press, 2007, 6.

23 Meryl Matthews Interview, Interviewer, Maribeth Plommer, July, 1985.

24 Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 170.

25 The term feminism did not win acceptance among the majority of Canadian women during the late nineteenth century and instead they preferred to identify themselves as the "woman's movement." For a general overview, see Prentice, *Canadian Women*, ch.7, Marilyn Callahan, "Feminist Community Organizing in Canada: Postcards from the Edge." in Brian Warf and Michael Clague, eds., *Community Organizing: Canadian Experiences*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1997, 190-1.

26 Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*, 8. They point out the criticisms expressed in M. Little, 'No Car, No Radio, Liquor Permit': *The Moral Regulations of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998 and Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991.

27 Davies, "Welfare Amazons."197, 215, Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race,*

and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001 19. As Adele Perry argued in the colonial project or settlement of the province, “white women were expected to serve as symbols of imperialism and racial separation.” Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 174. Fingard and Guilford also point out that we need “to acknowledge that women’s experience as based on race, class, age, sexual identity, and ability.” Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*. 13. See also Valverde, “Mother of the Race.” 3-21 for first wave feminism and ethnocentrism and racism, particularly the WCTU. See Guildford and Morton, *Separate Spheres*. 12. Similar prejudiced attitudes can be found in American volunteer associations. See Anne Firor Scott, “Women’s Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform,” in Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women Philanthropy, and Power*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990, 48.

28 Andrews, *Acceptable*, 5.

29 Andrews, *Acceptable*, 8.

30 Baines, *Women’s Caring*. 30. See also Andrews, *Acceptable*, 5. Fingard and Guilford, *Mothers*, 1-20, Callahan, “Feminist.” 190-2.

31 Andrews, *Acceptable*. 8-12, Baines, *Women’s Caring*. 24. See the introduction in Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds., *Separate Spheres: Women’s Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994, 17-20.

32 KS, Feb. 6, 1946, 14.

33 See Plommer, “Sources,” Although not a complete listing of organizations, Plommer identified the existence of the following types of Kamloops women’s organizations that existed between 1891 and 1960; 13 auxiliaries, 4 charitable, 10 church societies, 10 fraternal, 2 service clubs, 2 sororities, and 6 miscellaneous women’s groups. For example, 21 women’s organizations attended the meeting to form the Local Council of women in 1933. KS. Dec. 1, 1933, 1. See also Meryl Matthews’s report, KS. Feb. 7, 1949, 7.

34 Meryl Matthews Interview.

35 KS, Jan. 31, 1939, 1.

36 Andrews, *Acceptable*, 8-13, Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*. 1-3, Baines, *Caring*. 27-30. For elite groups, see Diana Kendall, *The Power of Good Deeds: Privileged Women and the Social Reproduction of the Upper Class*. Lanham: Roman & Littlefield, 2002. 26-34. Kendall applies Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of social and cultural capital to explain women’s interest and capabilities within organizations. See also Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women’s Associations in American History*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991, 24.

37 Gillian Weiss, “The Brightest Women of Our Land: Vancouver Clubwomen 1910-1928.” in B.K. Latham and R.J. Pazdro. eds., *Not Just Pin Money*. Victoria: Camosun College, 1984, 200.

38 Weiss, “The Brightest,” 202-07.

39 For the most recent history of the Women’s Institute, see British Columbia Women’s Institute, *100 Years of B.C. Women’s Institutes, 1909-2009*. Kamloops: British Columbia Women’s Institute, 2008. Information on working class women’s associations can be found in newspaper articles produced by archivists at the MBA. Johnstone is quoted in KS, Jan. 24, 1939, 5.

40 Baines, *Caring*, 27. Wendy Mitchinson, “The WCTU: ‘For God, Home and Native Land’: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism.” in L. Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880 – 1920s*. Toronto: Women’s Press, 1979, 152, 164-5.

41 Kealey, *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, 6-8, Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 169-88. Mariana Valverde, "'When the Mother of the Race is Free' Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, 3. A survey of the literature relating to first wave feminism and its racist attitude can be found in Nancy Forestell, "Mrs. Canada Goes Global: Canadian First Wave Feminism Revisited," *Atlantis*, 29,no.3 (2005), 7-18. Forestell also places it into the context of literature on colonialism, internationalism, and transnationalism.

42 Adele Perry, "Interlocutting Empire: Colonial womanhood, settler identity, and Frances Herring," in Phillip A. Buckner, ed., *Rediscovering the British World*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005, 173. See also Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 16-19. The fears of church groups were confirmed by the 1901 census which revealed that there were ten times as many irreligious people in B.C. than other provinces. See Marks, "Exploring Regional Diversity," 248-50. For the emigration of British women, see Joan Weir, *Catalysts and Watchdogs: B.C.'s Men of God, 1836-1871*. Victoria: Sono Nis press, 1995, ch. 5, and Andrew Yarmie, "I Had Always Wanted to Farm: The Quest for Independence by British Female Emigrants at the Princess Patricia Ranch, Vernon, British Columbia, 1912-1920," *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 16, number 1 (2003): 103-5.

43 Ken Mather, *Buckaroos and Mud Pups*. Surrey: British Columbia, Heritage House, 2006, 66. Two examples are Johnny Wilson and Joseph Richter. Harry Marriott, *Cariboo Cowboy*. Sidney: British Columbia, Gray's Publishing, 1966, 59. For fur traders see Balf, *Kamloops, A History of the District Up to 1914*, 10, 13.

44 Perry, *Empire*. 16-17. Mather, *Buckaroos and Mud Pups*, 67-8.

45 MBA, newspaper article, N10, M. Balf, "The Railway comes to Town." 1881 Census, Table 2, Population Statistics for District 189 Yale, Subdistricts B Lytton, Cache Creek and C, 1891 Census, Table 3 Population Statistics of Yale District 5, Subdistrict K Kamloops.

46 1891 Census, Table 3 Population Statistics of Yale District 5, Subdistrict K Kamloops, 1901 Census, Table 5, Population Statistics of District Yale & Cariboo, Subdistrict K Yale, North, 1911 Census, Table 6, Population Statistics for Kamloops C and Kamloops Subdistricts, 1921 Census, Table 7, 1921 Census Statistics for Kamloops and Kamloops C Subdistricts. See also Ross Nelson, Department of Geography, Thompson Rivers University, Web-based publication, Bulletin No 2, 2005, Kamloops in 1901, Census of Canada. Perry, *Empire*. 16-17, John Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia; A Population History*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009, 91. The choices available are stated in Belshaw's use of Kathryn Bridge, *By Snowshoe, Buckboard and Steamer: Women of the Frontier*. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1998, 16. For the rough male culture, see Perry, "Interlocutting," 169-71.

47 Barman, *West Beyond*, 130-31,140. Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997, 263-64, Joan Weir, *Walhachin: Catastrophe or Camelot?* Surrey: Hancock House Publishers Ltd., 1984, 7, 31, ch. 3, ch.5.

48 Harris, *Resettlement*, 225. For a thorough discussion of the frontier myth, see Elizabeth Furniss, *The Burden of History*, 17-20. Joanne Drake, "Women's Work in the Thompson/Nicola Region: A Study of Women's Work to 1945," Unpublished Research Project, Cariboo College, 1977, 17-18.

49 Ken Favrholt, "Domesticating the Drybelt: Agricultural Settlement in the Hills around Kamloops, 1860-1960," in Ruth Sandwell, ed., *Beyond the City Limits: Rural History in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998, 110-11. For Haughton's quote, see Heritage Committee,

Rose Hill Farmers Institute, "*Bunch Grass to Barbed Wire: ...just a little south of Kamloops.*" Kamloops Heritage Committee, Rose Hill Farmers Institute, 115. See also Mather, *Buckaroos*, 64, Harris, *Resettlement*, 227. Rusty Bitterman also found that separate spheres concepts did not apply in the frontier conditions of rural Prince Edward Island. Women contributed to hard labour and even resorted to violence to defend their property. See Bitterman, "Escheat," 27-33.

50 Davies. "Welfare Amazons," 197, Baines, *Caring*, 34-5.

51 Quoted in Toupin, *Social and Community Indicators*, 15. Davies, "Welfare Amazons," 203-08. Davies applies this theme to social workers whereas this study extends it to volunteers within women's organizations.

52 Barman, *West Beyond*, 202-12.

53 *KS*, Jan. 15, 1918, 1. For her first election to office see *Kamloops Standard Sentinel*, Jan. 16, 1914, 1. (Hereafter *KSS*) Her obituary is in *KS*, Nov. 14, 1945,

54 Barman, *West Beyond*, 218-19.

55 Barman, *West Beyond*, 202-03.

56 Kealey, *Not Unreasonable*, 9-13, Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 179-82.

57 Christie, *Engendering*, 28-30.

58 Davies, "Welfare Amazons," 195-7, 215. Social workers continued to work with government agents, the police and public health nurses until the post-World War II era. Davies, "Welfare Amazons," 208-10, *KS*, Jan. 25, 1932, 2.

59 Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 295-312.

60 The critics were quoted in Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 331. For general background material see Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 332-37.

61 Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 343-52, Jill Vickers, Pauline Rankin, and Christine Appelle, *Politics As if Women Mattered: A Political Analysis of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, 18, 25, 28-9, 37-8.

62 Debra Brown, *The Challenge of Caring; A History of Women and Health Care in British Columbia*. British Columbia: Ministry of Health and Ministry Responsible for Seniors Women's Health Bureau, 2000, 72. Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 356.

63 Lynn Thomson, September, 2010. The above information provided by Lynn Thomson. See also Cariboo College News Release, March 1981, Thompson Rivers University Archives.

64 Quoted in Agnes Meinhard and Mary Foster, "Differences in the Response of Women's Voluntary Organizations to Shifts in Canadian Policy." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, (2003), 32, no.3, 371.

65 *Inland Sentinel*, Aug. 28, 1884, 7. (Hereafter *IS*)

66 Balf, *Kamloops; A History of the District up to 1914*, 60, 62-63. MBA, vertical file, *One Hundred years of Care*, 2, MBA, Newspaper articles, N 319, John Stewart "Royal Inland Hospital," part 1, 1-2. Barman, *Sojourning Sisters*, 75-6. After her move to Victoria Annie moved into the public sphere particularly after her husband died. She joined numerous women's organizations like the WCTU, Local Council of Women, IODE, Women's Canadian Club, Women's Institute and became provincial director of the Homes Branch of the Soldiers' Settlement Board. Barman, *Sojourning Sisters*, 215-18. For the Beattie sisters, see MBA, Newspaper articles, N 331, John

Stewart, "The Beattie Sisters, A Family of Teachers."

67 MBA, Ladies' Auxiliary to Royal Inland Hospital, (Hereafter LARIH), 77.55.1 "Over 60 Years of Progress."

68 *IS*, March 5, 1897, 1, March 12, 1897, 4. It attributed the deficit to the high salary of the medical officer.

69 Kendall, *Power of Good Deeds*, 2-3.

70 *IS*, Feb. 18, 1893, 2. See also Balf, *Kamloops. A History of the District up to 1914*, 62.

71 Margaret Andrews, "Medical Attendance in Vancouver, 1886-1920," *BC Studies*, no. 40, (Winter, 1978-79): 46.

72 *IS* Feb 25, 1893, 4.

73 *IS*, Oct 12, 1894; *IS*, Oct 18, 1895. MBA, D. Gibson, "100 Years of History!" Inside Inland: The Royal Inland Hospital Newsletter, 1996,1, 4; MBA, Newspaper articles, N 319, John Stewart, "Royal Inland Hospital" part 1, 3. Andrews, "Medical Attendance," 49-51.

74 MBA, LARIH, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1899.

75 MBA, LARIH, 77.55.1, "Over 60 Years of Progress."

76 MBA., LARIH, Minutes, Jan. 23, 1900 or *IS*, Jan. 26, 1900, 4.

77 *IS*, Feb. 27, 1900, 4.

78 *IS*, Feb. 27, 1900, 4.

79 Balf, *Kamloops, A History of the District Up to 1914*, 114,120. For black face costumes at masquerade dances, see Balf, *Kamloops; 1914-1945*, 11 and for black face musical bands, see MBA, Photographs, #914, 1897, Queen Victoria Jubilee, #6962, Darktown Minstrels, 1914. For Peter Wing, see Favrholt, *Kamloops*, 67.

80 *IS*, 9, 1900, 4. For other fund-raising events, see *IS*, Nov. 5, 1901, 4, Oct. 23, 1903, 1.

81 *IS*, Jan. 3, 1902, 4, Oct. 21, 1902, 4.

82 *IS*, Oct. 23, 1903, 1.

83 Melrose Scott, *Seventy Years, 1904-1974, A History of the School of Nursing at Royal Inland Hospital*. n.d., ch. 1. For other impressions of Kamloops in the early twentieth century, see Norton, *Kamloops History*, 1-6.

84 1911 Census, Table 6, Population Statistics for Kamloops C and Kamloops Subdistricts. MBA, LARIH, 77.55.1, "Over 60 Years of Progress," 2. "One Hundred Years of History, 1. MBA, Newspaper article, N 319, John Stewart, "Royal Inland Hospital", part 2, 1. Comparatively, the work of Kamloops' women's associations had many parallels to the Women's Auxiliary to the Vancouver General Hospital that began in 1902. The first hospital in Vancouver started as a nine bed tent hospital to serve C.P.R. workers and the City did not take it over until after the great fire of 1886. Peter Walton, ed., *The VGH Story, A History of Vancouver General Hospital, A Century of Caring*. Vancouver: no Publisher, 1988, chapter 1, n.p.

85 *IS*, March 15, 1913, 3.

86 *IS*, March 15,1913, 3

87 *IS*, Feb. 3, 1914, 1. See also Balf, *Kamloops; 1914-1945*, 67. Later J.T. Robinson became

the President of the Hospital Board and worked tirelessly for the hospital. When he died the Auxiliary praised him and remarked that he was “always ready to assist and second our every endeavor.” *IS*, Feb. 7, 1924, 3.

88 *KSS*, Jan. 29, 1918, 6, Feb. 8, 1918, 8.

89 Recent research attributes the spread of the disease in the west to the movement of the Siberian Expeditionary Force to Vancouver. See Esyllt Jones, *Influenza 1918: Disease, Death, and Struggle in Winnipeg*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, 5-6, 13. Eileen Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy: Canada and the Deadly Flu of 1918*. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1983, 75. Margaret W. Andrews, “Epidemic and Public Health: Influenza in Vancouver, 1918-1919,” *BC Studies*, 34 (Summer, 1977): 27. *KSS*, Oct. 18, 1918, 1, Oct. 22, 1918, 1.

90 Andrews, “*Epidemic*,” 28-31.

91 *KSS*, Oct. 18, 1918, 1. For the medical report on 1917 see *KSS*, Jan. 15, 1918, 1.

92 *KSS*, Dec. 10, 1918, 6.

93 *KSS*, Oct. 29, 1918, 4.

94 *KSS*, Nov. 8, 1918, 8.

95 *KSS*, Nov. 1, 1918, 1, Nov. 5, 1918, 1, Dec. 3, 1918, 1, Dec. 10, 1918, 1, Dec. 13, 1918, 1.

96 For the population see Census 1911, Table 6: Population Statistics for Kamloops c and Kamloops Subdistricts, 1911 and 1921 Census, Yale & Cariboo District.

97 *KSS*, Oct. 22, 1918, 1, *KSS*, Nov. 12, 1918, 1, Nov. 22, 1918. For examples of the reporting of deaths throughout November, see also Nov. 15, 1918, 8, Nov. 19, 1918, 8.

98 *KSS*, March 9, 1920, 1, *KSS*, Nov. 15, 1918, 1. For a record of the number of cases see *KSS*, Dec. 13, 1918, 1, March 11, 1919, 1.

99 *KSS*, March 14, 1919, 1. *KSS*, Feb. 13, 1920, 1, *KSS*, Feb. 17, 1920, 1, *KSS*, Feb. 27, 1920, 1.

100 For comparative examples, see Jones, *Influenza*, 11, 81, 84-85, 86.

101 Jones, *Influenza*, 64, 65-6.

102 Jones, *Influenza*, 65-6, 70-5, 84-5, 168-69.

103 *KSS*, Nov. 8, 1918, 2, Dec. 10, 1918, 6. *KSS*, Nov. 8, 1918, 1.

104 *KSS*, Dec. 10, 1918, 6. In Vancouver, the volunteer nurses received as little as thirty minutes training before being sent into the wards. Andrews, “*Epidemic*,” 28.

105 *KSS*, Nov. 5, 1918, 1.

106 *KSS*, Nov. 15, 1918, Nov. 8, 1918, 1, 2, 8.

107 *KSS*, Nov. 29, 1918, 1. For Jones, see *KSS*, Nov. 15, 1918, 8, and W.T. Summers, see *KSS*, Nov. 12, 1918, 1. Henry Pike, a fifty year war veteran who volunteered at the hospital also died from the flu. *KSS*, Nov. 19, 1918, 8.

108 *KSS*, Nov. 22, 1918, 8. For the response to the teachers’ assistance, see Pettigrew, *The Silent Enemy*, 95.

109 *KSS*, Dec. 10, 1918, 1, 10.

- 110 KSS, Dec. 10, 1918, 6, March 11, 1919, 1.
- 111 KS, Feb. 7, 1928, 1. Mrs. Annie Wyllie received a Life-Membership honour for her years of volunteer work in 1941. KS, March 20, 1941, 5.
- 112 KS, Feb. 5, 1929, 5.
- 113 KS, Feb. 9, 1934, 1.
- 114 For Vancouver's use of the Community Chest concept see Vancouver City Archives, Condensed History of the Women's Auxiliary to the Vancouver General Hospital, Add. MSS 452, 961-E-4, file 1, Balf, *Kamloops; 1914-1945*, 69-70, KS, Feb. 3, 1932, 1.
- 115 KS, Feb. 3, 1943, 5.
- 116 1941 Census Division 6 Subdivision C Nicola, 1941. MBA, LARIH, "Over 60 Years of Progress," 2, KS, Feb. 3, 1943, MBA, Newspaper article, N 319, John Stewart, "Royal Inland Hospital," Part 3, 1.
- 117 For the controversy see MBA, 69.106, Royal Inland Hospital Auxiliary, North Kamloops and District Hospital Association minutes, March 28, April 4, 1945; KS, Feb. 11, 1948, 11.
- 118 MBA, Royal Inland Hospital Auxiliary, North Kamloops and District Hospital Association minutes, June 12, 1946, For formation of the Association see minutes, Feb. 20, 1945, June 24, 1946.
- 119 KS, Feb. 11, 1948, 11.
- 120 KS, Feb. 11, 1948, 11.
- 121 KS, March 2, 1951, 5, KS, Feb. 1953, 4. Early mention of a community chest see KS, Feb. 5, 5. *Kamloops Daily Sentinel*, (Hereafter *KDS*) Feb. 4, 1960, 3, MBA, LARIH, 77.55, 1, N. Dalgleish, "Seventy-five Years of Service." MBA, Newspaper articles, N 319, John Stewart, "Royal Inland Hospital," part 3, 1-2.
- 122 MBA, 74.71.2, LARIH, Treasurer's Records, LARIH.
- 123 For Vancouver, see Vancouver City Archives, Condensed History of the Women's Auxiliary to the Vancouver General Hospital, Add. MSS 452, 961-E-4, file 1. For Kamloops, see *KDS*, May 5, 1965, 5, *KDS*, Dec. 5, 1968, MBA, LARIH, 77.55. 1, N. Dallies, "Seventy-five Years of Service," *KDS*, Dec. 4, 1974.
- 124 N. Dalgleish, "Seventy-five Years of Service," *Kamloops Standard*, Feb. 5, 1915, 4.
- 125 KS, Feb. 5, 1929, 5.
- 126 KS, Feb. 7, 1930, 9.
- 127 KS, Feb. 7, 1939, 4.
- 128 KS, Feb., 1948, 11.
- 129 KS, Feb. 7, 1951, 5.
- 130 KS, Feb. 6, 1953, 4. For the quote, see *KDS*, April 7, 1965, and for membership, see KS, Dec. 5, 1968, 19.
- 131 MBA, Dorothy Hungar, "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," Kamloops, 1971.
- 132 Valverde, "Mother of the Race," 4, Valverde, *Age of Light*, 58-61.

- 133 University of British Columbia, Special Collections, Vancouver Council of Women, (Hereafter UBC, SC) Box 2-2, Letter to H.J. K Labsik, Provincial Secretary, Vancouver Council of Women, May 6, 1930.
- 134 Valverde, "Mother of the Race," 17-20. Some leaders like Nelly McClung and Judge Helen Gregory MacGill and Mrs. M.E. Smith, MLA supported sterilization. See Brown, *Challenge*, 38. Wendy Mitchinson, "The Woman's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Organization," *International Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, (March/April 1981): 147, 149-50, Mitchinson, "For God," 162.
- 135 Mitchinson, "For God," 160, Mitchinson, "Study in Organization," 147-148.
- 136 Mitchinson, "Study in Organization," 146, 144-147.
- 137 Mitchinson, "For God," 155-62, Douglas Hamilton, *Sobering Dilemma: A History of Prohibition in British Columbia*. Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2004, 75, Robert Campbell, *Demon Rum or Easy Money: Government Control of Liquor in British Columbia From Prohibition to Privatization*. Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1991, 13.
- 138 Hamilton, *Sobering*, 70, Mitchinson, "Study in Organization," 149-50. Mitchinson's focus was on Ontario and she found that towns with populations between 1000 but less than 5000 brought in the most members.
- 139 John Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia; A Population History*. Vancouver: U.B.C. Press, 2009, 46, 99-92, Perry, "Interlocutting," 169-71, Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 16-19.
- 140 Lynne Marks, 'Leaving God Behind When They Crossed the Rocky Mountains': Exploring Unbelief in Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia, in Eric W. Sager and Peter Baskerville, eds. *Household Counts: Canadian Households and Families in 1901*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007, 372. See also Marks, "Exploring Regional Diversity," 247-50.
- 141 Marks, *Leaving God Behind*, 385, 373-82.
- 142 For Brown, see Joan Weir, *Catalysts and Watchdogs: B.C.'s Men of God, 1836-1871*. Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1995, 53, A. J. Hiebert, *Prohibition in British Columbia*. MA, Simon Fraser University, 1969, 12, Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 10, 16.
- 143 Hamilton, *Sobering*, 35, Heibert, *Prohibition*, 10.
- 144 Lynne Stonier-Newman, *Policing a Pioneer Province: The B.C. Provincial Police 1858-1950*. Madeira Park, B.C.: Harbour Publishing, 1991, 41; see also Hamilton, *Sobering*, 71.
- 145 Quoted in Stonier-Newman, *Policing*, 42.
- 146 Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 18. This was true of all communities on its route whether it was in Saskatchewan, Alberta, or B.C. See Nancy M. Sheehan, "The WCTU on the Prairies, 1886-1930: An Alberta-Saskatchewan Comparison," *Prairie Forum*, 6, no.1 (Spring, 1981):17.
- 147 Quoted in Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 167.
- 148 *IS*, September 18, 1884, 3.
- 149 MBA, Newspaper article, N216, S. Cross, "Banning the Booze," B15.
- 150 Ross Nelson, Department of Geography, Thompson Rivers University, Web-based publication, Bulletin No 2, 2005, Kamloops in 1901, Census of Canada. *IS*, Jan. 18, 190, 4, *IS*, Nov. 27, 1912, 1, 4.

- 151 The story of the cowboys is mentioned in Peter Grauer, *Interred With Their Bones; Bill Miner in Canada, 1903-1907*. Saskatoon: Houghton Boston, 2006, 133-4. For the brewery, see *IS*, Sept. 12, 1897, MBA Newspaper article, N30, Leslie Mobbs, *The Imperial Brewery* and for the attitude to the police see *IS*, June 2, 1899, 4.
- 152 Quoted in Cross, "Banning The Booze," B15. See also MBA Newspaper article, N 216S.
- 153 Quoted in Cross, "Banning The Booze," B15.
- 154 Mitchinson, "For God," 164; See also S. A. Cook, "'Sowing the Seed for the Master.'" The Ontario WCTU and Evangelical Feminism, 1874-1930," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 30, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 179-80 and Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 17
- 155 Ross Nelson, Department of Geography, Thompson Rivers University, Web-based publication, Bulletin No 2, 2005, Kamloops in 1901, Census of Canada. The census revealed Methodists, 14.1%, Presbyterian, 23.9% and Baptist, 4.6%. Hungar, "Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," 2, Norton, *Kamloops History*, 68.
- 156 *IS*, May 12 1911, 1, *IS*, Dec. 15, 1911, 1, *IS*, May 11, 1912, 4, *IS*, Dec. 15, 1911, 1. For the class background of members, see MBA, Kamloops City Directory, 1914 and Canada Census, Population Statistics for Kamloops c and Kamloops Subdistricts, 1911. The KWCTU executive of 1923, 1939 and 1942 was cross-checked using the B.C. Directory and they had similar social backgrounds.
- 157 Mitchinson, "For God," 167.
- 158 Cook, "Ontario WCTU," 176-177.
- 159 Cook, "Ontario WCTU," 177, 187, 189, 190.
- 160 Cook, "Ontario WCTU," 180-183.
- 161 *IS*, May 11, 1912, 4. For the evangelical tone, see Mitchinson, "For God, 165.
- 162 Hungar, "Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," The minute books were used by Hungar to write her brief history. She notes that the local branch was still meeting in 1971. The minute books have not been located.
- 163 Sheehan, "WCTU on the Prairies," 17.
- 164 Sheehan, "WCTU on the Prairies," 21-26.
- 165 For comparisons, see Cook, "Ontario WCTU," 185-187 and Sheehan, "WCTU on the Prairie," 24-26.
- 166 Hungar, "Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," 2.
- 167 Canada Census, 1911, Population Statistics for Kamloops c and Kamloops Subdistricts, *Kamloops Standard*, Aug. 22, 1910, 1, *IS*, May 12, 1911, 1
- 168 Quoted in *Kamloops Standard* from the *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Aug. 23 1910, 7.
- 169 Elisabeth Duckworth, 'Temperance still a "women's issue' *The Kamloops Daily News*, Jan. 13, 1989, 4.
- 170 Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 17.
- 171 Quoted in Norton, *Kamloops History*, 5-6.
- 172 *IS*, Nov. 27, 1912, 8.

- 173 L.Gough, *As Wise as Serpents: Five women and an organization that changed British Columbia, 1883-1934*. Victoria: Sean Lake Publishing, 1988, 1, 6.
- 174 Gough, *Serpents*, 32 -56, 69, Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms, Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia, 1862-1940*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007, 118.
- 175 Gough, *Serpents*, 69, Hamilton, *Sobering*, 76-79, Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 20.
- 176 Gough, *Serpents*, 81-102, 138-55, Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 20.
- 177 Mitchinson, "For God," 162, Barman, *West Beyond*, 209-12, Hungar, "Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," 2.
- 178 *IS*, Nov.27, 1912, 5.
- 179 *KSS*, September 15, 1916, 1.
- 180 Gough, *Serpents*, 157-160, Hamilton, *Sobering*, 83-86; Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 20, Robert Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink your Beer; Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press 2001, 17.
- 181 Hamilton, *Sobering*, 173-75; See also Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 25-26, Campbell, *Sit Down*, 52-53.
- 182 Hamilton, *Sobering*, 177-188; Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 51-54; Campbell, *Sit Down*, 52-55.
- 183 Gough, *Serpents*, 163-204.
- 184 Quoted in M.J. Davies, "Services Rendered, Rearing Children for the State": Mothers' Pensions in British Columbia, 1919-1931," in B.K. Latham and R. J. Pazdro, eds., *Not Just Pin Money*. Victoria: Camosun College, 1984, 251.
- 185 Martin Robbin, *The Rush for Spoils*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1972, Quoted in Stonier-Newman, *Policing*, 137.
- 186 Stonier-Newman, *Policing*, 118, *KS*, Jan. 13, 1920, 1. See also Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 23, Hamilton, *Sobering*, 129-133.
- 187 Hungar, "Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," 2.
- 188 *KS*, June 2, 1925, 1, 7.
- 189 Both quotes were reported in *KS*, June 2, 1925, 7, *KS*, June 2, 1925, 1.
- 190 *KS*, May 31, 1933, 1. The drink problem is noted in *KS*, July 5, 1933, 1. For continuance of eugenics and the founding of the Eugenics Society of Canada in 1930, see Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990. ch. 5, 6. The KWCTU remained an active member of the Council of Women until the Council disbanded in 1967, see Hungar, "Kamloops Woman's Christian Temperance Union," 2, *KS*, May 31, 1.
- 191 *KS*, May 12, 1939, 1.
- 192 Gough, *Serpents*, 217, 233, *KS*, May 21, 1942, 9.
- 193 Duckworth, 'Temperance still a "women's issue.'
- 194 Block, "Everyday Infidels," 74, 90, 111, 181, 247-49.
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- 198 Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 137.
- 199 Quoted in Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 155. For background issues, see Campbell, *Demon Rum*, 150-56, 165.
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- 203 For an in depth review of the literature, see Sarah Glassford "Marching as to War." The Canadian Red Cross, 1885-1939," Ph.D thesis, York University, 2007, 21-3. Sarah Glassford, "The Greatest Mother in the World" Carework and the Discourse of Mothering in the Canadian Red Cross Society during the First World War," *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering*, 10:1 (2008), 220-232.
- 204 N.O. Berry, *War and the Red Cross: The Unspoken Mission*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997, 7-8, P.H. Gordon, *Fifty Years in the Canadian Red Cross*. Toronto: 1969, 11, 20. A good account of the pre-World War I history is available in Glassford, "Marching as to War," 34-75, 381-82. For the Vancouver branch, see *The Province*, March 22, 1900, 3.
- 205 Quoted in Hutchinson, *Champions*, 265, 352. For conservative and gender based views see Hutchinson, *Champions*, 203-4, 256, 352, Glassford, "Marching as to War," 82-3.
- 206 Gordon, *Canadian Red Cross*, 79.
- 207 *KS*, Oct. 19, 1928, 1, MBA, Red Cross Minutes, 1937.
- 208 *KS*, Oct. 30, 1946, 7.
- 209 *KS*, Oct. 30, 1946, 7. See also *KS*, Oct. 30, 1946, 1, 17.
- 210 *KS*, Oct. 19, 1928, 1, *KS*, Feb.6, 1950, 1, *KS*, Jan.30, 1952, 1.
- 211 Robert Rutherford, *Hometown Horizons: Local Responses to Canada's Great War*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004, 195, *IS*, Aug. 29, 1914, 6.
- 212 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross Guild minutes, Sept. 3, 1914.
- 213 *KSS*, June 25, 1918, 1.
- 214 *KSS*, June 25, 1918, 7.
- 215 *KSS*, June 25, 1918, 1, MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross Guild minutes, Sept. 3, 1914, *KS* Oct. 30, 1946, 1, 1911 Census, Table 6, Population Statistics for Kamloops C and Kamloops Subdistricts, *Henderson's Kamloops Directory*, 1914, *Jefferies Kamloops and District Directory*, 1914-15, Belshaw, *Becoming*, 92, 94. For the Soldiers' Comfort Club see MBA, 0.3132.9, Soldiers' Comfort Club Minute Books, 1915-1919.
- 216 *KS*, Jan. 20, 1918, 6. See also *KSS*, June 25, 1918, 1, MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross Guild minutes, Sept.14-Nov.16, 1914, *KS*, March 18, 1915, 4.

- 217 KSS, June 25, 1918, 7, MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross Guild minutes, Dec. 1914, Jan. 4, 1915, Glassford, "Marching as to War," 385-86
- 218 Sarah Glassford, "'The Greatest Mother in the World' Carework and the Discourse of Mothering in the Canadian Red Cross Society during the First World War," *Journal of the Association for Research on Mothering*, 10, no.1, (2008): 220.
- 219 KSS, May 29, 1917, 3. For the work of the Club, see MBA, 0.3132.9, Soldiers' Comfort Club, Minute Book, May, 1915-Nov. 1915. Glassford comments on the skills required and how knitting socks became a joke. Glassford, "Greatest Mother," 164, 228.
- 220 Paul Ward, "Empire and the Everyday: Britishness and Imperialism in Women's Lives in the Great War," in P. Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World*. Calgary: Calgary University Press, 2005, 269, 273-75, Glassford, "Greatest Mother," 222-23, 226-27, Rutherforddale, *Hometown Horizons*, 195, 197, Gwen Szychter, "The War Work of Women in Rural British Columbia: 1914-1919," *B.C. Historical News*, 27, no. 4 (Fall 1994): 8-9.
- 221 Quoted in Glassford, "Greatest Mother," 227. For how the war politicized women, see Glassford, "Greatest Mother," 227 and Rutherforddale, *Hometown Horizons*, 214.
- 222 KSS, June 25, 1918, 7.
- 223 KSS, June 25, 1918, 7. For public generosity, see KSS, June 25, 1918, 1-7.
- 224 Glassford, "Greatest Mother," 228. For the work of the local Auxiliary, see KSS, Oct. 21, 1919, 1, KSS, Feb. 18, 1919, 1, KSS, Dec 2, 1919, 1, KSS, Jan. 2, 1920, 1.
- 225 Hutchinson, *Champions*, 279, Glassford, "Marching as to War," 286, 292, 294, 301-06.
- 226 Glassford, "Marching as to War," 332-35, 372, 390.
- 227 Quoted in Glassford, "Marching as to War," 306. For the CRCS relations with the government, see Glassford, "Marching as to War," 309, 336-37.
- 228 KSS, Dec. 17, 1920, 1.
- 229 For Red Cross women and executive power, see Glassford, "Greatest Mother," 226. For mention of all Fulton's volunteer work, see *KS*, July 4, 1961, 1.
- 230 *KS*, May 29, 1917, 3.
- 231 *KS*, Jan. 22, 1929, 1.
- 232 See Balf, *Kamloops, 1914-1945*, 37, 53, *KS*, Feb 6, 1950, 1, *KS*, Oct 19, 1928, 1, Balf, *Kamloops, 1914-1945*, 13, 37-38, *KS*, Jan. 12, 1923, 1. The contributions of a wide cross-section of society to the Red Cross were established during World War I. See Glassford, "The Greatest Mother in the World," 220.
- 233 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Dec. 14, 1920 and Nov. 14, 1921.
- 234 KSS, Jan. 12, 1923, 7.
- 235 KSS, Jan. 26, 1923, 4.
- 236 KSS, Feb. 3, 1922, 1. For classes, see KSS, Feb. 2, 1923, 8.
- 237 KSS, Dec. 15, 1922, 1.
- 238 *KS*, Jan. 16, 1925, 5, *KS*, Feb. 2, 1926, 1, 4. For low periods of attendance at the local and national level, see *KS*, June 13 1922, 1, and Glassford, "Marching as to War," 317.

- 239 KS, Jan. 18, 1927, 1.
- 240 On membership, see *KS*, Jan. 27, 1931, 1, 7. For Junior Red Cross, see *KS*, Jan. 22, 1929, 3, *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 1, 5 and Glassford, "Marching as to War," 340, 364-67.
- 241 C.R.Comacchio, *Nations are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario's mothers and children, 1900-1940*. Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993, 16, 26-31, 54; Brown, *Challenge*, 36.
- 242 Balf, *Kamloops, 1914-1945*, 68. Garrood also made 163 follow up visits to homes and held three pre-school diphtheria immunization clinics for 123 children. It had already been proven that the immunization program in B.C. schools had decreased diphtheria from 815 cases in 1927 to 83 in 1932. (*KS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3; MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross Guild minutes, Feb. 10, 1933.
- 243 For State action see, Comacchio, *Nations are Built of Babies*, 61-62. A committee consisting of Mrs. Winnifred Fulton, Mrs. Brown and Miss. Bannerman made the arrangements for the clinic. *KS*, Jan.10, 1922, 5, *KSS*, Sept. 18, 1923, 1.
- 244 *KSS*, Feb. 2, 1923, 6, 8. For initial clinic, see *KSS*, May 26, 1922, 1.
- 245 *KSS*, May 22, 1923, 1; For enrollments, see *KSS*, Sept. 18, 1923, 1.
- 246 *KSS*, Jan. 31, 1924, 1, 12.
- 247 *KSS*, Feb. 7, 1924, 4. For the enquiry, see *KSS*, Feb. 7, 1924, 1, 8; MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Feb. 4, 1924.
- 248 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Mar. 21, 1924. For resignation, see *KS*, Jan.16, 1925, 5 and for Miss Campbell, see *KS*, Jan. 18, 1927, 6.
- 249 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Nov. 9, 1928.
- 250 Baines, *Women's Caring*, 50, Comacchio, *Nations are Built for Babies*, 5, Brown, *Challenge*, 40-1.
- 251 Red Cross Min., Jan. 21/29, Comacchio, *Nations are Built For Babies*, ch. 7, footnote 34
- 252 *KS* Jan.25, 1932, 2. For the medical profession's views see, Comacchio, *Nations are Built For Babies*, 145.
- 253 Comacchio, *Nations are Built For Babies*, 150-53.
- 254 *KS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3.
- 255 *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 5, *KS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3. For prenatal classes, see *KS*, Jan. 26, 1929, 3.
- 256 *KS*, Jan. 29, 1935, 3.
- 257 *KS*, July 5, 1933, 3. For Vivian Dowding, see Mary F. Bishop, "The Early Birth Controllers of B.C.," *Histoire Social/Social History* XIV: 28 (Nov.1981): 77-80, and Mary F. Bishop, "Vivian Dowding: Birth Control Activist 1892- ," in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, *Rethinking Canada; The Promise of Women's History*. Toronto: Cop Clark Pitman, 1986. MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, June 12, 1933.
- 258 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, March 12, 22, 1937, April 9, 1937.
- 259 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Nov. 5, 1939 letter Olive M. Garrood to Mrs. J.W. Hall, secretary.
- 260 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Nov. 16, 1939.

- 261 KS, July 25, 1940, 11, Glassford, "Marching as to War," 376.
- 262 KSS, June 23, 1922, 2, Glassford, "Marching as to War," 345, 347.
- 263 Glassford, "Marching as to War," 351, *KS*, Jan. 27, 1931, 7. For Red Cross involvement in regions, see *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 5 *KS*, Jan. 27, 1931, 7.
- 264 KSS, Jan. 14, 1921, 1, KSS, Jan. 24, 1924, 1, Wayne Norton, *A Whole Little City by itself; Tranquille and Tuberculosis*. Kamloops: Plateau Press, 1999, 105.
- 265 Quoted in Norton, *Little City*, 74.
- 266 To compare 1924 to 1934, see *KS*, Jan. 16, 1925, 5 and *KSS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3. For 1940 see *KS*, Jan. 30, 1941, 1, 12.
- 267 *KS*, Oct. 30, 1946, 7. For a general discussion of the CRCS in other locations, see Glassford, "Marching as to War," 329-30.
- 268 For conditions in the 'drybelt' areas, see Favrholt, "Domesticating," 115. MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, June 13, Oct. 10, 1921, *KSS*, Jan. 10, 1922, 1, *KSS* June 13, 1922, 1, *KSS*, Jan. 24, 1924, 1.
- 269 *KS*, Jan. 13, 1928, 7, *KS*, Jan., 28, 1930, 5.
- 270 *KS*, Jan. 27, 1931, 1, *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 5, *KS*, Nov 16, 1932, 1. For municipal and volunteer relations, see Christie, *Engendering*, 218.
- 271 Balf, *Kamloops, 1914-1945*, 55-57.
- 272 Drake, "Women's Work," 47, E.W. Sager, "Women in the Industrial Labour Force: Evidence for British Columbia, 1921-53," *BC Studies*, no.149 (Spring 2006): 48, 61-2, Christie, *Engendering*, 207, 247.
- 273 *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 1, 5, *KS*, Jan. 25, 1932, 1, 2, MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Sept. 11/31, *KS*, Aug. 29, 1933, 1. Susan Forseille, "Ties that Bind; Kamloops during the Depression Years," in Wayne Norton and Wilf Schmidt, eds., *Reflections: Thompson Valley Histories*. Kamloops: Plateau Press, 1994, 114.
- 274 Sydney Hutcheson, *Depression Stories*. Vancouver: New Star Books, 1976, 59, 61.
- 275 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Sept. 16, 1932, Nov. 10, 1932, *KS*, Oct. 14, 1932, 1, Oct. 19, 1932, 1.
- 276 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Nov. 19, 1932, Nov. 25, 1932.
- 277 Hutcheson, *Depression*, 59.
- 278 Hutcheson, *Depression*, 61-2, Forseille, "Ties that Bind," 118.
- 279 The controversy is discussed in Scott, *Natural Allies*, 4 and Kendall, *Power of Good Deeds*, 2-3.
- 280 *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 1.
- 281 *KS*, Jan. 29, 1935, 3.
- 282 *KS*, Jan. 28, 1930, 5.
- 283 *KS*, March 27, 1934, 1. For outside tensions, see MBA, newspaper article, N 123, John Stewart, "On to Ottawa Trek."

- 284 MBA, 65.11.2.-4, Red Cross minutes, Oct. 11, 1935.
- 285 KS, Jan. 28, 1930, 1.
- 286 For budget and membership, see *KS*, Jan. 27, 1931, 7. For children's health and public support, see *KS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3.
- 287 *KS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3.
- 288 *KS*, Jan. 24, 1939, 5.
- 289 For the first performance and descriptions of costumes and various acts, see *KS*, Nov. 9, 1933, 6, *KS*, Jan. 26, 1934, 3.
- 290 *KS*, Jan. 29, 1935, 3.
- 291 *KS*, Jan. 28, 1938, *KS*, Jan. 26, 1940, 6, Christie, *Engendering*, 220-21.
- 292 *KS*, Jan. 24, 1939, 5.
- 293 *KS*, Jan. 26, 1940, 6. In 1938 Elks continued to pay the bills for the distribution of milk and contribute to Community Chest as did Tai Sang who gave it two tons of vegetables. In the same year the local churches and the Red Cross organized a Chinese Relief fund for the millions of homeless, sick and starving in China and were able to send \$713.50 for the cause. *KS*, Jan. 24, 1939, 5.
- 294 *KS*, Jan. 28, 1943, 7.
- 295 Glassford, "Marching as to War," 376-78.
- 296 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Sept. 2/39, *KS*, Jan. 26, 1940, 6, *KS*, Nov. 5, 1942, 1, *KS*, Jan. 29, 1943, 9, Meryl Matthews Interview.
- 297 *KS*, Sept. 19, 1939, 5, *KS*, Jan. 26, 1940, 6.
- 298 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Feb. 9, 1940, Feb. 11, 1944.
- 299 *KS*, Sept. 19, 1939, 5.
- 300 *KS*, Sept. 19, 1939, 5. For its origins, see *KS*, Jan. 24, 1939, 5.
- 301 *KS*, Jan. 26, 1940, 6, MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Oct. 1940, Nov. 1940, *KS*, Jan. 30, 1941, 13.
- 302 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Jan. 24, 1941.
- 303 *KS*, Jan. 30, 1941, 1, 13, *KS*, Jan. 28, 1943, 7.
- 304 *KS*, Jan. 30, 1941, 13. Groups included Women's Institutes, Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, Catholic Women's League, Canadian Legion, Rebekahs and numerous auxiliaries. *KS*, Jan. 28, 1943, 7. See also MBA, 0.2870, Kamloops Civilian Auxiliary.
- 305 *KS*, March 20, 1941, 5, *KS*, Jan. 28, 1943, 2, *KS*, Jan. 28, 1943, 7. *KS*, July 7, 1943, 1.
- 306 *KS*, Jan. 31, 1945, 14.
- 307 *KS*, Feb. 6, 1946, 14.
- 308 For the new direction taken by the CRCS, see Glassford, "Marching as to War," 393.
- 309 *KS*, Feb. 6, 1946, 14, Jan. 29, 1947, 19.
- 310 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Nov. 9, 1945, *KS*, Jan. 21, 1948, 1, 16. For first Blood Donor Clinic, see MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Oct. 30, 1946, Connie Vickers Interview,

Interviewer, Surya Naidu, August 1990.

311 KS, Jan. 28, 1949, 14. For more information on the flood, see KS, Jan. 31, 1949, 5.

312 KS, Jan. 26, 1951, 5.

313 KS, Jan. 28, 1949, 14.

314 KS, Jan. 21, 1948, 1, 16, Jan. 28, 1949, 14.

315 KS, Jan. 30, 1952, 1, 3.

316 KS, Jan. 25, 1950, 7.

317 KS, Feb. 4, 1953, 4, KS, Feb. 1, 1956, 1. For other members receiving awards see KS, Jan. 24, 1955, 8.

318 The quotations and biography of Phyllis Marion Parkes is from Trish Archibald and Julie Drolet, eds. *Not Just A Tea Party: Celebrating Women's Contributions to Community Life*. Kamloops: Kamloops Women's Resource Group Society, 2009, 126-35.

319 KS, Feb. 4, 1953, 4, KS Jan. 24, 1955, 1, KDS, Jan. 13, 1959, 3.

320 KS, Jan. 28, 1938, 7.

321 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Dec. 1933, Jan. 12, 1934. For minimum wage, see MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Feb. 9, 1934.

322 MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Feb. 11, 1938.

323 For land settlement, see MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Feb. 11, 1944. For Old Age Pension, see MBA, 65.11.2-4, Red Cross minutes, Nov. 8, 1946.

324 For a comparison to nurses see Kathryn McPherson, "'The Case of the Kissing Nurse': Femininity, Sexuality, and Canadian Nursing, 1900-1970," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan and Nancy Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999, 181.

325 Valverde, *Age of Light*, 62.

326 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 7-12, Valverde, *Age of Light*, 62-3.

327 Quoted in Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 24.

328 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 10-12, Mary P. Powell, "A Response to the Depression: The Local Council of Women of Vancouver," in Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., *In Her Own Right; Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.* Victoria: Camosun College, 1980, 256. For a critique of the NCW, see C.L. Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the Women's Suffrage Movement in English Canada, 1883 – 1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983, and for revisionism, see B. Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders: The "Council Idea," Western Women and the Founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, 1896 – 1900" in C. A. Cavanaugh and R. R. Warne, eds., *Telling Tales, Essays in Western Women's History*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000, 175-179, and Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 49-51. Boutilier in footnote 3 notes that Veronica Strong-Boag has also altered her views on the NCW to give it more of a progressive tone, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work, and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 21, 3 (1986): 32-3.

329 Boutilier, "Nursing Nation," 179.

330 Jo Fraser Jones, "'A Hardier Stock of Womankind': Alice Barrett Parke in British Columbia," in S. A. Cook, L.R. McLean and K. O'Rourke, eds., *Framing our Past; Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001, 91. M. Lang Hasting and L. Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule; Provincial Council of Women of B.C. An Historical Account, Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* Cloverdale: B.C., 1984, 11.

331 See Boutilier, "Nursing Nations," 187-195. Vancouver City Archives, Add MSS 465 602-E-1, file 1, Vancouver Council of Women, request for Home Nursing Service, UBC, SC, Box 4-7, Vancouver Council of Women, Pageant of Fifty-Seven Years – Local Council of Women, Oct. 26, 1931, Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 207-08, Brown, *Challenge*, 14.

332 Quoted in Michael H. Cramer, "Public and Political: documents of the women's suffrage Campaign in British Columbia, 1871-1917: The View from Victoria," in Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds., *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women*. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992, 59.

333 M.E. McCallum, "Keeping Women in their Place: The Minimum Wage in Canada, 1910-25," *Labour/Le Travail*, 17 (Spring 1986), 33.

334 Christie, *Engendering*, 62, Cramer, "Public and Political," 61.

335 Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 20-30. Since 1908, the concept of forming a provincial organization in order to promote the council and create a provincial legislature committee to lobby for changes had been a discussion item at meetings.

336 Quoted in Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 30.

337 Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 18.

338 Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 14-18.

339 Lynda Erickson, "Women and Political Representation in British Columbia," in Kenneth R. Carty, ed., *Politics, Policy and Government in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996, 107, Lang Hastings, *Blue Bows*, 31-2.

340 McCallum, "Keeping Women in their Place," 39-41, V. Strong-Boag, "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920s," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 4, (1979), 159-61.

341 Quoted in Commachio, *Nations are Built of Babies*, 54.

342 Christie, *Engendering the State*, 113. For more background, see 94-113.

343 M. Hillyard Little, "Claiming a Unique Place: The Introduction of Mothers' Pensions in B.C." *BC Studies*, nos. 105-106, (Spring/Summer): 1995, 84-7.

344 Hillyard Little, "Claiming a Unique Place," 87-93, 97-100.

345 Christie, *Engendering the State*, 95, 115-16, 131-35, Comacchio, *Nations are Built for Babies*, 66-7, 74, 86.

346 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 184-188; UBC, SC, Vancouver Council of Women, Box 2-3, Town Planning Report, Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 34-42, Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 282, Erickson, "Women and Political Representation," 108.

347 Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 48-49. For other local's efforts, see Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 200-202.

348 *KS*, Dec. 1, 1933, 1.

- 349 Quoted in *KS*, Dec 1, 1933, 1. See also MBA, 86.43, Charles and Bessie Miller, Resume of History of Kamloops Council of Women 1933 to 1938.
- 350 Quoted in Lang Hastings, *Blue Bows*, 48.
- 351 *KS*, Dec. 1, 1933, 1.
- 352 *KS* Dec 1, 1933, 4.
- 353 *KS*, Jan. 16, 1934, 1.
- 354 *KS*, Dec. 14, 1934, section 3, 3.
- 355 Powell, "A Response to the Depression," 158, Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 200.
- 356 *KS*, 16, 1934, 1, *KS*, Jan. 12, 1937, 1.
- 357 *KS*, Feb. 14, 1936, 5.
- 358 *KS*, Feb. 14, 1936, 5.
- 359 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 285, 207.
- 360 *KS*, Jan.12, 1937, 1.
- 361 *KS*, Jan.31, 1939, 1.
- 362 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 207.
- 363 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 190.
- 364 *KS*, Jan. 31, 1939, 1.
- 365 Quoted in Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 52.
- 366 Helen Millward Interview.
- 367 For Clements and Johnstone, see Balf, *Kamloops, 1914-1945*, 61, 35. For Millward, see *KS*, Jan. 17, 1951, 5, *KS*, May 20, 1953, 1, 8, and Helen Millward Interview.
- 368 *KS*, Dec. 19, 1952, 1, *KS*, Jan. 18, 1952, 1.
- 369 *KS*, Jan. 17, 1951, 5, *KS*, Nov. 13, 1957, 1, *KDS*, Jan. 24, 1958, 3, Helen Millward Interview.
- 370 Meryl Matthews Interview.
- 371 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 227, 202-06.
- 372 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 228, Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 298.
- 373 Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 54-7.
- 374 Sager, "Women in the Industrial Labour Force," 59.
- 375 *KS*, Jan. 29, 1945, and *KS* Jan. 24, 1945, 6
- 376 These activities can be found in *KS*, Feb. 24, 1943, 1, 7, *KS*, Feb. 16, 1944, 8, *KS*, Jan. 24, 1945, 6.
- 377 For details of this program, see Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 229-34. For Vancouver, see UBC, SC, Vancouver Council of Women, Box 3-12, Brief to Mr. Justice Clyne, Nov.1954, and Box 4-7, Pageant of Fifty-Seven Years – Local Council of Women, Oct. 26, 1951,
- 378 For the Rehabilitation committee, see *KS*, Feb. 24, 1943, 1, *KS*, Feb. 16, 1944, 8, *KS*, Jan. 24, 1954, 6. In 1944-45, local councils shared many concerns on low-rental housing, improved

education, health, increased cancer research, juvenile delinquency Old Age pensions, immigration problems, the native Indian population, and the need for more nurses. Lang Hardy, *Blue Bows*, 61.

379 *KS*, Jan. 24, 1945, 6, *KS*, Feb. 6, 1946, 11.

380 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 244. For the institutionalization of maternal and child welfare at a state level, see Comacchio, *Nations are Built for Babies*, 239-42. For the government take-over of rehabilitation, see *KS*, Feb. 6, 1946, 11.

381 Christie, *Engendering the State*, 301-12.

382 V. Kelsey, *British Columbia Rides a Star*, New York, Harper Publishing, c. 1958, 195.

383 *KS*, Jan.17, 1951, 5.

384 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 245-46, UBC, SC, Vancouver Council of Women, Box 4-12, Provincial Council of Women of British Columbia, Brief, "How Can I Know My Indian Brother" Oct. 31, 1950.

385 This was the case in Halifax, see Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*, 19, Lynda Erickson, Women and Political Representation in British Columbia," in Kenneth R. Carty, ed., *Politics, Policy and Government in British Columbia*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996, 108-12, Barman, *West Beyond West*, 279.

386 Quoted in Penny Kome, *Women of Influence: Canadian Women and Politics*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Limited, 1985, 103.

387 *Victoria Daily Colonist*, Jan.1, 1955,18.

388 *Victoria Daily Colonist*, June 2, 1965, 18.

389 Kome, *Women of Influence*, 105, Erickson, Women and Political Representation in British Columbia," 108-12, Heather MacIvor, *Women and Politics in Canada*, Peterborough, Broadview Press, 1996, 255-57, Sangster, *Dreams of Equality*, 103.

390 UBC, SC, Vancouver Council of Women, Box 3-12, Brief Presented by the Provincial Council of Women to the B.C. Liquor Commission, Nov. 1952.

391 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 247, 257; Lang Hasting, *Blue Bows*, 67; Brown, Debra, *The Challenge*, 58. MBA, 86.83, Charles and Bessie Miller, What is a Local Council of Women?, Sept. 1958.

392 *KS*, Jan. 21, 1953, 4.

393 *KS*, March 16, 1956. The request was made earlier, see *KS*, March 6, 1956, 2.

394 *KS*, Jan. 17, 1957, 5, Nov. 21, 1958, 5.

395 *KS*, Jan. 17, 1957, 5, Nov. 21, 1958, 5.

396 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 362.

397 *KS*, Nov. 28, 1956, 1.

398 *KS*, Dec.13, 1957, 1, Nov.13, 1957, 1.

399 MBA, 86.83, Charles and Bessie Miller, What is a Local Council of Women? Sept. 1958. Writing a history of an organization empowers it. See Andrews, *Acceptable*, 41.

400 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 362-63, MBA, 86.43, Charles and Bessie Miller, Annual Report, Kamloops Council of Women, 1953.

- 401 KS, Nov.18, 1958, 5, KS, Nov. 21, 1958, 5, MBA, 86.43, Charles and Bessie Miller, Resume of History of Kamloops Council of Women, 1933 to 1958.
- 402 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 328-29.
- 403 Lang Hasting, Blue Bows, 73, Jill Vickers, "Feminist Approaches to Women in Politics," in Kealey, Linda and Sangster, eds. *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989, 21.
- 404 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 285, 329.
- 405 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 320-5, Fingard, "Women's Organizations," 36-7.
- 406 Fingard, "Women's Organizations," 36-7.
- 407 Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 299. All three collapsed in 1967.
- 408 KS, April 20, 1967, 5, KS, June 27, 1962, 7, MBA, 86.43, Resume of History of Kamloops Council of Women, Charles and Bessie Miller, Griffiths, *Splendid Vision*, 404. For the reformation of the Council and its work, see *Kamloops News*, May 4, 1977, section 2, 13 and October 28, 1977, 14.
- 409 Diana Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good:" The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930," *Canadian Woman Studies*, 7, 4, (Winter 1986): 20-1. See also Diana Pedersen, "Providing a Woman's Conscience: The YWCA, Female Evangelicalism, and the Girl in the City, 1870-1930," in Alison Prentice, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson, Naomi Black, eds., *Canadian Women; A Reader*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996, 195-7.
- 410 Scott, *Natural Allies*, ch. 2.
- 411 M. Barber, "The gentlewomen of Queen Mary's Coronation Hostel," in Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro, eds., *Not Just Pin Money*. Victoria: Camosun College, 1984, 141-56. For the history of the Joyce Hostel, see *Imperial Colonist*, Dec. 1913, Women's Library, London, England.
- 412 Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good," 20-21, Pedersen, "Providing a Woman's Conscience," 195-97.
- 413 Quoted in Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good," 21.
- 414 Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good," 21-22.
- 415 Pedersen, "Providing a Woman's Conscience," 198-99.
- 416 Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good," 22, Valdere, *Age Of Light*, 64.
- 417 Pedersen, "Keeping our Good Girls Good," 23-24, Pedersen, "Providing a Woman's Conscience," 204-05, Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty, eds., *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*. Montreal & Queens: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992, 53.
- 418 Mary Hedley interview, Interviewer, Andrew Yarmie, June 9, 2009.
- 419 Mary Hedley interview, Lois Hollstedt interview, Interviewer, Andrew Yarmie, Oct. 11, 2008. Catherine MacArthur was a charter member of the Kamloops YWCA and the first person to receive a Life Membership for her extensive volunteer work. *KDS*, Feb.1, 1975.
- 420 Lois Hollstedt interview, Mary Hedley interview.
- 421 Mary Hedley interview, YWCA newspaper clippings, typed list of executive included with

clippings on organizational meeting, Oct., 1964, Lois Hollstedt interview.

422 *KDS*, March 1964, 4.

423 *KDS*, March 1964, 4.

424 All primary evidence on the YWCA is located at the Kamloops Community YMCA-YWCA Archives. Mary Hedley, "History of Kamloops Y.W.C.A.," Kamloops Y-Neighbours Program schedule, Lois Hollstedt interview, Mary Hedley interview.

425 L. Hollstedt to Mrs. Bette Zdan, March, 1965. They also printed a monthly "YWCA/Neighbour News" to inform every one of their progress and programs.

426 *KDS*, April 1965.

427 YWCA Annual report, 1965.

428 YWCA Annual report, 1965.

429 YWCA Annual report, 1965.

430 Mary Hedley to the Board of Directors, Thompson Valley United Appeal Society, April 12, 1965.

431 *KDS*, July 31, 1965, 3.

432 *KDS*, July 31, 1965, 3, Lois Hollstedt interview, Mary Hedley interview.

433 *KDS*, Sept, 1965.

434 Constitution of the Young Women's Christian Association of Greater Kamloops.

435 *The Journal*, YWCA of Canada, Annual Report, 1966, 13.

436 YWCA Annual Report, 1966.

437 YWCA Annual Report, 1966.

438 Mary Hedley, "History of Kamloops YWCA," Kamloops Community YM-YWCA: History of Development; Annual report, 1965, &1966, Box 1, YM-YWCA.

439 *KDS*, Jan.19, 1967, 3.

440 YWCA of Greater Kamloops, Board of Directors Minutes, Sept. 27, 1967. At this time, the association was receiving \$1000 from the United appeal and \$300 from the city.

441 The above quotations are from Lois Hollstedt interview.

442 Mary Hedley, History of Kamloops YWCA.

443 YWCA Annual report, 1967.

444 Report of the Executive Director to the Board of Directors, June 26, 1968.

445 YWCA, President's Report, Feb. 28, 1968.

446 Report of the Executive Director to the Board of Directors, June 26, 1968.

447 Report of the Executive Director to the Board of Directors, Feb. 21, 1968.

448 Address of Mrs. P. J. Chadsey to Annual Meeting. Federation of YWCAs, Oct. 19, 1968, "The Changing Role of the Board and the Relationship of the Board to the Executive Director." For the expansion of government, see Prince, "Canada's Welfare State," 250-53.

- 449 Chadsey, "Changing Role."
- 450 Chadsey, "Changing Role."
- 451 Chadsey, "Changing Role."
- 452 Chadsey, "Changing Role."
- 453 YWCA, President's Report, Dec. 1968.
- 454 Executive Directors Report for the Month of Oct. - Nov. 1968; YWCA Annual Report, 1968, Day Care Committee, L. Hollstedt, chairwoman.
- 455 Lois Hollstedt interview, YWCA Annual report, 1968, Day Care Committee 1968. For general attitudes, see Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 313.
- 456 YWCA minutes, April 24, 1968.
- 457 Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics: The Indian Land Question in British Columbia*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990, ix.
- 458 *KDS*, March 3, 1970, 5.
- 459 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, July, 1969.
- 460 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, July 4, 1970, *KDS*, Sept. 1970.
- 461 *KDS*, Aug. 13, 1969, 13.
- 462 YWCA Annual report, 1970.
- 463 *KDS*, July 4, 1970, 6A.
- 464 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, July, 1970.
- 465 YWCA Annual Report, 1971.
- 466 YWCA Annual Report, 1971.
- 467 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Spring 1973.
- 468 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Oct., 1972.
- 469 YWCA newspaper clipping file *KDS*, Oct., 1972.
- 470 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Spring 1973.
- 471 Lois Hollstedt interview.
- 472 The above quotations are from Lois Hollstedt interview.
- 473 Lois Hollstedt interview, Mary Hedley interview. For general views to married women and work, see Prentice, *Canadian Women*, 291.
- 474 Baines, *Women's Caring*, 30. See also Andrews, *Acceptable*, 5, Fingard and Guildford, *Mothers*, 1-20, Callahan, "Feminist," 190-92.
- 475 YWCA newspaper clipping file, Meryl Matthews interview with Hollstedt, *KS*, Spring 1973.
- 476 Mary Hedley interview.
- 477 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Oct. 1973.
- 478 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Fall 1973. In 1971 a concerned group of people

opened the Kamloops Christian Hostel for Women at Fifth and Battle that was managed by Captain David Holmes of the Men's hostel and run by Gladys and Peter Ulevog. Women were referred by the Salvation Army, the RCMP, the John Howard Society, the YWCA, and Social Welfare department. Previously girls needing a place for a few days had to stay in the Old Kamloops jail, and were provided meals by the Salvation Army. The Christian Women's Hostel only operated for a few months and was closed in February. *Kamloops Daily Advertiser*, April 26, 1971.

479 YWCA Annual Report, 1974.

480 Lois Hollstedt interview, Mary Hedley interview. Fact Sheet, YWCA of Greater Kamloops, Winter 1971, 2. For the government takeover of welfare services, see *Kamloops News Advertiser*, April 2, 1973, 3.

481 Lois Hollstedt interview.

482 YWCA Annual Report, 1974.

483 YWCA Annual Report, 1975, 1977.

484 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, May 30, 1977. Two staff members attended a Conference in Vancouver put on by the Federation of Women regarding Transition Houses." The hostel director was Helen Corness. YWCA Annual Report, 1977.

485 *KDS*, March 25, 1978, 8.

486 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, May 5, 1971.

487 YWCA Annual Report, 1971; YWCA Annual Report, 1972.

488 Lois Hollstedt interview.

489 YWCA Annual Report, 1972.

490 YWCA Annual Report, 1972.

491 Lois Hollstedt interview.

492 YWCA Annual Report, 1972.

493 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, June 12, 1972.

494 For the above information, see YWCA of Greater Kamloops: Building Proposal Brief 1974.

495 YWCA Annual Report, 1974.

496 YWCA Annual Report, 1974.

497 YWCA Annual report 1976.

498 YWCA Annual Report, 1974. Despite a new widened scope and increased activity hours from ten to twenty weekly groups, attendance remained the same at twenty to twenty-five participants.

499 The committee also introduced a more structured reporting and documentation system to assist future development. YWCA Annual Report, 1974.

500 YWCA Annual Report, 1975. In 1977, the YM/YWCA youth program was in full operation with two youth workers, Monty Jones and Bob Davies organized a Sunday Coffeehouse with local musicians playing their music at Riverside Park. *Kamloops News*, May 30, 1977, 16.

- 501 YWCA Board meeting, March 27, 1968.
- 502 YWCA Annual Report, 1972.
- 503 *KDS*, Nov. 23, 1972, 11, Nov. 28, 4. The Mayor Gordon Nicola agreed that the concept of a shared facility made sense. A further meeting was scheduled. YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Dec. 16, 1972.
- 504 *KDS*, Jan.18, 1973, 9.
- 505 YWCA Annual Report, 1974; Annual report 1975.
- 506 YWCA Annual reports, 1978, 1979.
- 507 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Spring 1973.
- 508 Lois Hollstedt interview.
- 509 *Kamloops News*, Feb. 26, 1975, 12.
- 510 Lois Hollstedt interview, Mary Hedley interview.
- 511 YWCA Annual report 1976.
- 512 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, Summer, 1977. The title of the newspaper announcement “The Community Y gets their Man,” reveals the continuance of sexism and male preference into the seventies.
- 513 YWCA newspaper clipping file, *KDS*, June 1977.
- 514 Lois Hollstedt interview.
- 515 Mary Hedley interview.
- 516 Jill Vicars, *Reinventing Political Science: A Feminist Approach*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 1997, 59.
- 517 Similar finding were found for Halifax, see Fingard and Guildford, eds., *Mothers*

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