

The Mischiefmakers
Woman's Movement Development in Victoria, British Columbia
1850-1910

by

Melanie Ihmels
Bachelor of Arts, University of British Columbia - Okanagan, 2008

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of History

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Supervisory Committee

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Dr. Lynne Marks, (Department of History)
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Abstract

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This thesis examines the beginning of Victoria, British Columbia's, women's movement, stretching its 'start' date to the late 1850s while arguing that, to some extent, the local movement criss-crossed racial, ethnic, religious, and gender boundaries. It also highlights how the people involved with the women's movement in Victoria challenged traditional beliefs, like separate sphere ideology, about women's position in society and contributed to the introduction of new more egalitarian views of women in a process that continues to the present day. Chapter One challenges current understandings of First Wave Feminism, stretching its limitations regarding time and persons involved with social reform and women's rights goals, while showing that the issue of 'suffrage' alone did not make a 'women's movement'. Chapter 2 focuses on how the local 'women's movement' coalesced and expanded in the late 1890s to embrace various social reform causes and demands for women's rights and recognition, it reflected a unique spirit that emanated from Victorian traditionalism, skewed gender ratios, and a frontier mentality. Chapter 3 argues that an examination of Victoria's movement, like any other 'women's movement', must take into consideration the ethnic and racialized 'other', in this thesis the Indigenous, African Canadian, and Chinese. The Conclusion discusses areas for future

research, deeper research questions, and raises the question about whether the women's movement in Victoria was successful.

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Finally, to everyone else that has surrounded me with support in these past years, a heartfelt Thank You to you all!

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to Maria Grant and the thousands of Victoria's women who have stood up and fought for women's rights over the past generations.

To my mother...I did it!

Introduction

'Shrewish Old Mischiefmaker' was a term coined in Victoria, British Columbia in reference to American equal rights activist Susan B. Anthony.¹ Anthony visited Victoria in October 1871 where she presented a series of women's rights lectures, focusing particularly on suffrage issues.² This term, found in the "Letter to the Editor" column of Victoria's main newspaper the *British Colonist*, was written in direct response to Anthony's visit. The writer, "A Wife and Mother," continued her diatribe against Anthony by noting that she "had failed to secure a husband for herself," but instead "she is tramping the continent to make her more fortunate sisters miserable by creating dissensions in their households."³ The derisive tone and sharp words used by the author not only represented her personal view of Anthony, but also characterized many men and women's perspectives on those fighting for women's rights, social reform measures, and women's suffrage.

¹See Chapter 1. "Letter to the Editor-Female Suffrage," *British Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

²² "Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 26 Oct. 1871, 2; "Women's Rights," *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3; "Anthony Lectures," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 25 October 1871; "Anthony Lectures," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 27 October 1871.

³ "Letter to the Editor-Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

The character of a 'mischiefmaker', a 'bad', 'troublemaker' other, is a common trope in history. However the 'other' is created, whether it be based on differentiations of gender, ethnicity, religion, race, class, or some other division, it is always about placing a group considered outside the norm in a position of inferiority. In the case of Victoria's early woman's movement, this characterization of Anthony and her advocacy of women's equality, social reform, and prohibition was especially significant because, from the inception of Victoria's movement, its supporters were marked as the inferior outsider; as bad tempered, scolding, creators of social discord. These characterizations worked to frame the public discussion of reform issues in the middle of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Historians have noted that White women reformers were key to the development of the movement for women's rights, but the characterization of such advocates as 'other' meant that they remained relatively invisible in mainstream sources. This thesis examines the beginning of Victoria's women's movement, stretching its 'start' date to the late 1850s and argues that, to some extent, the local movement criss-crossed racial, ethnic, religious, and gender boundaries. It also highlights how the people involved with the women's movement in Victoria challenged traditional beliefs about women's position in society and

contributed to the introduction of new more egalitarian views of women in a process that continues to the present day.

Methodology

In the summer of 2007, I began a quest to discover why there was so little information available about the struggle for suffrage in British Columbia (BC). My research began in the interior of BC, focusing on the Okanagan Valley, and the specific nature of the movement in that region.⁴ When I moved to Victoria in 2008, I began an in-depth study of Victoria's women's movement. I started by reading every primary source document available (newspapers, journals, letters, articles, and books), anything that could contribute information about what BC women encountered when they chose to fight for the vote. I held various assumptions: that women's suffrage was the main goal of the Victoria and BC women's movement and that temperance was its very close cousin; that suffrage was a White-centered issue and ethnicity or race were not factors; and that the women's movement in BC was identical to the movement in Canada's eastern

⁴ M. L. Ihmels, "The New Chewing Gum': The Women's Suffrage Movement in the Okanagan Valley, 1890 to 1917." *Okanagan History*, 72nd Report of the Okanagan Historical Society 72 (2008), 27-34.

provinces, the United States, and Britain. I found out quickly that many of my assumptions were wrong.

Early interpretations of the women's movement took a narrow look down a White-centered, female-focused, often class-centric boulevard. There were no crossroads or intersections; it was a straight avenue which was identified as First Wave feminism. This 'First Wave' of feminism has been cast as White and has been described as "a movement of leisured middle and upper-class women."⁵ This portrait is inaccurate, resulting in new questions being posed by scholars and new research challenges. Research in Canada, the US, and Europe is beginning to show that other faces were involved in the fight for women's rights throughout the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite this, outside of major population centers, there is little in the way of secondary sources and even less in documented debate, especially in relation to those deemed 'other' by the White middle-class women's movement. In addition to the problem of 'who' was involved, there are also problems with the 'wave' metaphor itself. The metaphor is limited and assumes a uni-linear unfolding of the women's movement. The defined boundaries of the 'First Wave', starting anywhere

⁵ Quote from Marlene Legates, *In Their Time: A History of Feminism in Western Society* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 162.

from the 1860s to 1895 and roughly ending about 1920, separates its actions, participants, and results from work that might otherwise be defined as part of the women's movement.⁶ Its conceptual rigidity does not allow for alternate pathways to be explored.

Another problem found in the early interpretations of the First Wave women's movement is the use of the term 'feminism'. As a category, it is important – yet researchers must be aware that its definitions vary. The term itself was not used in North America until after 1895 and even then, it was often qualified as an academic label – 'a doctrine which advocates equal rights for women' – rather than an active movement.⁷ Alternatively, the idea of 'feminism' has been equated with women's activism and even the 'women's movement'. For example, Brenda O'Neil's article, "On The Same

⁶ Dates range in various sources. For example Michael Cramer indicates that the First Wave in BC emerged in 1871. However, Roberta Hamilton claims that the 'First Wave' began in the late nineteenth century and ended after WW1, while Nancy Cott's work places the 'beginning' of the feminist movement in the 1830s. Michael H. Cramer, "Public and Political: Documents of the Women's Suffrage Campaign in British Columbia, 1871-1917: The View From Victoria," in *British Columbia Reconsidered*, eds. Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 55-72; Roberta Hamilton, *Gendering the Vertical Mosaic: Feminist Perspectives on Canadian Society* (Toronto: Pearson Education Canada Inc., 2005), 117; Nancy E. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Press, 1977), 5-8; E. D. Nelson, and Barrie W. Robinson, *Gender in Canada* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1999)..

⁷ From French 'féministe' (1872, qualities of females) Regular English usage can be traced to the *First International Women's Conference* in Paris in 1892 and was defined academically as a 'belief in equal rights for women based on the idea of the equality of the sexes.' Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement 1830-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Legates, *In Their Time*, 162, 167.

Wavelength?," discusses how feminists of the First Wave included among their goals "the acquisition of liberal rights for women within a public/private framework that presumed the existence of gender differences."⁸ For Nancy Cott, the inception of the women's rights movement, or 'organized feminism', began quite early in the United States where "there were clearly feminist voices in the anti-slavery movement by the 1830s."⁹ In addition, Marlene LeGates notes in her work, *In Their Time*, that the assumption that 'feminism' was a "movement of leisured middle-and upper class-women" advocating for women's rights and privileges in Canada, the US, and Europe" does not hold true.¹⁰ Such a narrow use of the word is a huge simplification that ignores the dimensions of class, gender, race, and religion in relation to the movement. In fact, Nancy Cott suggests in her work, "What's In a Name," that the term 'feminism' should be reserved for "something more specific than women's entrance into public life or efforts at social reform."¹¹

It is important to note the ways in which the concept of 'feminism' has informed this study. Some early feminist ideas have been traced to the

⁸ Brenda O'Neil, "On The Same Wavelength? Feminist Attitudes Across Generations of Canadian Women," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 5th ed., eds. Mona Gleason and Adele Perry, (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2006), 368.

⁹ Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*, 8.

¹⁰ Legates, *In Their Time*, 162.

¹¹ Nancy F. Cott, "What's In A Name? The Limits of 'Social Feminism': or, Expanding The Vocabulary of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 76 (1988): 820-21, 826.

nineteenth-century concept of 'separate spheres', an ideal which was intended to limit women's action to the private or domestic realm, while recognizing men's place and action, particularly economically and politically, in the public sphere.¹² Separate spheres ideology also came to include the notion that women's nurturing, spiritual role in the home gave them moral superiority over men and this inherent gender quality should be used to influence their husbands and children. By the 1870s, some women began to invoke the idea of women's moral superiority to justify their involvement in improving not just their families, but also broader society.¹³ Historians have termed this approach 'Maternal Feminism'.¹⁴ These two ideologies, most popular in historical studies of late-nineteenth-century women, offer an

¹² See Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 for more on sphere spheres ideology and feminism. See also Nancy Cott's work for a thorough discussion of separate spheres and domesticity. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*.

¹³ Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The Osgoode Society, 1991), 75.

¹⁴ Another stream identified by women's historians as being part of the women's movement in this period was 'equal rights feminism'. This ideology allowed reformers to justify women's right to involvement in the public sphere on the basis of simple justice and equal rights. An extreme group of reformers, the 'radical feminists', went even farther in their beliefs. In their view the achievement of the vote was merely the beginning of a struggle that would see women eventually seizing control. For them, women were in fact superior to men, physically, morally, economically, and politically. They believed that men had had their turn at running the world and had destroyed it and it was now women's turn to lead. Radical feminism was Maternal Feminism's cousin and is more commonly connected to radical feminist ideals of the 1960's. Legates, *In Their Time*, 166-170, 178, 191, 244-247, 346. See also Mariana Valverde, "'When the Mother of the Race is Free': Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 11-12.

overarching context for this thesis' central arguments about Victoria's women's movement.

A further point of methodological relevance is the researcher's choice to use the term 'women's movement' over the more commonly used 'First Wave Feminism'. As noted above, there are problems with the term 'First Wave Feminism', with Nancy Cott challenging the term feminism itself. Choosing the broader terminology of 'women's movement' reflects the need to think more broadly about women's historical activism. It allows researchers to expand their lens and show how women moving outside their home to be involved in any social reform effort challenged the traditional women's sphere, thus making these individuals and their actions part of the 'woman's movement' as a whole. It frees the term 'feminism' from its many general definitions to be more closely defined as women's specific actions in fighting for women's equality, such as the struggle for the vote. With these considerations, the 'women's movement' can therefore be loosely defined as a mid- to late-nineteenth century collection of individuals and groups who held a set of beliefs which empowered women, and men, to recognize and advocate for a range of social reform goals, particularly related to women's

concerns.¹⁵ It is characterized by the movement of women out of the home or so-called private sphere into the public realm, and addressed numerous issues like temperance, suffrage, education, racial uplift, and poverty. The

¹⁵ This definition does not include male-focused social reform groups that did not concentrate on women's issues. This definition of the 'women's movement' was compiled from a number of sources including: Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice*; John Douglas Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2009); Beverly Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders: The 'Council Idea', Western Women, and the Founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, 1896-1900," in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, eds. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 174-199; Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms: Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia. 1862-1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Cramer, "Public and Political," 55-72; Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978); Anne Edwards, *Seeking Balance: Conversations With BC Women in Politics* (Halfmoon Bay, British Columbia: Caitlin Press, 2008); Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Jane Errington, "Pioneers and Suffragists," in *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada, 2nd ed.*, eds. Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code and Lindsay Dorney (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1993), 59-91; K.A. Finlay, ed. "A Woman's Place": *Art and the Role of Women in the Cultural Formation of Victoria, BC, 1850s-1920s* (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, Maltwood Gallery, 2004); Valerie Green, *Above Stairs: Social Life in Upper Class Victoria, 1843-1918* (Victoria, British Columbia: Sono Nis Press, 1995); Roberta Hamilton, *Gendering the Vertical Mosaic*; Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979); Tracy Kulba and Victoria Lamont, "The Periodical Press and Western Woman's Suffrage Movements in Canada and the United States: A Comparative Study," *Women's Studies International Forum* 29 (June 2006): 265-278; Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*; Jacquetta Newman and Linda A. White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy* (Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2006); Janice Newton, "Alchemy of Politicalization," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 118-148; O'Neil, "On The Same Wavelength?," 368; Roberta J. Pazdro, "Of British Columbia Suffragists and Barristers" *Canadian Women's Studies* 2, no. 4 (1980): 15-19; Adele Perry, *Edge of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage," in *Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History Volume 1*, eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 87-103; Susan Wade, "Helen Gutteridge: Votes for Women and Trade Unions," in *In Her Own Right*, eds. Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), 107-123; Gloria Whelan, "Maria Grant 1854-1937: The Life and Times of an Early Twentieth Century Christian," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, eds. Barbara Latham, and Cathy Kess (Victoria, British Columbia: Camosun College, 1980), 125-146.

women's movement was organized into associations, clubs, or reading groups; it was a grassroots movement of western-educated women and men demanding women's rights and power within their communities and government. The most obvious issue the movement tackled was women's suffrage which was spear-headed in the mid-1800s by White middle-class women. Other less obvious initiatives included Indigenous, African Canadian, and Chinese discussions about similar reform concerns: women's rights, social reform, and temperance, although the participation of these groups has been largely invisible in the existing literature. Different ethnic and racialized groups and classes participated in Victoria's women's movement, at various times, even though their goals, such as 'racial uplift' and education, were not always recognized by the White male-dominated public eye. It is also important to note that the women's movement was not a single uniform entity that reached all women in the western-educated world at the same time or at the same level of intensity. For example, many middle-class women in Britain were active in the suffrage fight early (by the mid-1850s) and with great intensity, while for Indigenous women in Canada the battle lasted well into the twentieth century.¹⁶

¹⁶ Hamilton, *Gendering the Vertical Mosaic*, 117-118; Legates, *In Their Time*, 162.

My analysis of the development of Victoria's women's movement draws on the theory of Inclusive Feminism, which itself draws on an intersectional approach. E.D. Nelson and Barrie Robinson discuss this theory in their book, *Gender in Canada*, noting that "early feminist theory was derived from, and directed towards, a privileged White middle class feminism that denied, dismissed, and denigrated the experiences of differently raced, abled, and classed women."¹⁷ Inclusive Feminism, in their words, "incorporates a multiplicity of experiences, [that] increasingly render the notion of a 'generic' woman problematic."¹⁸ Their work encourages researchers to investigate what groups of women were included or excluded from 'feminism' or the 'women's movement'. Without an inclusive approach, the accepted definition of the 'women's movement', for example, remains limited to White middle-to upper-class women; at the same time, with respect to class, many White and African Canadian women who participated in the women's movement "did enjoy a background of economic security," but "many European feminists did not."¹⁹ Further, Inclusive Feminism challenges the doctrine of "different means deficient" and maintains that

¹⁷ Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 108.

¹⁸ Interestingly Nelson and Robinson introduce a counterpart to Inclusive Feminism, the Group Specific Perspective which studies the same ideas but from the male perspective. Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 118.

¹⁹ Legates, *In Their Own Time*, 162.

African Canadian women's experiences, Asian women's experiences, or White women's experiences are all of equal value. Nelson and Robinson further note that White people often do "not conceive of themselves as a unique social group and, therefore, assume that their own experiences are typical of everyone."²⁰ The assumption that White experience resonates with all experience has, in some cases, translated into a lack of nuance in the documentation of Canadian women's history.

In some ways, the idea of Inclusive Feminism is exemplified in Nancy Cott's book, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835*. Cott discusses what the 'Woman's Sphere' was and, rather than limiting it to time (First Wave), and definition (women's domestic place), she explored how the ideology stretched through time and definition. For example, Cott noted that strains of feminism occurred early, linking to struggles in the late 1700s such as anti-slavery, crystalizing in the 1830s with temperance, and then continuing through the 1900s as social reform demands diversified.²¹ She argued that any definition of the 'woman's sphere' could not be limited to the simple and long accepted 'women's place is in the home'; it instead was informed by "historical writing that tended to

²⁰ Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 118.

²¹ It is important to note that that Cott does broaden her definition of the women's movement but she still only focuses on white, middle class North Eastern American women. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Introduction.

see women as victims, or prisoners, of an ideology of domesticity that was imposed on them.” In addition, it identified this ideology of domesticity as a place “that women made use of ... for their own purposes, to advance their educational opportunities, to gain influence and satisfaction, even to express hostility to men,” and finally to “a re-vision, women’s sphere as the basis of a sub-culture among women that formed a source of strength and identity and afforded supportive sisterly relationships.”²² One simplified definition did not work for Cott; she instead broadened the definition of women’s sphere, and saw also that feminism could incorporate a range of social reform activities that women pursued together both inside and beyond the home.

No Permanent Waves, edited by Nancy Hewitt, is a relatively new contribution to the discussion challenging wave theory, while incorporating the use of Inclusive Feminism.²³ Its essays attempt to capture American’s complex history of women’s rights by offering fresh perspectives on both past and present movements, both during and separate from the current chronological understanding of “waves” of U.S. feminism. She provides an excellent example of Inclusive Feminism in that her collection includes a range of essays chronicling various forms of women’s activism that had not

²² Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*, 197-198.

²³ Hewitt, *No Permanent Waves*.

previously been defined as part of the women's movement. Hewitt's collection, which explores activism among welfare mothers, and various racialized groups, as well as links between various groups, is a perfect example of what Nelson and Robinson termed an Inclusive 'paradox' in which "feminism seems, still, to require the consciousness raising that enables women to claim some measure of unity 'as women' even while they concentrate on understanding differences."²⁴ Canadian scholars and historians have also made significant strides in examining the muted voices of ignored, overlooked, or neglected groups. An Inclusive Feminist approach seeks to examine "both the difference and commonality of women's experiences and the relationship between the two."²⁵ All of the aforementioned writers encourage historians to think 'outside the box' of traditional history. They offer hints for building a new methodology which is not limited to 'book facts' or based on rigid categories that play into a unilinear interpretation of a historical time period. As such, they challenge researchers to find and expose alternative historical narratives.

Another contentious term that surfaced in my research on Victoria's women's movement was the 'New Woman'. The initial followers of the

²⁴ Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 109.

²⁵ Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 109.

women's movement, the 'mischiefmakers', all held various, and sometimes competing, beliefs, and each was perceived very differently by various groups and individuals in Victoria. However, in general, the women who 'practiced' or advocated for social change were commonly referred to as 'New Women', despite the fact that the term's definition often varied depending on who, where, or when it was used.²⁶ Sometimes, the term referred to the idea that men and women were equal politically, economically, and socially; while in other instances, it referred to the notion that it was the 'New Women's' duty to teach and participate in society, even vote, but that actual leadership should be retained by men. Canadians Nelson and Robinson, the authors of *Gender In Canada* offer the following general definition: the "New Woman demanded the right to have a proper career outside the home, to remain unwed from choice...to vote and smoke and ride a bicycle...the New Woman jettisoned piety, submissiveness and domesticity but hung onto her moral purity."²⁷ Victoria's main newspaper, the *Colonist*, offered another variation of the idea in 1895: a "new woman" was marked by "self-sacrifice and service" best seen within a set of "socially beneficial organizations."²⁸ Yet,

²⁶ Some definitions of 'new women' refer to a movement in which women were physically choosing to dress, act, or speak in a more 'manly' manner. This definition is not used in this thesis.

²⁷ Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 87.

²⁸ "Editorial," *Colonist*, 7 Nov. 1895, 4.

the *Colonist* editors and writers could not decide whether to use the term in a derogatory manner or to embrace it.²⁹ In general, reform minded women in Victoria maintained that they must be agents of change in a society that seemed to be increasingly out of control. They argued that existing social problems had not been adequately addressed by the male leadership who did not take seriously such issues as alcohol or poverty. This led many Victoria women to suggest that if men did not, or perhaps could not, deal with social issues, then they must; this constituted the basis of 'maternal feminism'. The 'New Woman', tangentially connected to maternal feminist thinking, was to use her special moral and nurturing qualities to improve society. There were also other people in Victoria, the non-mischief maker, non- new women, who dismissed the women's rights 'blather' and accepted a fairly traditional separate sphere ideology.

Often connected to the definition of 'New Women' were a set of beliefs about equality that also challenged the social order in Victoria. 'Sexual equality' between man and woman was an idea espoused by Susan B. Anthony during her 1871 lecture series.³⁰ This demand was considered

²⁹All from *Colonist*: "Board of Alderman," 18 March 1895, 5; "Chinese Women Editor," 10 June 1903, 5; "Chinese Sermon to Women," 7 May 1907, 8; "Of Interest to Women," 5 Nov. 1908, 8.

³⁰*Colonist*: "Female Suffrage," 26 Oct. 1871, 2; "Female Suffrage," 26 Oct. 1871, 4; "Women's Rights," 27 Oct. 1871, 3; *Daily Standard*, October 24 through 27, 1871.

extreme at the time, and despite Anthony's enthusiasm, it is unlikely that, at the time of her visit, many of Victoria's women reformers supported the idea that they were totally equal to men economically, politically, or socially.³¹ That said, by 1883, when Frances Willard, head of the American *Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)*, visited Victoria, people were much more open to hear her talk on 'political equality'.³² In Willard's lectures promoting the *WCTU*, she vehemently called for BC's government to support women as equal political partners. By the early 1900s, ideas about political equality had gained ground and had become integral components of the 'women's movement'.

Other terms used in this research also have multiple meanings. The term suffrage is used in reference to the 'vote', whether municipal, provincial, or federal. Unless otherwise noted, the 'suffrage battle' refers to

³¹ See Chapters 1 and 2 for further discussion of this imbalance. Sexual inequality is defined as one gender, at this time and place, male, who claims superiority in economic rights, political standing, and social privileges, over the other (female). Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174, 175; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 52, 125; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 1; Harrison, *The Judge's Wife: Memoirs of a British Columbia Pioneer* (Vancouver: Ronsdale Press, 2002); R.M. Middleton, *The Journal of Lady Aberdeen* (Victoria, British Columbia: Moriss Publishing, 1986); Newman and White, *Women Politics and Public Policy*, 68-69; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 125-127.

³² See Chapter 2 for a more in-depth discussion of these ideas, including the *WCTU* and Frances Willard, its founder. See also *Colonist*, "Miss Willard," 1 July 1883, 3; "Miss Willard at Work," 2 July 1883, 3; "Women's Christian Temperance Union," 6 July 1883, 3; Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174,175; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 52, 125; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 1; Harrison, *The Judge's Wife*; Middleton, *The Journal of Lady Aberdeen*; Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 87; Newman and White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*, 68-69; Whelan, 125. Willard's speeches are found on the *WCTU* website.

the struggle of women and men of any ethnic or racialized group. For example, the suffrage movement is most often assumed to have been White; yet White women were only a part of the women's movement in Victoria, and although their suffrage rhetoric was the most publicly visible, it was not the only discussion happening. In addition, though Mariana Valverde and others have argued that there was little space for racialized women in the First Wave women's movement, this research suggests that the situation in Victoria was somewhat more complex.³³ In fact, Tamari Kitossa's argument that the 'ethnic other' was 'disappeared' in the White-dominated written record is more relevant to the Victoria context.³⁴ Victoria's women's movement was not exclusively White, but instead included instances of cross-racial links and class cooperation, as well as racialized, ethnic, and class based organizations with their own specific concerns.

Demographics

Before examining the history of the women's movement in Victoria, it is essential to place it in the context of the demographic imbalances in

³³ Valverde, "When the Mother of the Race is Free," 20-21.

³⁴ Tamari Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," in *Back to the Drawing Board*. eds. Njoki Nathani Wane, Katerina Deliovsky, and Erica Lawson (Toronto, Ontario: Sumach Press, 2002).

Victoria and BC in the late nineteenth century. In 1870, Victoria's White population was 8,576, including 5,782 males and 2,794 females, a gender ratio of approximately 2:1.³⁵ John Belshaw noted that in 1891 there was a total population of 98,000 people in British Columbia and 16,841 in Victoria.³⁶ The largest population bases were in the Victoria and Vancouver areas.³⁷ Belshaw also emphasized the continued gender imbalance among the non-Indigenous population, suggesting that after 1870, the population ratio between White men and women remained at a solid 2:1 with no significant change until World War I.³⁸ It is the imbalance between the sexes that is striking, especially in the context of growing and dedicated support for 'women's causes'. This gender imbalance may lead the reader to expect that there was no place for women to claim their rights yet in Victoria, individual women showed spirit and determination in the area of social reform and women's rights.

There were also a significant number of Indigenous, African Canadian, and Chinese people listed in the 1901 Victoria census, which included 23,668

³⁵ Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 13.

³⁶ Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 47, 48; Appendix A 196; Appendix B, 201.

³⁷ Vancouver very quickly outstripped Victoria with population growth to 120,847 by 1911 to Victoria's 31,660. Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 48; Appendix A, 196.

³⁸ Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 91-92.

souls of all races and nationalities.³⁹ Indigenous peoples outnumbered Whites into the 1880s; however, the numerical difference between the two groups declined considerably after the tragic 1862-63 smallpox epidemic. Adele Perry comments that “there were twice as many Indigenous people on the eve of the Fraser River Gold Rush [1858] as there were in 1870.”⁴⁰ John Lutz states in his book, *Makuk*, that in 1871, British Columbia’s Indigenous population was approximately 37,000 as compared to the non-Indigenous population of 13,247. In 1881, the populations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples were close to equal, with Indigenous peoples at 54.9% of the total. By 1891, the approximately 26,000 Indigenous peoples in BC, or 26.5%, of those tallied in the Canadian census, were all that was left of a population that just twenty years before had outnumbered the ‘new-comers’ three to one.⁴¹ The 1901 census showed that the Indigenous population had dropped from an estimated high of 70,000 in 1835 to 25,344 or 13.3% of BC’s total population.⁴² In Victoria itself, the 1901 census placed ‘Half-Breeds’ and

³⁹ Rootsweb Ancestry “1901 Census Victoria, British Columbia.” www.rootsweb.ancestry (accessed November 2010)

⁴⁰ Perry, *Edge Of Empire*, 14.

⁴¹ John Lutz, *Makuk: A New? History of Indigenous and White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 166.

⁴² While Lutz suggested that the largest Indigenous population reached 70,000 in 1835, others estimate the total number as much higher. Lutz, *Makuk*, 166; Rootsweb Ancestry, “1901 Census Victoria, British Columbia.” www.rootsweb.ancestry (accessed November 2010).

'Indians' at 266 people though when the individual names identified as 'Indian' are totaled, the number is much higher at 539.⁴³ While over 600 African Canadian settlers arrived in Victoria in 1858, there are no subsequent accurate population numbers for the community until the 1901 census. In that census, there were 170 African Canadians listed by name, though the total mentioned in the official statistics was only 70. Data pertaining to the Chinese immigrant population is also sparse. In 1901, Victoria's population, as documented in the census, put the combined Asian presence at 2,978, with 2,777 of those marked as Chinese.⁴⁴ Patricia Roy notes that in 1911, with a provincial population of just under 400,000, the Asian population was roughly 8%.⁴⁵ Both Edward Wickberg and Patricia Roy estimate a provincial Asian population of about 3,500 in 1921.⁴⁶

In addition to the different racial groups living in the province, there was a diverse mix of religious groups including (but not limited to) Roman Catholics, Anglican, Methodist, Baptists, Reformed Episcopalists,

⁴³ As identified by totaling the numbers of self-identified 'Indian' or 'Halfbreed' persons. Confirmed by the Rootsweb Ancestry database. Rootsweb Ancestry "1901 Census Victoria, British Columbia." www.rootsweb.ancestry (accessed November 2010)

⁴⁴ Rootsweb Ancestry "1901 Census Victoria, British Columbia." www.rootsweb.ancestry (accessed November 2010)

⁴⁵ Patricia Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating A White Man's Province, 1914-1941* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 2.

⁴⁶ Patricia Roy, *White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989), 2.

Presbyterians, Christian Scientists, Jews, and Spiritualists. While the choices for spiritual guidance were extensive in the region, BC's proportion of atheists and other non-religious people was significantly higher than in Eastern Canada. The population of people claiming atheism in BC was 1.5 % as compared to a Canadian total of 0.2%, although non-believers still made up only a small proportion of the total population.⁴⁷ All of these groups, no matter their sex, race, or religion, brought their individual perspectives to Victoria. It is from the vast array of racial and social identities that an active and vibrant women's movement grew, one that eventually affected all women and men in the province.

Historiography

Studies of the First Wave women's movement in Canada made up a significant proportion of the early work in Canadian women's history. This work has provided essential insights into the nature of the movement, but much of what has been written has focused primarily on the fight for Canada-

⁴⁷ Lynne Marks, "Leaving God Behind when They Crossed the Rocky Mountains: Exploring Unbelief in Turn-of-the-Century British Columbia" in *Household Counts Canadian Households and Families in 1901*, eds. Peter Baskerville and Eric W. Sager (University of Toronto Press, 2007), 371-404. Census data can be found at <http://vihistory.uvic.ca/content/census> under 1881, 1891, and 1901 listings. It can also be seen at Rootsweb Ancestry "1901 Census Victoria, British Columbia." www.rootsweb.ancestry (accessed November 2010).

wide White women's suffrage. Three books, Catherine Cleverdon's 1950 political treatise *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*, Linda Kealey's 1979 *A Not Reasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s*, and Carol Lee Bacchi's 1983 *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* remain foundational studies of the topic.⁴⁸ Many of the articles and discussions that have since been published on the women's movement, particularly in regards to the federal vote, build on these books.⁴⁹ There are numerous articles that provide details about the development of the women's movement in Canada, though it is important to note that the term 'women's movement' is more often than not attached to the 'suffrage' battle, rather than a discussion of the struggle for women's rights as a whole. Additionally most of the writings focused on central

⁴⁸ Carol Lee Bachi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*; Kealey, Linda, ed. *A Not Reasonable Claim Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979). Another standard though not as commonly used text is: Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991).

⁴⁹ See for example Isabel Bassett, *The Parlour Rebellion: Profiles in the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975); Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in Nineteenth Century Montreal." in *Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History Volume 1*, eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Hamilton, *Gendering the Vertical Mosaic*; Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Veronica Strong-Boag, *The Canadian Campaign for Woman Suffrage: Canada's Visual History, Volume 30* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, National Film Board of Canada, 1975).

Canada, particularly Ontario; while many of the other provinces are mentioned, less research has been done on other provincial contexts.⁵⁰

It is noteworthy that most of the works discussing the women's movement, especially those focused on suffrage, are older, and many are based more on theoretical models than primary source research. This applies to the few works found on the topic which focus specifically on BC. Catherine Cleverdon's 1950 book has a chapter on British Columbia and that, together with Michael Cramer's article, "The Public and Political: Documents of the Woman's Suffrage Campaign in British Columbia, 1871-1917: The View from Victoria," first published in 1980, constitute much of the research done so far in the BC context.⁵¹ There are a handful of articles and MA theses that explore BC's women's movement, but focus on specific topics, such as the labour movement, the periodical press, the *Women's Christian Temperance Union*, the *Council of Women*, or the *British Columbia's Women's Institute*.⁵²

⁵⁰ See the discussion in this chapter on the definition of the 'women's movement' for a list of the many writings that discuss the Canadian women's movement both federally and provincially.

⁵¹ Cramer, *Public and Political*. There is also a copy of this article in Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.* (Victoria, British Columbia: Camosun College, 1980), 79-100.

⁵² The following works refer tangentially to suffrage: Lyn Gough, *As Wide As Serpents: Five Women & An Organization That Changed British Columbia, 1883-1939* (Victoria, British Columbia: Swan Lake Publishing, 1988); John Hinde, *When Coal Was King: Ladysmith and the Coal-Mining Industry on Vancouver Island* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003); Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 1992); Kulba and Lamont, *The*

These works do not draw on much of the rich primary source documentation that is available, instead focusing on topic specific documentation.⁵³ This study hopes to make a contribution to the literature by providing an in-depth study, based on primary source research, of the women's movement in British Columbia's capital city.

A challenge both for this project and for earlier work is that most available primary sources were created by men and often those in positions of power as professionals, journalists, members of the BC legislature, or other government authorities. These include local newspapers, such as *The Colonist*, *The Victoria Gazette*, *The Victoria Daily Chronicle*, *The Victoria Daily Standard*, and *The Victoria Daily Times*, all of which were used as primary sources for this thesis.⁵⁴ However, most of these newspapers only survive in

Periodical Press, 265; Wade, *Helen Gutteridge*. The MA theses include: Louise Hale, "The British Columbia Women's Suffrage Movement" (Master's thesis, University of British Columbia, 1971); Anna Cecile Scantland Lund, "Canada: The Franchise and Universal Suffrage" (MA Thesis, California State University, 1983).

⁵³ A very good example is John Hinde's article, "Stout Ladies and Amazons," which uses a variety of primary sources to discuss a series of riots that shook Vancouver Island's coal mining communities in 1913. Hinde uses local and provincial newspapers, oral testimony, legal and government documents, Royal Commission records, and Census data all to paint a vivid picture of what happened during this period. John Hinde, "Stout Ladies And Amazons': Women in the British Columbia Coal-Mining Community of Ladysmith, 1912-14," *BC Studies* no.114 (Summer 1997): 33.

⁵⁴ These papers are available at the British Columbia Archives – Microfiche, listed by title. *The Victoria Gazette* (June 1858 to July 1860), various reels; *The Victoria Daily Chronicle* (28 Oct., 1862 – 1 May, 1866), 8 reels; *The Victoria Daily Standard* (20 June, 1870 to 4 August, 1889), 23 reels; *The Victoria Daily Times* (1884-1980), limited single issues. Copies of the *Daily Colonist* are also available at BC Archives, "Newspapers on Microfilm," found at http://www.bcarchives.gov.bc.ca/library/newspapr/bcarch/arch_v.htm. After the *Colonist*

bits and pieces. As a result, they were examined in connection to particular events and were compared to the one paper that was published continuously from 1858: *The Colonist*.⁵⁵ Of necessity, this research therefore has relied heavily on the *Colonist* as a primary source. While these local newspapers, particularly the full run of a long standing local paper, offer glimpses into the world of early British Columbia, they are not without their problems. *The British Colonist*, for example, does not tell us what was happening behind its pages. It offers only a single mode of representation to its audience; it gives a narrative of the time, as constructed by the paper's White male editor and staff. The social issues of the day were discussed in the day's newspaper, but any paper, in this case the *Colonist*, reflects the bias of its writers and ultimately its editors.⁵⁶ At the same time, it must be remembered that one of the prime motivators in producing a newspaper is to sell it. In 1858, Victoria

absorbed the *Chronicle*, the new name became the *Daily British Colonist and Morning Chronicle* and it was published until 1873 when the term *Chronicle* was dropped. The term *British* was dropped on 1 January 1887, and from then on it became the *Daily Colonist*. <http://europa.library.uvic.ca/colonist/context.php> (accessed daily from Jan 15 to March 31, 2010, random visits after this point). For a brief history of West Coast newspapers, see Hugh Doherty, "The First Newspapers on Canada's West Coast: 1858-1863," University of Victoria: <http://web.uvic.ca/vv/articles/doherty/newspaper.html>.

⁵⁵ By January of 2009, the *Colonist* had been printed for over one hundred and fifty years and included stories that covered every major facet of Western Canadian life. To help mark its fiftieth birthday, the *Colonist* placed the first fifty years of its paper on-line, allowing indexed, open access viewing. *The British Colonist: On-Line Edition, 1858 to 1910* <http://europa.library.uvic.ca/colonist/context.php> (accessed daily from Jan 15 to March 31, 2009).

⁵⁶ See Chapter 1 for a fuller discussion of the editors of the *Colonist*.

was a burgeoning city, experiencing an almost constant stream of people who either settled in the area or headed inland and up the coast. Wanting to capitalize on the ever-shifting population, the editors pumped out papers quickly to catch as many of those people as possible. Exaggeration, extreme views, sensationalism, as well as important news content, all were used to capture the reader. For the researcher, newspapers are invaluable sources of information, but what is found in them must be corroborated by other sources and the intent behind the writing must be acknowledged.

In searching for the beginnings of a women's rights movement, boundaries, both spatial and chronological, need to be defined. Restricting the study to Victoria, British Columbia, allowed me to trace how a local movement of women demanding rights and recognition emerged on the west coast of Canada. While this is primarily a local study, my findings are compared to the existing literature, so that the commonalities and differences between Victoria's movement and the larger Canadian women's movement can be identified. It is also important to consider the influences of the Western United States. Shared populations, geographic location, and similar ideals, as well as distinct differences, all need to be considered in

context of the developing women's movement.⁵⁷ Finally, Britain's geographic, cultural, and social ties to its colony make it essential to explore any impact that the 'home' country may have had on Victoria's movement since many of the White women involved in Victoria's women's movement were British.⁵⁸ The women's movement in Victoria did not exist in a vacuum. Other groups, countries, and even individual ideas, contributed to its development during the last part of the nineteenth and the earliest part of the twentieth centuries.

Chapter Overviews

Chapter 1 discusses the early years, from 1859 forward, of women's organized social reform in Victoria. It challenges current understandings of the time frame in which women began to become involved in social reform and women's rights goals in Victoria and British Columbia, while showing that the issue of 'suffrage' alone did not make a 'women's movement'. Alongside these insights, Chapter 1 begins to expand the definition of *who* exactly participated in battling for women's rights in the early years of the movement. Chapter 2 focuses on the work of White women in Victoria

⁵⁷ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Western egalitarianism.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 1 and 2.

between 1880 and 1900. As the local 'women's movement' coalesced and expanded in the late 1890s to embrace various social reform causes and demands for women's rights and recognition, it reflected a unique spirit that emanated from Victorian traditionalism, skewed gender ratios, and a frontier mentality. Chapter 3 continues to explore the development of the 'women's movement' from 1880 to 1900, but examines the activities of racialized women, particularly Indigenous, African Canadian, and Chinese and offers a more complete picture of the development of women's activism in Victoria. Chapter 3 argues that an examination of Victoria's movement, like any other 'women's movement', must take into consideration the ethnic and racialized 'other'. Finally, in the Conclusion, I discuss areas for future research, deeper research questions, and I raise the question about whether the women's movement in Victoria was successful.

This thesis attempts to open a dialogue that challenges previous work on the 'women's movement' in Victoria, British Columbia. It seeks to expand existing definitions and categories of analysis and adopt an intersectional approach by including gender and racial realities, while touching on class and religious issues. It tells the story of the early years of Victoria's women's movement from the perspective of the many varied groups and individuals involved.

Chapter 1

The First Years, 1858 to 1880

“Why should women not vote?” – 1867¹

On the 31 December 1867, the *British Colonist*, Victoria, British Columbia’s leading newspaper, printed an editorial entitled “Female Suffrage” which included the question: “why should women not vote?” This article is significant for numerous reasons. The first is its early publication date which defies the argument found in BC’s historical literature that the topic of women’s rights was not mentioned in Victoria prior to 1871.² In truth, 1871 was a watershed year for the women’s movement in Victoria, but it was by no means the first time women in the community began to organize to demand reform. The article is also significant because it was the first local article referencing *any* approval for the idea of female suffrage in Victoria

¹ “Female Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 31 Dec. 1867, 3.

² The first mention of a ‘women’s movement’ in Victoria’s first newspaper, *The British Colonist*, appeared in the eighth year of publication. In a printed dispatch from the United States dated 25 December, 1865 the terms ‘female suffrage’ appeared in reference to the ‘exclusively radical’ House Committee of Reconstruction. The Committee, and particularly Henry Ward Beecher, was “out in favour, not only of Negro, but female suffrage.” The House Committee of Reconstruction was a United States government body put in place to help deal with the legacy of the Civil War. Its members were generally considered radicalists, pro African American and to some extent pro women. This snippet is only a tiny bit of the fascinating story of the links between women’s suffrage, abolition and the Equal Rights Association. There are many books and articles written on this topic. I have also written about the connections and how these connections broke the women’s movement in the United States apart during the late 1860’s. “Eastern News,” *Colonist*, 25 Dec. 1865, 3.

prior to 1871. However, this early article and others like it, including discussion focused on the 1871 visit made by Susan B. Anthony, unfortunately led many BC historians to presume that the only issue up for debate relative to Victoria's women was the fight for women's suffrage. Yet in reality, the vote was only one of many women's rights issues under consideration in the community. The text of the 1867 article also indicates that men fought side by side with women in the battle for and against women's rights in the early years of the movement, a trend that many historians of the Canadian women's movement have ignored.³

This chapter is based largely on a close reading of the *British Colonist* newspaper which is one of the best primary sources available that covers early Victoria history. Its discussions in editorials, public speeches and legislative debates surrounding the topic of women's social reform goals are key to understanding the early women's movement. Initially local papers, including the *Colonist*, barely recognized women existed. Yet it is in the cramped and faded pages of the early *Colonist* that women are present, most often found appearing between the lines of faded text, indirectly referenced by male editors and writers. A few other rare glimpses appear in sources

³ At various points in her book *Liberation Deferred*, Carol Lee Bacchi noted that men were also involved in the women's movement. Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983).

outside the newspaper, but during the period between 1858 and 1880, the local *British Colonist* is the most useful source as we seek to understand the local women's movement.

Victoria's Newspapers and the Ideology of Separate Spheres

Like other community newspapers of the period, most articles that appeared in the *Colonist* were reprints, often from other newspapers based in larger urban centers like Ottawa, Toronto, Washington, Seattle, and, of distinct importance to Victoria and the rest of the province, Britain. Dispatches from abroad were mixed with a sprinkling of local content. The early papers were largely without personal style; they were merely a compilation of news stories from the 'outside'. As each developed, newspapers increasingly represented the owner's or editor's personal and political views and opinions. By the late 1880s, these local newspapers were often affiliated with political stances that reflected splits within the provincial government. Objectivity was uncommon and in many places, newspapers citing opposite views were established. This was the case in Victoria where contrary opinions as well as the occasional complementary article appeared in the *Colonist's* competitors: *The Victoria Gazette*; *The Victoria Daily*

Chronicle; *The Victoria Daily Standard*; and *The Victoria Daily Times*. However, the *Gazette* collapsed two years after it was established, the *Colonist* absorbed the *Chronicle* in 1873, and the *Standard* disappeared during the late 1880s.⁴

The *Colonist's* earliest papers were short, only four to six pages in length, and were tightly printed; the pages cramped with letters and lines. Its first editors controlled the layout, articles, and editorials as well as what was *not* to appear within its pages. The original editor of *The British Colonist*, Amor de Cosmos, a White middle-to upper-class gentleman, wrote editorials on many political and social topics during the first few years of the paper's existence. His eccentric pro-White, pro-African Canadian, pro-working class, anti-women, anti-Chinese, and anti-Indigenous beliefs were evident in the paper throughout his years as editor.⁵ De Cosmos left the paper in 1872 after the absorption of the *Chronicle* into the *Colonist*. He handed the reins of the new paper to his competitors, David W. Higgins and T.H. Long, both of whom

⁴ During the earliest years, these newspapers were the main competition to the *Colonist* with the *Standard* as its main competitor during the 1870s and 1880s and the *Times* from the mid 1880s onward. After the *Colonist* absorbed the *Chronicle*, the new name became the *Daily British Colonist and Morning Chronicle* and it existed until 1873 when the term *Chronicle* was dropped. The term *British* was dropped on 1 January 1887, and from then on it became the *Daily Colonist*. See Introduction.

⁵ De Cosmos was editor of the *Colonist* from his establishment of the newspaper in 1858 until 1862 when he left to become involved in colonial politics. He became Premier of BC in 1872. He strongly believed in supporting White and African Canadian men of all classes. His writings often reflected his support of the working class while reflecting his anti-women and Nativist sentiments.

had agreed to, and did, follow through on De Cosmos' political and personal views and future plans for the paper.

De Cosmos' and thus the *Colonist's* embrace of British middle-to upper-class values in its early years is evident throughout the many articles printed about social theory and the roles of men, women, and children. Discussion of 'separate sphere' ideology is a case in point. Numerous articles drew on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's writings and social theories regarding the women's rights movement.⁶ Rousseau, a Swiss philosopher who was a major contributor to Enlightenment theory, believed that men were uniquely qualified for the responsibilities of citizenship, while women's focus should remain in the domestic sphere as that was their true calling.⁷ This ideology demanded that the ideal woman be "a woman whose rule over her private domain directly influenced the manners and morals of the entire nation."⁸

⁶ Rousseau's most famous work was his 1762 piece, *The Social Contract*, which was an extensive treaty on politics. To see his thoughts on women see *Emile (On Education)* also written in 1762.

⁷ Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 22.

⁸ Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, 22; See also: Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale Press, 1977); Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 168. Besides these texts others mention women doing traditional things such as homemaking, gardening, painting, music or early charity work (which included giving food and/or clothing to the poor). For a more exhaustive discussion on what Victoria women were considered 'able' to do, see: Valerie Green, *Above Stairs: Social Life in Upper Class Victoria, 1843-1918* (Victoria, British Columbia: Sono Nis Press, 1995), 131. Other

Women were to be the 'Angels in the Home', while men made a living in the rough public world. During the mid-nineteenth century, these ideals spread throughout the British colonies. Canada embraced them enthusiastically. The *Colonist's* pages consistently presented these principles as well as the growing idealization and acceptance of a separate spheres society.⁹ It did not matter that Victoria's social reality did not reflect the separate spheres ideal.

The fact that non-Indigenous men outnumbered non-Indigenous women two to one throughout this period was only one obvious local inconsistency with the separate spheres ideology.¹⁰ British Columbian historian Adele Perry noted that, as "women's need for waged work exposed

occupations of importance, like missionary work and teaching, will be discussed in Chapter 2. Prostitution was also considered a profession of significant importance during this time. Errington's *Wives and Mothers*; Constance Backhouse's *Petticoats and Prejudice*, Perry's *Edge of Empire* as well as her article, "Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men," all mention this option but a discussion of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis. Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The Osgood Society, 1991), Chapter 8, 228; Adele Perry, "Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men: Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality, and Sociability in Nineteenth Century British Columbia," *BC Studies, Women's History and Gender Studies* 105/106 (Spring Summer 1995): 27.

⁹ Some examples include: *Colonist*: "The Richest Man in the World," 14 May 1867, 3; "Mrs. Frost's Lecture," 28 Jan. 1872; "First Provincial Legislative Assembly," (Married Women's Property Bill), 7 Jan. 1874, 3; "Social and Political Position of Woman," 10 Aug. 1879, 3.

¹⁰ John Douglas Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2009), 46, 91-93; K.A. Finlay, ed. "A Woman's Place": *Art and the Role of Women in the Cultural Formation of Victoria, BC, 1850s-1920s* (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, Maltwood Gallery, 2004), 10-12; Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 21. Indigenous women would step in to 'help', but this was not in keeping with traditional 'sphere' ideology. See Chapter 3 and John Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Indigenous and White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 7, 18, 40.

the fallacies of this binary logic, so too did the domestic spaces White men created in White women's absence."¹¹ Victoria's White men embraced a homosocial environment that incorporated avid drinking, gambling, and violence, during the colony's early years. These activities largely contributed to White women settler's negative impressions of their new home.¹² Many newly arrived White women were surprised by the ruggedness they encountered as wives or workers living in the new colony of Victoria; these women often had to learn how to live lives largely independent from the modern conveniences they had been accustomed to in their previous homes in order to survive.¹³ Their minority position and need for independence may have brought White women together in efforts to better their community

¹¹ Perry, *Edge Of Empire*, 21. Lynne Marks, Chapter 2: "Godless Men, Rough Culture and Practical Christians," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 1, 13-16; Lynne Marks, Chapter 4: "Religion, Irreligion and Diversity in Vancouver and Victoria," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 5-7, 11-12.

¹² Perry, *Edge of Empire*, Chapter 1, 20.

¹³ Tracy Kulba and Victoria Lamont argue that perhaps the reason women's suffrage came so early and 'easy' in the West was because of the required independent skills western woman were forced to develop in a pioneer society. The vote then became a logical consequence, giving women power in the geographic areas they literally helped to build. Tracy Kulba and Victoria Lamont, "The Periodical Press and Western Woman's Suffrage Movements in Canada and the United States: A Comparative Study." *Women's Studies International Forum* 29 (June 2006): 265. For strictly Canadian considerations, see Sarah Carter, "First Nations Women and Colonization on the Canadian Prairies, 1870s-1920s," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th eds. Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2002), 135; Martha McMahon, "People for Pigs in Pleasant-Land: Small Scale Women Farmers," in *This Elusive Land, Women and the Canadian Environment*, eds. Melody Hessing, Rebecca Raglon and Catriona Sandilands (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2005), 128; Perry, "Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men," 27.

and balance out the perceived roughness and immorality of the male dominated landscape. While some upper-class Victoria women may have tried to live as the 'Angel in the Home', there were few places in early BC for 'separate spheres' to exist.

Yet, despite the skewed gender demographics, the *Colonist* continued to push the British 'Angel' ideology, with its descriptive terminology painting women as pretty, well dressed, belle-like, graceful, loyal, or moral, all attributes essential to the separate spheres ideology.¹⁴ A few of Victoria's women the *Colonist* linked to this ideal included Amelia Douglas, wife to the Governor James Douglas, her daughters Martha and Alice, Mrs. Trutch, Mrs. O'Reilly and Mrs. Crease. All these women were considered 'society leaders' of their day.¹⁵ In contrast, the terminology used in the papers to describe women who fought for mid-to late nineteenth-century women's rights, rights that included the *Married Women's Property Law*, anti-poverty laws, temperance laws, suffrage demands, or economic freedom, did not include these *nice* descriptors. Instead these women were most often referred to through the use of faintly derogatory, militaristic-like headings such as: troublemakers, 'women righters', 'womanhood suffragers', 'woman

¹⁴ Three examples: "The Richest Man in the World," 14 May 1867, 3; "English and Continental Echoes," 25 June 1867, 2; "Bishop Marvin and the Woman-Women," 10 Sept. 1871, 3.

¹⁵ Green, *Above Stairs*, 63.

whippers', 'women's suffragers' or 'women's movement' women.¹⁶ Negative labels were attached to any women's activities that were defined, by the paper's editors, as going against the established social mores of Victoria's society. When individual female activists were mentioned by name, the commentators would alternatively focus on the 'nice' descriptors of her, ignoring the radical message she was presenting, be it equal rights, tax amendments, or suffrage laws, in favour of comfortable niceties which allowed writers to keep women in 'her place'. One example appeared on 18 June 1868 in the "European Echoes" column of the *Colonist*. A reference to a Miss Wilson noted that she was a "very pretty...winning...charming pulpit oratoress." This description was five lines in length, while the point of her presentation, the disenfranchisement of women, was contained in a one line summary buried in the description of her personal 'charms'.¹⁷

¹⁶ These terms were used in all three Victoria newspapers. Three examples from the *Colonist* include: "Womanhood Suffrage," 2 Feb. 1867, 3; an article that refers to the 'fact', as presented by Susan B. Anthony, that Victoria women 'are being whipped' by the men in their lives and they need to whip back, literally and metaphorically, "Female Suffrage, Victoria City of Woman-Whippers", 26 Oct. 1871, 2; and "Rough on Women Righters," 16 Nov. 1871, 2. In addition, other words often connected to women who fought for their rights across Canada included troublemaker, mannish, lesbian, or socialist, as well as phrases along the line of women who were "too peculiar or too ugly to catch a man." E. D. Nelson and Barrie W. Robinson, *Gender in Canada* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1999), 493.

¹⁷ "European Echoes," *Colonist*, 16 June 1868, 2.

Early Social Reform in Victoria

As was the case in central Canada, the efforts of those involved in the women's movement were often linked directly to broader social reform measures championed by both men and women. Discussions of these reform ideals appeared in the very first editions of the *Colonist* and continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coverage of temperance and the organizations that developed around it predominated in the paper's 'Local' section. In its "constant effort for temperance," the *Colonist* supported the largely male *Sons of Temperance*, the *Good Order of Templars*, and the *Dashaways*, three of the earliest temperance groups found in Victoria, by consistently announcing their gatherings in the 'Local News' sections.¹⁸ Other male focused reform organizations that were established in Victoria included the *Young Man's Christian Association (YMCA)* which attempted twice in the early 1860s to establish local groups; the *Victoria Literary Institute* which was formed out of the *YMCA's* reading room; and the *Mechanic's Institute*, an organization whose aims were to teach technical and

¹⁸ *Colonist*: "Independent Order of GOOD TEMPLARS" 22 July 1859, 3; "Young Men's Christian Association," 15 Sept. 1859, 3; Nov. 1859, 3; "A Dashaway Society," 26 March 1861, 3; "Independent Order of Good Templar's," 8 Aug. 1863, 2; "Young Men's Christian Association," 26 Oct. 1864, 3; Perry, *Edge Of Empire*, 80-83.

modern scientific ideas to the community.¹⁹ It is through reports on these organizations in the 'Local Notes' sections that, despite De Cosmos' anti-women views, women were featured in his paper. The earliest mention of temperance groups and Templar organizations often included references to women's auxiliary involvement. Women supplied food as well as companionship, participating at temperance dances and galas, while a very small number of them became members of the *Independent Order of Good Templars*.²⁰ References to these groups continued to be included in the *Colonist* as well as other Victoria newspapers throughout the 1860s. These reports constituted one of the few places that documented women moving out of the private sphere and into public reform activities locally. Charitable work was another one of the limited realm in which respectable women could function outside the 'private sphere'. In many places across Canada, United States, and Britain, women contributed many hours in the 'public

¹⁹ The Literary Institute was established in Victoria in 1861. The Mechanic's Institute started in Nanaimo and expanded to Victoria in 1864. A very small number of officers in the Templar's were female. Green, *Above Stairs*, 122-123; Perry, *Edge Of Empire*, 80, 82-84.

²⁰ For more information, see Chapter 2. *Colonist*; "Independent Order of GOOD TEMPLARS" 22 July, 1859, 3; "Young Men's Christian Association," 15 Sept., 1859, 3; Nov. 1859, 3; "A Dashaway Society," 26 March, 1861, 3; "Independent Order of Good Templar's," 8 Aug., 1863, 2; "Young Men's Christian Association," 26 Oct., 1864, 3; "Good Templar's Ball," 20 Dec., 1870, 6; Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 80-83. A very tiny number of officers in the Templar's were female: Green, *Above Stairs*, 122-123; Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 80, 82-84; *Victoria Daily Chronicle*, "Good Templar's Soiree," 22 Oct., 1864.

sphere', supporting any number of causes ranging from local church fundraisers to international aid efforts.

Adele Perry noted that in 1859, "a number of the ladies of Victoria formed a society for relieving the sick and clothing the naked." This reference comes directly from a *Colonist* article entitled, "Society for the Relief of the Poor," dated 22 July 1859.²¹ Like the temperance organizations, the *Colonist* followed this reform minded group of women throughout the 1860s; though, in their case, they and their organization were most often referenced as secondary to their prominent husbands and the latter's affairs. The paper noted when this dedicated group of women opened *Victoria's Female Infirmary* in 1864 and reported that they continued to support it even after it was amalgamated into the Royal Hospital in 1868. The *British Columbia Protestant Orphan Home* was an organization that the newspapers embraced as women-led, although it was financially supported by Victoria's leading men. The home was established in 1873 and was managed by two committees, the first consisting of Protestant male church leaders who controlled the funding and structure of the home, and the second, the 'Ladies Committee', composed of ministers' wives under the guidance of Mrs.

²¹ "Society for the Relief of the Poor," *Colonist*, 22 Aug. 1859, 3; Perry cites the article mistakenly as 22 July 1859. Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 186.

Cridge, which was in charge of the internal business of the house including donations and dispersal of resources.²² Announcements for the various church-based 'Ladies Aid' societies were commonly reported in the local news sections and many of the women involved in them were not shy about advocating for interdenominational support for their various projects and community supports like the Orphans Home. Noting the proliferation of early reform activity, Adele Perry described these first twelve years as a period of 'organization', a "watershed in the colony's transition to a stable, respectable settler's colony."²³

Victoria Newspaper Coverage of Women's Suffrage Debates

The 1867 editorial entitled "Female Suffrage" which contained the surprising question "why should women not vote?" was written in response to upcoming municipal elections in Victoria. The writer pointed out that women should vote, that they had and could excel "at most of the light

²² *Colonist*, 22 August 1859, 3; Lynn Gough, *As Wide As Serpents: Five Women & An Organization That Changed British Columbia, 1883-1939* (Victoria, British Columbia: Swan Lake Publishing, 1988), 27-28; Nora Lupton, "Notes on the B.C. Protestant Orphans Home," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, eds. Barbara Latham, and Cathy Kess (Victoria, British Columbia: Camosun College, 1980), 43, 45. The Protestant groups involved included Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Reformed Episcopalians, Congregationalists, and Baptists. See: *Appendix 1 – List of First Committee for Protestant Orphan Home.*

²³ Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 81.

pursuits of life – the arts, the sciences, the pulpit, the bar, the legislature,” and that they had “shone on stage and as physicians; so why not in the [public] forum?” The writer agreed that “of course we do not say we would permit *every* woman to vote any more than we would permit *every* man...woman is essentially the helpmeet of man. She shares his burdens as well as his sorrows; [so] why should she not share his honours and successes?” Women, noted the writer, provided a “humanizing aspect” and their “presence in public life would elevate and improve the tone of public men and insure us honest and efficient public service.”²⁴

The above editorial reflected the increasingly common belief in women’s moral superiority over men as well as an idea that was to become more popular during the 1870s, that women should use this superiority to improve both their homes *and* their society. Female reformers’ “desire to speak from the perspective of women to protect ‘homes and nation’” became a cornerstone of women’s reform movements in the late nineteenth century.²⁵ The new ideology, ‘Maternal Feminism’ as it is called today, dictated that women and only women, held the key to maintaining society’s

²⁴ “Female Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 31 Dec. 1867, 3.

²⁵ Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice*, 75.

moral compass.²⁶ This notion permeated Canadian society, as well as other western countries, throughout the last third of the 1800s and was often linked, though not always correctly, to the idea of the 'New Woman'. The definition of what exactly a 'New Woman' was varied, largely dependent on who, where, or when the term was used.²⁷ In this case, 'New Women' were reform minded women who believed that they must be agents of change in a society that seemed to be growing increasingly out of control. Social problems were assumed to be the result of male leadership and male leaders' failure to address such issues as alcohol control or poverty. This lack of care led many women to believe that since men were not, or perhaps could not, deal with social issues, then they must. The thrust of early Maternal Feminism, and the 'New Woman' idea that was often linked to it, was to help men, even if they did not think they needed it, to fix, and therefore improve, society.²⁸ Indeed, many felt it was their responsibility or obligation to change society for the better.

Many scholars refer to Maternal Feminism as key to the women's movement, even though a study defining what it is, from its beginnings to its

²⁶ See Introduction and Nelson and Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 87.

²⁷ Some definitions of 'New Women' refer to a movement in which women were physically choosing to dress, act, or speak in a more 'manly' status. This definition is not used in this paper. Nelson and Barrie W. Robinson, *Gender in Canada*, 87.

²⁸ See Introduction.

legacy, has yet to be written. Constance Backhouse, a Canadian women's legal historian, succinctly defines it as premised on "women's responsibility as guardians of the home. The intent was not to disrupt this role, but expand on it by arguing that women possessed special sensitivities and nurturing abilities that could be used to great advantage as a feminizing influence for society generally."²⁹ Catherine Cleverdon, in defining the 'New Women' perhaps because there seemed to be no words by which to signify Maternal Feminism in 1950, wrote that "the state, like the home, needed a woman's point of view and influence."³⁰ The 1867 editorial cited above which explained the rationale for allowing women the vote is a perfect example of early Maternal Feminism, yet its very existence implies much more. At a bare minimum, this article clearly implies how well disseminated the ideas of separate spheres and women's moral superiority were becoming, even on 'the edge of empire' in Victoria. At best, this editorial provides a rare glimpse into the possibilities that, behind the *Colonist's* cramped, tiny words, there was a world lying unseen and unexamined. Before 1871, there were women

²⁹ Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice*, 75; See also Jacquetta Newman and Linda A. White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy* (Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2006), 68-69.

³⁰ Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950), 9-10.

and men who did indeed support the battle for women's rights in Victoria. If this was not true, then who wrote this article?

By 1871, when British Columbia joined Canada, the *Colonist* had already established a tradition of printing discussions about British 'Reformers' who had been active for many years. The Reformers, men and women, demanded a series of reforms which in their eyes would 'improve' society. The right of women to hold public office, to work, to have fair wages or equal pay, to own property, to have equal education and free marital, parental and religious rights were all included in Reformers' demands. Many of these demands remained unfocused or were debated quietly, out of the limelight, while women's battle for suffrage rights became perhaps the most public and volatile debate in England. On 2 February 1867, the *Colonist* noted the struggle "for the abolition of the legal disability which debars women as such, for voting for members of [British] parliament."³¹ It also indicated that the suffragettes, men included, were considered "radical and revolutionary in the extreme."³² Local opinion reflected these same beliefs. On 16 June 1868,

³¹ "Womanhood Suffrage," *Colonist*, 2 Feb. 1867, 2.

³² *Colonist*: "The Richest Man in the World," 14 May 1867, 3. For some examples, see "Womanhood Suffrage," 2 Feb. 1867, 3; 14 May 1867; "English and Continental Echoes," 25 June 1867, 3; "European Echoes," 16 June 1868, 2; "Miscellaneous Items," 20 May 1870, 2; "Europe," 5 May 1871, 3; "The Women Beaten," 1 Dec. 1871, 2; "The London Correspondent," 20 June 1873, 3; "London Journals," 1 April 1875, 1; "Women Suffrage in

the *Colonist* printed a local editorial focused on the “black spots,” the challenges to government order under which England’s monarchy was suffering. The writer referred to “the ‘Women’s Suffrage’ question as driving all classes into a horrid vortex, even Florence Nightingale...the embodiment of human virtue and feminine grace has joined the misguided people that form the ‘English National Society for Suffrage’.” The claim that “English’s [sic] social charm has been lost” was accompanied by a list of scandalous women who were attempting to vote or speak from a stage or a pulpit on the topic of women’s rights.³³ It was not only women who spoke out for equal rights, but also many British and American men, some of whom were more accepted than others. The threat that George Francis Train, an eccentric, ardent, and supposedly insane, American suffrage organizer and speaker, would appear in England was devoutly prayed for because, in the editorialist’s view, Train’s appearance in support of the movement should directly “verify its ultimate death.”³⁴

England,” 14 June 1876; “Lively Times Coming,” 31 Dec. 1878, 3; “Social and Political Position of Women,” 10 Aug. 1879, 3.

³³ *Colonist*, “European Ethics,” 16 June 1868, 2.

³⁴ George Francis Train was an American writer, inventor, and minor presidential candidate who backed the newspaper, *The Revolution*, published by Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton in support of women’s suffrage. His eccentricity, obvious racism, and possible insanity were well known and his association with Anthony and Stanton was a major contributor to the breakup of the women’s rights organization in the United States. By 1872, his speaking had become erratic and he did not help the movement, or anything else he spoke for, with his words. In a speech given on Sunday, 7 May 1869 from New York, Train

For most middle-to upper-class Whites in Victoria who valorized English society and the great influence of English women in it, the above cited article voiced the worry that a “great threat” was brewing, one that would shake “the foundation of those happy homes in England, as well as England herself.” Women’s suffrage was just another “step in the silent revolution that is so rapidly transforming the British monarchy into a strictly popular government.”³⁵ From this point forward, the *Colonist’s* editors embraced the fear articulated in the article and became preoccupied with opposing women’s rights, especially suffrage. They consistently choose anti-suffrage articles and letters against women’s voting rights to represent its longstanding position in the battle for women’s rights in Victoria. When five months later, in November 1868, a letter to the editor of the *Colonist* presented a list of important election queries for the upcoming municipal election, each question, except for the final one, was meticulously answered in subsequent papers. The last question on the list was a mildly worded query politely asking: “on behalf of John Stuart Mill-can a woman vote?”³⁶

talked about “traveling to San Francisco” to discuss women’s suffrage and then described how he would “organize a Fenian Army to seize Vancouver Island.” “Another Speech by George Francis Train,” 11 June 1869, 2.

³⁵ “European Ethics,” *Colonist*, 16 June 1868, 2.

³⁶ Discussions on woman attaining the municipal vote during the 1868 elections appeared in a series of articles beginning with “Election Matters,” 2 Nov. 1868, 3. The other questions included: 1/ a query about the qualification of residence law; 2/whether the new

The note, signed by A. B., pointed out that since Chinamen could vote in municipal elections, why then should an Englishwoman, the owner of town property, be rejected?³⁷ Ultimately, the final question was ignored both by the editors of the *Colonist* and its contributors.³⁸ The message was clear: voting was a public duty, one that strictly belonged to men.

Maria Grant and Susan B. Anthony

The history of White people in British Columbia is short. Formal colonial status was not achieved until 1858 and even at that point, the non-Indigenous population was, and would remain, small into the 1880s.³⁹ Historical sources on women reformers active in older, larger, and more populated eastern urban centers are often scarce, so it is perhaps not surprising that records regarding specific women reformers in BC are rare. One of the few early women reformers who have been written about is

qualification of residence law replaced or enlarged the old law; and 3/ what are the limits of Victoria town...governmental, Municipal, or otherwise? "Editor," *Colonist*, 2 Nov. 1868, 2.

³⁷ The discussion surrounding the issue of Chinese voting in municipal elections exemplifies the reality that in the years prior to 1870, Chinese immigration was embraced to supply much needed labour in BC. It was not until the late 1860s and early 1870s that this situation changed and rampant racism and nativism came to the fore. See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion on the Asian presence in BC.

³⁸ One respondent noted that the final question on woman voting was humorous and the rest ignored it. *Colonist*: "Letter to the Editor," 4 Nov. 1868 to 8 Nov. 1868. "Editor," *Colonist*, 2 Nov. 1868.

³⁹ See the Introduction and Chapter Three for a more in-depth discussion on population statistics.

Maria Grant. Her story is told in a 1980 article by Gloria Whelan entitled, "Maria Grant 1854-1937: The Life and Times of an Early Twentieth Century Christian" and it was published in *In Her Own Right*, a book dedicated to women's history in British Columbia.⁴⁰ Whelan's main sources were limited to Methodist church notices and personal interviews mixed with a few glances at the *Colonist*; yet Whelan's work is one of the very few articles that discuss a woman battling for political equality during Victoria's early years. By all accounts, Maria Grant was a very enthusiastic and vibrant woman, a petite lady, yet to all who met her, she appeared larger than life. She was a White woman of action, deeply involved in Wesleyan Methodism, temperance organizations, reform rights for women, and the battle for women's suffrage. Her talents lay in organization and leadership, and she held a deep belief in the need to reform the settler society she lived in. She inherited her beliefs about prohibition and women's rights from her family and she, along with many other female reformers of the time, embraced the idea of political equality between men and woman.⁴¹ She believed that attaining the vote

⁴⁰ Gloria Whelan, "Maria Grant 1854-1937: The Life and Times of an Early Twentieth Century Christian," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, eds. Barbara Latham, and Cathy Kess (Victoria, British Columbia: Camosun College, 1980), 125.

⁴¹ The discussion on the *Women's Christian Temperance Union* in Chapter 2 contains an in-depth discussion of these ideas. For discussions of Frances Willard, the WCTU founder, see *Colonist*: "Miss Willard," 1 July 1883, 3; "Miss. Willard at Work," 2 July 1883, 3;

would give women the ability to push a variety of moral and social issues essential for Victoria and BC's social development through to the legislative level. She married Gordon Grant in 1874, had several children, and never paused in her dedication to bring reform to Victoria. She was listed as an *active* member of almost every reform effort in Victoria including the *Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)*, *The Women's Council*, and *The Methodist Women's Reform Society*. She worked alongside White, Indigenous, and African Canadian women, maintained ties to the Chinese Methodist Church, and worked in the *Women's Council* with women from Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, and Jewish spiritual traditions.⁴² Yes,

"Women's Christian Temperance Union," 6 July 1883, 3; Beverly Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders: The 'Council Idea', Western Women, and the Founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, 1896-1900," in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, ed. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 174, 175; Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms: Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia. 1862-1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 52,125; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, Chapter 1, 1; Eunice M.L. Harrison, *The Judge's Wife: Memoirs of a British Columbia Pioneer* (Vancouver, British Columbia: Ronsdale Press, 2002); R.M. Middleton, *The Journal of Lady Aberdeen* (Victoria, British Columbia: Moriss Publishing LTD.: 1986); Newman and White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*, 68-69; Whelan, *Maria Grant*,125. Willard's speeches are found on the *WCTU* website: www.wctu.org.

⁴² The various organizations she was involved with included women from White, African Canadian, Indigenous, and Chinese backgrounds. At one point or another, the *Colonist* listed the various groups and their members. The appendices provide information on each woman and where the information came from. See *Appendix 2 – Full List of Women Involved in Reform Organizations* for a list of women involved in various organizations alongside Maria Grant. The Protestant groups involved included Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Reformed Episcopalian, Congregational, and Baptist. Also note that some of the women found listed by name within the various reform groups were considered Métis, and many of them identified with their White ancestry as opposed to their Indigenous roots. This does not preclude the possibility of full Indigenous status women being involved, but if so, their names have been

she was White and middle class, but she fought passionately for reform rights for all women as evidenced by her extensive participation in many of the local organizations that supported the battle for women's rights. Her strength and willingness to stand as a leader in the women's movement allows us to embrace her as a woman of stature in BC's history. Perhaps of greater importance is the fact that Maria Grant is just one among the many women involved in early reform work in Victoria. Information about her or any other woman of the time is minute; what is there must be teased from others' memories and scant news coverage. However, Grant is one local woman whose story can stand as a representative of the more than three hundred women identified as members of women's various reform organizations during the early years of Victoria.⁴³ Who knows how many have gone unnamed?

Maria Grant was seventeen when she threw her energy and support behind an enigmatic visitor, women's rights supporter Susan B. Anthony,

lost alongside many others. Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 27-28; Lupton, *Protestant Orphan Home*, 43, 45; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 127-128; Margaret Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule, Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* (Cloverdale B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd, 1984), Chapter 2. See: *Appendix 1 – List of First Committee for Protestant Orphan Home*.

⁴³ For the three hundred known women *Appendix 2 – Full List of Women Involved in Reform Organizations*. Note, however, that this list remains incomplete; new information may come available.

from the United States.⁴⁴ At the end of October 1871, the famous American suffragist added a stop in Victoria to her North American lecture tour.⁴⁵ It is

⁴⁴ In 1883 Maria Grant was one of the women instrumental in Frances Willard's visit to Victoria. Maria's mother Mrs. M. Pollard was the first Provincial President of the new *BC WCTU*. Maria stayed intimately involved with the group, later becoming President of the *WCTU* in Victoria, and going on to lead the women's suffrage battle in BC. There will be more discussion of the *WCTU* after 1880 in Chapter 2. For more information on the Grant family, see Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 125.

⁴⁵ Susan B. Anthony was Vice President of the *National Women's Suffrage Association (NWSA)* in the United States in 1871. She was an American Civil Rights activist. In the United States during the late 1860s, constant struggle over suffrage amendment law surrounding the issues of race and gender caused massive strife in the Equal Rights Movement. In response to the strife in 1868, Anthony and her partner in the movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, called for 'educated suffrage'. This idea was challenged by George T. Downing when he asked Stanton directly if she "opposed the enfranchisement of African American men if women did not get the vote at the same time." Her response went directly to the core of the widening split within the *American Equal Rights Association*. She stated that she "would not trust the African American man to make laws for her because 'degraded, oppressed himself, he would be even more despotic with the governing power than even our Saxon rulers are.'" She continued by noting that if "universal suffrage was not feasible than she preferred to enfranchise educated people first 'for this incoming tide of ignorance, poverty, and vice must not be empowered'," and that "without women suffrage, only the 'highest type of manhood' should vote and hold office." At the *AERA's* January 1869 meeting, Lucy Stone and Frances Watkins Harper made it clear that the question of suffrage 'must' remain universal; however if it came down to suffrage as "a question of race," African American men versus women, Harper's view that it was time to "let the lesser question of sex go" was the favoured response of the abolitionist linked *AERA* members. Anthony and Stanton strongly opposed this view declaring that sex was of equal, if not superior importance, to African American men's rights. In her address Stanton "disparaged the dregs of China, Germany, England, Ireland, and Africa" all of whom could be granted suffrage by American politicians who would make their "wives and mothers the political inferiors of unlettered and unwashed ditch-diggers, boot blacks, butchers, and barbers, fresh from the slave plantations of the south." For Anthony and Stanton the idea of universal *manhood* suffrage was an "appalling question." See Stanton, "Address to the National Women's Suffrage Convention, 1869," *The Concise History of Women Suffrage*, eds. Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 254; Philip N. Cohen, "Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America," *Signs* 21, no. 3 (1996):707; Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 170, 171; Elizabeth Frost-Knappman and Kathryn Cullen-Dupont, *Women's Suffrage in America* (New York: Facts on File Incorporated, 2005), 196; Nell Irvin Painter, "Voices of Suffrage: Sojourner Truth, Frances Watkins Harper, and the Struggle for Women Suffrage" *Votes For Women*, eds. Jean H. Baker (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002),

unclear why Anthony added Victoria to her list of lecture stops; however, what quickly became clear were the local reactions to that decision. Throughout the 1860s, most of the commentary in the *Colonist* about the American women's suffrage movement was fairly negative and moralistic and this continued in the descriptions of Anthony's tour.⁴⁶ On 20 October 1871, there was a tiny notice on the bottom of page three that "Susan B. Anthony will be in Olympia" and that a Mr. W. K. Bull would "try to dispel her vagaries."⁴⁷ When it was discovered that she was coming to Victoria, the *Colonist* editors were not enthusiastic and little effort went into announcing her upcoming appearance.⁴⁸ The 24 October paper included a sentence, buried at the bottom of page three, announcing Anthony's appearance in

49, 51, 52; Doris Weatherford, *A History of the American Suffragist Movement* (Santa Barbara, California: The Moschovitis Group Inc., 1998), 107.

⁴⁶ Throughout the 1860s and 1870s, articles from the United States appeared regularly with each dispatch identifying specific States' emerging battles over women's rights, in particular suffrage rights. These small snatches of information usually fell under the category "Eastern News" or "Eastern States" no matter which State was under discussion. The breakup of the *American Equal Rights Association* over the question of women's suffrage resulted in the creation of two groups: the *NWSA* led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and the *American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA)*. Both groups were most often mentioned in passing, such as a note that in Ireland "20,000 persons have petitioned for woman suffrage." In the same sparse manner, the *Colonist* also noted that women's suffrage was achieved in the Wyoming Territory on 1 August 1871. *Colonist*: "Eastern States," 19 Dec. 1866, 3; 7 May 1867, 3; 30 July 1867; 6 and 7 Aug. 1867, 3; 28 May 1868, 3; 30 Nov. 1868, 3; 18 May 1869, 3. Such reports continued to appear during the period under study: for example see "Miscellaneous Items," 20 May 1870, 2; "Wyoming Territory," 4 Aug. 1871, 3.

⁴⁷ "Note," *Colonist*, 20 Oct. 1871, 3.

⁴⁸ Anthony was known to be an outspoken woman who helped 'break up' the *Equal Rights Association* in the United States. Wherever she spoke, debate and 'trouble' followed. "Delayed Dispatches," *Colonist*, 18 May 1869, 2.

Victoria the next evening.⁴⁹ Maria Grant, along with her parents and many members of the Wesleyan Methodist Church her father ministered to, looked forward to the visit.⁵⁰ The *Standard* posted a half page announcement on 24 October and encouraged many to come and hear Anthony speak about “reform and equal rights.”⁵¹ The sheer number of people, women and men, crowding the Alhambra Hall in central Victoria for Anthony’s three-night lecture tour strongly indicate that Maria, her family, and a number of church parishioners, were far from alone in their sentiments.⁵²

On 26 October, a write-up appeared in the *Colonist* discussing Anthony’s first lecture held the night before at the Alhambra Hall. Under the sub-title, “Victoria a city of Woman-Worshippers,” was a full column discussing the event and mentioning the crowded hall.⁵³ After speaking generally of the fight for suffrage, Anthony focused on Victoria’s women. She had been ‘told’ that charging a fee for her lecture was a mistake and that few would show up as payment was only common for “negro minstrelly [sic] and

⁴⁹ “Alhambra Hall,” *Colonist*, 24 Oct. 1871.

⁵⁰ Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 127.

⁵¹ “Announcement,” *Victoria Daily Standard*, 24 Oct. 1871.

⁵² *Colonist*: “Female Suffrage,” 26 Oct. 1871, 2; “Female Suffrage,” 26 Oct. 1871, 4; “Women’s Rights,” 27 Oct. 1871, 3; *Daily Standard*, Oct. 24 through 27, 1871.

⁵³ “Female Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 26 Oct. 1871, 2.

circuses.”⁵⁴ The crowd laughed. She had also been told “that women in Victoria were content with their lots and didn’t want liberty; was it even possible? It was said that no town in America in which women got so many floggings as in Victoria {the audience became convulsed in laughter} and they are content to take them quietly!” Anthony then announced she would do a second free lecture the next night that was open to any woman or man. There was great applause. She ended by asking that “all who were in favour of Women Suffrage to raise their hand.”⁵⁵ Every hand in the audience was held up. If Victoria’s women were so accepting of their lot, as Anthony humorously indicated, where did all of this support for women’s rights suddenly appear from?

It is well known that Anthony traveled with few companions and none of them acted as her ‘fillers’; all the women and men in the audience were from Victoria. If it is true that everyone there had to pay a fee to get in the first night, and that the hall was crowded, then that represented considerable

⁵⁴ ‘Negro minstrelly’ refers to a particular kind of entertainment that was seen in the United States starting in the 1840s. It was a show in which White players painted their faces black and imitated or ‘caricatured’ African American slaves or ex-slaves, ‘coons’, on stage. The shows were reputed to be ‘true to life’, accurate imitations’ of African American speech, singing, dancing, and humour, and many White audiences believed them to be true until the Civil Rights era of the 1950s and 1960s. Since that time it has been accepted by academics, politicians, and other commentators that the character of the ‘coon’ is a racist caricature of African Americans. Patricia R. Schroeder, “Passing for African American: Coon Songs and the Performance of Race,” *The Journal of American Culture* 33, no. 2 (June 2010): 139; “Female Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 26 Oct. 1871, 2.

⁵⁵ “Female Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 26 Oct. 1871, 2.

support for someone the local newspaper considered 'equal to a negro minstrel' as well as her call for equal rights. Yet, despite the obvious support, all the editorial comments in the article were tinged with sarcasm and morality, as if the author was viewing a great show. The *Daily Standard* review was similar in tone, although in one review article, it was noted that a large number of men who appeared very supportive of Anthony's words were in attendance at the meeting.⁵⁶ Also on 26 October, someone at the *Colonist* identified Miss Anthony as one of the best lecturers to visit the city, though the notation was hidden on a separate page in a tiny font.⁵⁷ Maria Grant and her company most likely agreed.⁵⁸

The next evening's meeting was 'open' as promised and the *Colonist* again covered it. This time, however, the story was buried in the middle of the third page with a smaller font than most of the surrounding articles. The writer continued the slightly mocking tone and either he, or the editor, choose only to discuss the first half of the lecture. The *Colonist* noted that the hall was "crowded to overflowing" and that Anthony was "more than usually effective."⁵⁹ She mentioned the query made the night before about whether Victoria's women were under the thumb of their men. She

⁵⁶ "Anthony Lectures," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 25 Oct. 1871.

⁵⁷ "Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 26 Oct. 1871, 4.

⁵⁸ Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 128.

⁵⁹ "Women's Rights," *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

discussed British common law and the fact that men owned their wives under this 'archaic' system and wondered whether women in Victoria would legally accept being tied up, held captive, if they threatened to leave their husbands. The audience yelled NO! NO! NO! Anthony noted the "limited employment opportunities for women," while deriding the men in the crowd, stating that "you ought to be ashamed of yourselves for crowding women out of work."⁶⁰ She then discussed the concept of the 'women's sphere' and how unjust a system it was when African Canadian men fell under the same rules as White women!⁶¹ At this point, the *Colonist's* writer abruptly ended the article with the statement that "Miss Anthony continued at some length along the same strain amid cheers and laughter."⁶² The *Standard* did not depart from the tone of slight derision towards Anthony's talk, but noted, as it did on the

⁶⁰ "Women's Rights," *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3; Adele Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 168.

⁶¹ After the passing of the 14th Amendment in the United States (amendment which granted citizenship to African American) and the breakup of the *Equal Rights Association*, Anthony poured her energy into the creation and passing of the 15th Amendment (guarantee of right to vote regardless of race, colour, or condition of servitude). She had hoped to have the term 'sex' included in its statute, however the Amendment was passed in February of 1870 without the term, effectively excluding women from the right to vote. Consequently, Anthony fought against African American men having more political rights than White women and stated that legal equality between African American men and White women was wrong. She came to believe, contrary to her years in the *ERA*, that White educated women should have more political rights than uneducated African American men, with some of her extreme comments noting that she essentially believed that White women were better than African American men. Perhaps the reason the author of the *Colonist* article stopped here was because Anthony's lecture came with an American slant not deemed important to BC politics? While Nativism was an issue, as was race, African Canadian men had the right to vote, and they had practiced that right from the moment they arrived in BC. See Chapter 3 for a discussion of African Canadian rights in BC.

⁶² "Women's Rights," *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

subsequent nights, that the meetings seemed to have been predominately attended by men supportive of the cause, and that perhaps there might be something to what she had to say.⁶³ Both the *Colonist* and the *Standard* 'Letters to the Editor' columns were filled with letters whose titles, "Women as Nature Has (NOT) Designed Her" signed by 'A Male Biped', and "The Quack Apostle in the Petticoats" by 'An Insulted Husband', were not only prominently displayed, but accurately defined what the letters contained, a scathing commentary of Anthony and her ideas.⁶⁴ There was also one signed by 'A Wife and Mother' which attacked Anthony personally, calling her a "shrewish old mischiefmaker who, after failing to secure a husband herself, is tramping the continent to make her more fortunate sister's miserable by creating dissensions in their households."⁶⁵ On 27 October, one so-called 'supportive' letter was found on the bottom of page three signed by 'Minnie'. She began by stating the pleasure she had experienced at the lecture. However, the strength of her support becomes doubtful when she criticized Anthony for not including a woman as a fellow debater for, according to Minnie, "it is well known" that a gentleman knows that it can be "useless to

⁶³ "Anthony Lectures," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 27 Oct. 1871.

⁶⁴ *Colonist*: "Women as Nature Has (NOT) Designed Her," 26 Oct. 1871, 2; "The Quack Apostle in the Petticoats," 27 Oct. 1871, 2. The *Daily Standard* printed these letters as well. See *Victoria Daily Standard*, 26 and 27 Oct. 1871.

⁶⁵ "Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

argue with a woman.” Her letter finished with the comment that “should Miss Anthony meet with the opposition of an intelligent woman, I feel sure that most of her arguments would be upset.”⁶⁶ So much for the support!

It is safe to assume that support for the women’s suffrage fight in Victoria was not unanimous. However, given the large number of supporters, both male and female, at Anthony’s lecture, certain questions must be addressed. If the *Colonist’s* and other papers’ previous comments on the topic reflected public opinion in Victoria, there should have been very little support for Anthony’s ideas, much less the organization that invited her to speak in Victoria. Yet it seems that there was abundant local support. So, who filled that crowded hall, raising their hands in agreement with Anthony’s passionate words? Where did they all go? Did any of them write to the papers? And if so, is it possible the *Colonist* and *Standard* refused to print their letters? The early letter questioning why woman could not vote, the editorial inquiry on voting practices, and the number of supporters at Anthony’s meetings suggest that a women’s movement was active in Victoria prior to Anthony’s 1871 visit. This goes against the ‘traditional view’ that the earliest recorded beginning of any women’s reform movement, including an

⁶⁶ The lectures were not debates so there was no male or female debater involved in Anthony’s lectures. “Female Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

argument for suffrage rights, was in late 1871, at the time that Anthony visited.⁶⁷ It also challenges the idea that only women were involved in women's reform demands. Some men were involved in funding various reform efforts including temperance organizations, health and social services needs like the Infirmary and the orphanage and, though not all necessarily supported women's rights, some were very obvious in their support of Anthony's visit.

A footnote to Susan B. Anthony's visit is found in a series of advertisements which began to appear in late January 1872 in both the *Colonist* and *Standard*.⁶⁸ On 25 January, the first ad in the series, high center page three of the *Colonist*, was accompanied by a short commentary column announcing that Mrs. J. B. Frost from the United States was to give a series of lectures in Victoria at the Alhambra Hall. The ad announced that the first of these lectures would be "Opposition to Female Suffrage in Which it is Predicted the Downfall of the United States Government."⁶⁹ The ad, with only the weekly title changed, continued daily for three and a half weeks.

⁶⁷ See Introduction and Cleverdon, *Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada*; Cramer, "Public and Political;" Anne Edwards, *Seeking Balance: Conversations With BC Women in Politics* (Halfmoon Bay, British Columbia: Caitlin Press, 2008).

⁶⁸ "Advertisement," *Colonist*, 25 Jan. 1872, 3 (Continued daily for the following three and a half weeks); "Advertisement," *Daily Standard*, 25 Jan. 1872, 4.

⁶⁹ "Advertisement," *Colonist*, 25 Jan. 1872, 3 (Continued daily for the following three and a half weeks); "Advertisement," *Daily Standard*, 25 Jan. 1872, 4.

The *Daily Standard* published the same ad, though it appeared without extra commentary, as did all the rest in the series. The prevalence of the Frost ads far outnumbered and out-styled the non-existent lead up to Anthony's visit a mere three months before, but it is unknown whether Frost paid for her advertisements or not. The lack of commentary in the *Standard* may indicate a series of paid adverts. However, whether paid for or not, Frost's message, outside of the advertisements and especially in the *Colonist*, was treated with a great deal more respect than Anthony's was. On 27 January, a day after the first lecture, the *Colonist* printed a full commentary on the talk, boldly claiming that Frost had "demolished the arguments of the Female Suffragists – left them without a leg to stand on!" Frost attacked Anthony and her "like," denouncing any supposed female bondage, invoking the Bible as proof that women should not get the vote, and calling "advocates of Female Suffrage 'free lovers' and disbelievers of the Word."⁷⁰ The two 'Notes' that followed, one on 30 January and the other on the 31 January, both extolled Frost as rational, logical, enjoyable, and sensible. The second one took special care to note that based on Frost's suggestion, suffragists were "*lusus naturae*, a disgusting natural curiosity that may excite the public mind, but is not

⁷⁰ "Mrs. Frost's lecture," *Colonist*, 28 Jan 1872, 3, 1st article on page.

expected to be long lived.”⁷¹ In contrast to the coverage of Anthony’s lectures, it is remarkable to see both the high number of advertisements announcing Frost and the glowing commentaries surrounding her lectures. Frost and her messages, even the one about the downfall of the United States, were embraced and discussed often in the *Colonist*, yet Anthony’s pro-woman, pro-suffrage message was derided and barely reviewed. It is ironic that of the two women the newspapers reported on, it is Frost who has disappeared from view, while the disparaged Anthony, despite much critique by US women’s historians, remains beloved and immortalized to this day.

As a seminal event in Victoria and BC history, the establishment of the *British Colonist* newspaper in 1858 represented the start of a new urban way of life. However, despite its solid place in BC history, its voice was limited in discussions of the ‘fairer sex’. What is found beyond quiet end notes and whispered references to reform are short bursts of ink, snarled with laughter or derision, scorning women’s attempts to fight for equal political or economic rights. Anthony’s lectures challenged this as she broadly proclaimed her ideological beliefs and no one who heard her could be mistaken as to what they were. The first and easiest to accept by Victoria’s

⁷¹ The definition of ‘*lusus naturae*’, as used by the commentator referred to a person or animal that was markedly unusual, unnatural, or deformed; a freak or monstrosity. “Notes,” *Colonist*, 30 and 31 Jan. 1872, 3.

women, and a number of men, was the concept of *political equality*, the demand that both men and women should have equal political standing and control within their respective government system. As the last half of the 1880s came to a close this idea continued to gain widespread recognition and acceptance. It was her second belief, that of *sexual equality*, that many women and men reformers in Victoria were wary of supporting. She defined *sexual equality*, as the claim of one gender, male, being superior to the other, female, not just in the political realm, but economically, socially, physically, and privately, often to the detriment of the second sex.⁷² Locally this idea was largely ignored; the discussion and debate instead focusing on *political equality* where it was argued that, by attaining this goal, a balance between private and public life that allowed an equal partnership between men and women would be established. This partnership would grant women an equal voice in the social order. It is this political position, increasingly common by the 1870s, which was not found echoed in the colony's newspapers.⁷³ Rather than a fair discussion of equal rights, the newspapers remained biased, attempting to discount or 'make small' the reform women of Victoria.

⁷² See Introduction. Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174, 175; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 52,125; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, Chapter 1, 1; Harrison, *The Judge's Wife*; Middleton, *The Journal of Lady Aberdeen*; Newman & White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*, 68-69; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 125-127.

⁷³ Whelan discusses Grant and other local women's possible attitudes. Whelan, *Maria Grant*.

One particularly poignant example of this appeared prior to Anthony's October visit when the *Colonist* published a sermon given by Bishop Marvin of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the United States 10 September 1871. The short article proved to be nothing but a moralistic attack on the 'women's movement'; yet it represented some Victoria residents' views on women's reform. In his sermon, Bishop Marvin upheld separate spheres ideology and preached that the "doctrine of 'woman's rights', so-called...the woman's movement" was assailing "without mince or disguise...the scriptural order as to domestic relations."⁷⁴ People who believed in such doctrine were all "infidels, out to destroy the family, the cornerstone of the state, therefore creating anarchy within the state and total collapse of our society." In his view, a woman's modesty and purity were "the very heart of social fabric" and to "loosen woman from her heavenly appointed and most beautiful orbit" would make "everything go to wreck."⁷⁵ For Bishop Marvin and supporters of separate sphere ideology, women formed "the center of gravitation, holding everything in its place," including the social order. Essentially women were the holders of morality, yet they had no power-

⁷⁴ "Bishop Marvin and the Woman-Women," *Colonist*, 10 Sept. 1871, 3.

⁷⁵ "Bishop Marvin and the Woman-Women," *Colonist*, 10 Sept. 1871, 3.

political, economic, or social-through which they could enforce the moral compass with which they were entrusted.

Legislative Endeavours

Susan B. Anthony's 1871 visit provoked a few very notable responses to her ideas about male and female equality. However, after the small flurry surrounding Mrs. Frost's 1872 lecture series died down, the topic of suffrage seemed to disappear from the papers. Instead other reform issues came to the fore (for example temperance) and with it a series of increasingly insistent demands for alcohol restrictions from local and provincial temperance organizations.⁷⁶ At the same time, debates over the *Married Women's Property Law (MWPL)* dominated newspapers coverage of women's reform-related issues.⁷⁷ Throughout 1872 and into early 1873, there was an abundance of public and legislative debate over the passage of the *MWPL*, an act that would allow a settler's wife to own property, thereby effectively doubling a married settler's land claim allotment. The act would

⁷⁶ For more information on temperance organizations, see Chapter 2.

⁷⁷ For in depth discussion of the economic and familial impact of the *Act to Extend the Rights of Property to Married Women*, British Columbia, more commonly known as the *Married Women's Property Law*, see Constance B. Backhouse, "Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Law and History Review* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 211-257; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, particularly Chapter Two.

also allow “married men to protect property from creditors by transferring it to their wives; to grant married women the property rights necessary to survive desertion, neglect, or spousal abuse; to legalize married women’s participation in business; and to extend women’s rights for egalitarian purposes.”⁷⁸ The *MWPL* act was supported by a number of men in the legislature who were anxious to extend male land ownership as granted under the *Dominion Lands Act of 1872* (also known as Canada’s *Homestead Acts*).⁷⁹ How the newspapers of the time portrayed the *MWPL* is particularly telling. Women’s rights, as presented in the *Act*, were not major discussion topics. The only printed reference to female equality and the *MWPL* is found in a 3 February 1873 *Daily Standard* ‘Letter to the Editor’ column.⁸⁰ ‘Proletarius’ was a regular writer to the column and in this letter, the author asserted that he or she believed that female inequality was “antithetical” to modern society and, like John Paton Booth, Cowichan MLA and ardent supporter of women’s rights, “that marriage should be based upon perfect

⁷⁸ Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 45.

⁷⁹ The *Dominion Lands Act* was enacted for the purpose of encouraging settlement in the Canadian West. Land cost a dollar an acre, but settlers got a quarter-section for a \$10 registration fee. A settler had to be at least 21 year old and male, and the settlement sizes were limited in quantity. Passing the *MWPL* allowed a settler’s wife to own property, thereby effectively doubling a married settler land claim allotment.

⁸⁰ “Letters to the Editor,” *Victoria Daily Standard*, 3 Feb. 1873, 4. Letter is also referenced in Clarkson’s book, *Domestic Reforms*, 51-52.

equality of rights.”⁸¹ To the local papers, the *MWPL* was essential in allowing men the ability to extend their land holdings and protect them from creditors, while at the same time allowing both individual men and the government to act as chivalrous paternalistic caregivers of women. There were very few who agreed with Booth’s ideas, instead seeing the expansion of women’s rights or equality as important only as long as it did not affect political ambition or masculine prerogative.

Where women’s rights did slide into the legislature, and the place where many male ‘women’s rights’ supporters showed their support, was in the debates surrounding the 1873 proposed *Municipality Amendment Bill*.⁸² It was also here that the *MWPL* and the *Municipality Bill’s* discussion often blended together. It was again also here that much of the derision and laughter regarding women’s rights occurred. It is important to note that neither of these *Acts* was considered of high importance and both were attained as concessions to get other, usually economically significant, legislation through. The *MWPL* allowed men to extend their holdings while

⁸¹ John Paton Booth, Cowichan MLA, was an ardent supporter of women’s rights and served as Speaker of the Legislative Assembly in 1898 and again from 1900 to 1902. He ran as an independent, some sources say as an Independent Liberal. “Letters to the Editor,” *Victoria Daily Standard*, 3 Feb. 1873, 4. Letter also referenced in Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 51-52.

⁸² “First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session,” *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3; “First Provincial Legislature News,” *Victoria Daily Standard*, 12 Feb. 1873, 1, 4. See also Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, Chapter 2; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 25.

also allowing a small number of women business freedom. In the case of the *Municipality Bill*, its importance to the legislature was that it would permanently, and finally, define and create municipal boundary lines for governance of the City of Victoria and, perhaps more importantly, encourage local economic growth.⁸³ The newspaper's transcription of the Legislative Assembly's meeting included a discussion/debate on the floor of the Legislature about women receiving the right to vote in municipal elections. The *Municipality Bill's* 'male' requirement for voting was challenged and it was suggested that the term 'person' be inserted instead. This 'suggestion' was met with much laughter, despite the recognition that limiting suffrage to male British subjects or to women would exclude a large number of rate payers and that that would be bad for the City of Victoria.⁸⁴ In arguing against the motion, Hon. Mr. Robson commented that "respectable women did not want the right" and turned the debate to an attack against the "feeble attempt of women to organize a suffrage petition."⁸⁵ However, upon mentioning the petition, a very different response emerged, particularly from the audience. Amid "hisses from the gallery," Hon. Mr. Armstrong charged

⁸³ The *Colonist* transcribed in detail the Second Session, as it did all the others, of the Legislature. "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

⁸⁴ "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

⁸⁵ Hon. Mr. Robson, MLA Nanaimo. "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

that the petition was fraudulent and corrupt...names that appeared within it were purportedly faked.⁸⁶ In critiquing Hon. Mr. Beaven, supporter of the women's vote, Hon. Mr. Robson stated that the "Honourable gentleman from Victoria had set himself up as a champion for Women's Rights and had proved himself a Champion of Women's wrongs!"⁸⁷ Laughter ensued. The next suggestion that the term "male be struck out and 'female' inserted" raised even more laughter. The various comments filled the room with laughter and the floor was divided when Hon. Mr. Holbrook summed up the debate stating that, while "women [were] very well in their way {laughter}...they were out of place while voting."⁸⁸ Hon. Mr. Robson added that women did not want the vote and even if they did, *they* had the *Married Women's Property Act*. Other legislators chimed in: if women could vote municipally, they might become a city councillor! Or Mayor! At this point, Hon. Mr. Smith stated that he "would allow ladies over 20 and under 40 to vote, provided they were not old maids!"⁸⁹ In the end, it was deemed 'fair' to all parties involved that all persons owning property, including *single* White

⁸⁶ Hon. Mr. Armstrong, MLA New Westminster. "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

⁸⁷ Hon. Mr. Beaven, MLA Victoria. "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

⁸⁸ Hon. Mr. Holbrook, New Westminster City. "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

⁸⁹ Hon. Mr. Smith, MLA Yale. "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3.

women, and, here was the crux, paying city taxes, should be allowed to vote. Consequentially, the term ‘femme sole’ was added after the term ‘male’ within the Act. Robson noted that he as well as many other councilors were not happy with this decision and worried that it would open the door for all women, including Indigenous or Chinese, to attain rights traditionally restricted to White men.⁹⁰

While White women of Victoria fought for early temperance legislation, the right to vote, the *MWPL*, laws to improve the situation of the poor, and various other reforms, their husbands often fought alongside them. Dr. William Tolmie, MLA Victoria, Mr. John Robson, MLA Naniamo, Mr. Robert Beaven, MLA Victoria City, and Mr. John Paton Booth, MLA Cowichan, all of whom supported women’s rights legislation, were involved in both city and provincial politics.⁹¹ Despite their involvement, debates over the question of women’s political position in British Columbia and Victoria continued to be a source of humour for most male legislators. A debate over an amendment to the *MWPL* “convulsed the Legislative floor with laughter”

⁹⁰ Hon. Mr Henry Holbrook, MLA New Westminster City; Mr. John Robson, MLA Naniamo; Mr. Smith, MLA Yale. “First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session,” *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3; “First Provincial Legislature News,” *Victoria Daily Standard*, 12 Feb. 1873, 1, 4. Also note Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, Chapter 2; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 25.

⁹¹ It is important to note that these MLA’s did not all support the same legislation as exemplified in the discussion on the vote in 1873. Robson passionately supported women’s position in the *MWPL* and at least initially believed that was sufficient for women. Later his opinions changed and he began to offer more support to women’s causes.

as Mr. Smithe, MLA Cowichan, tried to point out that not all women harboured 'natural feelings' for their children; therefore the *Law* needed to be amended to protect such children.⁹² Mr. Smith, MLA Yale, responded that "the honourable mover [of the legislation] had said something about the 'natural feelings' of a woman"; therefore he moved to "refer the Bill to the six bachelors of the House as a Select Committee."⁹³ Amid further laughter, Mr. Semlin, MLA Yale, commented that he did not think that a committee of all bachelors could do justice to feminine 'natural feelings' and hoped that half the committee would be married men!"⁹⁴

There were a few singular and small moments in print that covered the broader effort to gain provincial women's suffrage. In January 1874, Dr. Tolmie, MLA Victoria, successfully debated the merits of 'Female Suffrage' at the *Mechanics Institute* meeting.⁹⁵ In Ontario, a suffrage bill based on property qualifications which included women property owners in its

⁹² Hon. Mr. Smithe, MLA Cowichan. "First Provincial Legislature. 3rd Session," *Colonist*, 6 Jan. 1874, 3; "First Provincial Legislature," *Victoria Daily Standard*, "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3; Jan. 1874, 3.

⁹³ "First Provincial Legislature. 3rd Session," *Colonist*, 6 Jan. 1874, 3; "First Provincial Legislature," *Victoria Daily Standard*, "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3; Jan. 1874, 3.

⁹⁴ Hon. Mr. Semlin, MLA Yale. "First Provincial Legislature. 3rd Session," *Colonist*, 6 Jan. 1874, 3; "First Provincial Legislature," *Victoria Daily Standard*, "First Provincial Legislature, 2nd Session," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1873, 3; Jan. 1874, 3.

⁹⁵ "Debate at Mechanics Institute," *Colonist*, 24 Jan. 1874, 2; "Mechanics Institute Debate," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 24 Jan. 1874, 3.

proposal was introduced into the legislature. It ultimately failed.⁹⁶ Mark Twain's famous letter supporting female suffrage was distributed in paraphrased form throughout Canada and the United States in May, and the annual meeting of Washington's *Women's Suffrage Association* was held in nearby Olympia in October.⁹⁷ However, discussion on women's rights and in particular women's suffrage did not fill newspaper pages, or even columns within them. Local pages rarely hosted any conversations on the *MWPLs* or women's economic possibilities. The few bits that did emerge emphasized the scorn many men felt about the issue. The laughter and contempt can perhaps be best explained by a letter written by Professor Goldwin Smith. He expressed men's fear, articulated as "tumult and disorder," if ever women should be granted suffrage.⁹⁸

In 1875, the Assembly was forced into seriousness when Dr. William Tolmie, a Member of the Legislative Assembly and Victoria doctor who was considered "public-spirited and progressive," moved to insert the words

⁹⁶ "Dominion Mail Summary," *Colonist*, 24 March 1874, 2.

⁹⁷ "'Mark Twain' on Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 21 May 1874, 3; "Mark Twain and Female Suffrage," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 21 May 1874, 2.

⁹⁸ The letter was written while he was visiting France. "Professor Goldwin Smith," *Colonist*, 16 July 1874, 2.

'every female and male' into the forthcoming *Voter's Bill*.⁹⁹ Accompanying his move was a petition signed by many BC women demanding the right to vote. When he spoke, he gave a number of logical reasons why women's attainment of the provincial vote was essential and fair.¹⁰⁰ He argued that support for women's suffrage was becoming widespread, and that numerous precedents laid down in East India, Ancient Greece and Rome, and in colonial America proved the viability of women's participation in politics. He talked about women in the western United States who had already received the vote and believed that women voting "would make those growing up amongst us more capable of fulfilling their duties." There was immediate opposition by Mr. Henry Holbrook, an MLA for New Westminster City. In an attempt to rebut the motion, Mr. Holbrook pointed out that "women had a proper place" and they should remain in it. His argument was well received and Mr. Smith's supporting comment that "very few women wanted the suffrage except those who could not obtain suffrage" was applauded. However, there were also sympathetic ears to the motion: Mr. Simeon Duck, MLA Victoria City, and Mr. W.A. Robertson, MLA Victoria, all voted with Dr.

⁹⁹ Terry Reksten, *More English than the English* (Victoria, British Columbia: Orca Book Publishers, 1986), 83. "First Provincial Legislature. 3rd Session," *Colonist*, 7 Jan. 1874, 3; "First Provincial Legislature. 4th Session," *Colonist*, 6 April 1875, 3.

¹⁰⁰ "First Provincial Legislature. 4th Session," *Colonist*, 6 April 1875, 3; "First Provincial Legislature," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 7 April 1874, 2.

Tolmie, while some legislators chose to remain neutral. Mr. Booth agreed with the measure “if women should want it,” and chided others for assuming the degradation of women if they chose to pursue politics. However, the attempt failed.¹⁰¹ On 27 March 1875, in response to the ongoing legislative debates, ‘Transforthanus’, a name gleaned from a collection of Scottish poetry implying that ‘transformation is essential to continued existence’, wrote the first of three letters to the *Colonist*.¹⁰² The paper printed them in the “Letters to the Editor” column and each one consisted of a traditional poem, commentary, and a recitation of world statistics regarding women and the vote. The letters were written to ‘inform’ the public about “what was being effected amongst other and older communities in furtherance of this very important reform.”¹⁰³ In summarizing the battle for women’s suffrage rights, Transforthanus wrote “that the cause has gone beyond when ridicule

¹⁰¹ John Paton Booth Cowichan MLA; Mr. Simeon Duck, MLA Victoria City; Mr Henry Holbrook, MLA, New Westminster City; Mr. John Robson, MLA Nanaimo; Mr. W.A. Robertson, MLA Victoria; Mr. Smith, MLA Yale; Dr. William Tolmie, MLA Victoria; *Colonist*: “First Provincial Legislature. 4th Session,” 6 April 1875, 3; “Women’s Suffrage,” 10 April 1875; “First Provincial Legislature,” *Victoria Daily Standard*, 7 April 1874, 2.

¹⁰² Accompanying each letter was a poem by a Scottish poet. The term itself is from a Scottish Book of Poetry written in 1804 by Transforthanus. “Women’s Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 27 March 1875, 3. The other two articles are entitled the same way and appeared on 28 March and 4 April 1875.

¹⁰³ “Women’s Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 27 March 1875, 3.

can retard it," though that did not appear to be strictly the case in British Columbia.¹⁰⁴

Besides the brief 1875 legislative flurry of suffrage news, the battle for the vote generally slipped out of the papers over the next few years. It was mentioned occasionally as men like Dr. Tolmie and Mr. Booth continued to support and campaign for women's rights, or when various states or provinces or even countries had a bill or amendment appear that requested specific or general rights for women. Between 1875 and 1880, no further debates within the Legislative Assembly on women's suffrage legislation were commented upon in either the *Colonist* or *Standard* newspapers. Yet every year without fail, a short one or two sentence reference was made to a petition submitted to the legislature again asking for women to have the right to vote.¹⁰⁵ They appear to have been ignored by the Legislative Assembly.

¹⁰⁴ "Women's Suffrage," *Colonist*, 27 March 1875, 3.

¹⁰⁵ One of the last comments mentioning the women's movement gleaned from the *Colonist* prior to 1880 is of a more unique and bizarre nature. In a post from London, published in the *Colonist* on 31 December 1878, it was announced that "Zadkia the Plague Prophet of London claims Lively Times Coming!" Zadkia was an infamous almanac maker of the time who provided his annual predictions for the coming year on December 31. For the year 1879 he claimed that "in June there will be war with Austria, Turkey and Greece, and in America cruel epidemic fever, cattle disease, a high birth rate, a prosperous dramatic season, and good fortune to advocates of women suffrage!" By November 1879 none of his predictions had come true!

Conclusion

The first mention of local female suffrage found in the *Colonist* on 31 December 1867, is not the first articulation of female reform ideas in the city or province. Reform associations formed and men and women discussed the idea of women's rights alongside such issues as temperance, education, and health well before 1867. At this point, it is necessary to discuss a revised definition of the 'women's movement'. This chapter suggests that a collection of reform minded groups, responsible for a variety of reform-centered causes, as well as a set of community minded individuals, all held a set of beliefs which empowered women, and men, to recognize and advocate for social reform goals.¹⁰⁶ Many of these initial goals have been traditionally recognized as within the 'women's sphere' of acceptable public work, but the part that is undervalued is how participation in this work 'outside of home' allowed both women and men to begin to see and understand the necessity of women working as equal partners in their local communities. Their voice was needed to enact change required in a growing city that had to contend with many social, economic, and political issues like temperance, poverty

¹⁰⁶ Examples of groups: *WCTU*, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and a number of different ladies committee's; causes: *Society for the Relief of the Poor*, the *Women's Infirmary*; Temperance; and individuals: Mrs. Maria Grant, Dr. William Tolmie, MLA Victoria, Mrs. Tolmie, Mr. John Robson, MLA Naniamo, Mr. Robert Beaven, MLA Victoria City, and Mr. John Paton Booth, MLA Cowichan, among others.

resolution, health and welfare, education, suffrage, and land control. Recognizing this need, some women continued in their reform work, using it as a jumping off point for the legal fight to gain political rights with the long-term goal of making women equal in legal standing to men.

Susan B. Anthony's visit in 1871 does not therefore mark the beginning of a women's movement or even a reform movement, but instead a continuation of reform efforts that were slowly gaining a foothold in Victoria and the province. Many of her ideas about sexual equality were not initially accepted by reform minded people. However, Anthony's ideas on political equality found strong local support and they found their way into BC's Legislature. Acts like the *MWPL* or the *Municipality Bill* as well as repeated petition submissions, all contributed to the building of support for women's reform within the government despite the opinion of the majority of MLAs that women's rights were nonsense. In fact, the efforts of early women's rights supporters and the power of Anthony's voice opened a door which did exactly what many men of the legislature who fought against these measures feared; it helped many women extend their public place in society, step out of their private sphere, and claim political and economic equality.

The narrative found in early Victoria colonial newspapers vastly underreported the facts about women's lives of the time, yet it is between

the lines of these papers, particularly the *Colonist* and *Standard*, that we find the early Victoria's women's movement. Whispers and vague references show that Victoria's women were present and active behind the scenes. In reality those early years created the foundation of a women's movement that would eventually turn Victoria's Victoria upside down.

Chapter 2

White Women Moving, 1880 to 1900

If the narrative of the women's movement in Victoria's Victoria was as simple as documenting the development of women's suffrage beliefs and accomplishments, then the established history of the movement would be accurate. Some White women in Victoria wanted equal voting privileges to men, they fought for them, and eventually they succeeded; end of story. But no narrative, particularly a historical one, is that simple. Instead, the development of Victoria's women's movement is complex. Victoria's White women, like those in Britain, Eastern Canada and the United States, were divided on the issue of women's suffrage as well as on other reforms. Some did not want any kind of reform, much less the vote. Each woman's beliefs were exemplified through their participation, or lack thereof, in a variety of local social reform community-based organizations. Some women in Victoria participated in temperance groups, women's aid societies, missionary and church organizations, women's clubs, and female associations. These women were generally from Anglo upper-and middle-class backgrounds, classes known for their support of separate sphere ideology. Philosophical arias discussing women's idealized role in the 'private sphere' were found in local

newspapers, articles, diaries, books, and legislative records of the time and there were many women who maintained that this ideal prescribed how society should function and held strongly to these traditions. Yet some believed in the idea of Maternal Feminism, a concept which placed women in a superior moral position over men. These women contended that if women held society's morality in their hands then they should have the power to change and mould that society.

Between 1880 and 1900, the traditional view of Victoria's women's movement, a narrative consisting of how White women quietly and persistently built support for the eventual attainment of women's suffrage rights, is accurate in many ways. Women did build support through local and legislative connections for a reform agenda; however, White women in Victoria also worked with significant challenges. Throughout the development of the various reform organizations, including the *Women's Christian Temperance Union* and the *Women's Council*, Victoria's women functioned under a skewed gender demographic where men outnumbered women by two to one. Conversely, alongside the 'roughness' of early Victoria's male dominated society, a spirit of Western egalitarianism helped inspire the women's movement in Victoria, giving reform minded women an advantage women in Britain, Eastern Canada, or the United States never had.

This chapter will compare Victoria women's movement to these other areas and take into account Victoria's distinct population characteristics and frontier mentality in order to highlight similarities and differences.

Women's Christian Temperance Union

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Adele Perry described the early years of Victoria as a period of 'organization', a "watershed in the colony's transition to a stable, respectable settler's colony."¹ Alongside the transformation of a resource-based town of migratory workers into a 'settler's colony', Victoria developed beliefs and systems of so-called 'modern society'. Newspapers continued to be of paramount importance during this period of social change. They increasingly focused on local news as well as dispatches from other centers in Britain, Eastern Canada, and the United States. Popular social ideals and customs from these areas permeated the correspondence of the time. Separate sphere ideology, for example, became increasingly influential from the mid-nineteenth century onward and key to social development in Victoria.² Yet, even with its growing popularity, separate sphere ideology

¹ Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 81.

² See Introduction and Chapter 1 for larger discussions on separate sphere ideology.

existed in a vacuum, isolated from Victoria's demographic realities. In general, the non-Indigenous population did increase throughout the 1880s and 1890s, but as in the late 1870s, the ratio of White men and women in Victoria remained, as it would until World War 1, unequal at 2:1. John Belshaw noted that between 1881 and 1911, natural population growth in the province, as well as the increase in the female population was the result of "the rise of nuclear family households."³ Many of these families stayed in the largest urban centers like Victoria and Vancouver.⁴ Victoria's 1891 population of 16,481 included residents from various ethnic, religious, and class backgrounds. White women remained a minority throughout the last years of the nineteenth century; yet it is from within this group that the middle-to upper-class women traditionally identified as *the* heart of the women's movement are found. Given the unbalanced population ratio, it was difficult to sustain an ideology that relied on an even male and female

³ The 1871 census notes that there were 2842 Whites in Victoria. The ratio between men and women was consistently at a two to one ratio (outside Gold Rush years) therefore there were approximately 900 White women in Victoria in the early 1870s. See the Introduction for more information on Victoria's demography. John Douglas Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2009), 46; K.A. Finlay, ed. *"A Woman's Place": Art and the Role of Women in the Cultural Formation of Victoria, BC, 1850s-1920s* (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, Maltwood Gallery, 2004), 10-12.

⁴ Vancouver very quickly outstripped Victoria with a population of 120, 847 by 1911 to Victoria's 31, 660. Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 48, Appendix A, 196.

distribution.⁵ While contemporary writings disseminated the ideology of separate spheres through newspapers, articles, tracts, and books, what is most often uncovered between the lines of these discussions is the fact that this ideal did not truly reflect life in colonial Victoria. Perhaps because of the continued population imbalance, or perhaps in spite of it, it is in this 'settler's colony' that the foundation of BC's women's movement solidified.

In the first few years of the 1880s, as in the last years of the 1870s, discussions of women's rights, women's organizations, or women's suffrage were hard to find in local newspapers. Instead both the *Victoria Daily Standard* and the *Victoria Gazette* followed the *British Colonist's* reporting style of adding a few lines about women fighting for the vote in various states and countries outside Victoria. These notes were most often found buried in the middle or tail end of full pages.⁶ Repetition between the local papers was also common because most of the non-local news came from the same sources. On 1 May 1881, the *Standard*, *Gazette*, and *Colonist* all published the same six tiny lines in their "American Mail" columns. This short filler merely noted that women in the United States, particularly in Michigan and

⁵ Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 46; Finlay, "A Woman's Place", 10-12.

⁶ See Chapter 1 on discussion on the local newspapers and particularly the *Colonist* and *Standard*.

Iowa, had some “say” in local school board elections.⁷ Suffrage battles were clumsily referenced in the same way. A debate in Omaha, Nebraska involving Susan B. Anthony was discussed on 8 October 1882 in a few lines under the heading “Eastern News” in both the *Colonist* and *Standard*. The crowd listening “applauded and hissed profusely” at both Anthony’s statement that women’s “disenfranchisement was degradation” and her opponent’s response that “women had no inherent right to the vote.”⁸ The article does not mention who was supported and who was derided, and there was no recognition that this was an important topic of the day in the United States or in Canada. Throughout the early 1880s, public opinion on women’s rights and suffrage seemed to be in a state of limbo.

This changed in the early months of 1883 at Victoria’s Pandora Wesleyan Methodist Church when church members invited Frances Willard, the famous American *Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)* organizer, to speak in Victoria.⁹ The records remain unclear if the invitation

⁷ The report did not specify what was meant by having some ‘say’. “American Mail,” *Colonist*, 1 May 1881, 3; “American Mail,” *Victoria Daily Standard* 1 May 1881, 4; “American Notes,” *Victoria Gazette* 1 May 1881, 3.

⁸ “Eastern News,” *Colonist*, 8 Oct. 1882, 4; “Eastern News,” *Victoria Daily Standard* 8 Oct. 1882, 3.

⁹ Frances Willard’s influence looms large over late nineteenth-century North American society. She started the *Women’s Christian Temperance Union* in 1873 and her ideas, along with the organization, quickly spread throughout the United States and Canada. For more information on Canada’s *WCTU*, see Linda Kealey, ed. *A Not*

was tendered by Mr. Pollard, the Superintendent of the church, Mrs. Pollard, his wife and head of the local temperance association, and their daughter Maria Grant, or the temperance society as a whole.¹⁰ No matter who made the invitation, Willard agreed to come. She spoke on 4 July 1883 and again the following day to “large and enthusiastic” crowds.¹¹ The American *WCTU* was dedicated to controlling the purchase, distribution, and consumption of alcohol. The movement exploded throughout the United States during the 1870s as the list of social ills—poverty, prostitution, crime, and political graft—

Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979); Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). For more information on BC's *WCTU*, see Lynn Gough, *As Wide As Serpents: Five Women & An Organization That Changed British Columbia, 1883-1939* (Victoria, British Columbia: Swan Lake Publishing, 1988). For more on the American movement or Frances Willard, see the *WCTU* website (www.WCTU.org) for a list of sources. For references to the *WCTU* in Victoria and BC, see Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms: Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia, 1862-1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 96; Michael H Cramer, “Public and Political: Documents of the Woman's Suffrage Campaign in British Columbia, 1871-1917: The View from Victoria,” in *British Columbia Reconsidered*, eds. Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 56 (Cramer mistakes the beginning of the Victoria Union as 1882); *Colonist*: “Miss Willard,” 1 July 1883, 3; “Miss. Willard at Work,” 2 July 1883, 3; “Women's Christian Temperance Union,” 6 July 1883; Gough, *As Wide As Serpents*, 2; Anne Edwards, *Seeking Balance: Conversations With BC Women in Politics*, (Halfmoon Bay, British Columbia: Caitlin Press, 2008), 25.

¹⁰ Maria Grant, nee Pollard. Cramer, “Public and Political,” 96; Coverdale Watson, Pastor of Wesleyan Methodist Church mentioned in Gough, *As Wide As Serpents*, 1; Superintendent of Wesleyan Methodist Church, Mr. Pollard mentioned in Gloria Whelan, “Maria Grant 1854-1937: The Life and Times of an Early Twentieth Century Christian,” in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, eds. Barbara Latham, and Cathy Kess (Victoria, British Columbia: Camosun College, 1980), 126.

¹¹ *Colonist*: “Miss Willard,” 1 July 1883, 3; “Miss. Willard at Work,” 2 July 1883, 3; “Women's Christian Temperance Union,” 6 July 1883, 3; Gough, *As Wide As Serpents*, 1.

all seemingly spiraled out of control. The temperance movement held that the majority of problems within society were caused by uncontrolled access to liquor; therefore controlling liquor would help bring 'back' the good and moral society of the past.¹² Willard also strongly believed that to gain control of the liquor trade, government intervention was absolutely necessary. However, men alone would not, or could not, bring in the temperance legislation Willard wanted. Her next logical step was to create a government willing to make changes. Since women had already proven their abilities in both organization and management of the *WCTU* within the so-called 'public' sphere, their influence in the legislative process, with suffrage rights if necessary, must be guaranteed. Willard recognized that her local organizations in the US were key to demanding the recognition of women's reform issues. She knew that eventually they could be used as stepping stones to gain the needed female franchise and thus, guarantee that social reforms involving temperance or prohibition legislation would be supported.¹³ She also knew that the United States was not the only place that her ideas applied.

¹² See Jacquetta Newman and Linda A. White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy* (Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2006), 69-70.

¹³ Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*; Kealey, *A Not Unreasonable Claim*; Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*; *WCTU* website (www.WCTU.org).

Three days after Willard's first speech, on 4 July, the Victoria chapter of the *WCTU* was officially established.¹⁴ Mrs. R. H. Smith became the first local president and Mrs. Pollard, Maria Grant's mother, became president of the *Provincial Union*.¹⁵ The first sign-in sheet, the 'Roll of Honour', included forty-seven names plus a notation about two or three others who had not had a chance to sign the list.¹⁶ Mrs. Maria Grant, Mrs. M. Pollard, Mrs. R.H. Hall, Mrs. Margaret Jenkins, and Mrs. Cecelia Spofford were a few of the women included on the list. These women were consistently attached to social reform work during the 1870s and 1880s, and many of their names would become very familiar to Victorians over the next twenty years as the women's movement continued to develop.

¹⁴ Chris Clarkson claims that the date of the WCTU's establishment in Victoria was 1882; other evidence indicates 4 July 1883 as the date that the organization was established, Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 96; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56. Margaret Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood's book on the *Women's Council* ignores the WCTU as an important part of the Victoria movement. Margaret Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule, Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* (Cloverdale B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd, 1984); *Colonist*: "Miss Willard," 1 July 1883, 3; "Miss. Willard at Work," 2 July 1883, 3; "Women's Christian Temperance Union," 6 July 1883, 3; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 25; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 1, 2; "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 6 July 1883, 4; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 131.

¹⁵ Unfortunately Mrs. R. H. Smith died within a few months of the WCTU's establishment. After Mrs. Smith died, Mrs. Pollard became Victoria's President as well. Her daughter Mrs. Maria Grant stayed intimately involved, later becoming President of the WCTU in Victoria. "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Colonist*, 6 July 1883, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 2, 3; "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 6 July 1883, 4.

¹⁶ See *Appendix 3 – Roll of Honour, List of 1st Members of WCTU* for the omission of Emma Spencer, for example. See also "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Colonist*, 6 July 1883, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 241; "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 6 July 1883, 4.

As Willard envisioned for her groups in the States, the local Victoria *WCTU* did come to represent the core of the social reform movement in British Columbia. Even though the proportionately small group was largely composed of White upper-and middle-class society women, its influence in the city of Victoria cannot be underestimated. In Ontario, existing evidence suggests that the *WCTU* was a strictly Protestant organization, with the 'Christian' in its name reflecting a strong Protestant emphasis in membership, in the motivation of members, and in prayers regularly recited at meetings.¹⁷ In Victoria, by contrast, the *WCTU* maintained a true interdenominational identity which included both Christians and non-Christians.¹⁸ Of the 262 Victoria women identified as local *WCTU* members approximately 18% could be cross referenced by their religious affiliation. Further, within that 18% various religious groups were identified including Methodist, Presbyterian,

¹⁷ Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). For more discussion on religion in Canada see Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 41, 52 ; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage," in *Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History Volume 1*, eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 90; Marguertie Van Die, *Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada* (Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 168.

¹⁸ Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*; Lynne Marks, Chapter 4: "Religion, Irreligion and Diversity in Vancouver and Victoria," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 1-5; Van Die, *Religion, Family, and Community in Victorian Canada*, 168.

Baptist, Anglican, as well as Roman Catholic and Jewish.¹⁹ The cross religious identity of Victoria's *WCTU* cannot be emphasized enough. Its religious make-up speaks to the unique quality of BC's social reform movement allowing it to stand apart from both Eastern Canada and the United States, reinforcing existing literature suggesting that religion may have been less central in BC society and in BC's social reform movements, than elsewhere in Canada.²⁰

The group of multi-denominational women who pulled together to create this new Victoria organization all believed that their reform agenda, supported by one of the most powerful women reformers of the time, would help solve many of the city's problems. The *Colonist* openly agreed with this perspective, underscoring the group's potential when it observed that "the offices of the union are filled entirely by ladies...and if every [woman in the

¹⁹ See *Appendix 4 – WCTU and Religious Affiliation* -Two Roman Catholic women attended St. Ann's (Mrs Aikmen and Miss Barnes), and four Jewish women attended Emmanu-El Synagogue (Mrs Phillips, Mrs Leiser, Mrs Lenz, and Mrs Braveman). It is important to remember that these women come from the relatively small number identified by religious affiliation: 82% of the women remain unidentified with a religious connection. How many more Jewish or Roman Catholic women would be found if the researcher knew all of their religions? See Beverly Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders: The 'Council Idea', Western Women, and the Founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, 1896-1900," in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, ed. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne. (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 174, 175; Nancy Forestell, "Mrs. Canada Goes Global: Canadian First Wave Feminism Revisited," *Atlantis* 30, no. 1 (2005): 8.

²⁰ Margaret Hillyard Little, "Claiming A Unique Place: The Introduction of Mother's Pensions in BC," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 5th ed., eds. Mona Gleason & Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2006), Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*; Marks, Chapter 4: "Religion, Irreligion and Diversity in Vancouver and Victoria," 1-5.

community] set the example by joining...and use their best and strongest influence to induce their male relatives to do the same, then the object of the union will be achieved and as a natural sequence become a great, noble, and unqualified success!"²¹ The *Standard* also agreed, noting that this branch of the union was destined to be "powerful and widespread."²² In fact, the women involved so believed in their power to change society for the better that they immediately began working on a petition protesting the provincial government's response to new federal liquor legislation.²³ Margaret Jenkins, the first Corresponding Secretary, was kept very busy in her first year, helping to organize various committees, speakers, and meetings – all of which were designed around the initial goals of the local and provincial unions. These goals included public and Sunday school education in scientific temperance and a thorough program of enlightening the public about the evils of liquor in hopes of eventually creating a temperate society.²⁴

The intricate dance between the private and public spheres introduced in the 1870s and reinforced by Willard's speeches continued

²¹ "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Colonist*, 6 July 1883, 3.

²² "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 6 July 1883, 4.

²³ "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Colonist*, 6 July 1883, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 5, 239.

²⁴ Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 8; "Temperance Convention," 27 *Colonist*, July 1884, 3; "Women's Christian Temperance Union Annual General Meeting," *Victoria Daily Standard*, 27 July 1884, 4.

throughout the early years of Victoria's *WCTU*. Many of the women involved – Grant, Spofford, Jenkins, or Pollard, for example – epitomized the White middle to upper class female reformers that historians have noted challenged separate spheres ideology.²⁵ The largely White-led *WCTU* insisted that politics was indeed well within a woman's sphere. The *WCTU*'s actions from the beginning were designed to rattle the cages of legislators who made an effort to reform alcohol laws, but who also clung to the idea that a woman's place was in the private sphere. The group's very public actions, delving into the social and legal realities of day to day life in Victoria, clearly challenged the cherished 'Angel in the House' ideal held by many of Victoria's male leaders. One of the less direct, but more far reaching, consequences of early *WCTU* actions was that members of the local and provincial governmental were clearly put on notice that women, and their reform demands, were not going to disappear. In fact, a second group, the *Young Women's Christian*

²⁵ See Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The Osgood Society, 1991); Ellen Carol DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1978); Jane Errington, "Pioneers and Suffragists," in *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada, 2nd ed.*, eds. Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code and Lindsay Dorney (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1993); Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*; Kealey, *A Not Reasonable Claim*; Janice Newton, "Alchemy of Politicalization" in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Ververde. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992); Roberta J. Pazdro, "Of British Columbia Suffragists and Barristers" *Canadian Women's Studies* 2, no. 4 (1980): 15; Strong-Boag, *Setting the Stage*; Susan Wade, "Helen Gutteridge: Votes for Women and Trade Unions," in *In Her Own Right*, eds. Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980).

Temperance Union (YWCTU), was created in the early months of 1883. It attracted young married and single women like Maria Grant and Cecilia Spofford, and in the summer of 1883, this group listed over one hundred members with many 'Temperance Pledges' signed.²⁶

By December 1883, the women's temperance movement had become an active and powerful force within the province. Its members were unafraid and eager to take any opening offered to spread its message. They got a bigger chance than expected in December 1883 when the Honourable Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) M. T. Drake proposed an amendment to the Provincial Voter's Act. If passed, the amendment would allow women, for the first time, to vote provincially. This "surprising development in the Legislature temporarily riveted" *YWCTU* and *WCTU* members and refocused their attention on the legislative possibilities of change if women had the ability to vote.²⁷ In January, both the *Standard* and *Colonist* printed editorials that questioned the wisdom of women voting and offered the "fact" that women "would not be bothered" to go to the polls; the editorials stated that the few who did manage to vote would only offset

²⁶ See *Appendix 5 – Young Women Christian Temperance Union, Temperance Pledge*. "Temperance Convention," *Colonist*, 27 July 1884, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 9, 14; Newman, *Alchemy of Politicalization*, 69-70.

²⁷ Member of the Legislative Assembly (MLA) M. T. Drake for Victoria City (Opposition). Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 5, 6.

the “more unscrupulous portion of male franchise.”²⁸ Unfortunately, this view was echoed in the Legislature when the MLA for Victoria City, Mr. Davies stated that he had “not found any inclination amongst women to desire the power of voting.” The amendment was lost seven to eleven.²⁹

The supporters of the suffrage amendment did receive a consolation prize from the Legislature that refused them the right to vote provincially. The amended 1884 *School Act* gave women the chance to vote for school trustees.³⁰ It is unknown what the women of the *WCTU* and *YWCTU* thought or felt about Mr. Davies’ ‘no inclination’ comment as there is no record either in newspapers or private reminiscences. Yet actions taken in the months following the failure of the suffrage bill imply that his statement was taken as a challenge by the women involved in reform causes. In March, Maria Grant confidently spoke on the duties of women with reference to the upcoming school trustee ‘ballot’ at the Temperance Hall.³¹ Margaret Jenkins and Cecelia Spofford, leaders within their respective unions, along with many of

²⁸ “Woman Suffrage,” *Colonist*, 18 Jan. 1884, 3.

²⁹ MLA for Victoria City, Mr. Davies (Opposition). “Fourth Provincial Legislative Assembly, Second Session,” *Colonist*, 7 Feb. 1884, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 5-7; “Fourth Provincial Legislative Assembly, Second Session,” *Standard*, 7 Feb. 1884, 2.

³⁰ It should be noted that this right was given to women who lived in urban centers only. “Fourth Provincial Legislative Assembly, Second Session,” *Colonist*, 7 Feb. 1884, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 5-7; “Fourth Provincial Legislative Assembly, Second Session,” *Standard*, 7 Feb. 1884, 2.

³¹ “Notes” *Colonist*, 18 March 1884, 3.

their members spent hours coordinating and then canvassing the city, encouraging all eligible women to vote in the up-coming elections.³² Again 'Female Suffrage' letters appeared in both the *Colonist* and *Standard* 'Letters to the Editor' columns. Writers insisted that despite their detractors' beliefs that no women were interested in exercising the right to vote, women would indeed be present. Women's 'state of vassalage' was about to be broken.³³ Many women, including Spofford, Grant, and, Jenkins, proudly voted, and of the three representatives for school trusteeship that the *WCTU* supported, two were successful with the third missing election by a small margin. On 18 June 1884, two days after the election, an anonymous letter written with a distinct Maria Grant style, was printed in the *Colonist*. The "To the Editor" article thanked the women of the *WCTU* and especially all the "mothers who voted on the side of morality" for their efforts in contributing to such a successful election. In the conclusion, the author, 'Observer', allowed a little of the annoyance with the Legislature felt by many of the women involved in the reform movement to seep through. While politely congratulating the ladies on their model behavior, which was notably unlike certain gentleman

³² "Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 13 June 1884, 4; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 5-6.

³³ "Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 13 June 1884, 4; "Female Suffrage," *Standard*, 13 June 1884, 3.

voters, the author “trusted that our Legislatures will be convinced that our women are sufficiently advanced to be allowed the ballot.”³⁴

Petitions and Suffrage

Frances Willard’s temperance strategy was for women to become actively involved in local politics. She believed that only their involvement would push the temperance agenda, as well as other reform demands, through necessary government channels. Suffrage rights for women were what would guarantee success and consequently many of her efforts in the *WCTU* were directed at achieving this purpose. However, as she mentioned in her Victoria speeches, Willard also fundamentally believed that there was an essential equality between man and woman, and that it was this basic equality which required political equity between the two.³⁵ Many of Victoria’s women reformers agreed, believing that political equality between the sexes would create a balance between private and public life which

³⁴“To the Editor, by Observer” *Colonist*, 18 June 1884, 2. Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 6 (This is one of the many inaccurate source links found in Gough’s book. She cites this letter as the 19 rather than 18 June.); Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 130.

³⁵ See Introduction and Chapter 1 for further discussion on sexual and political equality. *Colonist*: “Miss Willard,” 1 July 1883, 3; “Miss. Willard at Work,” 2 July 1883, 3; “Women’s Christian Temperance Union,” 6 July 1883, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 1

would, in turn, allow an equal partnership between the two to form.³⁶ As Willard envisioned, it would be this partnership which would allow women an equal voice in addressing various social ills through legislation.³⁷ In Victoria, the continued skewed gender demographic and relatively low number of White women posed a challenge to Willard's partnership ideas. Yet, despite deep concerns about the 'rough' culture embraced by the majority population of single White men, culture which included high rates of gambling, violence, and drinking, Victoria's White women's low numbers did not stop them from advocating for change.³⁸ Therefore, in addition to Willard's political theory, there was a combination of organizational efforts and social recognition of women's fledgling power which pushed the suffrage issue into the forefront of the WCTU movement in BC.

³⁶ As Beverly Boutilier and Gloria Whelan emphasize, most reform women in Victoria did not agree with an ideology of sexual 'equality'-political equality remained their primary focus. Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174, 175; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 52,125; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 1; Jacquetta Newman and Linda A. White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy* (Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2006), 68-69; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 125.

³⁷ This latter belief, held by many women reformers of the time, is interestingly not found echoed in the colony's newspapers; instead it is found in books, records, and other memoirs of the day. Willard's speeches are found on the WCTU website; Eunice M.L. Harrison, *The Judge's Wife: Memoirs of a British Columbia Pioneer* (Vancouver, British Columbia: Ronsdale Press, 2002); R.M. Middleton, *The Journal of Lady Aberdeen* (Victoria, British Columbia: Moriss Publishing Ltd., 1986).

³⁸ Perry, *Edge Of Empire*, Chapter 3; Lynne Marks, Chapter 2: "Godless Men, Rough Culture and Practical Christians," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 1, 13-16; Lynne Marks, Chapter 4: "Religion, Irreligion and Diversity in Vancouver and Victoria," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 5-8, 11-12.

While suffrage was only one of many reforms the *WCTU*, and other reform groups, demanded, it was *the* one they believed would pay the most dividends in achieving other reform goals through legislation. Insistence within the government that politics was not a place for women merely encouraged early local *WCTU* action, which was designed to rattle the cages of those disapproving legislators, while stressing the fact that the issue of women having a say in government was not going to go away. A perfect illustration of a women's reform action designed to prick the government into action on reform initiatives was an 1885 petition presented to the Legislature which stated in part that "your Petitioners believe it would conduce to the best interests of the Province if Women were admitted to the political franchise."³⁹ The petition exemplified not only the support within the community for women's suffrage, but also highlighted that women were taking action outside the private sphere. There were over 910 signatures included in this document from men and women around the province demanding change to the *Franchise Act*. While members of the general public and government officials are easily found on the list as signatories, what is most revealing is to compare the petition signatories with the membership

³⁹ "WCTU Annual General Meeting," *Colonist*, 25 July 1884, 3; Rootsweb Ancestry, "1885 Women Suffrage Petition," www.rootsweb.ancestry (accessed November 2009); Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 96; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 30, 31.

records of the *WCTU* and its sister groups for the year 1885.⁴⁰ The entire *WCTU* Executive, including Mrs. Maria Grant, and two thirds of the other women listed in the 1883 Foundation 'Roll of Honour' signed the petition. Their husbands, and in some cases, extended family, signed it. Its legacy did not stop at one generation either; in later years many of the signatories' daughters and sons are found on various group lists, including the *WCTU* and *YWCTU*, actively campaigning for reform ideals. Women from other reform societies and organizations, like the coordinators of the *Chinese Girls' Rescue Home* (a Protestant organization established in 1885 that "sought to combat trafficking in Chinese girls and women as slaves and prostitutes"), the *Protestant Orphan's Home*, and the *Women's Missionary Association*, are also found listed on the petition.⁴¹ Despite its strength in numbers and list of important signatories, this Petition remained only one of many initiated over the next several years and it, like the many others, was representative of the struggle reform minded women undertook to get the 'vote.'⁴² Indeed when

⁴⁰ See *Appendix 6 – Reform Group Membership and 1885 Petition*.

⁴¹ Tamara Adilman, "A Preliminary Sketch of Chinese Women and Work in British Columbia, 1858-1950," in *British Columbia Reconsidered*, eds. Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 331-315; *Colonist*, "Rescue Home," 25 March 1871, 5; "Chinese Work on the Pacific Coast," 22 Sept. 1888, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 21,22, 23; Finlay, 74-77; Patricia Roy, *White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989), 17.

⁴² Unfortunately many of the original petitions have been lost or destroyed. This one is on record at BC's Legislative Library. Clarkson has stated that there was a "steady

Letitia Youmans, head of Canada's *WCTU*, came to speak in 1886 and again in later years, she encouraged the local *WCTU* not to give up hope on the petition process, noting that it was important to 'keep in the government eye' every year until success was achieved.⁴³

In the late 1880s, local newspapers, particularly the *Colonist* and *Standard*, commented on a number of reform-focused events around the city. In 1888, all of the local temperance groups united to present a 'Grand Temperance Concert' which was claimed as a great success.⁴⁴ Throughout the year, the women's auxiliary of the *YMCA* was kept busy arranging alcohol

stream of petitions from 1885" on. Cramer notes that "no less than five petitions" were sent in during the last decade of the century. Anne Edwards states that from 1885 onward there was a petition sent to the legislature every year demanding the vote. Lynn Gough states that every year a petition was sent. Other authors state that between 1885 and 1900 there were ten or eleven petitions sent, but that there was always some form of letter sent requesting the vote. More in depth research into legislative records and the newspapers might verify such claims, but in some instances when the term 'petition' is mentioned in the records, it is clear that legislators are referring to letters rather than actual petitions. ; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 96; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 21, 22, 23; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 25.

⁴³ Letitia Youmans founded the *WCTU* in Canada in 1874 and in 1885, after it spread across the country, a national *WCTU* was formed with Youmans as its first president. She remained in this position until she resigned in 1889 citing ill health. Despite her invalid state, she remained honorary president until her death in 1896. While in Victoria, she spoke at four different events over a week's time and not all of her talks were for the local *WCTU*, though the newspapers do not list who else she was lecturing to. "WCTU Annual General Meeting," *Colonist*, 16 July 1886, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 18, 19; "Annual General Meeting, WCTU," *Standard*, 20 July 1886, 3. Her second visit was in September and was only noted by the *Colonist* in passing. "Notes," *Colonist*, 19 Sept. 1886, 3.

⁴⁴ "Grand Temperance Concert," *Colonist*, 8 Feb. 1888, 3; "Grand Temperance Concert," *Standard*, 8 Feb. 1888, 4.

free social, intellectual, and entertainment events.⁴⁵ Also in 1888, the *Women's Missionary Association* and the local Methodist church began arrangements to build a special house for the *Chinese Girls' Rescue Home* which, as of September, was still being "kept up in rented space."⁴⁶

By the early 1890s, however, local newspapers had again begun to ignore the many meetings and goings-on of the various women's groups that had emerged during the 1884 reform wave. It is unclear whether this was because of the sheer number of groups that started to deal with the variety of social issues of the day or whether this was a conscious move by newspaper owners not to admit to or discuss women's issues in the public printed word. What was printed or not printed in the newspapers suggests how reform issues were gauged by the editors in Victoria: were they limited to the private or women's sphere or the public male sphere? The line between the two that was clearly delineated in theory quickly cracked as multiple reform groups dabbled in issues that crisscrossed from the private to public spheres and back again. Examples of this pattern are easy to find. For instance, the *Chinese Rescue Home* was a public institution run by women and deeply involved in the male-dominated justice system. The *WCTU*

⁴⁵ "Grand Temperance Concert," *Colonist*, 8 Feb. 1888, 3; "Grand Temperance Concert," *Standard*, 8 Feb. 1888, 4.

⁴⁶ "Chinese Work on the Pacific Coast," *Colonist*, 22 Sept. 1888, 3; Finlay, *A Woman's Place*, 74-77; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 22, 23.

consistently approached politicians and the Legislature with petitions and demands for change especially in regard to liquor legislation, prohibition, poverty, public betterment, and votes for women, thus clearly stepping away from women's so-called 'private' domain. Many other reform groups followed closely in the *WCTU's* footsteps.

Not only did the day to day reality of life in Victoria not necessarily match the ideology of separate spheres as expressed through the media of the day, it also seems to challenge many historians' portrayals of the women's movement in other large population centers in Canada, the United States, or even Britain.⁴⁷ In larger population areas, there appeared to be clear splits between temperance and suffrage organizations as well as

⁴⁷ Constance Backhouse, "Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Law and History Review* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 211-257; Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice*; Dubois, *Feminism and Suffrage*; Ellen Dubois, "Woman Suffrage: A View from the Pacific," *The Pacific Historical Review* 69, no. 4 (Nov. 2000): 539-551; Errington, *Pioneers and Suffragists*; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*; Linda Kealey, "Women in the Canadian Socialist Movement," *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics*, eds. Linda Kealey, and Joan Sangster (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); Linda Kealey, *Enlisting Women For The Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998); Newman and White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*; Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Newton, *Alchemy of Politicalization*; Adele Perry, "Metropolitan Knowledge, Colonial Practice, Indigenous Womanhood: Missions in Nineteenth Century British Columbia," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2005); Adele Perry, "Oh I'm Just Sick of the Faces of Men: Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality, and Sociability in Nineteenth Century British Columbia," *BC Studies, Women's History and Gender Studies* 105/106 (Spring Summer 1995): 27; Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Independent Women, Problematic Men: First and Second Wave Anti-Feminism in Canada from Goldwin Smith to Betty Steele," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 57 (May 1996): 1; Strong-Boag, *Setting the Stage*; Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1991).

recognition that supporting one did not necessarily mean supporting both.⁴⁸

However, in Western Canada as a whole, and Victoria in particular, it appears

⁴⁸ Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?*; Backhouse, "Married Women's Property Law," 211-257; Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice*; Isabel Bassett, *The Parlour Rebellion: Profiles in the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975); Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code and Lindsay Dorney, eds. *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1993); Cleverdon, *Women Suffrage Movement in Canada*; Philip N. Cohen, "Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America." *Signs* 21, no. 3 (1996):707; Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*; Margot Iris Duley, "'The Radius of Her Influence for Good': The Rise and Triumph of the Women's Suffrage Movement in Newfoundland, 1909-1925," in *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives On Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*, ed. Linda Kealey (St. John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1993); Errington, *Pioneers and Suffragists*; Janice Fiamengo, "Rediscovering our Foremothers Again: Racial Ideas of Canada's Early Feminists, 1845-1945" in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 5th ed., eds. Mona Gleason and Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2006); Kealey, "Women in the Canadian Socialist Movement;" Kealey, *Enlisting Women*; Kealey, *A Not Unreasonable Claim*; Marks, "The 'Hallelujah Lasses,'" ; Notisha Massaquoi, and Njoki Nathani Wane eds., *Theorizing Empowerment: Canadian Perspectives on African Canadians Feminist Thought* (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc., 2007); Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada. 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Newton, "Alchemy of Politicalization;" Wayne Roberts, *Honest Womanhood: Feminism, Femininity, and Class Consciousness Among Toronto Working Women, 1893 to 1914* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1976); Strong-Boag, "Independent Women, Problematic Men," 1; Strong-Boag, *Setting the Stage*; Valverde, *Age of Light, Soap, and Water*; Mariana Valverde, "'When the Mother of the Race is Free': Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). **America:** Mari Jo Buhle and Paul Buhle, ed. *The Concise History of Women Suffrage* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005); DuBois, *Feminism and Suffrage*; Elizabeth Frost-Knappman, and Kathryn Cullen-Dupont. *Women's Suffrage in America* (New York: Facts on File Incorporated, 2005); Elizabeth Jameson, "Women as Workers, Women as Civilizers: True Womanhood in the American West" in *The Women's West*, eds. Susan Armitage and Elizabeth Jameson (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987); Doris Weatherford, *A History of the American Suffragist Movement* (Santa Barbara, California: The Moschovitis Group Inc., 1998). **Britain:** Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice*; Jean Barman, "Ethnicity in the Pursuit of Status: British Middle and Upper Class Emigration to British Columbia in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century's," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18, no.1 (1986): 32; Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in Turn of the Century British Columbia" *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9, no. 1 (1998): 63; Ian Fletcher, *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire:*

that these distinctions in reform organizations did not exist.⁴⁹ Beverly Boutilier notes that the formation of reform groups in Eastern Canada was markedly different than those in Western Canada where groups of women “united by their gender rather than by their faith” worked together for “the protection and uplift of the Canadian family.”⁵⁰ Boutilier’s work highlights the uniqueness of the western pioneer woman and her contribution to Canadian nation building as part of an organized reform movement in the late 1800s. These women entered “with zeal” into an “inter-faith political culture” that was determined “to claim a new and expanded public role for themselves as civic leaders.”⁵¹ As exemplified in Boutilier’s work, western women did not limit themselves to one or two issues, or organizations, as the sheer amount of social reform deemed necessary did not always match with the population of White reform-minded women available to do the work. This resulted in many of the same women supporting a broad range of reform organizations. In Victoria Mrs. Maria Grant, Mrs. Sarah Clarke, Mrs. McGregor, and Mrs. J.W. Williams are only four of the many women involved

Citizenship, Nation and Race (London, England: Routledge, 2000); E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 2nd ed. (New York: Vintage Books, 1966).

⁴⁹ More research may expose the fact that in many small/rural locations a similar reality of shared reform organizations existed.

⁵⁰ Boutilier, “Nursing Nation Builders,” 175. Also see “The Sister Societies,” *Colonist*, 1 May 1892, 3.

⁵¹ Boutilier, “Nursing Nation Builders,” 175-176, 194-195.

in numerous reform organizations.⁵² These women may not have agreed on each individual reform belief before 1900, yet they seemed to work together towards the success of general reform goals.⁵³ Just as there may not have been enough White women to sustain the ideology of separate spheres in Victoria, there may not have been enough to maintain distinct and separate reform organizations.

Frances Willard's words were powerful motivators to a generation of White women reformers in Victoria who recognized that they were a minority population. Not only did White men far outnumber them, but the women reformers also did not represent all White women in the province.⁵⁴ The women who did embrace reform did so with a belief that social reform was for the betterment of all members of society. They felt that the over-representation of men in Victoria, and BC more generally, which led to an over-representation of saloons, hotels, and a range of 'vice', required serious united action by dedicated women.⁵⁵ In addition they also took Willard's

⁵² For specific Victoria examples: see *Appendix 2-Names and Organization Involvement* and *Appendix 7-WCTU and Women's Council*

⁵³ See Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174, 175; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 50,125; Newman and White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy*, 68-69; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 125-128.

⁵⁴ For example, YWCTU, church groups like the Ladies Aid Societies, *Protestant Orphan Home*, or the *Ladies Auxiliary of the YMCA*.

⁵⁵ Perry, *Edge Of Empire*, Chapter 3; Lynne Marks, Chapter 2: "Godless Men, Rough Culture and Practical Christians," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 1, 13-16; Lynne Marks, Chapter

vision of political equality between man and woman to heart. As the idea of woman as the political equal to man was embraced by more and more women, other ideas about women's position in society were added to the mix. This process was not without its challenges. Within individual groups, there were debates, some of which included minor discussions over group protocol or interaction, while others were more serious covering such topics as whether women should be granted full suffrage rights provincially and federally, or the much deeper debate over whether women and men should be considered equal at all levels.⁵⁶ Even those who fought for equal political representation were not always united in their struggle for the vote. In fact, the issue of women's supposed superior morality, the basis of Maternal Feminism, would eventually become so contested that the women's reform movement in BC would splinter. Yet in the early years, whether or not

4: "Religion, Irreligion and Diversity in Vancouver and Victoria," (unpublished manuscript: *A Godless Province: Religion and Irreligion in Settler British Columbia, 1880-1914*), 5-8, 11-12.

⁵⁶ The following provide examples of various debates within reform groups at the time. "Female Suffrage," *Colonist*, 31 Dec. 1867, 2; "School Trustee," *Colonist*, 24 Jan. 1874, 2; "Political Meeting at Saanich," 29 June 1875, 2; "Miss Willard at Work," *Colonist*, 2 July, 1883, 3; "The Sister Societies," *Colonist*, 1 May 1892, 3. "Women's Missionary Society," *Colonist*, 1 Aug. 1892, 3 Various issues were debated during the 1884 WCTU convention including how the meetings should be organized and when they would be, what fighting for suffrage rights looked like, and what suffrage should actually look like for BC women. "The Temperance Convention," *Colonist*, 27 July 1884, 3; "The Convention Closed," *Colonist*, 1 Dec. 1893, 6; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, Chapter 5 and 6. By 1893, many of those issues were still being debated, alongside the recognition that the present organization of reform groups in Victoria was insufficient for the multitude of tasks required to succeed. New groups, or at least one overall group, were needed, "The Temperance Cause," *Colonist*, 29 Nov. 1893; "The WCTU Convention," *Colonist*, 30 Nov. 1893.

individual women believed in all aspects of the ideology of political equality, it was the common belief that the vote for women was essential that kept the movement going forward. With the vote, women would not only carry the message of reform to the public and the government, they would have the power and mandate to change legislation and improve society. Further, in carrying the mantle of moral superiority, women would be allowed, nay required, to introduce the reforms needed within society.

School Act

In 1883, the argument was made that involvement with the school system should be considered within a women's sphere and this helped women in Victoria gain the ability to vote for school trustees in 1884.⁵⁷ The same argument was used in February 1889, when a *School Act* amendment was pushed through by the Premier and Minister of Education John Robson which allowed women to stand as candidates for school trusteeships.⁵⁸ Local newspapers, however, continued to support separate spheres ideology. Both the *Colonist* and its new competitor, the *Times*, continually emphasized in

⁵⁷ This ability was granted to women who lived in urban centers only. Trustees remained appointed in rural areas. "Fourth Provincial Legislative Assembly, Second Session," *Colonist*, 7 Feb. 1884, 3; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 27; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 44-45; "Fourth Provincial Legislative Assembly, Second Session," *Standard* 7 Feb. 1884, 2.

⁵⁸ John Robson: Businessman, Journalist, BC Premier: 1889–1892(death).

advertisements for and commentaries on the up-coming municipal or school board elections that “good *men* were needed as candidates” in Victoria. Alternatively, the *WCTU* and its sister organizations, throughout 1889 and 1890, encouraged their members to either stand for or, at the minimum, vote for candidates who supported their reform strategies, women or men.⁵⁹ By late 1890, women as voters or as candidates in relation to schools had ceased to be a topic of much debate or discussion. Then, in 1891, with surprisingly little resistance from the *WCTU*, and little recognition in the papers, these privileges were removed.⁶⁰

The lack of response from women’s reformers to the new *School Act* of 1891 has been interpreted in a number of ways. Chronicler of the *WCTU*, Lyn Gough states that the various reform groups, including the *WCTU*, were disinterested and/or simply ignorant of the *School Act* amendment which removed women’s right to vote for or be elected as trustees.⁶¹ This seems highly unlikely considering the sheer number of women involved in multiple groups in Victoria as well as the constant call to support a particular

⁵⁹ Italics added. *Colonist*: “To the Editor,” 16 May 19, 1890, 3; “Editorial,” 21 May 1890, 2; “Editorial,” 27 May 1890, 3; “Advertisement,” *Times*, 7 Feb. 1884, 2-8.

⁶⁰ Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 96; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 26; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 44-45; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, 20.

⁶¹ Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 44-45.

candidate.⁶² While Gough's interpretation suggests that women's reform activity had ceased, in actuality, reform activity did not stop or pause while these amendments were being debated and passed; if anything it increased! At its 1891 Annual General Meeting (AGM), the *WCTU* listed the following accomplishments over the past year: eighty seven meetings, fifty new members, the expansion of the *Refuge* home, aggressive attacks against federal and provincial liquor legislation, as well as a petition requesting suffrage rights for women sent, as usual, to the Legislature.⁶³ During the same year, there are records showing that other groups united and pooled their resources in order to gain greater local political influence.⁶⁴ And finally, a new group was formed in 1891! Many *WCTU* ideas combined with Methodist beliefs served as the basis of the *Women's Missionary Society*.⁶⁵ This group was heavily involved in the *Chinese Rescue Home* and actively supported women missionaries in exchange programs and visits to north western Canada and Asia.

⁶² These groups included the Ladies Aid Societies, *Women's Missionary Association*, *Protestant Orphan's Home*, *Chinese Rescue Home*, and *Women's Auxiliary of the YMCA*.

⁶³ "WCTU AGM," *Colonist*, 16 July 1891, 3; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 34.

⁶⁴ Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 96-97; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 27; Finlay, *A Women's Place*, 74-76.

⁶⁵ "Women's Missionary Society," *Colonist*, 23 Aug. 1892, 3.

It would have been impossible to miss the ramifications the 1891 School Act would have on women. Instead, there is another possibility. It is probable that many reform groups did note the *School Act* amendments as well as the fact that they were *not* gender based; the change denying women voting rights also denied men those same rights. Premier Robson cited a lack of interest in the position of school trustee and in one of many amendments re-established the old trustee appointment system. Furthermore, Premier Robson, the instigator of the *School Act* changes, was a man who was a strong advocate for women's rights. In the past, he had supported many of the petitions and legislation that were geared to seeing women's rights goals accomplished. The *WCTU* and other groups were well aware of his support and there were indications that they may have let the *School Act* amendments pass without opposition because Robson had indicated support for a future provincial women's suffrage bill. Whether this scenario was more accurate may never be known because, in 1892, Premier John Robson died. Unfortunately for women reformers, his death robbed them of a powerful ally and halted any future plans he may have had, while stalling all pending legislation. The *WCTU* and other groups who had been pushing for reform through legislative means all recognized that with Robson's death, there would be, at best, a time-lag before some of their letters and petitions

could even be reviewed. They decided to turn away from legislation temporarily and focus on the many other pressing issues brought to their attention.⁶⁶

Western Egalitarianism and Women's Reform/Suffrage

The need for the public to recognize women as active participants within their society was one such pressing matter. For women on the frontier, the ability to make something happen economically, politically, or socially seemed to be highly valued and this was appeared to be no different for the women in Victoria. Victoria's White reform women faced and quelled the challenge of existing gender imbalance largely through a spirit of western egalitarianism which flowed through the early Canadian and American West. The idea that all White persons were equal economically, politically, and morally in the face of the extreme pressures of a pioneering society seemed to contribute to pushing White women and their social reform ideas to the forefront of Western Canadian development.

Between 1891 and 1921, almost 175 000 Britons came to BC and by 1911, one third of BC's population was British.⁶⁷ These people imported

⁶⁶ Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 44-46; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, Chapter. 1.

ideals and practices from Britain, including discussions of temperance and suffrage.⁶⁸ British advertisements, touting “dreams of rank and privilege,” White superiority, and calls for a more ‘natural’ lifestyle, attracted numerous immigrants to BC.⁶⁹ Many of these new immigrants chose unsettled appreciation over British settled complacency; however, these same newcomers were forced into recognizing a new articulation of what it meant to be British. White men and women, a few elite, and many more middle class, had to figure out how to make do without the ‘necessary’ accruements of British life.⁷⁰ Especially in the early years of settlement, White men were forced to make do without women’s household labour, while the small

⁶⁷ Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 46; Bennett, “Apple of the Empire,” 80.

⁶⁸ Bennett also noted that a move to BC would be “an escape from the militancy of the women’s suffrage movement in Britain.” Bennett, “Apple of the Empire,” 75. For more information on suffrage militancy reception in Canada, see Katja Thieme, “Uptake and Genre: The Canadian Reception of Suffrage Militancy” *Women Studies International Forum* 29 (June 2006): 279.

⁶⁹ Bennett, *Apple of the Empire*, 67.

⁷⁰ The elite tended to rely on Chinese servants. Without them, the already tenacious servant problem in the colony would have been much worse. In the 1870s Supreme Court Justice Prew Crease noted that the “wail of the housewife” would sweep through the land if any policy of Chinese exclusion was passed. Though, as time passed more and concern about the Chinese and their influence became apparent in the *Colonist* and other writings, especially after a few Chinese/White incidents became known. One of the most significant occurred at Judge Crease’s home when a previously thought ‘loyal’ Chinese servant attempted to burn the house down and then severely injure a house guest of the Crease family. By 1910 slowly, and accompanied with an almost rabid nativism, Chinese workers became marked as unreliable and dangerous if not monitored constantly. Many believed that Chinese exclusion policies were required. Valerie Green, *Above Stairs – Social Life in Upper Class Life in Victoria* (Victoria, BC: Sono Nis Press, 1995), 66. See also Chapter 3 and Janet Cauthers, ed., *A Victorian Tapestry: Impressions of Life in Victoria BC, 1880-1914* (Sound Heritage Volume 7, No. 3: Aural History Program Provincial Archives of British Columbia, 1978), 24-30; Terry Reksten, *More English Than the English* (Victoria, BC: Orca Book Publishers, 2011), 126.

population of middle to upper class White women faced chronic White domestic labour shortages and were required to do common household chores, tasks they would never have done in Britain.⁷¹ British Columbia researcher Jason Patrick Bennett noted that “in essence forcing cultured women to do common household tasks demonstrated the fluidity of the supposed natural and immutable ordering of class and gender [separate spheres] in fledgling society.”⁷² Given that White women in Victoria were required to do more than expected when they came to the colony, a greater spirit of self-determination and independence was evident than that found in the more established societies in Britain.⁷³ This also proved true in the pioneer expansion through the western United States.

Tracy Kulba and Victoria Lamont, as well as Philip Cohen, note the tenacious and persistent independence found in the western United States among White women reformers of the late nineteenth century.⁷⁴ Kulba and Lamont’s work discusses how the periodical press of the time helped support

⁷¹ From the early brides in 1862, up to the middle class women colonists and settler brides in the 1900s, this was a need quickly realized. Bennett, *Apple of the Empire*, 88, Peter Johnson, *Voyages of Hope – The Saga of the Bride-Ships* (Victoria, B.C.: Touchwood Edition, 2002), 184-189; Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 162-166, 191-192.

⁷² Bennett, *Apple of the Empire*, 88.

⁷³ Bennett, *Apple of the Empire*, 75, 80, 88.

⁷⁴ Philip N. Cohen, “Nationalism and Suffrage: Gender Struggle in Nation-Building America,” *Signs* 21, no. 3 (1996): 707; Tracy Kulba and Victoria Lamont, “The Periodical Press and Western Woman’s Suffrage Movements in Canada and the United States: A Comparative Study,” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 29 (June 2006): 265.

the growing women's rights and suffrage movements both in Canada and the United States.⁷⁵ Their work notes the scarcity of White women in the West, while showing through an analysis of the press, the active contributions women made to the social, moral, political, economic, and physical development of the West, particularly in Oregon and Washington. One poignant example is pioneering Oregonian Abigail Scott Duniway. She learned very early in her life that she, along with countless other women in the West, were major contributors to the development and success of Oregon and Washington as States in the Union. Despite the fact that the press faced 'Oregon Style' writing-particularly virulent and occasionally violent personal libelous attacks on writers and editors-she created the *New Northwest* in 1871.⁷⁶ She began her suffrage press when it became apparent that "existing media could not be relied on to provide adequate coverage of suffrage news and issues, let alone represent suffragists concerns seriously."⁷⁷ The paper's purpose was to support suffrage and women's

⁷⁵ Kulba and Lamont's work focuses primarily on suffrage discussions.

⁷⁶ There are numerous works on Abigail Scott Duniway's work and her paper, the *New Northwest*. For more information, see Ruth Barnes Moynihan, *Rebel for Rights, Abigail Scott Duniway* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983); *Oregon Encyclopedia's* selection: Abigail Scott Duniway http://www.oregonencyclopedia.org/entry/view/abigail_scott_duniway/ . Also note Abigail Scott Duniway, *Path Breaking: An Autobiographical History of the Equal Suffrage Movement in Pacific Coast States* (Portland, 1914, reprinted, New York: Source Book Press, 1970).

⁷⁷ Kulba and Lamont, *The Periodical Press*, 267.

rights discussions, failures, and accomplishments within the Pacific Northwest. Reform women in the area embraced and enthusiastically supported Duniway's paper, knowing that the reading, writing, editing, and even selling of it "occupied ground which has heretofore been *monopolized by gentlemen*."⁷⁸ She and her staff acted as role models for women who "possessed both public authority and feminine responsibility."⁷⁹

In Victoria, evidence of that same sense of tenaciousness and independence present in the western United States can be found in the creation of numerous groups like the *WCTU*, *Women's Missionary Society*, *Protestant Orphan Home*, and the *Chinese Rescue Home*. In addition, by the early 1900s, many of these organizations had produced a plethora of documentation that included group minutes, posters, pamphlets, booklets, magazines, and treatises. Some of the documentation was even found in the *Colonist* as it slowly began to recognize that the women's movement was not going to just disappear. It is in response to this acceptance of women's improved position that in February 1892, the *Colonist* added a weekly 'Woman's World' column to the paper. The column was imported from the United States and was written by American women who cited women's

⁷⁸ Kulba and Lamont, *The Periodical Press*, 268.

⁷⁹ Kulba and Lamont, *The Periodical Press*, 268.

'superior morality' as one of the major justifications for supporting the women's reform and rights movement.⁸⁰ On Saturday 30 April 1892, Victoria's *Colonist* staff published a letter in their "Editorial" section, attempting to clarify their stand on local women's movement activities. While not nearly as virulent as the 'Oregon Style' Duniway faced, Victoria's major paper stated that it did "believe that the influence of women will make for purity, peace and good order, but we do not think that the improvement will be either sudden or striking."⁸¹ Despite some recognition within their pages that separate spheres thinking was changing, the *Colonist* and the *Times* continued to grapple with the question of where exactly women fit into society. Attempts to help answer that question came from outside the White male-led popular media of the time. New groups, like the *University Women's Club-Victoria* and the *Women's Council of Canada*, worked

⁸⁰ "Woman's World," *Colonist*, 21 Feb. 1892, 12. The two authors of this column were Eliza Archard Conner and Ada Crisp March, both upper-class educated women who fought for equal rights and equal pay for women. They were journalists who published regularly in *Godey's Magazine* and in many other papers. The articles found in the *Colonist* and occasionally in the *Times* are copies of the original found in American papers. It appears little if any editing or review of these articles happened prior to printing as they often appeared crammed into a place that was not quite big enough or were presented on pages that contained 'stories', short notes on women who were working 'outside their sphere', advertisements or classifieds at the back of the paper. When presented on earlier pages they were often positioned, consciously or not by the editors, next to local editorials or articles speaking against what the column was talking about. For examples, see *Colonist*, "Woman's World" columns dated: 21 Feb. 1892, 12; 15 June 1892, 12; 3 July 1892, 7; 22 Sept. 1892, 7; 9 Oct. 1892, 9; (Beside Discussion of *American Married Women's Property Acts*) 25 Dec. 1892, 11.

⁸¹ "Women's Rights," *Colonist*, 30 April 1892, 4.

alongside established reform groups to publish documents written by and about women. One example of this was the 1909 booklet *Woman's Life and Work in British Columbia* compiled by the *Local Councils of Women of British Columbia*. Its purpose was to show "the world what good women CAN do and WILL do to lift this earth of ours to a higher and nobler life."⁸² The table of contents outlines just how independent women in the region were, actively participating in writing, music, art, charity works, farming, nursing, and school. No public sector was left out of the discussion and the theme that "one need never be idle here" filled the document.⁸³ These women did not need men to create a life for them; they were grabbing it for themselves.

Victoria, and BC's, women's egalitarianism was evident in 1911, when a more serious treatise entitled "Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women" was published by the Vancouver Branch of the *British Columbia Political Equality League* appeared (BCPEL).⁸⁴ Its "sole aim" was "to interest British Columbia men and women in the laws

⁸² Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women's Life and Work in British Columbia* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfendon, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1909), 7.

⁸³ The booklet also listed 32 different women's clubs and organizations active in the Victoria area. Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women's Life and Work*, 21.

⁸⁴ *British Columbia Political Equality League* was one of BC's reform groups whose purpose was to demand the legal right for women to vote on all political levels. There were branches in all of the larger population centres: Victoria, Vancouver, and Kelowna, for example.

that control their affairs.”⁸⁵ Two ideals guided its writing: first, that women needed to “take an interest in the politics and destiny of our country,” especially to educate “their sons and daughters in the duties of citizenship;” and second, it stated that “as women must abide by the laws equally with men, they should, at minimum, have a voice in the choosing of the legislators.”⁸⁶ This pamphlet covered every possible law a woman needed to know to thrive legally under British and British Columbia law. It also openly embraced the concept of western egalitarianism noting that the “men of British Columbia are...broad-minded...sufficiently free from prejudice...and they know too well the worth, comradeship, of the women who have stood by them in their efforts to build up homes in a new land – who have their interest and prosperity at heart – to deny them the voice in their country’s welfare.”⁸⁷ The writers went on to note that the question of women’s enfranchisement “is recognized as one of entirely different proportions—even as compared to Eastern Canada itself—where old preconceived ideas do not apply.”⁸⁸ The document was designed to give White western women the ability to stand on their own two feet, pushing for protection for both

⁸⁵ Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women’s Life and Work*, 4.

⁸⁶ Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women’s Life and Work*, 16.

⁸⁷ Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women’s Life and Work*, 10.

⁸⁸ Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women’s Life and Work*, 11-12.

themselves and their children, while reaching for the perceived power of the vote provincially.

Finally, and in concert with Duniway's 1871 *New Northwest* paper, the *Victoria Provincial Equality League (VPEL)* began to publish a monthly paper entitled *The Champion* in August of 1912.⁸⁹ In the opening column, the editors of the paper declared that the League, and its mouthpiece, this paper "stands for no one religious creed, no one political party, no one social class; all shades of opinion unite in this membership, on the elemental basis of justice, honour and chivalry, under the banner of Woman Suffrage."⁹⁰ It continued by admonishing "the women of this province" to disprove the assertion that "the women of British Columbia *are not interested* in politics," and that "*they do not care* what laws are made or amended."⁹¹ All three of these documents—the *Woman's Life and Work in British Columbia*, "Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women," and *The Champion*—discussed the history of women in the province of BC, but it is perhaps *Woman's Life and Work* that offered the most succinct self-view of women and their position in society, when it noted that "at one point in its

⁸⁹ This paper lasted for two years and shut down just before World War 1 was declared. Its publication ceased when the VPEL broke apart over the issue of what women's position would look like after the vote was achieved. This was an indication of how contested Maternal Feminist ideals were. See Introduction. *The Champion, The British Columbia Equity League*, September 1912 to April 1914. UBC Archives, 4 Reels.

⁹⁰ *The Champion*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 5.

⁹¹ *The Champion*, Vol. 1 No. 1, 20.

[Art, Historical and Scientific Association, as well as BC] history it was decided to dispense with the aid of the ladies; and the male element, as being more aggressive, undertook to pilot the ship. Naturally, the result was almost entire shipwreck."⁹²

By 1900, American and Canadian western White women supportive of suffrage and reform ideals were well aware that their contributions to state building demanded recognition. It was their loud "claim to the mantle of the nation...exalting of empire and conquest" that pushed Oregon's women's rights and suffrage claims to the forefront of the national movement.⁹³ White women's pioneering independence and the resultant development of the women's rights movement helped identify the north western United States in particular as a place of "anomalous progressivism."⁹⁴ There is some historical evidence to suggest that this was the also the case in British Columbia. Some Western Canadian men even began to recognize White reform women's "service, sacrifice, [and] labour," as major contributions to local, regional, and provincial development.⁹⁵ The

⁹² Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women's Life and Work*, 36.

⁹³ Cohen, *Nationalism and Suffrage*, 718.

⁹⁴ Kulba and Lamont, *The Periodical Press*, 266.

⁹⁵ Kulba and Lamont note that, in particular, farm growers and agricultural developers were very significant in the eventual recognition of women's independence and suffrage rights. Kulba and Lamont, *The Periodical Press*, 266. Also see Belshaw, *Becoming*

introduction of women's western egalitarianism as a possible motivator in the contribution of White women's active, supposedly superior, morality within Victoria's political and economic realms is a topic in need of more exploration.

Victoria's Women's Council

In December 1893, with the question of women's position in Victoria society looming, local women's reform organizations resolved that "the formation of a Women's Council in the near future" was of special importance.⁹⁶ Not only would this Council contribute to defining women's position in society, but it would also help deal with numerous problems facing Victoria's women's movement at this time. While the *WCTU's* AGM was full of success stories, its reports also exposed a serious lack of effective communication between and within many of Victoria's women's reform groups, especially the *WCTU*, *YWCTU*, and *BCWCTU*. Other resolutions involved collapsing committees to centralize workloads and limiting the amount of *WCTU* time spent on issues only vaguely related to the Union's

British Columbia, Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders;" Cramer, *Public and Political*, Edwards, *Seeking Balance*; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*.

⁹⁶ "The Convention Closed," *Colonist*, 1 Dec. 1893, 6; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, Chapter 6.

core work. That fact, combined with the number of group representatives and 'in work' committees which covered numerous crisscrossing reform issues, made it clear that some kind of organization was needed to keep 'reform work' flowing smoothly.⁹⁷ Throughout the early months of 1894, continued communications with the Countess of Aberdeen, Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks, resulted in an invitation extended to her to come and introduce her new organization, *The National Council of the Women of Canada (NWC)*, in Victoria.⁹⁸ Lady Aberdeen's many upper-class British connections as well as her husband's position as Canada's Governor General helped open the door for the BC Women's Council to be established in what

⁹⁷ "The Convention Closed," *Colonist*, 1 Dec. 1893, 6; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, Chapter 6.

⁹⁸ Countess of Aberdeen, Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks married the seventh Earl of Aberdeen, John Campbell Gordon, in 1877 at 20 years of age. Count Aberdeen became the Governor General of Canada in 1893 and remained so until 1898. Lady Aberdeen had a long history with the social consciousness movement (Irish Reform) helping to establish both the *Haddo House Association* and the *Women's National Health Association* in Ireland. She began the *National Council of Women in Canada* in 1893 and watched it grow quickly into an international organization. She led a delegation from the *International Council* to the Versailles Conference in 1919. She persuaded the League of Nations to open Secretariat positions to women and she became the first woman Justice of the Peace. She died in 1939 after dedicating her life to social reform. Her first visits to BC were actually in 1891 (she and her husband owned property in the Okanagan Valley), but her first official visit as Lady Aberdeen occurred in early November 1894. For more information on Lady Aberdeen in BC, the *Council of Women*, or the *British Columbia Council of Women*, see Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*; R. M. Middleton, *The Journal of Lady Aberdeen* (Victoria, BC: Morris Publishing, 1980); *National Council of Women in Canada*, <http://www.ncwc.ca/>. The British Columbia Archives also holds *Women's Council* records. Beverly Boutilier's article "Nursing Nation Builders," also discusses Lady Aberdeen and the Council idea. Most of the following information comes from the above sources (unless otherwise noted) and the two main newspapers of the time, the *Colonist* and the *Times*.

was considered by many as very British Victoria. On Sunday 3 November 1894, an advertisement announcing her upcoming visit appeared on page one of both the *Colonist* and *Times*.⁹⁹ One day prior to her address on 8 November, the *Colonist* published an editorial which demonstrated how her *Women's Council* was premised on a variation of separate spheres ideology. Lady Aberdeen's largely eastern-based '*Women's National Council*' clearly placed women in a "new sphere ... true to the character given her by the best and most gifted of men – she is, in very truth, a 'ministering angel'."¹⁰⁰ The 'old' sphere defined woman as private, homebound, dutiful and it was considered "unbecoming" and a "threat to her natural virtue and grace" if she stepped outside those walls. Public engagement would leave her "coarse and rough," "unwomanly" and quite possibly "unwanted' by anyone." The *Council's* "new woman sphere" was marked by "self-sacrifice and service" best seen in a set of "socially beneficial organizations" which "could work more effectively and more pleasantly if they were united by a bond of sympathy."¹⁰¹ Woman's higher morality would dictate her actions, while public engagement would benefit society. The 7 November editorial showered praise on Lady Aberdeen, and her new *Council of Women*, while

⁹⁹ "Lady Aberdeen," *Colonist*, 3 Nov. 1894, 1; "Lady Aberdeen," 3 *Times*, Nov. 1894, 1.

¹⁰⁰ "Editorial," *Colonist*, 7 Nov. 1895, 4.

¹⁰¹ "Editorial," *Colonist*, 7 Nov. 1895, 4.

gently encouraging Victoria's various women's associations to join and follow along this new path. Eastern Canadian women's reform ideals and British Victoria's women's pioneering spirit blended together to form a potent reform combination. The editorial clearly defined the strong moral beliefs that would shape provincial women's social reform actions throughout the 1890s:

"Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue and if there be any praise, think on these things."¹⁰²

Lady Aberdeen's address on 8 November was featured on the front pages of the *Colonist* and *Times*.¹⁰³ On stage were the requisite government officials and religious supporters, as well as a number of women who represented the various societies, associations, and unions which had worked together to organize this moment.¹⁰⁴ In her enthusiastic introduction of Lady

¹⁰² "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, Frontispiece and 1.

¹⁰³ "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; "National Council of Women," *Times*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 3.

¹⁰⁴ The venue was "literally jammed" ... "from floor to ceiling" with "not even standing room to spare." On stage were "some 50 ladies, representing the various women's societies of the city." From the article it is clear that the groups represented included the *WCTU*, *YWCTU*, and *Protestant Orphan's Home*, though there were many more organizational representatives on stage. Various groups had voted prior to the meeting to affiliate with the Council, for example, on 7 November a notice appeared in the *Colonist* reminding the *Kings Sons and Daughters* of their vote to affiliate with the new Council and to please appear at the upcoming meeting. Many of Victoria's reform groups could not be covered on the stage as noted on 11 November when both local papers printed a small

Aberdeen, Maria Grant described how “many of the ladies of Victoria have desired to know more of the aims, workings and results of this *Council of Women*.” She noted that she personally believed that by uniting women of all nationalities, creeds and societies “in one *Council* [it would] enable them to work for the furtherance and uplifting, not only of womanhood, but of humanity.”¹⁰⁵ Lady Aberdeen spoke with her “characteristic grace and beauty,” chiding the men’s presence as “necessary evils,” while expressing heartfelt thanks for their support of their wives’, mothers’, sisters’, or daughters’ endeavours towards reform. At the end of her address, the well-prepared group of women at her side stood, tendered thanks and bouquets, patiently listened to Lieutenant Governor Dewdney’s approval “for any local scheme put in place,” then allowed one of their own, Mrs. R. S. Day, to move a new resolution: “That a *Local Council of the National Council of Women of Canada* be formed for Victoria and Vancouver Island.” The motion was carried unanimously and the first executive *Council* was announced

apology on behalf of the Committee that was in charge of organizing Lady Aberdeen’s visit. There had apparently been many complaints from a number of women’s groups about not being able to sit on the platform with the delegation. The short article explained that “the number of societies in the city being so large tickets could only be issued to the Presidents” of the largest organizations. “Notes,” *Colonist*, 11 Nov. 1894, 5; “Community,” *Times*, 11 Nov. 1894, 6.

¹⁰⁵ Boutilier, “Nursing Nation Builders,” 174-175; “Women’s National Council,” *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; “National Council of Women,” *Times*, Nov. 9 1894, 1, 3.

immediately.¹⁰⁶ On 16 November, an article in the “Local Notes” column of the *Colonist* announced that the first meeting of the *Local Council of Women’s* executive, including the presidents of all local organizations, particularly the *WCTU*, was to be held “Monday next” with a general public meeting to be held in January.¹⁰⁷

The beginning of *Victoria’s Council of Women (VCW)* is noted in a variety of sources, yet not all of them agree on a number of key issues. How, for example, did the sequence of events play out? Whose idea was it to create a *Council of Women*? How important was this event? Anne Edwards’ book, *Seeking Balance: Conversations with Women Politicians in BC*, notes the

¹⁰⁶ Variations of Lady Aberdeen’s first address to Victoria’s and presumably Vancouver’s women can be found in many of the local council histories across Canada. It is also similar to the one she presented at the opening of the National Council in 1893. Records about the early years of the Victoria/Vancouver Island Women’s Council (prior to 1900) are lost so much of the description of the earliest years’ work comes from local newspapers. Boutilier, “Nursing Nation Builders,” 175,176; “Women’s National Council,” *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, 9-13; “National Council of Women,” *Times*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 3.

¹⁰⁷ An interesting side note to this discussion is found in Chris Clarkson’s book, *Domestic Reforms*, which focuses on the political reality of, and family regulation in, colonial BC. His book extensively discusses the *Married Women’s Property Act*, the *Homestead Act*, and various other pieces of legislation that directly impacted women’s lives in Victoria and BC. According to him, the various social reforms groups which did exist prior to 1900 were of little to no consequence either to societal structure or women’s political manoeuvring. Yet the fact that the *WCTU* and the *Woman’s Council* alone had between them over twenty five years’ experience in petitioning, organizing, and accomplishing legislative change, including extensive work lobbying for those acts, is not discussed. The fact that the women involved in these actions numbered into the thousands is not acknowledged. If Clarkson is to be believed, the population of women that were actively involved in the social reform movement prior to 1900 either had no impact on Victoria’s society or did not exist at all as active members of public life. Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*; “The Executive,” *Colonist*, 16 Nov. 1894, 5; “Associated Charities,” *Colonist*, 11 Jan. 1895, 5.

importance of the *Women's Council* in social and political reform, but does not provide any details; instead the author includes a number of basic mistakes about the *Council's* existence.¹⁰⁸ For instance, she places the local *Council of Women's* beginnings in 1891, well before Lady Aberdeen had even thought of the *National Council of Women of Canada*. She also claims that the *WCTU* was the motivator behind the local *Council's* creation and BC's *WCTU* historian Lyn Gough agrees with her, arguing that a single representative organized group would hold "more clout in the government" than the *WCTU* on its own.¹⁰⁹ Further support for this claim was found in a "Letter to the Editor" published in a January 1895 edition of the *Colonist*. On 11 January, 'Caritas' wrote that if it was true that a "scheme of associated charities were to be started," it would result in stronger individual societies "by inciting them to cooperation" which was essential because "Union is strength!"¹¹⁰ Yet, in Victoria, the question of the *WCTU's* role at the beginning of the *Council of Women* is not clear. While it might have been one of the largest and loudest groups pushing for the *Women's Council*, there is also evidence that it was only one of the many women's reform groups

¹⁰⁸ Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 25-27.

¹⁰⁹ Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 46.

¹¹⁰ "Letter to the Editor," *Colonist*, 11 Jan. 1895, 3.

interested in the Council idea.¹¹¹ In addition the Victoria *WCTU* seemed more interested in how a Council's foundation could help forward each individual reform groups' agendas rather than its use as an umbrella organization spearheading all local women's reform efforts.¹¹² Perhaps, unlike its cohorts in Eastern Canada where each *WCTU* group maintained unique and independent status from other local reform groups, it is this focus that challenges the distinctiveness of the local *WCTU*, whose boundaries often blurred into the *Women's Council*. They, alongside many of the other local women's reform groups, remained inextricably tied together. The women so passionately involved in the *WCTU* most often became members of the *Council*, merely moving issues not addressed under the *WCTU* purview into the *Council's* jurisdiction and vice versa.¹¹³ When it came to White women's suffrage rights, the *Council's* line was that it did not officially support any struggle for women's voting privileges, yet, in Victoria, many, if not most, of its members did.¹¹⁴ More research is required to follow the links between all

¹¹¹ The number of supporters for the establishment of a Council in Victoria can be extrapolated from the huge amount of support at the various reform meetings leading up to the Lady Aberdeen's speech and from the large number of supportive attendees at the Nov. 8th meeting, "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8.

¹¹² "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 46; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 25-27.

¹¹³ See Appendix 7 – *WCTU and Women's Council Participation*.

¹¹⁴ See Appendix 8 – *Women's Council and Suffrage Petition*.

the local reform organizations and figure out exactly what the early relationship between the *WCTU* and the *Council* was.

The new *Women's Council* promised great things: 'fixes' for Victoria's community problems, improvement in day to day living, and betterment of women's status. Victoria women were active participants in the *Council* and public statements released by Lady Aberdeen and other Executive members clearly charged women with the moral necessity of intervening in social practices. The *Council* was "more than a charity," "not a political association," "not a trades union," "not a religious body only, nor a philanthropic body only, nor an educational body only. It is none of these of these things, and yet it is all of them." It was a body that would "focus the work and thought of the women in Victoria – the work and thought of all these activities being carried on."¹¹⁵ Any group dedicated to social reform issues would be represented within the *Council* and all could work together to reform society as needed. The *Council* maintained no religious or political convictions, yet stood for many of the groups that fought for religious and political rights. Lady Aberdeen emphasized that "the home is women's first mission" and then challenged this statement by asking "what does that

¹¹⁵ Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174-179; Clarkson, *Domestic Reform*, 125; "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; "Lady Aberdeen," *Colonist*, 10 March 1895, 8; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56-57; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, 9-14; "Aberdeen's National Council of Women," *Times*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1.

involve?"¹¹⁶ Where exactly was the line between home and public? To Lady Aberdeen and the ladies of the *Council*, this line was 'society'. A woman was responsible, most often for and through her children, to make society livable, moral, and acceptable to all around her. It was a woman's place to take action to improve society and if that lead to significant political or economic change to accomplish it, then so be it.

The *Victoria Council of Women* began agitating for change from its inception. In its first year, 1895, a letter was drafted and sent to the Public School Board requesting women appointees to the Board. It secured better accommodation for insane persons, a charity needs organization was created, and several petitions were sent to the Legislature regarding poisonous drugs, a curfew bylaw, and temperance instruction. In March 1895, the Legislature reinstated limited voting rights for women in a new school board policy. They did require the same property qualifications as did men, but women could once again vote for or become a school trustee.¹¹⁷

Maria Grant, head of the *WCTU's* Department of Petition, Legislation, and Franchise and member of the *Local Women's Council* became the first

¹¹⁶ "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; "Aberdeen's National Council of Women," *Times*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1.

¹¹⁷ "Public School Board," *Colonist*, 30 Jan. 1895, 8.

women elected to the school board in 1895.¹¹⁸ So many people turned out to vote for Grant that a majority of qualified voters had to be turned away, forcing the *Colonist* to concede her as the favourite, while also acknowledging that the true amount of her support would never be known.¹¹⁹ This success for the women's rights movement did not go unnoticed. Lady Aberdeen returned in November 1895 for the *Local Council's* AGM where she spoke glowingly of the *Council's* accomplishments during its first year. Many "Hear! Hears!" from the audience met Lady Aberdeen's words: "I scarcely know where to begin my congratulations, for I have so much whereon to congratulate this *Council* ... it must be regarded, I think, almost as our model *Council!*" Lady Aberdeen was in fact "puzzled [on] how to begin" her address because "there [were] too many subjects for me to touch upon."¹²⁰ "The President's Address" presented to Lady Aberdeen prior to her remarks highlighted other accomplishments the *Council* had achieved in its inaugural

¹¹⁸ *Colonist*: "Public School Board," 30 Jan. 1895, 8; "Notes," 8 Feb. 1895, 5; "A Lady Candidate," 12 Feb. 1895, 5; "Notes," 9 March 1895, 5; "School Trustee," 12 March 1895, 4; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 51; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, 20; "Public School Board Minutes," *Times*, 30 Jan. 1895, 6; Whelan, *Maria Grant*, 133-134.

¹¹⁹ Due to Grant's success, the Council supported two women candidates in 1896 when Maria Grant and Helen Grant took their places on the Board., "School Trustees," *Colonist*, 17 Jan. 1896, 8; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 57; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 47-49; "School Trustees," *Times*, 17 Jan. 1896, 6.

¹²⁰ *Colonist*: "Council of Women," 9 Nov 1895, 1, 8; "Woman's Work" 9 Nov 1895, 3, 7; "The Woman's Council," 12 Nov. 1895, Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 47-49; "Council of Women," *Times*, 9 Nov. 1895, 1, 5; "Aberdeen Speaks," 10 Nov. 1895, 6, 7.

year: 29 affiliated societies with 900 plus members, alongside the remarkable fact that the “vast aggregate of individuals, differing in many points of creed, character, religion and politics, has proved itself capable of working for the common good in unbroken harmony and mutual esteem.” In addition the *Council* submitted a petition to the school board requesting a woman be appointed as a school inspector as a follow up to Mrs. Grant’s success as a school trustee; the Council began the *Society of Friendly Help* which included organizing the city into 27 districts with a representative for each one, guaranteeing that help, in manner of clothes, food, or shelter, was there when needed by whomever needed it (race, religion or class were not obstacles to receiving help); it pushed for opium controls through tax legislation; it developed a plan for a Home for Aged Women; launched initial planning to demand free education for all children, including the Chinese, be provided by the government; and finally took on the responsibility of presenting the Industrial Department at the yearly Victoria Agricultural Fair.¹²¹ The list was only matched by what they planned for the next year including petitioning the government on issues regarding education, suffrage

¹²¹ Both Gough and the *Colonist* mention that there were no limitations to who the *Society of Friendly Help* supported even though it has been shown in other areas that these groups usually limited who they served (race, religion, class, etc.). *Colonist*: “Council of Women,” 9 Nov. 1895, 1, 8; “Woman’s Work” 9 Nov. 1895, 3, 7; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 45-49.

policies, and alcohol and opium laws. The AGM lasted three days and between the two main papers, the *Colonist* and *Times*, an astonishing twenty-six column lengths were written about the event. This total did not include any “Letters to the Editor” or commentaries after the fact.¹²²

The AGM notwithstanding, the *Women’s Council* and all it stood for was not universally accepted or even understood. On 13 November 1895, the *City Council* discussed an application from the *Council of Women* which asked for a portion of charitable funds the Mayor had available to use at his discretion. An Alderman asked “what is the *Women’s Council*?,” to which Alderman Humphrey replied “oh, they look after the *Chinese Home*, the *Refuge Home*, *Samaritan Home*, and a lot of other things.” The Mayor replied “No! No!,” while Alderman Hall, who had already voted against the fund allocation to the *Council*, stated that “it’s the ‘New Woman’,” to which the Mayor responded “nothing of the Kind.” No money was allotted to the *Council* and no explanation was given about the term ‘New Woman’.¹²³ On a more personal level, several “Letters to the Editor” critiquing the existence and activities of the *Council* were printed in the *Colonist*. People who did

¹²² *Colonist*: “Council of Women,” 9 Nov. 1895, 1, 8; “Woman’s Work” 9 Nov. 1895, 3, 7; “The Woman’s Council,” 12 Nov. 1895, Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 47-49; *Times*: “Council of Women,” 9 Nov. 1895, 1, 5; “Aberdeen Speaks,” 10 Nov. 1895, 6, 7.

¹²³ See Introduction for further explanation on the ‘New Woman’. “Board of Alderman,” *Colonist*, 18 March 1895, 5.

know what the *Council* was were not always supportive. On 15 November, one such letter from a 'Braes O'Gight' mocked, in old Scottish vernacular, the "dacin's o'the *Wummin's Coonsel*," especially the "mithers wha canna spare the time or be faehed wi the lil bairns speerin' questions," but can find the time to fight for new, especially kindergarten, education legislation.¹²⁴ An even sharper critique of the *Council* appeared in February 1896 when 'Observer' noted that "the true aim and objective of this organization" could be found in the list of expenses from Maria Grant's 1895 election campaign. The "glory and honour of any success resulting from philanthropic or other measures, that it [the *Council*] is kind enough to endorse, will always go back to it; while it makes sure that somebody else is always to pay the piper."¹²⁵ 'Observer' did not stop there, writing again on 27 February that "women may cease to be women, but they can never learn to be men, and feminine softness and grace can never do the work of the virile virtues of men."¹²⁶

Morality, whether viewed as a virtue or a sting, was clearly expressed throughout the *Women's Council's* organization in the work its various committees and leaders accomplished over the last years of the nineteenth

¹²⁴ "Letters to the Editor," *Colonist*, 5 Nov. 1895, 5.

¹²⁵ "Letters to the Editor," *Colonist*, 12 Feb. 1896, 3.

¹²⁶ The quotation in the letter was derived from Amelia E. Barr's article, "Discontented Women," found in the February 1896 issue of *The North American Review*. "Letters to the Editor," *Colonist*, 27 Feb. 1896, 6.

century. The *Council*, alongside its many affiliates, petitioned the Legislature on a variety of issues including women's suffrage, curfew laws, poison control, liquor traffic and consumption, temperance education, amendments to the *Married Women's Property Act*, children's school reform and truancy, as well as Sabbath observance.¹²⁷ In 1897, it endorsed the creation of the *Victorian Order of Nurses* as an offering for Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations.¹²⁸ Its *Friendly Help Society* expanded and recorded helping three hundred and twenty two needy people and families by directing the men to work, and helping the "aged, needy, and helpless get prompt and immediate attention."¹²⁹ Also in 1897, the *Council* established several 'social purity' goals which included attempts to impose western ideals of cleanliness and Christian teaching on the Chinese of Victoria through inspectors and missionaries, and the consistent need to educate BC's politicians and judiciary of the 'appalling practice' of selling Chinese girls as prostitutes. The need for

¹²⁷ Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174-179; Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 125; "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; "Lady Aberdeen," *Colonist*, 10 March 1895, 8; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 56-57; Edwards, *Seeking Balance*, 27; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule*, 9-14; Newman, *Women*, 71; "Aberdeen's National Council of Women," *Times*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1.

¹²⁸ Originally called 'The Home Helpers'. Boutilier, "Nursing Nation Builders," 174; "The Home Helpers," *Colonist*, 19 March 1897, 8; "The Home Helpers," *Times*, 19 March 1897, 5.

¹²⁹ *Friendly Help Society* was an organization created to help the poor and destitute of Victoria. It supported Whites, Indigenous, African Canadians and even Chinese people with food and clothing, and helped find lodgings and jobs. "The Women's Council," *Colonist*, 14 Dec. 1897, 6; "The Women's Council," *Times*, 15 Dec. 1897, 5.

stronger laws and, more importantly, the active use of those laws, was emphasized in almost every meeting of the *Council* in the late 1890s.¹³⁰ In 1898 and 1899, the *Council* and the *Teacher's Aid Society* pushed for extensive curriculum change in public schools. In support of the new idea of 'scientific housekeeping', the *Women's Council* bought stoves for schools to begin immediately teaching cooking as part of the girl's curriculum.¹³¹

When looking back at the actions of *Women's Council* members, it is tempting to categorize each action with a defining label: feminist or racist or classist; however, in truth it is hard to limit *Victoria's Women's Council's* (VWC) actions in that way. Scholars have applied current defining categories backwards into history where those concepts simply did not exist. For example, prior to 1895 the word 'feminism' did not exist, and after 1895, it slowly entered English vocabulary, but was largely used as an academic label denoting 'a doctrine which advocates equal rights for women' rather than a movement. If that definition of the word is applied, then actions like the fight for suffrage, property rights, and education demands would all be defined as feminist. 'Maternal Feminism' would cover all VWC actions which justified social actions in terms of women's moral superior morality over men. Yet,

¹³⁰ This theme crops up in every general *Council* meeting and AGM from 1897 through to 1899.

¹³¹ Vague mention in Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 69; "Cooking in Schools," *Colonist*, 22 Jun 1898, 8.

many, like curfew laws and alcohol laws, Christian teaching of the Chinese, and the imposition of society purity goals, all smack of racism. The belief that poverty was something that needed to be cured resulted in both the *Friendly Help Society*, and the *Home for Aged Women*, class-based organizations that gave, along with their help, a specific message of middle class ideals. The racialized, classist, sexist, and even feminist underpinnings of various *Council's* actions and their responses to the society they functioned in is important to recognize, but as part of a whole whose purposes were to improve, by their White middle to upper class standards, Victoria and the lives in it.

The Legislature and Letters

The *Council* and its affiliates poured their passion into resuscitating Victoria from the “ashes of immorality” and, as exemplified in the *Council's* first AGM, in many places they succeeded.¹³² But the reform women involved had not forgotten Frances Willard's belief in political equality. They knew that to finally ‘fix’ Victoria's, and BC's, ills, they would need the provincial vote. In pursuit of the vote every year, letters and petitions were sent, requests and meetings were held, yet there appeared to be no

¹³² Lady Aberdeen Speech, *Colonist*: “Council of Women,” 9 Nov. 1895, 1.

movement on an issue that still was seen as central to accomplishing the *Council's* reform agenda whether it be anti-poverty legislation or temperance demands. Finally in 1899, after a large petition demanding women's suffrage containing 2500 signatures was presented to the Legislature, somebody listened. A "*Private Member's Women's Suffrage Bill*" was presented to the Legislature in February. On 23 February, with members of the *WCTU* and *Local Council of Women* watching closely, Nanaimo MLA Ralph Smith called for a second reading of 'Bill' in the Legislature.¹³³ After it was read, Maria Grant and other members of the reform community "haunted the halls of the Legislature hoping to change a few more votes."¹³⁴ The women were disappointed when on 24 February, the votes were tallied at fifteen for and seventeen against. Afterward, it was discovered that a *WCTU* and *Local Council of Women* supporter Victoria City MLA Richard Hall claimed that he meant to vote for the Bill, but that he had mistakenly voted Nay when he

¹³³ It is unclear whether the *VCW* or the *WCTU* or another group authorized the petition though both the newspapers and contemporary sources did not seem to identify one group over another. Perhaps this was because so many ladies belonged to both groups and it was difficult to maintain separate status between them. *Colonist*: "Woman Franchise Close to Success," 24 Feb. 1899, 3; "Woman Franchise," 25 Feb. 1899, 3; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 57; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 71-73; Newman, *Women*, 71.

¹³⁴ Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 72.

meant Yea.¹³⁵ If he had voted a Yea, the Speaker of the House would have voted with him and the Bill would have passed.

After this near miss, a series of letters were printed in the *Colonist* in response to the perceived threat the 'almost' passing of the *Suffrage Bill* posed. These statements reflected certain perceptions of the women's movement in Victoria throughout the 1900s. On 2 March 1899, an untitled editorial jumped on the "unplanned," "unprecedented," and "unprovoked" threat "to deprive the men of British Columbia of the control over its political affairs."¹³⁶ The writer continued the tirade, noting that "no-one dreamed that any such question would come before the House, no newspaper had advocated it ... there had been no demand even from the women of BC for the bill." The editorial announced that "the *Colonist* is opposed to woman suffrage" and the writer expressed concern that the uncalled for measure had come so close to passing that it indicated an "emergency situation" in which the government was proven to be a "gross failure."¹³⁷

¹³⁵ *Colonist*, 2 March 1899, 4; Cramer, *Public and Political*, 57; Gough, *As Wise As Serpents*, 72.

¹³⁶ This is interesting in light of the fact that the local newspapers mentioned the issue numerous times in the months leading up to the vote. This was not a new issue and it is clear in many of the articles that there were an abundance of people, especially women, who supported the fight for suffrage.

¹³⁷ "Letter To The Editor," *Colonist*, 2 March 1899, 4.

Responses to the above letter were immediate and plentiful, encouraging a debate which lasted a week. The next day a letter, penned by Elector, commending the 2 March editorial noted that if the vote had succeeded, it would have given suffrage to “a new and dangerous element,” “women suffragists,” whose primary goals in the days running up to the vote were to “run around lobbying, and buttonholing, and whispering” turning what should have been a “proper and constitutional procedure” into a “carnival.”¹³⁸ The writer emphasized the “proper place” of women, alluding to the Garden of Eden, pretty faces, faultless attire, and their “petty duties” as wife and mother. On 2 March JBM responded scathingly, noting that the Elector’s attack on woman suffragists was written “in lieu of serious objections or convincing evidence” against the measure.¹³⁹ JBM challenged the editorial, reminding Elector that the ‘lobbying’ that was so concerning, happened each time a bill of any importance went through the Legislature. In response to the “ludicrous statements” made that no woman wanted the vote in Victoria or British Columbia, JBM cited the numerous letters and petitions and notices that had led to the vote as evidence that women did indeed want a say in the way the government worked. In reply to the

¹³⁸ “Letter To The Editor,” *Colonist*, 3 March 1899, 4.

¹³⁹ “Letter To The Editor,” *Colonist*, 3 March 1899, 4; “Letter To The Editor,” *Colonist*, 4 March 1899, 4.

question men posed: why do women want the vote, JBM gave an “Irishman’s answer: Why do men?” In her passionate argument supporting women’s suffrage, she pulled out the Maternal Feminist ideology that incorporated moral superiority as the ultimate trump against men’s refusals to grant women suffrage. Women with the vote would “prove potent factors, rectifying the misfortune of having so many of the worthless class influencing the return of any candidate who will stand with their desires” and not legal or moral truth. Women would vote “with the sterling clear-headedness ... looking at everything from a practical point of view, anxious against everything that may lead [families, community, and society] astray.”¹⁴⁰ On 7 March 1899, a writer, known as ‘British Columbian’, offered what would become the final words in the debate: “if it [women’s suffrage] were submitted to the men alone of this province there are sufficient of them to believe that women’s influence and helpfulness along political lines would build up our province and make our nation what God intended it to be – a prosperous, pure and contented nation.”¹⁴¹ The *Colonist* was flooded with replies and on 8 March shut down the debate with an editorial tirade about the correctness, legitimacy, and legality of the present governmental

¹⁴⁰ The letter from 4 March was repeated on 5 March due to pieces of it cut from the 4 March edition. The pieces cut included the name of the writer, J.B. Mitchell. “Letter To The Editor,” *Colonist*, 5 March 1899, 4.

¹⁴¹ “Letter To The Editor,” *Colonist*, 7 March 1899, 4.

system.¹⁴² Suffrage and women's acquisition of it had now become the central public issue in the women's reform movement. Yet positioning suffrage as the most visible and public demand of a White women's reform movement does not adequately represent the reality of Victoria's White women reformers during this period. The movement encompassed a vast spectrum of beliefs and causes that slowly came together to push suffrage into the spotlight, not necessarily because the vote was important in and of itself, but because the vote would act as a platform in allowing other essential reforms to pass into legislation.

Conclusion

By 1900, Lady Aberdeen's international, national, provincial, and local *Councils of Women* represented the ultimate consolidation of a women's movement of social reform. Victoria's *Council* represented over forty, mostly women's, social reform groups, all exemplifying the growth of Victoria women's public imprint on the world around them. The local *WCTU*, then the *Women's Council*, as well as the numerous other local reform organizations, operated on the premise that women's public power would

¹⁴² The *Colonist* stated that it did not intend to get into a debate with the proponents of women's suffrage and due to the amount of mail received over this topic, it was ending the discussion. "Letter To The Editor," *Colonist*, 8 March 1899, 4.

affect local change. Victoria's distinct skewed gender ratio, together with the pioneer spirit of western egalitarianism, contributed to the coordination of women's reform organization in the region. Victoria's White women's movement can be interpreted as a microcosm of the national and international women's movement as a whole, but it stands out from the general movement given its location in a British colony with a flair for pioneer independence. In 1897, Mrs. Baker, President of the Victoria *Local Council of Women*, summarized the job of every *Council* member: she was to step out of her personal home and into that of the less fortunate, "striving to let in a little sunshine and landscape where unwholesome environment and physical discomfiture make the name of home too often a piteous mockery."¹⁴³ The work of the *Council*, and other local reform groups, was not about a woman stepping out of her sphere, but instead was about a woman recognizing that her sphere was much wider than previously thought. When, in November 1894, Maria Grant welcomed Lady Aberdeen to Victoria with the belief that the *Local Council of Women* would unite women of all nationalities, creeds, and societies "in one *Council* enable[ing] them to work for the furtherance and uplifting, not only of womanhood, but of humanity," she articulated a

¹⁴³ "The Women's Council," *Colonist*, 14 Dec. 1897, 5, 6; "The Women's Council," *Times*, 15 Dec. 1897, 4, 5, 7.

particular vision.¹⁴⁴ Victoria's White women reformers strove to live up to this creed recognizing that their actions in public life were not merely for their own benefit, but for the betterment of society as a whole.

¹⁴⁴ "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894

Chapter 3

Across Ethnicity, Really! 1850 to 1910

It is always gratifying to see women helping women; it is intensely so when the Consort of our Queen's representative, the first lady of our land, gathers the helpful women of *all nationalities, creeds and societies together*, and by uniting them in one *Council* enables them to work for the furtherance and uplifting, not only for womanhood, but all of humanity; inspiring them all with a greater love of home, a greater love of country, a greater desire to be helpful to others springing from the inspiration of the Fatherhood of God and the Golden Rule which this *Council* takes as its motto.¹

"A'n't I a woman?" -- Sojourner Truth, African American Preacher and Anti-Slavery Lecturer at a Women's Right Convention in Ohio, 1851.²

On 8 November 1894, Maria Grant enthusiastically introduced Lady Ishbel Maria Marjoribanks Aberdeen and her new *National Council of Women of Canada* to a large public meeting celebrating her and her husband's, the Governor General of Canada, visit to Victoria, BC. On stage with Grant were several government officials and religious dignitaries as well as a large crowd of men and women, many of whom represented the

¹ Emphasis added. Maria Grant's Welcome Speech for Lady Aberdeen's first visit. "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1.

² E. D. Nelson, and Barrie W. Robinson, *Gender in Canada* (Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice Hall Allyn and Bacon Canada, 1999), 109.

various societies, associations, and unions which had worked together to organize this moment. Both the *Colonist* and *Times* featured the story on their front pages citing Grant's call to 'unite women of all nationalities, creeds and societies together' as a perfect reflection of the *Council of Women's* principals.³ However, it is not this phrase which historians or even contemporaries focused on in developing their understanding of the *Council*. The rest of Grant's speech, and Lady Aberdeen's response to it, have been mined for phrases such as 'womanhood', 'unity', 'women helping woman', 'women helping society', 'morality', and the 'Golden Rule'. Despite its apparent openness to a diversity of women in the speeches, historians emphasize Whiteness, unmarked and assumed invisible, in Grant's and Lady Aberdeen's words, as key to women's social reform development.⁴ At least part of the reason for historians' perspective here can be linked to the fact that the men and women on the stage that day were most likely White, the organizations referred to were almost exclusively White, and the help the Council offered came from a colonial mindset of Whiteness as superior to all other 'races'. It is the actions of

³ "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; "National Council of Women," *Times*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 3

⁴ Golden Rule: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

these White women which are claimed, by those who have cared to look, to be representative of the women's movement in Victoria, BC.

White women in Victoria had accomplished much in the last half of the nineteenth century. This included the creation and development of the *WCTU* and *Council of Women*, as well as numerous other reform groups; material gains as seen through property laws and, anti-alcohol and anti-poverty measures; gains for women in electoral status at school and municipal levels; and gains in social status through public action and community participation. The White women's movement grew exponentially and, just as previous historians have shown, it began as a challenge to ideological principles that defined men's and women's roles and position in society. By the end of the century, the separate sphere ideal had morphed into a system which clearly identified women as morally superior to men. For women, however, this superiority was a double-edged sword, with one side holding the claim of political equality and the other side claiming that this equality came with strong moral responsibility. In addition to this position of moral superiority, it was felt that women must take on all of society's burdens as they were the only ones who could, or would, fix them.

While it is true that women's suffrage and Whiteness are key attributes of the early twentieth century women's movement, it is not true that White women's actions and beliefs alone defined that movement. Even contemporaries of the time acknowledged this fact, alongside their belief in ethnic and racial superiority. Grant's comment and Lady Aberdeen's affirmation of it shows that one of the main purposes of the *Council* was to 'unite women of all nationalities, creeds and societies together'.⁵ Historians have explored the rest of the *Council's* policies, but this claim has been overlooked. Various racialized groups existed in Victoria during the last half of the nineteenth century. They did not live in a vacuum, outside the social, economic, and political battles which surrounded them. Racialized women had a say and were involved in the movement for social betterment within their communities as well as within society in general. The traditional narrative of the women's movement remains incomplete without their stories. A more complete narrative includes the stories of the historical 'other' – racialized minorities, particularly Indigenous, African-Canadian, and Asian people – who at times

⁵ Maria Grant's Welcome Speech for Lady Aberdeen's first visit. "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1

participated in the Victoria women's movement alongside their White counterparts.⁶

Methodology and Historiography

Historians John Belshaw, Adele Perry, Tina Loo, and Jean Barman have all noted that Victoria's history has been written, contemporarily and currently, by the White majority, in particular the White male majority. The dominant historical narrative also shows how "repressive strategies for *othering* non-Anglo racial and ethnic groups were put in place."⁷ This was done through a colonial ethic that invited immigrants to come and enjoy "a similarity of race and character, of manners and customs, of sympathies in aim, in those among whom the newly-arrived emigrant from England is

⁶ There was also a significant population of South Asians. They are briefly discussed in Anna Cecile Scantland Lund, "Canada: The Franchise and Universal Suffrage," MA Thesis, California State University, 1983.

⁷ John Douglas Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2009), 13. Other works that incorporate these ideas include Jean Barman, "Ethnicity in the Pursuit of Status: British Middle and Upper Class Emigration to British Columbia in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18, no.1 (1986): 32-51; Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms: Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia, 1862-1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007), 7-8; Tamari Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," in *Back to the Drawing Board*, eds. Njoki Nathani Wane, Katerina Deliovsky, and Erica Lawson (Toronto, Ontario: Sumach Press, 2002); Tina Loo, *Making Law, Order and Authority in British Columbia, 1821-1871* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1994); Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 4-6, 131; Patricia Roy, *White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989).

cast, [as] all combine to make him feel at home.”⁸ The creation of the racialized ‘other’ guaranteed a primary focus on White British interaction, negotiation, and societal structures which effectively muted any narrative outside this norm. The racialized ‘other’ introduced through the British colonial project produced a hierarchy that placed White British males as superior to all ‘others’. Allied to this was the position of White women in the colonial hierarchy; a position below men yet, as Perry has noted, strongly affected by “imperial discourse that accorded White women a special role as harbingers of empire.”⁹ In Victoria, with Whiteness privileged politically, socially, and emotionally, racial discrimination was rabid. Newspaper coverage, for example, was biased towards White men’s issues and there were more newspaper articles about men, no matter the race, than there ever were about women.¹⁰ White women could be found

⁸ This quotation is found in Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 14. It is cited as ‘Bishop Hills’ boast of Victorian era Victoria. The notes are not clear about where this quote originally came from: was it another text, a set of papers from the time, or a newspaper article? A similar theme can be found in Jason Patrick Bennett, “Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in Turn of the Century British Columbia,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9, no. 1 (1998): 63-92.

⁹ Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 138, 199, 200. See also Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*, 188; Bennett, *Apple of the Empire*, 63-92; Bonita Lawrence, “Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonialization and Indigenous Resistance in Eastern Canada,” in *Race, Space, And The Law: Unwrapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto, Ontario: Between the Lines, 2002); John Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Indigenous and White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); Alan Twigg, *Aboriginality* (Vancouver, British Columbia: Rondale Press, 2005).

¹⁰ See *Colonist* and *Times* for examples.

in limited numbers throughout contemporary sources of the time. Their voices became louder as the end of the nineteenth century wound down. For racialized women invisibility reigned, their voices unheard.

In 1992, Marianna Valverde argued in her piece, “‘When the Mother of the Race is Free’,” that due to the racism and ethnocentrism of the “vast majority of English speaking first-wave feminists, Indigenous women, immigrant women, and women of colour were excluded from the women’s movement.”¹¹ Valverde’s work is invaluable because of her attention to ethnic and racialized women, a topic overlooked in histories of the Canadian women’s movement. At the same time, her writing is lacking, as she did not adequately recognize that the ‘others’ were working toward their own women-focused aims. She herself demonstrated this when discussing the existence of ‘coloured unions’ in the Ontario *WCTU*.¹² It could also be argued that racialized women were not excluded, they were differentiated. White women’s organizations were often the focus of study in many early feminist works on the First Wave movement, thus separating, or differentiating, the work of African-Canadian, or other racialized, groups.

¹¹ Valverde also touches on Maternal Feminism and the question of whether gender or race was more important at the time. Mariana Valverde, “‘When the Mother of the Race is Free’: Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism,” in *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 3.

¹² Valverde, “‘When the Mother of the Race is Free’,” 5.

This is reflected in Evelyn Higginbotham's argument "that White feminist scholars pay hardly more than lip service to race as they continue to analyze their own experience in ever more sophisticated forms." The reality was that some of these early authors were the first who actually saw the need for writing with a 'racialized' perspective in mind, even if their works' focused on the Whiteness of the early women's movement.¹³ Tamari Kitossa has presented this idea in another way, when she states that feminist historiography tends to focus on White middle- to upper-class, Anglo-Saxon, heterosexual women. She maintains that 'gender' has been misplaced as "the only site of [women's] oppression" for women, and this is reflected in the fact that invisible racialized 'others' (in Kitossa's case, African-Canadian Canadian women in Victoria) were not so much excluded as they were 'disappeared'.¹⁴

¹³ Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Meta-Language of Race," *Signs: Journal of Women and Culture in Society* 17, no. 2 (1992), 251.

¹⁴ Another line of argument that has been made about identity is whether the word 'woman' itself changes meaning depending on the racial group using it. This is an interesting argument, but it falls out of the purview of this work. Enakshi Dua also discusses this idea of disappearance in the introduction to "Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought: Scratching the Surface of Racism," in *Scratching the Surface, Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought*, eds. Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson (Toronto, Ontario: The Women's Press, 1999), 7-11. Lutz also mentions this idea of disappearing, referring to it as the 'vanishing' of the Red man in historical records. Lutz, *Makuk*, 42; Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 89, 110, 111.

Janice Fiamengo's 2002 article "Rediscovering Our Foremothers" offers a discussion of the 'disappeared' history of the racialized and ethnic 'other.' Her fascinating examination of 'racism' and its place in early social reform movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries focuses on White women's movement leaders. Yet she carefully notes, as did Constance Backhouse, that "White supremacist" or "racist" discourses of the time did not exist in a moral vacuum.¹⁵ Instead, many of the social reformers "made choices from among a range of discourses, some of which enabled anti-hegemonic thinking about race."¹⁶ Fiamengo writes that "race was always a contested subject," one in which Anglo-Saxon beliefs of superiority and an "evangelical emphasis on the civilizing mission" "fit smoothly with White feminist self-positioning as 'Mother of the Race' and 'Crusaders for the Empire'."¹⁷ However, these foundational positions in maternal feminist ideology were complicated by its own rhetoric of equal justice, access, and acceptance for all. In Victoria, the print media attempted to maintain the boundaries of Whiteness which exemplified

¹⁵ Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The Osgoode Society, 1991), 278; Janice Fiamengo, "Rediscovering our Foremothers Again: Racial Ideas of Canada's Early Feminists, 1845-1945," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 5th ed., eds. Mona Gleason and Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2006), 144.

¹⁶ Fiamengo, "Rediscovering our Foremothers Again," 159.

¹⁷ Fiamengo, "Rediscovering our Foremothers Again," 147.

White men's hegemonic need to maintain racial superiority, while supposedly limiting readers' experience of ethnic and racialized 'others'. However, the papers of the era provided evidence of deep social change occurring among Victoria's racialized groups despite their White ethnocentric focus. For present day historians, the 'disappeared' did indeed exist and Maria Grant's comment about the importance of 'uniting women of all nationalities, creeds, and societies' suggests a story that needs to be told.

Indigenous Women and Social Reform

Discussion of Indigenous peoples is found in the early colony newspapers and in general, their portrayal is male oriented, negative, and limited. Tamari Kitossa, author of the article "Criticism, Reconstruction, and African Centered Feminist Historiography," is more specific when she contends that Indigenous women's position in the late nineteenth century was largely 'disappeared' from contemporary sources and in the context of Victoria, her argument is largely, but not completely, accurate.¹⁸ Adele Perry and Jean Barman, among many other historians, note the racist

¹⁸ Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 89, 110-111.

perspectives of the White media of the time which suggested that the producers of such newspaper reports preferred that 'those' women not exist at all.¹⁹ When Indigenous women were portrayed in the media, their portrayal was most often negatively connected to slavery, prostitution, and disease. Journalists also consistently harped on their "immorality," detailing the various ways they were unacceptable to dominant White society.²⁰ Two early Victoria newspaper articles provide examples of how Indigenous women were represented in the local media. On Monday 29 May 1862, during the early stages of the small pox epidemic which would eventually wipe out roughly two-thirds of the Indigenous population, an article entitled "How to Get Rid of a Troublesome Question" appeared in

¹⁹ Jean Barman, "Aboriginal Women on the Streets of Victoria: Rethinking Transgressive Sexuality During the Colonial Encounter," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2005), 206; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 58-74; Adele Perry, "Metropolitan Knowledge, Colonial Practice, Indigenous Womanhood: Missions in Nineteenth Century British Columbia," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2005), 109.

²⁰ In Victoria's *Colonist* and *Times* - the majority of citations referring to Indigenous women focused on a few distinct themes: sexuality, alcohol attainment and abuse, character description, and missionary or church relations. In these articles the term 'Indian' referred to women from many geographical places including Mexico, India, the United States, and Canada. The link between these countries and the use of the term 'Indian' seems entirely based on similar skin colour. BC Indigenous women, also most often identified by their skin colour, were referred to in ownership terms, such as 'ours' or 'belonging to us'. These terms contained a double connotation of gender and societal ownership; Indigenous men owned their women and White dominated society owned their Indigenous peoples. See the *Colonist* and the *Standard*. Also see Barman, "Aboriginal Women on the Streets of Victoria," Perry, *Edge of Empire*.

the *Colonist* newspaper. While applauding the decision to order the Indigenous population to depart the city, the article denigrated the Indigenous female population. The writer explained how unmarried Indigenous women (who lived with white men) were ordered to leave Victoria with the rest of the “Indigenous infestation of illness,” although their White male partners and their children would remain behind. The latter were not allowed to follow for fear of “small-pox and other kindred diseases, to say nothing of the state of moral corruption and turpitude into which they would surely fall under the skilful education of the red-skinned friends of the maternal relatives.”²¹ White men and their mixed-raced children would not be let out of sight because their “civility may be lost.” Instead the answer was for the White men to marry the “luckless wights,” thereby allowing the Indigenous women in question to “at least legitimize their offspring,” even while they could not “attain themselves any very exalted status.” The final word in this article was a call to the White male partners to “humanize yourselves, civilize your partner...without delay.”²²

The media largely ignored the fact that many Indigenous women (and their

²¹ “How to get Rid of a Troublesome Question,” *Colonist*, 29 May 1862.

²² Old English. *wiht* “living being, creature,” from Proto Germanic. **wekhtiz* (compare Old Saxon. *wiht* “thing, demon,” Dutch *wicht* “a little child,” Old High German *wiht* “thing, creature, demon,” German *Wicht* “creature, infant,” Old Norse *vettr* “thing, creature,” Swedish *vätte* “spirit of the earth, gnome,” Gothic *waihts* “something”). The only apparent cognate outside Germanic is Old Church Slavonic: *vešti* “a thing.”

families) were involved with local churches and economies, or even that there were 'well known' or 'significant' Indigenous women. In the papers, these women – like half White Cree Martha Douglas Harris, BC's first female born author and local arts coordinator, or internationally known half Mohawk Pauline Johnson, actress, author, and performer - represent the rare examples of Indigenous women who did not completely 'disappear' as so many in the White dominated media, in keeping with dominant racial ideologies, wished and tried to make happen.²³

²³ Martha Douglas Harris was the youngest daughter of Sir James Douglas, Governor of BC until 1864, and Lady Amelia Douglas, her half-Cree mother. Martha was a storyteller who was greatly influenced by her mother, though she did not publish any works on her Cree heritage until after both her parents had passed away due to their sensitivities over their mixed blood relationship. She was heavily involved in the Arts and Crafts movement in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and she was particularly well known for her amazing abilities at crafting lace. Pauline Johnson was born in Ontario and eventually settled in BC. She was a prolific writer and actress, and her work was seen across the country in newspapers and on stage. She was proud of her heritage and never ceased to express that pride. Many of these two women's works have been preserved and can be found in a variety of places, including books, museums, archives, and libraries. Pauline Johnson was more Vancouver-based in the last half of her life, though her many visits to Victoria allowed for the growth of a large fan base in the provincial capital. Charlotte Gray, *Flint and Feather: The Life and Times of E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2002); K. A. Finlay, ed., "A Woman's Place": *Art and the Role of Women in the Cultural Formation of Victoria, BC, 1850s-1920s* (Victoria, British Columbia: University of Victoria, Maltwood Gallery, 2004), 87-89; Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000); Veronica Strong-Boag and Carole Gerson, "Championing the Native: E Pauline Johnson Rejects the Squaw," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2005), 47; Twigg, *Aboriginality*, 21-25.

An editorial dated 19 January 1877 signed by 'Paterfamilias' echoed the critique of mixed-race relationships.²⁴ Men, in this case school trustees and teachers, who had relations with Indigenous women were denigrated as immoral, and the writer clearly, if sarcastically, let it be known what he and his friends thought about this disgrace. These "distinguishable educational worthies" bought Indigenous women from a camp, and then brought them to live near the schools at which they taught. Paterfamilias did not focus on the "fact that the act of buying women was horrible in and of itself"; instead, the author focused on the "fear of moral disintegration" of the White men involved and of the community in which they taught. Children of these relationships would be abandoned when the men tired of their "play," leaving a brood of "redoubtable but unfortunate progeny [to] be cast adrift to prey upon society and to occupy and fill the penitentiary." Indigenous women's relationships with White men, as well as the resulting children, were irredeemable, an "abominable social evil," that, in Paterfamilias' view, disgraced the community and should force school boards into creating "a prohibitory or exclusive clause in the School Act" to

²⁴ Paterfamilias: (Ancient Roman) used to refer to a male who is acknowledged as exercising the most authority within a family, household, or group. In Latin *pater familias* had '*vitae necisque potestas*' which meant the "power of life and death" over his children, his wife (in some cases), and his slaves. "Editor," *Colonist*, 19 Jan. 1877, 3. Paterfamilias letters also appeared in the "Letters," *Times*, 20 Jan. 1877, 4.

keep this from *ever* happening.²⁵ These views were not exceptional, comments like them can be found in many nineteenth century - documents. These are merely local ones which helped foster the idea there is nothing 'out there' for historians to find on 'other' women's involvement in social reform. However, researchers like Perry, Barman, Conner, Neylan, and Lutz all point out that in many Indigenous communities, women were very much valued "as producers of goods and reproducers of labour."²⁶ They held

²⁵ "Editor," *Colonist*, 19 Jan. 1877, 3. A few other specific articles that stand out from the 'usual' writings include two about the efforts to 'Christianize', a euphemism it seems for civilize, several Indigenous groups up the coast from Victoria. In both cases, Indigenous women and men protested Christianizing efforts. The Indigenous of Moosehide had begun "what might be called an 'anti-church' party," that claimed that the missionary "gets the Indians in too much trouble." In response to queries, "the squaws and Indian women" said, "White Preacher no like Indian. Tell police come down get Indian ...All time make trouble." This Indigenous community refused to attend or support the mission in any way. Another story included a debate in court over whether the defendants were actually Indigenous women and thus not guilty of purchasing alcohol. The most interesting article published in the *Colonist* in relation to women and Indigenous peoples appeared on 15 October 1903. Its title, "Dusky Papa Wheeling Baby," hints at the comic portrayal of an Indigenous family strolling through downtown Victoria. The sight was "to make the pale man pause and ponder on the marvels of the white man's civilization" and the development of gender within it. The "transformation scene" of the "thoroughly domesticated...noble savage who shoved the pram" while "the squaw, the wife, actually doing nothing but walk alongside and feel and look happy" was characterized as a comedy. This was proof of how low the brave paterfamilias had fallen, as women had become of equal wage earning value to men. Women were no longer "mere squaws [who] panted on behind...with babies, iktahs, and worldly woes," yet neither were they equivalent to the "paleface throngs" of women and men that amusedly watched them. On 12 August 1905, an article entitled "Traffic in Indian Women" exemplified a common concern around Victoria and BC. The selling of Indigenous women to logging camps up and down the coast was upsetting to the social moral gatekeepers; not only because the 'sale of persons' was wrong but also because the influence this had on the Whites of the region was considered "appalling!" "Police and Preacher," 9 Feb. 1902, 6; "Technical Objection," 14 Nov. 1902, 5; "Dusky Papa Wheeling Baby," 15 Oct. 1903, 5; "Fisherman's Strike," 14 June 1904, 5; "Traffic in Indian Women," 12 August 1905, 5.

²⁶ Lutz, *Makuk*, 59.

power and prestige within their communities and were far from disappeared in these contexts.

If it is to be believed that Indigenous women were 'disappeared' within an active women's reform structure in Victoria, then there should logically be no evidence of Indigenous women linked to women's movement activity or organizations and of little connection between White and Indigenous women. Yet, this was not the case. While this investigation is preliminary and the conclusions tentative, there is evidence to suggest that Indigenous women worked to maintain their high status within their communities despite the negatives effects of White influence. These women were in regular contact with White women within a number of spheres, including religion and social reform, labour, and leisure. It is true that some of these connections may be evidence of further efforts to assimilate Indigenous women in White ideals of social reform and social purity, but it is equally possible that some of these relationships may indicate positive organizing and empowerment among local Indigenous women. Authors Carol Cooper and Susan Neylan both emphasize how Indigenous women, particularly from strong matrilineal lines, managed to

reconcile their Indigenous identities with White reality.²⁷ They noted that, with conversion to Christianity, some Indigenous women maintained and, in a few instances, gained status through religious leadership and continued economic contributions. Cooper notes that “from a cross cultural perspective the opportunities for Indigenous women probably far exceeded those of nineteenth century Euro-Canadian women. A woman of ability and high rank could become a chief and her authority would be respected by her Indigenous peers.”²⁸ These examples show that unlike their White counterparts, Indigenous women would not be confined to the domestic sphere White missionaries tried to impose; instead they remained leaders, counsellors, missionaries, and strong economic contributors to their communities.

Susan Neylan’s work, *The Heavens Are Changing*, discusses similar ideas with an emphasis on converted Christian Indigenous women who worked as missionaries in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s. Neylan echoes

²⁷ Carol Cooper, “Native Women of the Northern Pacific Coast: An Historical Perspective, 1830-1900,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27 no. 4 (Winter 1992): 44; Susan Neylan, *The Heavens are Changing: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions and Tsimshian Christianity* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003). Also see Myra Rutherdale, “‘She Was a Ragged Little Thing’: Missionaries, Embodiment, and Refashioning Indigenous Womanhood in Northern Canada,” in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada’s Colonial Past*, eds. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale (UBC Press: Vancouver, 2005).

²⁸ Cooper, “Native Women of the Northern Pacific Coast,” 45.

Cooper, noting that when Euro-Canadians defined Indigenous women through an Anglo idea of womanhood (wife, mother, daughter, private or family sphere), “they remained blind to the continuance of other spheres of power available to these women, especially in the political and spiritual realm.”²⁹ Both authors show how some Indigenous women - a few from the Victoria area and others from outlying territories - attended, lived, and were converted in Victoria church communities. It was in these communities that they learned to read and write, learned about the Bible and Christianity, while being introduced to the world of social reform that members of Methodist churches in particular espoused. Discussing the motivation for converting, Neylan, in a separate article, emphasizes how “certain Native converts utilized conversion to circumvent the usual social conventions surrounding rank and privilege,” while others “sought empowerment by using these new forms of spirituality in order to bolster existing social positions.”³⁰ These women took their education, alongside White social reform ideals like temperance, back to their homes, where they sought to Christianize, educate, and support their Indigenous

²⁹ Neylan, *Heavens Are Changing*, 106.

³⁰ Susan Neylan,, “Longhouses, Schoolrooms, and Workers’ Cottages: Nineteenth-Century Protestant Missions to the Tsimshian and the Transformation of Class Through Religion” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 11, no. 1 (2000): 51.

communities into the 'new' way of life.³¹ Powerful BC Indigenous female missionaries, women like Elizabeth 'Kate' Dudoward Lawson, Nislgamik/Sudall (Victoria Young), Nisg'a woman Nis'alx (Martha McNeil), and Negawon (Victoria Calder), exemplify how through their conversions Victoria's Indigenous women's activism moved in a new direction. For example, several women among the Tsimshian held hereditary chieftainships and many served active roles as councillors, "often making decisions on the public affairs of the mission settlements" they worked and lived in.³² Elizabeth 'Kate' Dudoward Lawson was one such chieftainess. She attended meetings at Victoria in the Methodist church and, encouraged by what she learned, helped influence the political and economic decisions of her Tsimshian community. She also supported Nislgamik/Sudall (Victoria Young) in beginning a mission among the Nishga, a venture which brought much prestige and trust to Nislgamik from neighbouring tribes. The Nisg'a women Nis'alx (Martha McNeil), and Negawon (Victoria Calder) were both

³¹ "The Field of Missions," *Colonist*, 21 Aug. 1896; "Report on Columbia Coast Mission," *Colonist*, 6 January 1906, 9; Wendy Mitchinson, "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step towards Independence." *Atlantis* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 57; Nancy Pagh, "Imagining Native Women: Feminine Discourse and Four Women Traveling the Northwest Coast," in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, eds. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 85-86; Myra Rutherdale, "I Wish the Men Were Half as Good: Gender Constructions in the Canadian North-Western Mission Field," in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, eds. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000); Myra Rutherdale, *She Was A Ragged Little Thing*.

³² Cooper, 45, 50-51.

treated with great respect, their political and economic decisions regularly followed through with. Negawon, “Nishga chieftainess of a powerful wolf lineage,” was the “acknowledged leader of the Christian village in Grenville “despite the number of a number of male chiefs in the settlement.”³³ These women’s commitment to change and exemplary leadership contributed to forward thinking and planning in such areas as politics and economics as well as spirituality. Neylan concludes her article by stating that, “Tsimshian and other Indigenous women [were] conceptualized in Euro-Canadian discourse according to Victorian notions of femininity, maternal and domestic duty, and passive vulnerability.”³⁴ Yet for Indigenous women, this narrow-minded Euro-Canadian perspective did not even come close to describing their role in Christian Indigenous society. These high-ranking women adopted an “active form of Christian leadership [which included a number of White social reform ideals] that demonstrated their continued significance in a society still arranged by matrilineal perspectives.”³⁵ Local Indigenous women worked through a ‘new order’, introduced through the missionary calling, that involved civilizing, uplifting, and saving individual persons and Indigenous communities. They were empowered to better

³³ Cooper, “Native Women of the Northern Pacific Coast,” 44, 51-52, 62-64; Neylan, *Heavens Are Changing*, 264-265; Rutherford, “She Was A Ragged Little Thing,” 229.

³⁴ Neylan, *Heavens Are Changing*, 264-265

³⁵ Neylan, *Heavens Are Changing*, 265.

themselves and others around them and, despite the intrusion of alcohol, disease, displacement, and colonial ideologies of White superiority, these women continued to fight for Indigenous development economically, spiritually, and politically.

By 1901, disease had caused the Indigenous population to drop from an estimated high of 70,000 in 1835 to 25, 344 or 13.3% of BC's total population. Discrimination was an everyday reality as was the reality of living in a society built on assumptions of White superiority. Nonetheless, despite their disappeared status in most primary sources, there is some historical evidence that suggests Indigenous women were independently active within their communities. The significance of Indigenous women's labour is well documented in John Lutz's book, *Makuk*; their activity and production in the arts is well exemplified in E. D. Finlay's work; their social position is examined by Roy, Perry, and Fiamengo, and such discussions even appeared in articles found in the *Colonist* and *Times*. These historical sources, however, do not provide a full picture. One example of a previously unstudied contact occurred during the 1895 tour Lady Aberdeen and her husband, Governor General John Hamilton-Gordon 7th Earl of Aberdeen, took across Canada. Lady Aberdeen's *Council of Women* had been in existence for over a year and she spent much of this trip discussing

and encouraging its growth with women she met on the tour. On their trip, they visited several Indigenous reserves.³⁶ It is quite possible that she spoke to the Indigenous women she met about the Council. If she did, did she encourage their support? If so, what was their response?

Another absence in White media portrayals of Indigenous women is their participation in the White labour market. Recent discussions of Indigenous peoples and labour - Lutz's *Makuk* for example - have begun to assess historical accounts of Indigenous women's labour, yet more specific research is required. It is in the details of Indigenous women's actions in labour disputes that social reform ideas appear. While labour does not in and of itself indicate involvement in the women's movement, it does show that Indigenous women did not shy away from social and labour reform issues. This very preliminary research uncovered that Indigenous women could and did come together to organize protests or strike actions against their employers or in support of themselves or 'their' men. For example one *Colonist* article, "The Fisherman's Strike," stated that, in June 1904, Indigenous women, "on whom the canneries depend, have gone on strike in

³⁶ "Lady Aberdeen," *Colonist*, 8 Nov. 1895, 1; "Winnipeg Wirings," *Colonist*, 27 Nov. 1895, 8.

sympathy with the bucks.”³⁷ The “Report on Columbia Coast Mission” noted that when Indigenous fishermen were faced with lowered sale prices for their fish, Indigenous women protested alongside them.³⁸ It is unknown how often or how many women actively participated in demands for reform to local labour practices, but these two examples suggest their activities in this realm.

Another labour sector in which Indigenous women became increasingly involved was nursing. This trend emerged at a time when there was a serious need for nurses locally and across BC. In honour of Queen Victoria’s Jubilee celebrations, the *Women’s Council* suggested the creation of the *Victorian Order of Nurses* (VON) in 1896.³⁹ The *Order’s* job was to teach and supply nurses in places where there was little to no medical care, particularly in central and northern BC. The *VON* ran numerous ‘community cottage hospitals’ in a number of western districts, including Vancouver and

³⁷ “Fisherman’s Strike,” *Colonist*, 14 June 1904, 5.

³⁸ *Colonist*: “Fisherman’s Strike,” 14 June 1904, 5; “Report on Columbia Coast Mission,” 6 January 1906, 9; “Trades Congress Still in Session,” 21 Sep. 1906, 3.

³⁹ The story of the Victorian Order of Nurses can be found in Beverly Boutilier, “Nursing Nation Builders: The ‘Council Idea’, Western Women, and the Founding of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada, 1896-1900” in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women’s History*, eds, Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 174-199. The development of the *Order* in Victoria can be followed through the *Colonist* newspaper accounts of the Women’s Council and in Margaret Lane Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule: Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* (Cloverdale B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd, 1984); Rutherford, “She Was A Ragged Little Thing,” 230-233.

Victoria, as well as supplying nurses to local hospitals. On 25 April 1903, an article discussing the successes of the local *Victoria Order of Nurses* was published in the *Colonist*. It noted that several of the hospitals involved in which *VON* was involved including the local hospital program, “had organized themselves as training schools for probationers chosen from their own localities.” The probationers included local White and Indigenous women who attended the training centers so that, for example, “at Revelstoke Indian women should be taught so as to nurse among their own people.”⁴⁰ Many of the new nurses, including the Indigenous practitioners, set up training facilities in their assigned areas to teach local women, Indigenous peoples included, to be nurses.⁴¹

There is tentative evidence of similar social and cultural activities among Indigenous, Métis, and White women. For example, shared leisure activities involving Indigenous and non-Indigenous women existed. Art, in its many forms, is a place where this blending of cultures is found - through women like Martha Douglas Harris, a founder of the mixed racial group *Island Arts and Crafts Society* and creator of the *Victoria Lace Club*; numerous un-named Indigenous women who created the famous Cowichan

⁴⁰ “Good Done by Fund,” *Colonist*, 25 April 1903, 6.

⁴¹ “Good Done by Fund,” *Colonist*, 25 April 1903, 6.

Indian Sweaters and taught their skills to numerous White women; or the mixed group of Indigenous and White women carvers who in 1911 produced the “Group of Seven” Reredos in the Chapel of the Church of St. Mary the Virgin in Oak Bay.⁴² In these cases, women of White, Métis, and Indigenous backgrounds worked together to create beautiful things. This is not to say that Indigenous women’s ‘otherness’ within the larger culture allowed them to be seen as equal to Whites. Rabid discrimination tells us otherwise. However, it offers some evidence of collaborations across racial lines.

By cross referencing census data, information from the 1885 Petition, as well as *WCTU*, and *Women’s Council* membership lists, there is other evidence of collaboration. Mrs. S. Finlayson, connected to the First Committee for the *Protestant Orphans Home*, is listed in the 1901 Census as ‘Indian’, while her daughter Miss Finlayson, labelled ‘Half Breed’ in the census, was involved with the *WCTU* and *Women’s Council*.⁴³ Mrs. Martha Harris and Mrs. Cecelia Prior are both listed as ‘Half-Breed’ in the 1901 census and both were active in numerous groups including the *Political*

⁴² A Reredos is a solid oak ornamental screen for the high altar. See Finlay for more information on Harris - Finlay, Lutz and Twigg all mention Cowichan sweaters and Finlay and Twigg note the creation of the Reredos. Finlay, *A Women’s Place*, 94-96, 105-107; Lutz, *Makuk*, 84, 109; Twigg, *Aboriginality*, 21-23.

⁴³ See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved*.

Equity League, the *VON*, and the *Local Council of Women*.⁴⁴ These are just a few of the 'others' who can be named. It is true that most of these women probably self-identified with 'White' society, rather than with their Indigenous heritage; however, the fact that they were accepted and were active within their communities, introduce slight hints of a deeper Indigenous involvement in social reform.⁴⁵ In addition to social reform White women's movement goals many Indigenous women dedicated themselves to economic survival and active participation in the maintenance of matrilineal lines and cultural distinctness. While primary sources that tell the story of Indigenous women during the late 1800s are few and far between, there are enough bits that do appear to indicate that these women were definitely not 'disappeared' in Victoria as much of the secondary literature claims.

⁴⁴ See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved*.

⁴⁵ For a discussion on mixed race society in Victoria and the complexities of defining oneself as white' see Sylvia Van Kirk, *"Many Tender Ties" Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Winnipeg, Manitoba: Watson & Dwyer Publishing Ltd., 1980), 95-96, 109, 113-114, 143. See also Cooper, "Native Women of the Northern Pacific Coast," 63-64; Pagh, "Imagining Native Women," 82.

African-Canadian Women and Social Reform

Tamari Kitossa's reference to the 'disappeared' may prove particularly relevant to BC's African-Canadian settlers.⁴⁶ What is known is that in 1858, a group of approximately 600 African-Canadian settlers arrived in Victoria. Three hundred settled in Victoria City proper and on Saltspring Island after fleeing restrictive race policies in California.⁴⁷ In addition, African-Canadian settlers did not seem to face overt 'legal discrimination' from the moment of their arrival in BC.⁴⁸ For example, African-Canadian men could vote like White men and African-Canadian women could not, as was true for White women. African-Canadians could hold office, attend public schools and churches, and were equally subject to BC's laws.⁴⁹ Certainly local discrimination existed (for example, in some local churches), yet the African-Canadian community was generally tolerated, and in some instances, entwined with White society.

⁴⁶ Kitossa "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 89, 110, 111.

⁴⁷ Saltspring Island is to the east of Vancouver Island between Victoria and Vancouver. Ruth Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space: Land Policy and Practices of Resettlement on Saltspring Island, 1859-1891* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005); Robin W. Winks, *The African-Canadians In Canada: A History*, 2nd Ed (McGill, Queen's Press, 1997), 286.

⁴⁸ Joseph Mensah, *African-Canadian Canadians*, 2nd ed. (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2010), 53-56.

⁴⁹ One example included the *Married Women's Property Act*. Peter A Baskerville, *A Silent Revolution?: Gender and Wealth in English Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 7-8, 25-26; Mensah, *African-Canadian Canadians*, 53-56.

There are few histories of African-Canadian settlement in BC in the nineteenth century; Crawford Killian's *Go Do Some Great Thing* and Ruth W. Sandwell's book, *Contesting Rural Space* are, however, two studies on the topic. Killian's 1978 book focuses on the mid 1800s settlement period in BC and lists several African-Canadian pioneers. Sandwell's book discusses land policy practices between 1859 and 1891 on Saltspring Island, the second largest settlement area for the 1858 African-Canadian settlers.⁵⁰ In her discussion of racism, she notes that "African Americans and Whites could not afford to be bigoted" on the frontier, because the "margin of survival could be determined by the man standing next to you" and "it little mattered the complexion" of his skin.⁵¹ The history of African-Canadian settlers in the Victoria area includes some interesting anecdotes that indicate their active presence in Victoria's society. For example, the African Canadian community was denied access to liquor for a short time in the 1860s, but after a vehement defence of itself with support of the White

⁵⁰ Though her conclusions focus on Saltspring Island, Ruth Sandwell's argument is reflected in primary source documentation from Victoria City proper at the same time. It was not until the end of the 1800s and into the early 1900s that segregation on the Island as a whole was pushed. Sandwell and Killian both discuss Saltspring though Sandwell's text is much more academic. Crawford Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing: The Black Pioneers of British Columbia* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1978), Chapter 7, specifically pages 114-115; Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*.

⁵¹ This 'truism' did not apply to Indigenous peoples, however. Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*, 166-167.

community, the access to liquor was restored.⁵² In terms of African-Canadian women, Killian only mentions women in connection to family life, although he does indicate that the wife of the local African-Canadian community leader, Mifflin Winstar Gibbs, was highly educated and “probably bored” because White and African-Canadian women did not tend to mix.⁵³ In 1864, Gibbs commented that inter-racial marriage involving Indigenous peoples and Whites was one of the biggest threats to society.⁵⁴ In 1871, 2.4% of all of Victoria’s households were African-Canadian though only 0.6% of these were families.⁵⁵ In commenting on the impact of African-Americans in the region, Adele Perry argues that, although “the sizable presence of African-Americans in Victoria was regarded by many White people as a problem... it was Chinese immigration that created the most ambivalence.”⁵⁶ In explaining why, Killian argued that “Whites detested the Chinese and distrusted the Indians, but those groups were alien and numerous whereas the African-Canadians were familiar and few.”⁵⁷ Historian Adele Perry adds that it was assumed that the Chinese

⁵² Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*; Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 14, 22, 40, 68, 84, 132.

⁵³ Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 89.

⁵⁴ Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 122.

⁵⁵ Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 14, 22, 40, 68, 84, 132.

⁵⁶ This is discussed later in this chapter and Killian acknowledged this as well. Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 14, 22, 40, 68, 84, 132.

⁵⁷ Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 99.

“would never become adequate members of the colonial project” and therefore, they would never be accepted.⁵⁸

Primary sources, like the *Colonist* and *Times* newspapers, tended to focus relatively un-judgementally on the blending of the African Canadian and White communities. The occasional references to the African-Canadian ‘community’ most often echo the 1860 article entitled “Another Falsehood Nailed.” In the article Mr. DeCosmos (*Colonist* editor) was accused of purposely ignoring a denigrating comment made against the ‘coloured population’. He did not, instead he noted that the said population was an accepted part of the community in need of equal rights.⁵⁹ Another example appeared later that year. In September an African-Canadian man was brought in front of the local judge on charges of using “disgusting language” towards his “buxom” African-Canadian neighbour. When he appeared, his wife, a White “diminutive Irishwomen,” stood at his side occasionally

⁵⁸ Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 132.

⁵⁹ Newspaper coverage focused on African-Canadian males within the community or on slavery and its end in the southern United States. In analyzing the *Colonist* and *Times*’ direct or indirect references to gender, a hierarchical pattern that reflected societal attitudes stands out. In the papers, in descending order of ‘popularity’, were White, Chinese, African-Canadian, and Indigenous men, while much farther down the list were White, Chinese, and Indigenous women. African-Canadian women received little mention. The women who did make the news were most often connected with moralistic or criminal stories, as was often the case with Chinese or Indigenous men. The ‘falsehood’ in question concerned whether or not Mr. DeCosmos (*Colonist* editor) had purposely ignored a denigrating comment made against the African-Canadian population. He had not! “Another Falsehood Nailed,” *Colonist*, 7 Jan. 1860, 3.

prompting him as he made his defence.⁶⁰ There were no comments made on the mixed marriage or references to this as an 'African-Canadian' issue, the article appeared as just another day in the courts. Despite concerns about Indigenous and White intermarriages, this evidence exemplifies that not only did African-Canadian and White marriages occur they seemed to be sanctioned within the community. This means that at minimum there was some interaction between Whites and African-Canadians.⁶¹

Kitossa's concept of how racialized women's experiences were 'disappeared' is definitely reflected in the *Colonist's* coverage of African-Canadian women in Victoria. Between 1858 and 1900, a search found two statements in which the paper referred to African-Canadian women. One was a tiny comment made by 'Beecher' in 1867 which discussed African-Canadian women's honesty, and the second was a short 'Note' about the sale of Black men and women convicts in Alabama in 1879.⁶² After 1900, more reports about African-Canadians appeared in print. However, even then, African-Canadian women were only referenced in the *Colonist* a total of eight times between 1900 and 1910 and the stories were full of racial

⁶⁰ "A Rumpus Among The Negroes," *Colonist*, 20 Sept. 1860, 2.

⁶¹ Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 59.

⁶² "Beecher says," *Colonist*, 10 Jan. 1868, 2; "To the Highest Bidder," *Colonist* 18 May 1879, 3. The monthly cost of the various Black women listed ranged from \$2.05 to \$4.00. "Beecher says" was also found in the *Times*, Jan. 10, 1868, 4.

stereotypes and said very little about the local African-Canadian community.⁶³ For all intents and purposes, according to the *Colonist* and the *Times*, African-Canadian women in Victoria, not to mention any organization of African-Canadian women, did not exist.

Despite this media invisibility, there is evidence that the African-Canadian community not only was alive and well, but also that it was growing in Victoria.⁶⁴ Crawford Killian and Sherry Edmunds-Flett both maintain that African-Canadian women and their families were active in the early years of the colony and many, through intricate familial and community ties, stayed in Victoria throughout their lives. Charles Alexander and his wife Nancy helped build Shady Creek Methodist Church and on their Golden Anniversary in 1899, they held a large “golden affair” which included close family friends: the Helmckens, Tolmies, Howards, and Shakespeares, all of whom were White, and the Clantons, Spotts, and Barnswells, all of whom were African-Canadian.⁶⁵ Edmunds-Flett’s article, “‘Abundant Faith’: Nineteenth Century African-Canadian Women on

⁶³ Ruth Ray, “*Colonist*, 11 Jan. 1906, 5; About Animals,” *Colonist*, 19 July 1908.

⁶⁴ Saltspring Island’s population decrease was due to the increase of farmland and orchards in central BC. See Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*; Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 114, 115.

⁶⁵ The Spotts family was well known in Saanich and they were heavily involved in education, including membership on the School Board. Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 150-151.

Vancouver Island,” also notes these names - Alexander, Spotts, and Clanton - as important in the African-Canadian community. She goes on to emphasize that many of the men, women, and families who immigrated to Victoria had extensive ties with the early temperance and abolitionist movements in the United States.⁶⁶

Writing from an Eastern perspective, Tamari Kitossa and Evelyn Higginbotham both state that race and gender battles for equal rights often spilled over the American border into Eastern Canada and consequentially, many African-Canadian women’s groups were formed that supported temperance, women’s rights, or abolitionist issues well before the establishment of White women’s organizations.⁶⁷ Kitossa notes that “a dedicated vocal minority were political advocates for racial integration and equal rights for women.”⁶⁸ At least two African Canadian groups or ‘literary societies’ were functioning in Ontario during the 1850s well before the

⁶⁶ Sherry Edmunds-Flett, “‘Abundant Faith’: Nineteenth-Century African-Canadian Women on Vancouver Island” in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women’s History*, eds. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 272; Terry Reksten, *More English than the English* (Victoria, British Columbia: Orca Book Publishers, 1986), 62, 63.

⁶⁷ Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History,” 251; Kitossa, “Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography.”96-99, 101.

⁶⁸ Kitossa, “Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography,” 95.

accepted 'start' date of Canadian feminism in 1876.⁶⁹ Women's rights, temperance, and suffrage were all discussed at least "twenty-two years before Dr. Emily Stowe's politically significant 'literary society' was formed in Toronto" in 1877.⁷⁰ Higginbotham adds that, "from very early on, Black people" in the US worked on "fashioning 'race' into a cultural identity that resisted White hegemonic discourses."⁷¹ African-Canadian women in Eastern Canada were very aware of current issues and did not wait to be invited to participate by those south of the border; they began their own

⁶⁹ The reference to 'literary society' refers to the Toronto group established by Dr. Emily Stowe which was ostensibly referred to as a 'literary society' while in fact it was a passionate forum for women's rights and suffrage support. For further information, see Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The Osgood Society, 1991); Isabel Bassett, *The Parlour Rebellion: Profiles in the Struggle for Women's Rights* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975); Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950); Sharon Anne Cook, *'Through Sunshine and Shadow': The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Marta Danylewycz, "In Their Own Right," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 3rd ed., eds. Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Fellman (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1997), 182; Jane Errington, "Pioneers and Suffragists," in *Changing Patterns: Women in Canada*, 2nd ed., eds. Sandra Burt, Lorraine Code and Lindsay Dorney (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1993), 61; Fiamengo, "Rediscovering our Foremothers Again," 144; Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Reasonable Claim Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979); Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 95; Heather Murray, "Great Works and Good Works: The Toronto Women's Literary Club," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed., eds. Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2002); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage," in *Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History Volume 1*, eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

⁷⁰ Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred*, 28; Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 95.

⁷¹ Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History," 267.

movement to address social reform and women's rights often through the rallying call of 'racial uplift'. Higginbotham notes that the idea of racial uplift was created by 'Black' people endeavouring "not only to silence and conceal but also to dismantle and deconstruct the dominant society's deployment of race"⁷² It was the rallying cry that was important to Mary Ann Shadd, one of the leaders of an African-Canadian reform group in Ontario in the 1850s. Shadd sent forth the "clarion cry" of "racial uplift" in her newspaper, the *Provincial Freeman*, as she demanded social reform, equal rights for women, alcohol and sexual temperance, women's suffrage rights, and abolition of slavery in America.⁷³ Higginbotham would most likely agree with Kitossa when she asks whether "it is not ideologically and epistemologically possible to contend that the beginning of Canadian

⁷² Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History," 266-274.

⁷³ Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 95-95. For more on Mary Ann Shadd see Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, *Shadd, Mary Ann Camberton* (Cary) at <http://www.biographi.ca/>; Erica Lawson, "Images in African-Canadian: African-Canadian Women, Media and the Mythology of an Orderly Society," in *Back to the Drawing Board*, eds. Njoki Nathani Wane, Katerina Deliovsky, and Erica Lawson (Toronto, Ontario: Sumach Press, 2002); Notisha Massaquoi and Njoki Nathani Wane eds., *Theorizing Empowerment: Canadian Perspectives on African-Canadian Feminist Thought* (Toronto: Inanna Publications and Education Inc., 2007); Mensah, *African-Canadian Canadians*; Rosemary Sadlier, *Mary Ann Shadd* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1995); Valverde, "'When the Mother of the Race is Free'"; Robin W. Weeks, *The African-Canadians In Canada: A History*, 2nd ed. (McGill, Queen's Press, 1997); Shirley Yee, "Gender Ideology and African-Canadian Women as Community-Builders in Ontario, 1850-1870," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 4th ed., eds. Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason, and Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2002). To view Shadd's newspaper, *The Provincial Freeman*, go to <http://www.archives.gov.on.ca/english/archival-records/interloan/provincial-freeman.aspx>

feminism started with Mary Ann Shadd's group" in the 1850s?⁷⁴ African-Canadian women as the 'first feminists' is a real possibility and one that may prove to be true in Victoria, British Columbia.

Victoria historian Sherry Edmunds-Flett notes that African-Canadian women in Victoria, as in Eastern Canada, were organizing into societies that focused on goals of 'racial uplift' and social reform and, from the sparse sources available, it is evident that this was happening from the time of settlement in 1858 forward.⁷⁵ Involvement in local churches, particularly Reverend Edward Cridge's Anglican Church, Reverend William F. Clarke's Congregationalist Church, as well as the Episcopalian and Methodist congregations, began immediately; Ladies Aid groups and community building projects were created; and schools integrated from the moment of arrival.⁷⁶ The sources available suggest that full integration with the White community was encouraged by various church congregations, ultimately resulting in the African-Canadian community being never completely separate from the White world.

⁷⁴ Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 101.

⁷⁵ Edmunds-Flett, "Abundant Faith," 274.

⁷⁶ Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*, 53-60; Edmunds-Flett, "Abundant Faith," 271-272; Derek Reimer, ed., "A Victorian Tapestry," *Sound Heritage: Aural History Program Provincial Archives of British Columbia* VII, no. 3 (1978), 29-31.

In terms of a women's movement, social reform minded African-Canadian women gathered together from their first days in BC to better their communities. The 'Committee of Coloured Ladies', cited in the 9 January 1862 issue of the *Colonist*, was one of the first acknowledged women's organizations in BC.⁷⁷ African-Canadian women involved in the Committee were discussed again in 1864, when they created and presented a silk flag to the *African-Canadian Pioneer Rifle Corps*.⁷⁸ African-Canadian women were prepared to organize and do 'what needed doing' within the community and that including everything from church building to donating items to the *Protestant Orphan's Home*.⁷⁹

There is also evidence of African-Canadian women's involvement in White women's organizations. It has proven difficult to trace specific women involved in Victoria's women's reform, yet in many instances, it has proven even more difficult to determine each woman's racial background.

⁷⁷ The only other women's group mentioned before these ones was the *Society for the Relief of the Poor* noted in August of 1859. "Rifle Corps," *Colonist* 9 Jan. 1862, 3.

⁷⁸ For more information on the African-Canadian Pioneer Rifle Corps, see Edmunds-Flett, "Abundant Faith," 273, 279; *Chronicle*, 15 March 1864, 2. For more information see: Geoffrey Molyneux, *British Columbia, An Illustrated History* (Vancouver, British Columbia: Raincoast Books, 2002), 19-20; Terry Reksten, *More English than the English* (Victoria, British Columbia: Orca Book Publishers, 1986), 62-67.

⁷⁹ Many African-Canadian women were employed outside the home and a few combined work and home together, owning boarding houses or having lodgers. Peter Baskerville notes *A Silent Revolution* that boarding-house or lodger work was common employment for all women at the end of the nineteenth century Peter A Baskerville, *A Silent Revolution?: Gender and Wealth in English Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 224-227; Edmunds-Flett, "Abundant Faith," 269, 273.

However, using data from BCs 1881, 1891 and 1901 censuses cross-referenced with the 1885 petition signatories, as well as *WCTU, Women's Council*, and later *University Women's Club* memberships, and local media, a picture of Maria Grant's call for unity of all "nationalities, creeds, and societies" emerges in Victoria.⁸⁰ The picture begins by noting people with common names like Smith, Booth, or Black, cited in various sources discussing African-Canadian involvement in Victoria as well as referenced in White focused discussions.⁸¹ It is unclear whether the people with these names are White or African-Canadian. In terms of integration, at a minimum, there were four identifiable African-Canadian women who were involved in Victoria's women's reform organizations. Miss. Mary W. Hamilton, who signed the 1885 suffrage petition, was involved with the *WCTU*, and later the *University Women's Club of Victoria*.⁸² Mrs. Susan A. Pointer was a Foundation Member of the *WCTU*, signed the 1885 petition,

⁸⁰ See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved*, particularly *Appendix 6: 1885 Petition, Appendix 7: WCTU and Women's Council, and Appendix: 8 Women's Council and Suffrage Petition*.

⁸¹ Lynn Gough, *As Wide As Serpents: Five Women & An Organization That Changed British Columbia, 1883-1939* (Victoria, British Columbia: Swan Lake Publishing, 1988); Margaret Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule, Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* (Cloverdale B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd, 1984); Edmunds-Flett, "Abundant Faith"; Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing*; Molyneux, *British Columbia*; Reksten, *More English than the English*, all contain examples of these names.

⁸² See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved*.

and was involved in the *Women's Council*.⁸³ Mrs. Mabel Carter, wife of George Carter, was a member of the YMCA Ladies Auxiliary and may be the Mrs. G. Carter listed as a member of the *Women's Council*.⁸⁴ Miss. Sarah A. Robinson was a teacher and member of the *Victoria Teacher's Association* as well as a member of the *Women's Council*.⁸⁵ The identification of these four African-Canadian women represent the tentative beginnings of research that could help redefine how the woman's movement in Victoria is conceptualized.

While Indigenous women focused on the maintenance of matrilineal lines and cultural distinctness alongside the introduction and assimilation of Christian social reform goals, African-Canadian women's emphasis involved racial uplift and cooperative Christianity alongside social reform goals. Direct evidence is stronger in the case of African-Canadian women than Indigenous women, but again, the struggle to find their stories continues.

⁸³ See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved; Appendix 3: WCTU Roll of Honour*

⁸⁴ See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved*.

⁸⁵ Miss Hamilton, Mrs. Pointer, and Miss. Robinson are all listed in the 1891 Victoria Census. Each has the designation 'Africa' in the section on Origin. See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved*. See: *viHistory Census Data. "1881, 1891, 1901 Census."* <http://vihistory.uvic.ca/> (accessed from April 2010 to April 2011)

Chinese Women and Social Reform

Unlike the Indigenous and African-Canadian populations of Victoria, Kitossa's reference to 'disappeared' racial groups is not as appropriate for those of Chinese ancestry.⁸⁶ Chinese people did not disappear in the White media; in fact their immigration and presence have been discussed in numerous articles, chapters, books, and picture collections devoted to the Asian presence in Victoria and British Columbia. Many themes have been well documented by scholars: the ways in which Chinese immigration was opposed by various segments of the White community, as well as the presence of opium dens, and the existence of racial discrimination, head taxes, and vibrant Chinatowns. Initially male Chinese immigration to British Columbia was embraced as manual labourers were desperately needed. In 1860, several articles and editorials appeared encouraging their immigration, claiming that "these colonies, and the territory stretching from Fort Simpson to the Arctic Ocean, may provide an asylum for at least 50,000 Chinamen." The very same article, however, noted that Chinese immigration had to be simultaneously watched, guided, and controlled. The article ended with the point that an "American immigrant [was] worth

⁸⁶ Kitossa, "Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography," 89, 110, 111.

two Chinese in physical capability.”⁸⁷ Such attitudes had shifted by 1869, when calls for cheap Chinese labour vanished and references to Chinese dens of prostitution, opium dens, and “heathen devils” became the norm.⁸⁸

Historical discussions about Victoria’s Chinese women have also focused on several common themes: the relatively low proportion of women in the Chinese population, head tax increases, concubinage, slavery, prostitution, and consistent references to Chinese woman as ‘opium fiends’.⁸⁹ The first mention of a Chinese woman in Victoria newspapers appeared in the 18 August 1872 issue of the *Colonist* under the title “Trafficking in Human Flesh.” The short article “directs the Grand Jury to the practice of selling Chinese women ... at Barkerville” and then notes that “the practice prevails here ... to an alarming extent.”⁹⁰ An article printed on 16 June 1876 in the *Colonist* claimed that “Chinese women are in the habit of luring boys of tender age into their dens after dark,” ruining for life

⁸⁷ *Colonist*: “The Chinese,” 8 March 1862, 3; “Contrabands Wanted,” 28 Nov. 1862, 2.

⁸⁸ For one example, see “Democracy in Trouble,” 12 *Colonist*, Sep. 1869, 2.

⁸⁹ These sources include references to primary documents of the time: Tamara Adilman, “A Preliminary Sketch of Chinese Women and Work in British Columbia, 1858-1950,” in *British Columbia Reconsidered*, eds. Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 313-315; *Colonist*: “The Heathen Chinese,” 29 Dec. 1874, 3; “Whites vs. Chinese,” 17 Aug. 1875, 3; “The Chinese Evil and the Constitution,” 2 May 1876, 3; Reksten, *More English Than the English*, 124-129; Roy, *White Man’s Province*; Yuen-Fong Woon, “Between South China and British Columbia: Life Trajectories of Chinese Women” *BC Studies* 56 (Winter 2007/2008): 89.

⁹⁰ “Trafficking in Human Flesh,” *Colonist*, 18 Aug. 1872, 2.

“several fine, promising lads.”⁹¹ In 1879, the status of Chinese women was summed up by Senator William John MacDonald, when he stated that “he had heard that the Chinese woman had an immoral effect on youth of the city” and that “many of them had been imported from California for the purposes of prostitution.”⁹² Chinese women were consistently labelled as dishonourable labourers, morally inferior, great evils, or as “a terrible nuisance – a canker worm – a dangerous element- a –a –plague” that would “blight the youth of our country.”⁹³ Rescue homes were created to ‘save’ them, missionaries were sent to ‘Christianize’ them, and when those actions did not work, individual Chinese women were considered at best “uncivilized” and at worst worth “less than a dog.”⁹⁴

Tamara Kitossa’s ‘disappeared’ thesis, however, is applicable in Victoria when considering Chinese women who may have been active in the local Chinese community.⁹⁵ Their involvement is *almost* impossible to find.

⁹¹ “The Chinese,” *Colonist*, 16 June 1876, 2; Article repeated: “The Chinese,” *Times*, 16 June 1878, 3.

⁹² MacDonald was a Canadian Senator representing Victoria from 1871 to 1913. “Public Meeting,” *Colonist*, 11 Nov. 1879, 3.

⁹³ Adilman, “A Preliminary Sketch,” 313-315; *Colonist*: “The Heathen Chinese,” 29 Dec. 1874, 3; “Whites vs. Chinese,” 17 Aug. 1875, 3; “The Chinese Evil and the Constitution,” 2 May 1876, 3; Roy, *White Man’s Province*; Woon, “Between South China and British Columbia,” 89.

⁹⁴ See Chapter 2 for discussion of the *Chinese Rescue Home* and Missionary Societies. “In Darkest Vancouver,” *Colonist*, 31 October 1903, 5.

⁹⁵ Kitossa, “Criticism, Reconstruction and African Centered Feminist Historiography,” 89, 110, 111.

Yet the prevailing ideology of Maternal Feminism – women’s responsibility to society – is found in historical documents about Chinese women’s actions. In expanding the definition of the women’s movement there appears to be a legacy of organizing efforts among Chinese women. Indigenous, African-Canadian, and White women’s organizing in the latter years of the nineteenth century contributed to Chinese women’s social reform goals and organization in the early 1900s by the mere fact of their existence. Awareness of other groups battling and in some places succeeding in reform demands may have encouraged Chinese women to do likewise though their story is significantly different from other local racialized groups.⁹⁶ While Indigenous and African-Canadian women developed independent goals for their communities and worked within the White movement, the Chinese women’s movement remained largely separate from mainstream White organizations, even while maintaining some similar ideals. Maternal Feminism, with its focus on links between social reform and women’s rights, the carrying of society’s moral compass, and even to a limited extent suffrage, remained cornerstones of the

⁹⁶ Specific examples of Chinese women’s awareness of the reform movement in the city will be discussed below.

Chinese women's movement alongside debates for citizenship and recognition.

By 1900, there was considerable attention paid to Chinese women in Victoria in the *Colonist* and *Times* newspapers. The main discussion about the Chinese community more generally centred on the question of citizenship and, if granted, what rights or limitations the government should extend to the Chinese population. In this context, Chinese women were seldom mentioned. When they were discussed, it was mainly through the lens of prostitution and the importation of Chinese women for the purposes of prostitution. Stories about women involved in, or victimized during, the Boxer Rebellions, missionary activities, and as Chinese labour in Victoria were all included in the papers. A story about Chinese women would typically follow the same line as a June 1900 article entitled, "Ordered deported: Five Chinese Women are Sent Back to Their Own Land."⁹⁷ It described the sordid tale of four female slaves and a fifth old woman, a Victoria resident, "who from time to time [has] attempted to

⁹⁷ "Ordered Deported," *Colonist* 4 July 1900, 3.

bring in a consignment of women from China for sale as so much merchandise to the Chinese of BC.”⁹⁸

Research into the activities of racialized women in the late 1800s is important not just in and of itself, but also because it provides glimpses of connections between various racialized groups and their reform goals. By the early 1900s, some racialized groups choose to engage with some ‘White’ ideas, while others choose to work independently. Chinese women were no exception to this and in fact by October of 1900, an organized movement of Chinese women was found in the local press. The *Colonist* was the only paper that covered a story entitled “Indian Famine Fund.”⁹⁹ The three-quarters of a column long story reported how a letter signed by Mrs. Chan Sing Kai containing \$64.00 raised by the ‘Chinese Women and Children of Victoria’ was sent to the famine fund. Even more exciting is the fact that the article listed the sixty-two Chinese names of all the women involved!¹⁰⁰ It is interesting to note that, like many other women’s social

⁹⁸ *Colonist*: “Chinese Missions,” 9 Nov. 1894, 1; “Ordered Deported,” 4 July 1900, 3. Other stories included, “Women Who Make Trouble,” 23 Sept. 1900, 7; “Chinese at Commission,” 17 March 1901, 8; “Professional Men Testify,” 4 April 1901, 8; “Will Fight Deportation,” 5 April 1901, 7. This story is also discussed on April 7, 12, 14, and 16, when the lady in question is deported. “Late Last Night...”, 18 Nov. 1902, 2; “In Darkest Vancouver,” 31 Oct. 1903, 5. Also see *Times*: “Notes,” 20 July, 1900, 1; 22 July 1900, 9; 9 Aug. 1900, 8; 12 Sept. 1900, 2.

⁹⁹ “Indian Famine Fund,” *Colonist*, 9 Oct. 1900.

¹⁰⁰ See *Appendix 9: Indian Famine Fund Names*.

reform groups of the time, this one was based out of the local Chinese Mission of the Methodist Church. Mrs. Kai was wife to the pastor of the church, Reverend Chan Sing Kai. Any connection between this group and the *Missionary Societies* within Victoria is speculation, but it is certainly possible. For example, the money sent to the fund on behalf of this group was sent in the name of Christian love and the Golden Rule to the needy and ‘helpless’ people of India, similar to language used by White female missionary societies. Yet, this group organized itself independently of Victoria’s Methodist community as a whole; its leaders were Chinese, as were all the women listed as donating.¹⁰¹ This group was not ‘rights’ based in the sense of fighting for suffrage, but nevertheless, its existence does show distinct Chinese women’s activism. And the story does not stop there.

More examples offer a sense of Chinese women’s independent actions working in conjunction with White women’s movement ideals. On 23 May 1903, the *Colonist* announced that the lectures Miss F. B. Kang had presented in Victoria’s Chinatown were “causing quite a furore [sic].” While noting that this was “the first occasion on which any Chinese woman has been known to speak in public,” the newspaper also emphasized the topics

¹⁰¹ It could be argued that Christianity in and of itself was a form of White indoctrination yet the leaders and members of this congregation were all Chinese and like other more White focused churches ran independently.

she focused on: reform in China and reform for Chinese women!¹⁰² The *Times* mentioned her visit in the 22 May edition of the paper, but failed to note any details such as the *Colonist* mentioned like the fact that her “audiences were large” and they were expected to be larger upon her return from her tour of the west.¹⁰³ Numerous articles appeared after this point describing local visits by Chinese women editors and writers, all of whom were invariably exemplified as Chinese ‘New Women’.¹⁰⁴ The *Colonist’s* use of this term seemed to connect back to Lady Aberdeen and her *Council of Women’s* ‘new woman sphere’ idea.¹⁰⁵ In that case, a ‘new woman’ was marked by self-sacrifice and service, best seen within a set of socially beneficial organizations which “could work more effectively and more pleasantly if they were united by a bond of sympathy.”¹⁰⁶ The

¹⁰²Miss. F. B. Kang’s father, Chinese reformer, Kang Yu Wei founded the Chinese Empire Reform Association in Victoria in 1899, after being forced to flee Peking. Miss Kang, his second daughter, “followed her father’s instructions to ‘take trips to Europe and the Americas, deliver speeches on national affairs, and pioneer feminist movements’ for Chinese women.” “A Reformer’s Daughter,” *Colonist*, 23 May 1903, 5; Zhongping Chen, “City Played Key Role in Chinese Reform Movement,” “Victoria as a Political Centre for Globalized Chinese Reforms,” and “Victoria as a Starting Point of Chinese Feminist Politics,” *Times Colonist*, 24 June 2012.

¹⁰³ The reporter for the *Colonist* did not note whether the audience included White people but the article did not mention that the audience was all Chinese either as did other similar articles from the same period. “A Reformer’s Daughter,” *Colonist*, 23 May 1903, 5; “Notes,” *Times*, 22 May 1903, 4.

¹⁰⁴ *Colonist*: “A Chinese Reformer,” 7 Nov. 1902, 5; “Chinese Women Editor,” 10 June 1903, 5; “Chinese Sermon to Women,” 7 May 1907, 8; “Of Interest to Women,” 5 Nov. 1908, 8.

¹⁰⁵ “Editorial,” *Colonist*, 7 Nov. 1895, 4; Hastings and Ellenwood, *Blue Bows*.

¹⁰⁶ “Editorial,” *Colonist*, 7 Nov. 1895, 4.

Colonist articles implied that Chinese women, like their White counterparts, were expected to embody a higher morality than the Chinese men. Despite western media portrayals of Chinese women as evil, it was her morality which dictated her actions, while her public engagement benefitted both her local community and her international community, China.

After her 1903 lectures, Miss F. B. Kang continued to tour the west, but with her encouragement and her father's support, the *Chinese Empire Ladies Reform Association (CELRA)* was organized in Victoria.¹⁰⁷ *CELRA* became internationally known, with groups established in many of the major cities in the west. Members of *CELRA* were very active in their respective communities, but perhaps of greater significance is some early evidence of Chinese and White collaboration: a poster which presents twenty women leaders within the organization, eighteen Chinese women and two White women.

Another instance of Chinese women's actions is even more intriguing. Both the *Colonist* and *Times* often reported on the news of the *Chinese Benevolent Association* or the *Chinese Empire Association*, groups

¹⁰⁷ Zhongping Chen, "City Played Key Role in Chinese Reform Movement," "Victoria as a Political Centre for Globalized Chinese Reforms," and "Victoria as a Starting Point of Chinese Feminist Politics," *Times Colonist*, 24 June 2012; Zhongping Chen, "Victoria's Chinatown: Chinese Ladies Empire Reform Association (CLERA)" http://chinatown.library.uvic.ca/chinese_empire_ladies_reform_association (accessed June 2013)

dedicated to providing mutual support and leadership within local, provincial, and national Chinese Canadian communities.¹⁰⁸ On page five of the 5 December 1905 *Colonist*, an article was published which discussed a meeting of the executive of the *Chinese Empire Association of Canada*. The Vancouver group hosted the meeting and many members of the Victoria group attended. What is exciting about this meeting is the topic of discussion: whether BC's Chinese women should join White women in their battle for suffrage rights!¹⁰⁹ The issue was debated "pro and con with considerable animation and a large number of delegates taking part." The final decision was that "as far as Chinese women were concerned the time had not yet arrived when they should be allowed to vote, as they did not have sufficient knowledge of public questions," and that more Chinese schools needed to be built.¹¹⁰ The article was short, the tone suggested male leadership, and it did not say whether members of the *Association* were men or women, or even if women had been allowed to attend. No matter the result of the meeting, the fact that the discussion took place,

¹⁰⁸ The *Chinese Benevolent Association* and/or the *Chinese Empire Association* and/or the *Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association* were established in Victoria in 1884.

¹⁰⁹ "Chinese Reformers," *Colonist*, 5 Dec. 1905, 5.

¹¹⁰ This article was repeated in the Sunday paper on "Chinese Reformers," *Colonist* 10 Dec. 1905.

that there is a White record of it, and that it indicates a link to White women's suffrage struggles, are of significance.

This is not to say that the majority of Chinese women in Victoria were reform minded. The reality may have been that only a handful were. Yet this information is important to women's history in early BC. Evidence of calls for reform, and reform directly linked to women in the Chinese community is sparse in local primary sources. However, significant connections among women reformers emerged through the many Chinese women traveling to Canada and the United States from China.¹¹¹ In 1907, a talk was given by a White missionary woman, Mrs. (Dr.) J. Creasey Smith, in support of Chinese women's reform and the right of women, both White and Chinese, to vote. Articles about it appeared in the *Colonist* on 31 May and in the *Times* on 1 June.¹¹² Mrs. Smith announced to a large audience

¹¹¹ Manchu Qing Dynasty - Last Dowager Empress Cixi (1835-1908) was one of the world's most powerful leaders. She initially ruled China as one of two Dowager Empresses caring for her son. Upon her son's death two years after he attained majority age, she pushed her three year old nephew into the line of succession eventually becoming China's 'de facto' ruler in 1881. She was initially against political, economic, and social reforms but eventually she came to support reform, including women's suffrage and equal education. She acquiesced to the ending of hostilities during the Boxer Rebellions with no personal or territorial loss and instead began to woo and support western ideals. There are many books and articles about her life and discussion of her reform decisions. Adilman, "A Preliminary Sketch," and Woon, "Between South China and British Columbia."

¹¹² "Chinese Women Join Freedom Movement," *Colonist*, 31 May 1907, 11; Chinese Freedom Movement," *Times*, 1 June 1907, 5.

that the “suffragette movement had reached China” and she encouraged further support from Victoria and British Columbia.¹¹³

The leader of China, the Dowager Empress Cixi, had also begun to embrace numerous western ideals, including women’s reform measures shortly after the end of the Boxer Rebellions. In the last years before her death in 1908, the Empress had welcomed women from the west into her court and regularly called for change in regards to women’s education and social status. Women from China, as well as White women who returned from visits there, espoused Cixi’s reforms and called for the recognition of Chinese women as individuals with their own unique place in society.¹¹⁴ In BC, head taxes and other immigration restrictions continued to keep most Chinese women out of Canada; however, largely due to the reforms the Empress supported, many of the Chinese women in BC refused to remain silent.¹¹⁵

On 3 January 1909, an article appeared in the *Colonist* which described “The New Women in China.” The editorial revelled in the “revolt of Chinese women against existing social arrangements.” It talked of their

¹¹³ “Chinese Women Join Freedom Movement,” *Colonist*, 31 May 1907, 11.

¹¹⁴ Example of White women from China discussing Cixi’s reforms in BC: “Chinese Woman Join Freedom Movement,” *Colonist*, 31 May 1907, 11.

¹¹⁵ Adilman, “A Preliminary Sketch,” 312, 313; Roy, *White Man’s Province*; Reksten, *More English than the English*, 126.

“awakening to the brutality and injustice of the state of things,” and their demands for “education and legal rights.”¹¹⁶ If this article says nothing about the movement of Chinese women in Victoria, its full half page and broader print font at the very minimum speaks to White recognition of Chinese women as active social reformers as well as recognition that there were people in Victoria who cared about the subject. Yuen-Fong Woon hypothesizes in her work that, “between South China and British Columbia,” many of the women that lived in Victoria were “neither submissive nor secluded” as traditionally believed.¹¹⁷ These women were active in their communities and businesses and, like the Indigenous and African-Canadian populations, it is not hard to imagine considerable activity within the community to support reform measures.¹¹⁸ The Famine Fund letter indicated action and the fact that women speakers appeared and lectured on reform topics showed that many men and women listened to the needs of the community and that exposure to reform issues existed.

¹¹⁶ “The New Women in China,” *Colonist*, 3 Jan. 1909, 12.

¹¹⁷ Woon, “Between South China and British Columbia,” 88.

¹¹⁸ Woon, “Between South China and British Columbia,” 88, 89.

Conclusion

This discussion of racial diversity associated with Victoria's women's movements is in its very early stages. It is designed as a beginning; a taste of the unknown, which will hopefully pique further interest and encourage further research not only into Indigenous, African-Canadian, and Chinese women's history, but into the history of all of Victoria's racialized groups.¹¹⁹

Adele Perry succinctly points out that "White women were also racialized,"

¹¹⁹ In its attempt to cover the ever-developing women's rights movement on a national and international scale, the *Colonist* helped redefine the boundaries of the movement itself. The term 'women's movement' was stretched to fit both other countries and immigrant expectations. In November 1908 an article first published in New York about Syrian women's fight for woman's rights appeared. Mrs. Jacobs, the interviewee, was disappointed with the status of Syrian women and was at the centre of a "quietly bubbling" women's rights movement located in a suburb of New York. She was asked the expected questions about whether she wanted equal pay for equal work or the right to vote, to which she replied no. When asked what she did want, Mrs. Jacobs stated that what she wanted was, in essence, what White American women already had: freedom. She explained how Syrian girls of twelve were married off to men not known to them and turned into virtual slaves with no rights or freedoms. For Mrs. Jacobs, the women's rights movement did not involve Whiteness or suffrage; it was about what White women's rights supporters took for granted: freedom. To what extent, however, was this about the application of an imperial lens where Western women were constructed as advanced and "other" women catching up? It is not known whether this article was intended to redefine the woman's movement from 'other' women's perspectives or whether it was intended as a rebuke to activists; either way it is only one of a series of articles with this tone. On 1 April 1909, a short item discussed how the Philippine Women's Club, "populated by several hundred Indigenous women" and led by Miss Conception Felix, student of law, perceived the woman's movement. The group's goal was "the distribution of pure milk" to the people, especially children, of the area. Money was raised and a sterilizing apparatus purchased allowing the women to create a sterilizing department that "was a little model of its kind." Who needs suffrage? Women's rights were as simple as supplying what was needed to the community the movement exists in. Again the intention of this series of articles may be more nefarious - women should be happy with what they have - but for the researcher these commentaries help lay out the flexible boundaries of the women's movement as constructed Victoria's main newspaper. *Colonist*: "Woman's Rights," 5 Nov, 1908, 8; "Philippine Women's Club," 1 April 1909, 8.

and it is in this context that any discussion of a 'women's movement' must be situated.¹²⁰ By placing the emphasis on the White social reform movement, there is the danger of women's historians reproducing the power relations of race and class in historical discussions of Victoria at the turn of the twentieth century. Chris Clarkson's argument that only mid- to upper-class White religious women were involved in the woman's reform movement is challenged by evidence that suggests that the term 'women's movement' must be redefined to include not only White, middle- to upper-class women, but also Indigenous, African-Canadian, Chinese, and possibly also Japanese, South Asian, Mexican, and Hawaiian women of which significant populations called Victoria and BC home.¹²¹ The women and men of various racialized communities recognized and advocated for social reform goals, both for their own communities and society as a whole. Indigenous, African-Canadian, Chinese and White women each have distinct women's movement stories, yet it is all of them combined which show Victoria's women's movement in its entirety. It was a movement which spanned not only racial differences, but also communities and generations.

¹²⁰ Perry, *Edge of Empire*, 199.

¹²¹ Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 125, 127. Ruth Sandwell's text on Saltspring Island also discusses a significant number of Hawaiian immigrants. Sandwell, *Contesting Rural Space*.

Conclusion

Where does the drama of history get its material? From the 'unending conversation' that is going on at the point of history when we are born. Imagine that you enter a parlor. You come late. When you arrive, others have long preceded you, and they are engaged in a heated discussion, a discussion too heated for them to pause and tell you exactly what it is about. In fact, the discussion had already begun long before any of them got there, so that no one present is qualified to retrace for you all the steps that had gone before. You listen for a while, until you decide that you have caught the tenor of the argument; then you put in your oar. Someone answers; you answer him; another comes to your defense; another aligns himself against you, to either the embarrassment or gratification of your opponent, depending upon the quality of your ally's assistance. However, the discussion is interminable. The hour grows late, you must depart. And you do depart, with the discussion still vigorously in progress.¹

The unending conversation is a perfect metaphor for any discussion of history. Each researcher steps in at a moment and must contend not only with the facts as they are documented but also the attitudes, biases, and social realities of the time they are writing about as well as the time they are writing in. Previous conversation is constantly reviewed, challenged, discarded or accepted and with each new point, a ripple effect occurs with hundreds or thousands of new possibilities that must be examined. This is true in discussions about the 'women's movement'

¹ Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form*, 3rd Ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), 110-111.

throughout the world as well as in Victoria, British Columbia. Traditional, or older works, have limited the conceptualization of the movement in a number of ways, including through what topics were covered or the extent to which gender, class, ethnicity, and race were incorporated into the analysis. White middle -upper -class women struggling for suffrage rights during the last years of the nineteenth and the early years of the twentieth centuries have been the accepted parameters of the ‘women’s movement’ for many years. As the years have passed, the conversation has expanded, with researchers beginning to explore other avenues and expand previous meanings. Building on this work, this thesis challenges the traditional definition of the ‘women’s movement’ in Victoria by expanding its boundaries by time and topic, and adopting an intersectional analysis. It incorporates a new interpretation of the ‘women’s movement’ as a mid-to late-nineteenth century collection of individuals and groups who held a set of beliefs which empowered women and men, to recognize and advocate for social reform goals, particularly rights for women.

In Victoria, these men and women were initially called ‘Shrewish Old Mischiefmakers’, the ‘other’, the ones that challenged the status quo.² This

² See Chapter 1; “Letter to the Editor -Female Suffrage,” *British Colonist*, 27 Oct. 1871, 3.

was not limited to White middle-and upper-class women, those who have been recognized as central to the movement, but also to Indigenous women, African-Canadian women, Chinese women and quite possibly women of other racial backgrounds. The movement was also not limited to women, as evidenced throughout this thesis; men were often involved in supporting local reform causes. In addition, the movement was not just about White women attaining the vote, and perhaps temperance legislation, but also about women of various racial groups working on various community based reform goals. The goals themselves ranged from health care improvement and orphans homes, religious and racial uplift, to public recognition and political power. This thesis tells this story using a variety of primary sources including a number of local newspapers, particularly *The Colonist* and *The Times*, as well as letters, diaries, legislative records, censuses, and petition documents. Secondary sources were abundant, though these largely focused on the White story. It is most important to note that this study is only a beginning; much more research is required particularly on the 'other': race, class, and religion are just three of many other points of conversation that need to be examined.

Main Findings

One of the most important findings in Chapter 1 was the realization that the 'women's movement' in Victoria was not as limited as found in conventional interpretations. Challenging the accepted interpretation allowed the researcher to see the constant continuation of women's social reform activities outside the home, rather than a finite movement with a distinct beginning and end point. These actions began well before the accepted 1871 start date of local 'women's movement' activities. In addition, women's choice to continue serving their community and not remain in the home, as 'separate sphere' and 'Angel in the House' ideologies demanded, helped build a foundation that encouraged women to step further and further into public roles. Many reform groups and individuals collaborated with one another to advocate for social reform goals. For example, the *Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)*, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and a number of very active ladies committees worked with numerous individuals including Mrs. Maria Grant, Mrs. Tolmie, and two MLA's, Mr. William Tolmie and Mr. John Robson. Not the least of these goals was the recognition and acceptance of women as public actors. As the ideology of Maternal Feminism grew in popularity, this recognition of women as an important part of community life coalesced with the belief

that women were morally superior to men and hence deserved an equal say in dealing with social ills. In this context, the activities of female and male social reformers went beyond the suffrage question. Addressing issues such as the quest for temperance, improved access to education, or an increased concern about poverty, required women's involvement and, for some their political power.

Women's rights were also addressed in British Columbia's legislature. Though acts like the *Married Women's Property Law* and the *Municipalities Bill* were not seen as women's rights demands per se, they did open a political space for women to demand legal recognition of equal rights in BC. When Susan B. Anthony demanded political equality in 1871, many cheered and by 1880, many women and men were fighting to see that change become a reality.

Chapter 2 examines Victoria's White women's movement after 1880. It explores White women's organized social reform efforts and the expansion of the women's sphere ideology. By 1900, over 40 reform groups with over 300 leaders existed in Victoria, all of them represented by Lady Aberdeen's *Women's Council*. While many researchers, like Chris Clarkson and Anne Edwards, have downplayed this extensive network of reform organizations and its importance in BC, it is hard to deny the work it

accomplished. Despite the consistent reality of a population disparity between White men and White women, a 2 to 1 ratio until World War One, and a deep Victorian staid traditionalism, the women of Victoria fought for public power to affect local change. The vibrant pioneer spirit of western egalitarianism, elements not found in movements in Britain, Eastern Canada and the Eastern United States, combined with the challenges Victoria's women faced to initiate change, especially in the areas of temperance legislation, poverty control, education requirements, health and wellness, as well as women's rights, including suffrage at the local, municipal, and provincial levels. The movement in Victoria's Victoria was not a quiet hidden away activity; it was loud, large and determined, ready to fight into the next century for what many of the movement believed needed to happen next: women with equal political power to men.

Chapter 3 takes up the themes discussed in Chapter 1 and 2 but does so with a focus on Victoria's racialized women, particularly Indigenous, African-Canadian and Chinese women. Each of Victoria's racialized groups, the 'disappeared' or the 'invisible', had their own set of reform goals that functioned alongside and within the White movement. While the discussion of Indigenous women's activities is tentative and the links between the White women's movement and their own were few, there are

some promising hints in the primary sources. Economic survival and the need to maintain established matrilineal lines and cultural distinctiveness compelled Indigenous women to participate in the labour market, fighting for reform if necessary, partake in schools and various levels of education, and become a part of the daily life in Victoria. Some Indigenous women sought to incorporate White women's movement goals into their activities, many through the incorporation of Christian social reform principles, with the aim of improving and expanding the rights of Indigenous men and women, setting the stage for future social and legal battles for Indigenous rights.

African-Canadian women stand out in any discussion of social and political reform. Fighting against slavery and racism had taught many African-Canadian people how to organize, how to battle against oppression, and how to successfully achieve change, even if the change was small. Particularly in Eastern Canada, many African-Canadian women were involved in reform groups that were distinct entities from those of their White counterparts. This also appears true in the early years of Victoria where African-Canadian women's organizational talents were put to good use from the moment they stepped onto land, if not before. African-Canadian women organized as did the White women they lived beside, they

often intermingled with, and in some cases later joined together with to work on common goals of social reform. African-Canadian women also focused on racial uplift and religious cooperation, which they battled for in their own organizations alongside other social reform goals.

Finally, one of the most exciting results of this thesis' research is the story of Chinese women reformers in Victoria. Though their 'movement' was of a slightly later vintage, it is evident that there was, at minimum, an awareness of what was happening in the White women's movement. Parallel stories of reform appeared infrequently in the papers before 1900, while after this date, considerable discussion about Chinese women and reform were found. This is in part due to Chinese Empress Cixi who began to embrace numerous western ideals, including women's reform measures, and who loudly encouraged reform for women nationally and internationally. Like the White women's movement calls for economic, social, and political reform, often through the discourse of Maternal Feminism, Chinese women also called for reforms on issues like citizenship and recognition. Chinese men and women reformers were not found on the lists of White reform groups, since their activities were organized separately, but there is early evidence that at least a few White reformers were involved with Chinese organizations. The extent of that involvement

has yet to be examined, but the existence of the Chinese women's movement and its possible connections to its White counterpart are extremely significant.

This thesis began with the researcher stepping into an unending conversation with a simple question: how did women get the vote in British Columbia? It has traveled far from that modest beginning, but it seems relevant to mention that White women in BC did indeed obtain the vote. In an interview, Miss Margaret Jean Clay, a Victoria librarian in 1916, offered a poignant description of what she had found most interesting about that time in her life: "Of course I marched in suffrage parades."³ This "Woman of Action" continued her story by describing one of the parades: "In 1916, in Victoria – the police turned us down to the red light district-[the Parade] was about a block long, four abreast. Some banners, yes. But I wasn't carrying one. They said 'Votes for Women'." Miss Clay also recounted that, while there was a women's suffrage movement, this parade was not well organized. She remembered that a Mrs. Grant and a Mrs. Spofford, as well as Mrs. Jenkins and Mrs. Dorothy Cameron, were all involved with the

³ In 1970, the University of British Columbia's School of Librarianship published a book of remembrances from BC's past librarians and archivists. Gilroy, Marion and Samuel Rothstein, eds. *As We Remember It: Interviews with Pioneering Librarians of British Columbia* (Vancouver, British Columbia: University of British Columbia School of Librarianship, 1970), 67-68.

march.⁴ Clay was listed as a member of the *LCW*, as well as the *Ladies Aid Society* and St. Andrews Presbyterian Church and though not a known member of an organized suffrage group, she was an active participant in the struggle for the vote.⁵ Her account is supported by both the *Colonist* and *Times* which mention suffrage and prohibition parades occurring in Victoria in the first half of 1916.

By mid-June 1916, any organized suffrage action went quiet. The Premier at the time, William J. Bowser, and his Conservative party knew their time in office was limited. Amid charges of corruption and financial collapse, the party was forced to call an election for September. Bowser, an anti-suffragist, announced that the demands for women's suffrage, as well as Prohibition would be put to referendum during the up-coming September election.⁶ Women's reform groups, labour proponents, and suffrage organizers like the *Political Equality League*, were furious and many choose to boycott the referendum because it was an 'insult' to women and

⁴ Gilroy and Rothstein, *As We Remember It*, 68.

⁵ No evidence could be found that she was directly involved in a suffrage organization.

⁶ The downfall of Premier Bowser and his Conservative party is covered in a number of texts. Three examples Chris Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms: Political Visions and Family Regulation in British Columbia. 1862-1940* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2007); Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 1992); Jacquetta Newman and Linda A. White, *Women, Politics, and Public Policy* (Don Mills, Ontario, Canada: Oxford University Press, 2006).

they would not be lowered to that standard.⁷ Over the summer of 1916, a silence descended over much of the women's reform movement; *Local Council of Women* notes for that period mention nothing of the up-coming referendum on an issue that they had supported so passionately. Instead, they focused their attention on the war. On September 14, without much, if any, campaigning, the referendum was held and gratifyingly two thirds of BC men choose to grant women the right to vote. Prohibition also passed, but barely. Bowser's anti-women government was out of office and the Liberals, who had spent a lot of time courting women's reform group leaders, were in. To the women who had battled long and hard for the right to vote, this was a major victory. In addition, and of even greater significance, this achievement was viewed by many as merely the 'step up' they needed to push other reform legislation into law.

The achievement of the vote remains the traditional marker in women's history despite the many problems in using this single achievement as representative of a movement which spanned local, national, and international boundaries as well as decades, issues, and generations. In addition, only White women obtained the vote, and, while

⁷ "Referendum News," *Colonist*, 15 June 1916, 3; "Vote and Drink, Referendum," *Times*, 15 June 1916;4.

of significant importance especially in the early recognition of the need for White women to have political equality to affect change, it was not the only reform women from various racialized backgrounds struggled for. In fact, many women within the movement were not convinced that achieving the vote would solve all the social ills that plagued their community. Others battled for temperance legislation, poverty control, or education reform and all contributed to women's social reform in Victoria. In effect, the vote was only a primary goal of the White women's movement for a short period of time. The movement was an on-going reality that began well before the vote was even on the table for many of the women reformers who crossed generations and racialized boundaries. There is no strict beginning to the women's movement in Victoria, just as there is no end as First Wave ideology implies. The story is a much more complex conversation and, through further research, more of the details and nuances will be identified.

Limitations

The aims of this research were very simple when it began: was there a women's movement in British Columbia and if so what was its story? Initial research began in the Okanagan Valley and focused on a period

between 1890 and 1917.⁸ This early discussion indicated that at least in the valley, a movement of White women fighting for the suffrage vote did exist, though deep ties to Victoria and Vancouver organizations assisted with the local struggle. This realization brought the research question to an even deeper level. If BC's movement in the interior existed because of deep ties to BC's coast, then what were the links? Who was involved? When did it start? Where? How? Recognition came quickly that, with these new questions, any attempt to review *all* the available primary source documents (as begun in the Okanagan) and *all* the necessary secondary sources was all but impossible for a Master's level thesis. There was not enough time or words and too much information to squeeze into at maximum one hundred and twenty page document.

At this point, decisions were made and parameters created that allowed the discussion of BC's women's movement to move forward. First, the 'where' was defined, and after consideration, I decided to focus on Victoria, BC's capital. This allowed for a close look at legislative negotiations and at a centralized site of women's movement activity. Second, the 'who' needed to be clearly specified and, while on the surface

⁸ M. L. Ihmels, "'The New Chewing Gum': The Women's Suffrage Movement in the Okanagan Valley, 1890 to 1917" *Okanagan History*, 72nd Report of the Okanagan Historical Society 72 (2008), 27.

this seemed easy as traditionally White middle to upper class women were studied, in reality, this was much more complex. While White women were an important part of the movement, they were not the only racial group that needed to be examined. Various racialized groups in Victoria were involved in social reform and women's rights issues yet, due to time and space constraints, this work could only begin an examination of three groups: Indigenous, African-Canadian, and Chinese women.

As the 'who' was being decided, the need to revise the current accepted understanding of a 'first wave' women's movement was recognized. The accepted 'wave' metaphor has tended to limit actors, topics, and timeframes. A new more inclusive conceptualization was needed, but creating this resulted in another set of limitations. While it opened up many fresh avenues of investigation, the sheer number of new potential topics was overwhelming. Yet, the decision to expand the idea of what constituted the 'women's movement' allowed for a broader understanding of Victoria's women's movement. The new definition of the 'woman's movement' as a mid-to late-nineteenth century collection of individuals and groups who held a set of beliefs which empowered women, and men, to recognize and advocate for social reform goals, particularly rights for women, is expansive but it in turn introduced a set of different

problems. For example, it can be used to include women's varied charitable work outside the home as part of the women's movement, when that inclusion was never the intention. However, the argument in favour of this broad understanding outweighs these problems. When women worked outside the home for charitable causes, believing that charity was an extension of the 'home sphere', this reality challenged the accepted 'separate sphere' ideology while they made a stand in their communities. This allowed the women's movement to build generation by generation and enhanced the idea that women did indeed need to have public power.

Finally, the main primary sources for this research, the newspapers, have their own set of limitations. They are biased and inaccurate as sources, making reliability a constant concern.⁹ However, when there were few other sources available and most other sources were written by many of the same biased writers and editors of the papers, the researcher had to make some difficult choices: use what is available, but add the proviso that everything cited must, if possible, be corroborated by other sources. Some of those other sources, like Terry Reksten's *More English than the English* or Valerie Green's *Above Stairs: Social Life in Upper Class Victoria, 1843-1918*

⁹ See Introduction and Chapter 1 for a discussion of the problems of using newspapers as a source.

are questionable as 'academic' sources, but offer a rare glimpse into Victoria's women that is otherwise hard to find. In the end, the sources include everything from magazine articles to academic treatises and serious efforts were made to verify information in any single given source. It is also important to note that primary sources for the various local racialized groups were very difficult to find, largely due to language barriers. Primary sources in the Chinese community seem to be plentiful, though most remain inaccessible to White scholars due to the language issues; there are researchers, like Dr. Zhongping Chen at the University of Victoria, who are working to make much of the Chinese literature available to White scholars.

Given the limitations of what can be accomplished in one MA further study is required in numerous areas. Expanding some of the ideas into a national and international project would be valuable. For example, could the idea that African-Canadian women's organization preceded that of White women's be true? Did Chinese women in Ontario hear the same message as Chinese women on the West Coast? Finally, in Canada, would displacing the 'first wave' metaphor with a more expansive definition of women's movement activities allow us to find earlier examples of Canadian women's activities?

Future Research

There are numerous areas for future research. Two issues left barely discussed in this thesis are religion and class, both extremely important in Victoria's early development.

There were not many religious institutions in the early history of British Columbia and that meant, in the tradition of the pioneering spirit, that most often spiritual belief was considered a personal, independent, and sometimes haphazard process. Despite this, religion was an important aspect of the early settlement of Victoria. Churches were often the first things erected in a new community and, as is especially clear in the case of African-Canadian Victorians, were one of the first things built for community functions as well as religious services.¹⁰ It is out of the local churches that the first women's groups appeared, including Ladies Aid Societies, Mission Societies, and early Temperance groups.¹¹ However, having local churches with people attending them regularly, groups organized through them, or even institutional prayer meetings and societies

¹⁰Sherry Edmunds-Flett, "'Abundant Faith': Nineteenth-Century African-Canadian Women on Vancouver Island," in *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, eds. Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 261; Crawford Killian, *Go Do Some Great Thing: The African-Canadian Pioneers of British Columbia* (Vancouver, BC: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1978); Joseph Mensah, *African-Canadian Canadians*, 2nd Ed.. (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing, 2010).

¹¹ See Chapter 1 for WCTU discussion. Lady Aberdeen recognized this fact. See: "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1895, 1, 8.

meeting in them, did not guarantee a spiritual society, particularly in a population that was comprised mainly of independent men not used to church going.

In addition, Christianity was not, by far, the only religion White people aligned with in the area. In the late nineteenth-century Victoria newspapers, directories, and census data, showed that Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Indigenous Spirituality, Spiritualism, and Theosophism, were but a few of the religious or spiritual groups identified. John Belshaw's book, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History*, eloquently describes the possibilities of religious choice in Victoria as "dizzying alternative paradigms [which] rose to the surface like bubbles in a Kootenay hot spring."¹² His work, along with that of Sherry Edmunds-Flett and Adele Perry, among others, challenges the history of sectarian, ethnic, and immigrant religious separation, noting that many local churches were open to African-Canadian, White, and Indigenous peoples. Also intruding into the spiritual landscape of Victoria was the fact that several religious leaders feared the grip of increasing and ever prominent secularization.

¹² John Douglas Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia: A Population History* (Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2009), 150. Also see Lynne. Marks, "'Leaving God Behind When They Crossed the Rocky Mountains': Exploring Unbelief in Turn of the Century British Columbia," in *Household Counts: Canadian Households and Families in 1901*, eds. Peter Baskerville and Eric W. Sager (University of Toronto Press, 2006), 371.

Many of the people involved fell outside any religious category; for example those who 'claimed' agnostic or atheist beliefs. According to Lynne Marks' research on religion in BC, those who defined themselves as atheists made up 1.5% of the population, nine times the Canadian average of 0.16%. Statistics on average church involvement and religious participation were lower across BC than elsewhere in Canada.¹³ Marks further notes that these percentages were only the "tip of the iceberg of unusually high levels of either hostility to religion, or more commonly, religious indifference" that marked BC's religious exceptionalism to the rest of Canada.¹⁴

It is this exceptionalism that allows speculation into the role religion played in the local women's movement. In some ways, it seemed that by 1900, religion had become a foundational necessity in each of the local reform groups, rather than a practical and useful discourse for women's reform purposes. As well, the pioneer spirit of individual and personal spiritual practice continued to be seen in the activities of local reform groups. While the *Women's Christian Temperance Union's (WCTU)* name emphasized Christianity, in Victoria its ideals stretched well beyond

¹³ Margaret Hillyard Little, "Claiming A Unique Place: The Introduction of Mother's Pensions in BC," in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, 5th ed., eds. Mona Gleason and Adele Perry (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2006), 169; Marks, "Leaving God Behind," 378, 379; Roy, *White Man's Province*, 27-30.

¹⁴ Marks, "Leaving God Behind," 371, 377.

Christianity's religious reach in its active pursuit of legal and political goals that did not always reflect the Christian message. A challenge to the foundational status of Christianity (and Protestantism that was so central to the WCTU in Eastern Canada) seems especially true in Victoria, as local membership lists reveal at least four Jewish women and a number of Roman Catholics as members.¹⁵ While the *Local Council of Women (LCW)*, and its affiliate *Lady Aberdeen's National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC)*, were created to, in Lady Aberdeen's words, "do unto others that they should do unto you" and to follow the "Golden Rule", she also made it clear that the group was *not* a religious body.¹⁶ Though the use of traditional Christian religious symbolism was found in throughout the numerous speeches, talks, and meetings of every group and affiliate the *LCW* was involved with, the fact was that Christian religion remained an individual practice held in the background, while reform women worked at actively changing society. In truth, across Canada, the *Council* supported all religious connections in the battle for women's reform, yet the fact that this body was not religious in and of itself signified the priority of women's

¹⁵ See *Appendix 2: Full List of Women Involved and Appendix 4: WCTU and Religious Affiliation*

¹⁶ "Women's National Council," *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1994, 1, 8; Margaret Lane Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule: Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* (Cloverdale B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd, 1984), 6, 9-13.

political, cultural, and social reforms over religious duty. This was particularly true in BC as Margaret Little has argued, in that “generally, religious organizations do not appear to have had the social or moral influence in British Columbia which they enjoyed in other regions of the country.”¹⁷ In the face of multiple religiosity and spiritualism, as well as highly individual belief systems, future researchers may not be surprised to find that the women’s movement might have functioned adjacent to, rather than within, any religious system in Victoria.

Class is another issue left un-discussed in the body of this thesis. In regards to the Victoria movement, the assumption has always been that the leaders of the women’s movement were White middle to upper class women. Ideas about class were imported from other western countries like England, Eastern Canada, the United States, or Scotland and Wales. England was of special importance to BC, with its separate sphere and class ideologies permeating Victoria’s society.¹⁸ Yet, the imported class

¹⁷ Little, “Claiming A Unique Place,” 169.

¹⁸ Victoria’s Englishness was also emphasized in a 1909 pamphlet produced by the *Local Councils of Women of British Columbia* called *Women’s Life and Work in British Columbia*. Constant references were made to the ‘Old Country’, specifically noting that “the ideal of home life is formed from the British.” Both the *Colonist* and *Times* newspapers were riddled with Britishness and news about BC’s ‘Mother Country’. Victoria historians Valerie Green and Terry Reksten, for example, consistently refer to Britain and its ideals in the forging of British Columbia as an English colony in the latter half of the 1900s. Patricia Roy, John Lutz, and Michael Cramer all concede in their work that high British societal expectations were carried over the sea to be re-invented in the new colony.

distinctions found in Victoria were tempered. The reality of a gendered population imbalance and western egalitarianism created a class system that was much less rigid than in western origin countries.¹⁹ These special circumstances allow us to speculate about what place class held within Victoria's women's movement. Many of the most prominent local reform groups were open to *all* women. The *WCTU's* earliest notes and articles show no indication of limiting membership by class, gender, or ethnicity. The *LCW* statements of intent also reflect this all-inclusive principle. Mrs. Maria Grant and Lady Aberdeen's 1894 speeches clearly called to women, and men, of all "nationalities, creeds, and societies" regardless of class, ethnicity, or religion, to support the cause of women's reform with the

Michael H. Cramer, "Public and Political: Documents of the Woman's Suffrage Campaign in British Columbia, 1871-1917: The View from Victoria," in *British Columbia Reconsidered*, eds. Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 55; Valerie Green, *Above Stairs: Social Life in Upper Class Victoria, 1843-1918* (Victoria, British Columbia: Sono Nis Press, 1995); Local Councils of Women of BC, *Women's Life and Work in British Columbia* (Victoria, BC: Richard Wolfendon, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1909), 21; John Lutz, *Makuk: A New History of Indigenous and White Relations* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008); Terry Reksten, *More English than the English* (Victoria, British Columbia: Orca Book Publishers, 1986); Patricia Roy, *White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989). See also Jason Patrick Bennett, "Apple of the Empire: Landscape and Imperial Identity in Turn of the Century British Columbia," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 9, no. 1 (1998): 63.

¹⁹ See Chapter 2. Belshaw, *Becoming British Columbia*; Marks, "Leaving God Behind;" Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); for more information about the early years of BC.

single goal of “uplifting humanity.”²⁰ Class strictures appear to be challenged in local newspaper reports as well. In May 1895, the *Colonist* published 18 columns dedicated to Victoria’s women and supported by the LCW.²¹ The introduction to this section emphasized that “no effort of harmony” to the *Colonist’s* political values was made, that all writers were required to sign their articles, and that an effort “had been made to obtain articles from the pens of as many different women as possible.”²² In that context, the articles discussed everything from the ‘New Woman’, the need for more women farmers, to the importance of fashion and makeup. In the ‘New Woman’ article, the idea of class was challenged when the writer M. E. Angus stated that in “the last quarter-century...the rapidly changing conditions of life have forced large numbers of the women in middle and upper classes into the struggle for existence.” To Angus, it was not class, but character that distinguished a woman because, despite the conditions she lived in, “her womanly character, which it is the aim of life to develop, will grow according to the way that decision is made.”²³ The presumed

²⁰ “Women’s National Council,” *Colonist*, 9 Nov. 1894, 1, 8; Margaret Lane Hastings and Lorraine Ellenwood, *Blue Bows and the Golden Rule: Provincial Council of Women of B.C.* (Cloverdale B.C.: D.W. Friesen & Sons Ltd, 1984), 6, 7, 9, 11-13.

²¹ “Introduction to Women’s Section,” *Colonist*, 28 May 1895, 4-8; Local Councils of Women of BC.

²² “Introduction to Women’s Section,” *Colonist*, 28 May, 1895, 4.

²³ “A Plea for the New Woman,” *Colonist*, 28 May 1895, 4.

class stratification of the reform movement is further challenged in the final page of the section where many women's organizations wrote descriptions of themselves emphasizing their openness to women of all classes or ethnicities.²⁴ These sources open up a beehive of questions. How did this open call to all women in Victoria work? For example, just how accepted were low income women? Within each group what level of acceptance, prominence, or responsibility lay at the hands of each woman? In what ways did class, and religion, truly not matter?

Additional challenges to traditional class identity in BC appear in John Hinde's book, *When Coal Was King*, a treatise discussing coal mining in Ladysmith, BC. This book discusses how women in Ladysmith, wives, sisters, and daughters, directly participated in strike action local miners, family men, began.²⁵ He noted that these actions were part of "a broader process of politicization of working-class women on Vancouver Island," which "undermined traditional notions of domesticity and challenged gender roles," while threatening both the "patriarchal norms of middle-class society and the security of male dominance within the working

²⁴ "Women's Organizations Listing," *Colonist*, 28 May 1895, 8.

²⁵ John Hinde, "'Stout Ladies And Amazons': Women in the British Columbia Coal-Mining Community of Ladysmith, 1912-14," *BC Studies* no.114 (Summer 1997): 33-57; John Hinde, *When Coal Was King: Ladysmith and the Coal-Mining Industry on Vancouver Island*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003).

class.”²⁶ By their actions women refused to stay in “their domesticated sphere,” and even if it was unintended, their choices challenged the status quo around them. One of their more intentional choices was to fight for women’s suffrage, noting that the working class women, in particular, needed the vote to protect themselves and their families. This example helps begs the question: where exactly were class lines drawn? And how did class stratification work when combined with labour needs and domestic requirements?

More research is needed to discover how the labour movement, popular at the turn of the twentieth century, merged with or ignored the women’s movement of the time. The historical evidence suggests that an increase in female labour, continuing reform group participation and organization, and demands for political and economic equality for women, all combined together to force legislative change in BC. How did this happen? The battle for women’s reforms began very early in BC, yet many of those reforms would not be implemented until after World War One. The 1911 pamphlet entitled, “Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women,” published by the *British Columbia Political Equality League* (BC-PEL), expressed the group’s desire to “spread a

²⁶ Hinde, “Stout Ladies and Amazons,” 41; Hinde, *When Coal Was King*, 201-204.

wider knowledge of some of the laws in BC” as they pertained to “the legal status of women, the protection and care of children, property rights and the distribution of estates.”²⁷ This document ties reform group organization, the *BC-PEL*, *University Women’s Club of Victoria* (UWCV) and *University Women’s Club of Vancouver* (UWCVan), as well as a number of BC’s *Council of Women* and all its affiliates, to the labour reform movement. It documents the battle for changes to the *Married Women’s Property Laws*, *Guardianship Laws*, *Dowry Act*, and the *Deserted Wives Act*, and provides information on various women’s labour issues, including overly long hours, low pay, child labour, or husband’s entitlement to wife’s wages. These questions particularly preoccupied Helena Gutteridge, a prominent Vancouver and Victoria figure in both the labour and women’s movements, who believed that suffrage was a tool to protect working class women.²⁸ She felt that the established *Victoria Political Equality League*, producer of *The Champion* newspaper, was too focused on the upper and middle classes

²⁷ C. R. Townley is listed as the author of this work yet her name does not appear as author on the document; instead her name was added later to the front cover. Townley, C. R.; British Columbia Equality League, Vancouver Branch, *Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women* (British Columbia Equality League, Vancouver Branch, 1911), 2, 3.

²⁸ Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 1992), Chapter 1; Little, “Claiming A Unique Place,” 169; Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice*; Susan Wade, “Helena Gutteridge: Votes for Women and Trade Unions” in *In Her Own Right*, eds. Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), 187.

of women in society. After criticizing their stance on protective legislation for women workers she was instrumental in creating a second *Pioneer Political Equality League* in 1913, one which focused on low middle-class to working-class women. Its founding purpose statement noted that only through unionization, then the women's vote, could women workers be protected from exploitation.²⁹ Helena Gutteridge's actions show how the issue of class intersected with the issues of gender politics, creating yet another category for inclusion in the discussion of the women's movement.

Many legal and labour reforms can be traced back to organized women's reform pressure, including specific working class contributions. For example, Helena Gutteridge helped ensure that the first BC *Minimum Wage Act*, designed for women and youth, was passed in 1918. This legislation was not unique to BC; in fact, all across Canada women's reform groups, government officials, and legal representatives fought for and accomplished similar legal reforms.³⁰ However, at least one cross-Canada

²⁹ Howard, *Struggle for Social Justice*, Introduction and Chapter 1.

³⁰ The various pieces of reform legislation are discussed in a number of Canadian sources including, Constance Backhouse, "Married Women's Property Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada," *Law and History Review* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1988): 211-257; Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, Ontario: The Osgood Society, 1991); Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice*; Little, *Claiming A Unique Place*; Ian McKay, *Reasoning Otherwise: Leftist's and the People's Enlightenment of Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines Publishing, 2008); Janice Newton, *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Veronica Strong-Boag, "Independent Women, Problematic Men: First and Second Wave Anti-Feminism in Canada from Goldwin Smith to Betty Steele" *Histoire*

reform demand was distinct in British Columbia. As early as 1901, the Victoria LCW led discussions on 'Mother's Pension' legislation. By 1910, this issue was of top priority provincially, then nationally, to Canada's *Council of Women* (CCW).³¹ In 1914, Gutteridge, along with many of her labour contacts and the UWC, stood behind the demand for *Mother Pensions* in BC. According to Margaret Hillyard Little "almost every woman's organization in BC" was involved and, unique to BC, all supported full inclusion of unwed mothers no matter the circumstance.³² This was very different from the policy established throughout the rest of Canada. In Ontario, the rules regarding the receipt of a *Mothers' Pension* were strict and largely based on the suitability of the candidate as a 'moral mother'.³³ Also unlike the rest of Canada, BC's legislation did not "support the inclusion of immigrants who were non-British subjects."³⁴ Little claims the

Sociale/Social History 57 (May 1996): 1; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Setting the Stage" in *Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History Volume 1*, eds. Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); Veronica Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women in Canada, 1893-1929* (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1976).

³¹ While other researchers have mentioned the Mother's Pension debates Margaret Hillyard Little's, "Claiming A Unique Place," is the most focused piece. These debates are also mentioned in Clarkson, *Domestic Reforms*, 155-57 and Howard, *Struggle for Social Justice*; Newton, *The Feminist Challenge*; 67, 75-76.

³² Little, "Claiming A Unique Place," 168, 170.

³³ In Ontario widows were considered to be more acceptable to receive a pension than never married single mothers. Little, "Claiming A Unique Place," 169, 170.

³⁴ Like many of the reforms that emerged in the late 1900s or very early 1900s, the *Mother's Pension* legislation was not implemented until after the conclusion of WW1, namely in 1920. Little, "Claiming A Unique Place," 170-171.

cause for the sometimes extreme differences between Ontario and BC's legislative policies is based on BC's religious and racial distinctiveness.³⁵ Historians are left to wonder whether those reasons were the only ones to explain the differences that existed between Ontario and BC. How do the issues of class conflate with labour and religion? How was the women's movement as a whole affected by the legal changes being demanded and attained?

Conclusion

The goal of this thesis was to delve deeply into the question of women's involvement in reform activities in Victoria from 1858 to 1910. Its focus was to track and discuss the creation, maintenance, and growth of a movement of women with the goals of social, economic, and, eventually, political reform. As this thesis progressed, challenges to the traditional view of what constituted the 'women's movement' were exposed and a need to revise both the definition and who the definition applied to were addressed. Gender and race were two of the contested categories under discussion with the realization that women and men, from various racialized groups

³⁵ Little, *Claiming A Unique Place*," 166, 168, 169-170.

were involved in fighting for social reform. Indigenous, African-Canadian, Chinese, and White women all carried unique goals into their battles for reform either within or on behalf of their communities, in addition to the general recognition that many held similar beliefs regarding the broader need for social reform. It is essential to understand that the findings of this thesis also have relevance beyond Victoria, since similar questions could also be asked regarding women's movements in BC more generally, other Canadian provinces, and Canada as a whole. This thesis represents an intricate and detailed tapestry, full of intersections of colour and life, that exemplifies a time in history when men and women gradually supplanted old traditional beliefs on women's position in society with newer views of women. This is a process that continues through the present day.

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Appendix 1
 Protestant Orphans Home
 First Committee

<u>Names</u>	<u>BC Protestant Orphans Home</u>
Cridge, Mrs.	First Committee Head
Raymur, Mrs.	First Committee
Finlayson, Mrs.	First Committee
Sargison, Mrs. (M. B.)	First Committee
MacDonald, Mrs. W.J.	First Committee
Kent, Mrs. H.	First Committee
Dupont, Mrs.	First Committee
McGregor, Mrs, James (Bertha?)	First Committee
Pollard, Mrs. L. J. (Mother to Maria Grant)	First Committee
Jeffree, W.J	First Committee
Watt, Mrs. A Robertson	First Committee
Hutcheson, Mrs.	Committee
Clarke, Mrs. Sarah	Committee
Williams, Mrs. J. W.	Committee

Appendix 2

Names and Organization Involvement

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Adams, Mrs.</i>			1885?					Member, Committee for Home for Old Woman; Member (LAS, CMC)				Ladies Aid Society, Centennial Methodist Church; 1895	Colonist
<i>Aikmen, Mrs.</i>								Member (Sisters of St. Ann's)				Sisters of St. Ann	Colonist
<i>Andrews, Mrs. E. W.</i>	WCTU Convention							Member (MC, CBC)				Mission Circle, Calvary Baptist Church	Colonist
<i>Angus, Mrs. William</i>	YWCTU		1885					Member (YWCTU)				YWCA (Joins with Friendly Help Association in 1895)	Colonist
<i>Atherton, Mrs. M. H.</i>								Member (Local Union YPSCE)				Local Union YPSCE, Local Union of Christian Endeavor	Colonist
<i>Baer, Mrs.</i>									1912 - Treasurer				Champion
<i>Baker, Mrs. (Col) James</i>	Member							Foundation President, Member (MC, CBC); Member (VOHH)				Mission Circle, Calvary Baptist Church, Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist
<i>Barnes, Miss K.</i>								Member (St. Ann's Benevolent Society)				St. Ann's Benevolent Society	Colonist
<i>Bayne, Mrs.</i>								Member (Girls' Friendly Society)				Girls' Friendly Society	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Beanlands, Mrs.</i>								Member (LWP, CCC)				Ladies Working Party, Christ Church Cathedral; Professional Artist (BC Society of Fine Arts)	Colonist, LCWBC Pamphlet(1909)
<i>Beckwith, Mrs. J.L.</i>								Member (MC, CBC)				Mission Circle, Calvary Baptist Church	Colonist
<i>Beridge, Mrs. William</i>								Member (LAS,MMC)				Ladies Aid Society, Metropolitan Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Berkely, Mrs.</i>								Member (WW)				Society of 'Willing Workers'	Colonist
<i>Besant, Mrs. R.P. (nee Frances Olive Kirk)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Betts, Mrs.</i>								Member (Centennial Missionary Society) Tithel; (LAS,CMC)				Ladies Aid Society, Centennial Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Blake, Miss</i>								Member (Girls' Friendly Society)				Girls' Friendly Society	Colonist
<i>Blalklock, Mrs.</i>								Member (LWP, CCC)				Ladies Working Party, Christ Church Cathedral	Colonist
<i>Bone, Mrs. W.H.</i>								Member (LAS, CMC)				Ladies' Aid Society, Centennial Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Booth, Mrs. H. (nee A.O.Edna Henry)</i>											Member (CHARTER)		UVIC Archives
<i>Bowes, Miss.</i>	WCTU Convention, Member; YWCTU							Member, (YWCTU)					Colonist,
<i>Bowness, Mrs.</i>								Member (LofM)				Ladies of the Maccabees	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Braverman, Mrs.</i>								Member (HLAA)				Hebrew Ladies Aid Association	Colonist
<i>Breeze, Miss</i>	Treasurer												Colonist
<i>Bromley-Jubb, Miss.</i>									Member			Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women, 1911	Champion (Mar.), 'Points in the Law'
<i>Bruce, Leslie J.</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Burgess, Mrs. William</i>		Asst. Recording Secretary	1885					Member (LMS, MMC)				Ladies Missionary Society, Metropolitan Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Burkholder, Mrs.</i>	WCTU Convention		1885					Member (WCTU)					Colonist,
<i>Burnett, Miss Marguerite</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Burns, Mrs.</i>								Member, Committee for Home for Old Woman; Member, (St.JLG)				St. John's Ladies Guild	Colonist
<i>Burridge, Miss. C.N</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Burris, Miss Grace D</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Cameron, Miss. A.D.</i>			1885					Member (VSTA)				Victoria School Teachers' Association; Professional Author, Lecturer, Journalist	Colonist, LCWBC Pamphlet(1909)
<i>Cameron, Miss. J.</i>			1885					Member (Local Union YPSCE); Member (LAS, St.APC)				Local Union YPSCE; Ladies Aid Society, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Cann, Miss</i>											Executive		UVIC Archives
<i>Cann, Miss Jeanette A.</i>											Life Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Carmichael, Miss</i>								Member					Colonist
<i>Carr, Miss. Edith (Older sister Emily)</i>								Member (YWCA)				YWCA (Joins with Friendly Help Association in 1895)	Colonist
<i>Carr, Mrs. Edith</i>	WCTU							Member (WCTU)	Member				Champion
<i>Carter, Mrs. George (Black)</i>								Member (YMCA)				Ladies Auxiliary, YMCA	Colonist
<i>Chapman, Mrs.</i>	WCTU: Superintendent of Jail Work							Member (Centennial Missionary Society) Tithe!; WMS, CMC				Women's Missionary Society, Centennial Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Childs, Mrs.</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Christie, Mrs.</i>			1885						Member				Champion
<i>Christopher, Miss Daisy (becomes Welsh Lee)</i>									Member				Champion
<i>Christopher, Mrs. D.</i>									Member				Champion (Dec.)
<i>Clarke, Miss Georgia B</i>			1885								Member (CHARTER)		UVIC Archives
<i>Clarke, Mrs. Sarah</i>			1885 ?		Committee			Member (BCPOH)				BC Protestant Orphan's Home	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Clay, Mrs. Margaret Jean Clay</i>								Member (LAS, St.APC)				Ladies Aid Society, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church, Marched in suffrage parade (As We Remember It, 1916.)	Colonist
<i>Cleaver, Mrs. Solomon</i>								Member (LAS,MMC)				Ladies Aid Society, Metropolitan Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Cleland, Dr. Annie (nee Chambers)</i>										Member			UVIC Archives
<i>Clyde, Mrs. A.J.</i>	Foundation		1885					Member (MC, CBC)				Mission Circle, Calvary Baptist Church	Colonist, Gough
<i>Coward, Miss.</i>												Pioneer Women (pg 69) Direct Involvement in Legal Case	Colonist
<i>Craven, Mrs. Coneybeare</i>								Member					
<i>Crease, Miss. Susan</i>								Member					Green - Above Stairs
<i>Crease, Miss. Josephine</i>								Member					Green - Above Stairs
<i>Crease, Mrs Sarah (Lady)</i>								Member (VOHH)				Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire; Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Green - Above Stairs
<i>Cridge, Mrs.</i>				Donation	First Committee Head								Colonist, Lupton

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Crowther, Mrs.</i>	Member		1885					Member (WCTU)				Local Union YPSCE, Local Union of Christian Endeavor	Colonist
<i>Cunningham, Miss</i>	WCTU; Mother's Meeting and Corresponding Secretary		1885								Member		Colonist, UVIC Archives,
<i>Cuppige, Mrs. E. M</i>									Member				Champion (Aug.)
<i>Davie, Mrs. Alex. E. B.</i>								Foundation, Treasurer				Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist
<i>Davie, Mrs. Theodore</i>								**Patron to Council					Colonist
<i>Davies, Miss</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Davis, Miss Dorthy</i>	Foundation								Organizing Secretary				Champion
<i>Day, Mrs. R. S.</i>								Resolution made at Foundation... Vice-President					Colonist
<i>Dempster, Mrs.</i>			1885					Member (LAS,FPC)				Ladies Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church	Colonist
<i>Denne, Miss Lexa</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Denovan, Dr. Etta H.R. (nee Patterson)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Dever, Mrs. Claire</i>			1885								Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Dewdney, Mrs.</i>								Foundation, Member; Member (VOHH)				Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Donovan, Miss</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Draper, Miss.</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Dunnington, Miss</i>								Member (Local Union YPSCE)				Local Union YPSCE, Local Union of Christian Endeavor	Colonist
<i>Dupont, Mrs.</i>					First Committee								Lupton
<i>Durham, Mrs.</i>	WCTU Convention												Colonist
<i>Durragh, Jana</i>						Sister							Colonist
<i>Earle, Mrs.</i>								Member (Maternity Home); Member (VOHH)				Maternity Home; Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist
<i>Earsman, Mrs.</i>								Member (LAS, St.APC)				Ladies Aid Society, St. Andrews Presbyterian Church	Colonist
<i>Ede, Miss.</i>									Member				Champion (Feb.)
<i>Edmonds, Mrs.</i>	Member							Member (WCTU)					Colonist
<i>Elford, Mrs.</i>	Foundation		1885					Member (LMS, MMC)				Ladies Missionary Society, Metropolitan Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Eliza, Mrs. E.</i>				Donation									Colonist
<i>Elkin, Mrs.</i>									Member				Champion
<i>Fawcett, Miss</i>	YWCTU							Member (YWCTU)					Colonist
<i>Ferez, Mrs.</i>									Member				Champion

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Finlayson, Mrs.</i>					First Committee								Colonist, Lupton
<i>Flumerfelt, Mrs. (Dr.)</i>			1885					Member (VOHH)			Member	Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	UVIC Archives
<i>Foote, Mrs. Dr.</i>	WCTU Convention/ Heredity and Hygiene												Colonist
<i>Foxall, Mrs.</i>									Member				Champion
<i>Frank, Miss</i>								Member					Colonist
<i>Fraser, Miss</i>	WCTU Convention							Member					Colonist,
<i>Fraser, Miss Annie E.</i>	WCTU		1885					Member (LWP, CHC)			Member		UVIC Archives, Colonist
<i>Galletly, Mrs. A. J.</i>								Member, Committee for Home for Old Woman				Ladies Working Party, Christ Church Cathedral	Colonist
<i>Gerno, Mrs. J. G.</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Gill, Mrs.</i>								Member (LAS,FPC)				Ladies Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church	Colonist
<i>Gillepsie, Mrs. (wife to Alexander)</i>	Foundation		1885						Member			Parents: Jacob Hunter Todd, Brother: Albert Edward Todd (Mayor Victoria 1917-18)	Champion, 'A Victorian Tapestry'
<i>Gleason, Mrs.</i>									Member				Champion
<i>Godson, Mrs. M. (nee Edna Lehman)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Goepal, Mrs.</i>								Member (St.SWS)				St. Saviour's Work Society	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Goodacre, Mrs.</i>	WCTU Convention; Superintendant Hospital Work												Colonist
<i>Gordon, Mrs. Anne</i>	Foundation WCTU												Colonist
<i>Gosnell, Mrs.</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>Gould, Miss (D.A. ?)</i>	WCTU Convention		1885 ?										Colonist
<i>Gould, Mrs.</i>			1885 ? (Husband)					Member (LAS,FPC)				Ladies Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church	Colonist
<i>Grant, Mrs William</i>	FoundationWCTU		1885					Member, WCTU; 2nd VP; Member (VOHH)				Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist, Gough, Blue Bows
<i>Grant, Mrs. Gordon (nee Maria Pollard)</i>	FoundationWCTU Pres. Victoria - Legislation, Petition and Franchise; Recording Secretary		1885					Foundation, Recording Secretary	President			1st Elected School Board Trustee; Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897); Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women,1911	Champion, Gough, Colonist, 'Points in the Law'
<i>Greaves, Mrs.</i>	FoundationWCTU								Member				Champion, Colonist
<i>Green, Dr. A. E. (Mrs)</i>			1885	Donation							Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Green, Mrs. Frank C. (nee Myra H. Holt)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Griffin, Mrs.</i>								Member (LAS,MMC)				Ladies Aid Society, Metropolitan Methodist Church	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Hackett, Mrs. Charles</i>								Member (LAS, CMC)				Ladies' Aid Society, Centennial Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Hadley, Mrs.</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Hall, Mrs. Lewis</i>								Member (YMCA)				Ladies Auxiliary, YMCA	Colonist
<i>Hall, Miss. (Daughter?)</i>								Member (Maternity Home)				Maternity Home	Colonist
<i>Hall, Mrs. (Dr) Ernest</i>	WCTU Member												Colonist
<i>Hall, Mrs. Lashley (Mrs.H.G.)</i>	Foundation WCTU - Scientific Instruction in Schools		1885						Member			Points in the Laws of British Columbia Regarding the Legal Status of Women, 1911	Champion, Colonist, 'Points in the Laws'
<i>Hamilton, Miss Mary W. (Black)</i>			1885								Member		UVIC Archives + Edmunds-Flett, 269
<i>Hancon, Miss ?</i>									Member				Champion (Nov.)
<i>Harding, Helen</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Harrington, Mrs. H. G.</i>									Member				Champion (Jan.)
<i>Harris, Mrs. Dennis (Martha)</i>									Member				Colonist, Champion, BC Archives, Saanich Archives

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Hart, Mrs.</i>				Donation							Executive List		UVIC Archives
<i>Hart, Mrs. E.C. (nee Margaret J. McPhee)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Haughton, Mrs.</i>								Member (LA, EBC)				Ladies' Association, Emmanuel Baptist Church	Colonist
<i>Hayward, Mrs. Leone Louis Hayward</i>			1885					Member, Foundation; 1st VP; Member (VOHH)			Member	Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	UVIC Archives
<i>Hepburn, Miss</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Heweston, Miss.</i>								Member (WW)				Society of 'Willing Workers'	Colonist
<i>Hewlings, Miss Nora Gwen</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Hickey, Mrs. E. R.</i>			1885					Member (Maternity Home)				Maternity Home	Colonist
<i>Higgins, Mrs.</i>			1885					Member, Committee for Home for Old Woman; Maternity Home; Member (VOHH)				Maternity Home; Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist
<i>Higgins, Mrs.</i>			1885 ?					Member (LAS, REC)				Ladies Aid Society, Reformed Episcopal Church	Colonist
<i>Hiscocks, Mrs. (wife to Edwin A.)</i>								Member (LWP, CCC)				Ladies Working Party, Christ Church Cathedral, (wife to Edwin A. pioneer druggist, info from son Robert)	Colonist, 'A Victorian Tapestry'

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Johns, Mrs. Samuel</i>								Member, (WMS, CMC)				Women's Missionary Society, Centennial Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Johnston, Miss.</i>								Member (St.JLG)				St. John's Ladies Guild	Colonist
<i>Jones, Miss Daisy</i>			1885								Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Kains, Mrs.</i>								Member (St. James Sewing Society)				St. James Sewing Society	Colonist
<i>Keith, Mrs. C.S.</i>	Women's Mission												Colonist
<i>Kent, Mrs. H.</i>					First Committee			Member (BCPOH)				BC Protestant Orphan's Home	Lupton
<i>Lamb, Mrs.</i>	Member												Colonist
<i>Lawry, Mrs. Elis. Voris</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Lawson, Mis E. G.</i>	Foundation							Member (?VSTA)				Paper on Compulsory Education; Victoria Schools Teachers' Association ?	Colonist
<i>Lawson, Miss. Mary</i>								Member; Member (VSTA); Secretary (FHA)				Victoria School Teachers' Association; Friendly Help Association; Editor of Women and Children's Page: Colonist (1909)	Colonist; LCWBC Pamphlet
<i>Lazenby , Miss. E.</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>Leek/Leake Mrs.</i>		Member		Matron									Colonist
<i>Leiser, Mrs. Gustav</i>			1885 !					Member (HLAA)				Hebrew Ladies Aid Association	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Lenz, Mrs.</i>								Member (HLAA)				Hebrew Ladies Aid Association	Colonist
<i>Lewis, Mrs.</i>									Branch Secretary				Champion
<i>Little, Mrs.</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Lorimer, Miss</i>								Member					Colonist
<i>Lowry, Mrs</i>											Executive List (same-Mrs.Lawry?)		UVIC Archives
<i>Luker, Mrs. W. G.</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>MacDonald, Mrs. W.J.</i>					First Committee								Lupton
<i>MacInnes, Mrs.</i>	WCTU Convention/ Parliamentary Usage							First Vice Pres. At Large; Member (VOHH)				Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	Colonist
<i>MacIntosh, Mrs. James</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>MacLeod, Miss Adele</i>			1885								Member		UVIC Archives
<i>MacLeod, Miss Jennie</i>			1885								Member		UVIC Archives
<i>McConnan, Mrs.</i>								Member (St. James Sewing Society)				St. James Sewing Society	Colonist
<i>McCorkell, Miss</i>									Member				Champion
<i>McCorkell, Miss Geraldine</i>									Member				Champion
<i>McCorkell, Miss Smith</i>									Member				Champion (July)

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>McCulloch, Miss I.</i>	Foundation		1885								Member		UVIC Archives, Gough
<i>McCullough, Mrs. Jennie F.</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>McDonald, Miss</i>									Recording Secretary				Champion
<i>McDonald, Miss</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>McDougall, Miss</i>	WCTU Convention												Colonist,
<i>McGregor, Mrs. James (Bertha?)</i>	WCTU Convention		1885 ?		First Committee	Member		Member (Royal Templars of Temperance); Ladies' Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church); Member (LA, EBC)				Royal Order of Good Templars; Ladies' Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church; Ladies Association, Emmanuel Baptist Church	Colonist
<i>McKilligan, Mrs.</i>								Member, Committee for Home for Old Woman; YWCA, Annual Meeting				YWCA (Joins with Friendly Help Association in 1895)	Colonist
<i>McMillan, Mrs. J</i>	Foundation		1885	Donation				Member (RJH)				Ladies Auxiliary, Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital	Colonist, Gough
<i>McNaughton, Miss Jean</i>	Foundation WCTU Recording Secretary; Hospital Work		1885					Member, Committee for Old Woman Home	Member		Member		Colonist, Champion, UVIC Archives
<i>McNaughton, Mrs. (Spofford's Mother)</i>			1885 ?					Member (LMS, EBC)				Ladies' Missionary Society, Emmanuel Baptist Church	Colonist

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Pointer, Mrs. Susan (Sarah)(Black)</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>Pollard, Miss. A. (Mrs. D. Jenkins?)</i>	Foundation WCTU Corr. Sec.		1885										Colonist, Gough, Whelan
<i>Pollard, Mrs. L. J. (Mother to Maria Grant)</i>	Foundation WCTU Prov. President		1885		First Committee								Colonist, Gough, Whelan
<i>Powell, Miss (Parents signed Petition)</i>	YWCTU							Member (YWCTU)					Colonist
<i>Powell, Mrs. (George?)</i>			1885					Member (LMS, MMC)				Ladies Missionary Society, Metropolitan Methodist Church	Colonist
<i>Prior, Mrs.</i>								Member (VOHH)				Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	
<i>Ralph, Miss</i>			1885						Member				Champion
<i>Ramlose, Mrs. F. A</i>									Treasurer				Champion (Oct.)
<i>Rankin, Mrs.</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Raymur, Mrs.</i>					First Committee								Lupton
<i>Redfern, Mrs. (Daughter Kate Ford)</i>								Member (VOHH)				Victorian Order of Home Helpers (created March 1897)	
<i>Richardson, Miss Constance</i>											Associate Membership		UVIC Archives

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go- getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Riggs, Mrs. (Rigg)</i>	Foundation WCTU		1885										Colonist, Gough
<i>Robinson, Miss. (Black)</i>			1885					Member; Member (VSTA)				Victoria School Teachers' Association	Colonist
<i>Robson, Mrs. (Susan?) John</i>	WCTU Convention		1885 ?					Member, WCTU Rep; member (WCTURH)				WCTU Refuge Home	Colonist,
<i>Roper, Mrs.</i>									Member				Champion
<i>Rowland, Mrs. W. A. (nee Montana Bushwell)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Rudge, Mrs.</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>Ryan, Mrs. L. J. (nee Dr. Helen Reynolds)</i>			1885								Executive		UVIC Archives
<i>Rykert, Mrs.</i>								Member (St. James Sewing Society)				St. James Sewing Society	Colonist
<i>Sargison, Mrs. (M. B.)</i>													Lupton
<i>Saville, Mrs.</i>									Member				Champion 1912
<i>Sayyea, Mrs.</i>	Foundation		1885										Gough
<i>Sayyea, Mrs. J</i>			1885										
<i>Scaife, Mrs. Arthur</i>								Foundation- Corresponding Secretary; Rep for BC					Colonist
<i>Schofield, Mrs. C. D. (nee Emily McAvity)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives, Saanich Archives

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Schooley, Mrs.</i>	WCTU Convention												Colonist,
<i>Schroeder, Mrs.</i>								Member (YWCA)				YWCA (Joins with Friendly Help Association in 1895)	Colonist
<i>Shakespeare, Mrs N.</i>	<i>WCTU Convention/Parlor Meeting</i>		1885					<i>Member (WCTURH)</i>				<i>WCTU Refuge Home</i>	<i>Colonist</i>
<i>Shaw, Mrs (Dr.)</i>			1885						Member	1913			Champion
<i>Shepard, Miss</i>								Member				Resolution on Education of Chinese Children	Colonist
<i>Shrapnel, Miss Gladys</i>									Member				Champion
<i>Siddall, Mrs. Hinckson</i>				Donation				Member (Local Union YPSCE)				Local Union YPSCE, Local Union of Christian Endeavor	Colonist
<i>Sivertz, Mrs.</i>	Member Delegate (Conf.)												Colonist
<i>Sketchley, Mrs. B.</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Smith, Miss S. F.</i>	WCTU Convention; YWCTU		1885					Member (YWCTU)			Executive		UVIC Archives
<i>Smith, Mrs R.H. (Died 1883-1884)</i>	Foundation WCTU 1st Local Pres.		1885										Colonist, Gough
<i>Smith, Mrs. A. J.</i>			1885 ?					Member (RJH)				Ladies Auxillary, Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital	Colonist
<i>Smith, Mrs. Edward, S. (nee Edith May Hinch)</i>			1885								Member (CHARTER)		UVIC Archives

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Smith, Mrs. Harry L. (nee Alise Corry)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Solly, Mrs.</i>								Member (St. James Sewing Society)				St. James Sewing Society	Colonist
<i>Spain, Mrs.</i>	Member												Colonist
<i>Speight, Mrs.</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Spencer, Miss (sister)</i>	Music												Colonist
<i>Spencer, Miss D.</i>	Foundation WCTU Recording Sec., Social Purity 1893; Music		1885	Representative									Colonist, Gough
<i>Spencer, Mrs.</i>	Mother's Meeting							Member (WCTURH)				WCTU Refuge Home	Colonist
<i>Spiers, Miss.</i>								Member (VSTA)				Victoria School Teachers' Association	Colonist, Gough
<i>Spofford, Mrs. Cecilia (William Henry)</i>	Foundation; WCTU Convention/Parliamentary Usage and Organization - Becomes Prov. Pres. - Rescue Home Rep		1885					Foundation...member					Colonist
<i>Stapleford, Mrs E. W. (nee Bucking?)</i>											Member		UVIC Archives
<i>Stirtan, Alice E.</i>	Foundation												Gough
<i>Strouse (?), Mrs.</i>								Member (RJH)				Ladies Auxiliary, Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital	Colonist
<i>Sutcliffe, Mrs</i>									Member				Champion

<i>Names</i>	Temperance/WCTU	Women's Missionary Society	1885 Franchise Petition	Chinese Rescue Home	BC Protestant Orphans Home	Order of Good Templars		Local Council of Women	Political Equity League	Go-getters	University of Victoria Women's Club	Miscellaneous Info or Individuals	Source
<i>Whitfield, Mrs.</i>								Member (Royal Templars of Temperance)				Royal Templars of Temperance	Colonist
<i>Whitlaw, Mrs. Kate</i>			1885					Member (LofM)				Ladies of the Maccabees	Colonist
<i>Wild, Miss.</i>								Member (Girls' Friendly Society)				Girls' Friendly Society	Colonist
<i>Wilde, Miss.</i>								Member (WW)				Society of 'Willing Workers'	Colonist
<i>Williams, Mrs. J. W.</i>	Foundation/WCTU/Treasurer		1885		Committee			Member (BCPOH)	Member			BC Protestant Orphan's Home	Colonist, Champion, Saanich Archives
<i>Wilson, Mrs. P</i>	WCTU Convention		1885 ?					Member (LA, EBC)				Ladies Association, Emmanuel Baptist Church	Colonist
<i>Winter, Mrs.</i>				Donation									Colonist
<i>Wood, Mrs. (Rev)</i>			1885						Member				Champion
<i>Woods, Miss.</i>			1885					Member (St.JLG)				St. John's Ladies Guild	Colonist
<i>Wylde, Mrs.</i>			1885					Member (RJH)				Ladies Auxiliary, Provincial Royal Jubilee Hospital	Colonist
<i>Young, Mrs. (H.E.) Rosalind W.</i>			1885					Member (YWCA)			Executive (CHARTER)	President UofV (1909)	UVIC Archives, LCWBC Pamphlet(1909)

Appendix 3

Women's Christian Temperance Union

Roll of Honour

<u><i>Names</i></u>	<u><i>Temperance/WCTU</i></u>
Childs, Mrs.	Foundation
Clyde, Mrs. A.J.	Foundation
Davis, Miss Dorothy	Foundation
Draper, Miss.	Foundation
Elford, Mrs.	Foundation
Gerno, Mrs. J. G.	Foundation
Gillepsie, Mrs. (wife to Alexander)	Foundation
Gordon, Mrs. Anne	Foundation WCTU
Gosnell, Mrs.	Foundation
Grant, Mrs William	Foundation WCTU
Grant, Mrs. Gordon (nee Maria Pollard)	Foundation WCTU Pres. Victoria - Legislation, Petition and Franchise; Recording Secretary
Greaves, Mrs.	Foundation WCTU
Hall, Mrs. Lashley (Mrs.H.G.)	Foundation WCTU - Scientific Instruction in Schools
Harding, Helen	Foundation
Humber, Mrs. M.L.	Foundation
Jeffree, W.J	Foundation WCTU
Lawson, Mis E. G.	Foundation
Lazenby , Miss. E.	Foundation
Little, Mrs.	Foundation
Luker, Mrs. W. G.	Foundation
MacIntosh, Mrs. James	Foundation
McCulloch, Miss I.	Foundation

Names

McCullough, Mrs. Jennie F.
 McMillan, Mrs. J
 McNaughton, Miss Jean

 Monk, Mrs. E.
 Morrou, D. W. (Female?)
 Plumber, Mrs.
 Pointer, Mrs. Susan (Black)
 Pollard, Miss. A. (Mrs. D. Jenkins?)
 Pollard, Mrs. L. J. (Mother to Maria

 Riggs, Mrs. (Rigg)
 Rudge, Mrs.
 Sayyea, Mrs.
 Sketchley, Mrs. B.
 Smith, Mrs. R.H. (Died 1883-1884)
 Spencer, Miss. D.

 Spofford, Mrs. Cecilia (William Henry)

 Stirtan, Alice E.
 Waskey, Mrs. M.
 Watson, Mrs. W.M.
 White, Mrs.
 Williams, Mrs. J. W.

Temperance/WCTU

Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation WCTU Recording
 Secretary; Hospital Work

 Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation WCTU Corr. Sec.
 Foundation WCTU Prov. Grant)
 President

 Foundation WCTU
 Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation WCTU 1st Local Pres.
 Foundation WCTU Recording Sec.,
 Social Purity 1893; Music

 Foundation; WCTU
 Convention/Parliamentary Usage and
 Organization – Becomes
 Prov. Pres. - Rescue Home Rep

 Foundation
 Foundation
 Foundation WCTU Vice President
 Foundation
 Foundation/WCTU/Treasurer

Appendix 4

Women's Christian Temperance Union & Religious Affiliation

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Adams, Mrs.		Centennial Methodist
Aikmen, Mrs.		Roman Catholic (St. Ann)
Andrews, Mrs. E.W.	WCTU Convention	Calvary Baptist
Angus, Mrs. William	YWCTU	
Atherton, Mrs. M. H.		
Baer, Mrs.		
Baker, Mrs. (Col) James	Member	Calvary Baptist
Barnes, Miss K.		Roman Catholic (St. Ann)
Bayne, Mrs.		
Beanlands, Mrs.		
Beckwith, Mrs. J.L.		Metropolitan Methodist
Berkely, Mrs.		
Besant, Mrs. R.P. (nee Frances Olive Kirk)		
Betts, Mrs.		Centennial Methodist
Blake, Miss		
Blalklock, Mrs.		
Bone, Mrs. W.H.		Centennial Methodist
Booth, Mrs. H. (nee A.O.Edna Henry)		
Bowes, Miss.	WCTU Convention Member; YWCTU	
Bowness, Mrs.		
Braverman, Mrs.		Jewish, Emmanu-El (1863)
Breeze, Miss		Treasurer
Bromley-Jubb, Miss.		
Bruce, Leslie J.		
Burgess, Mrs. William		Metropolitan Methodist

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Burkholder, Mrs.		WCTU Convention
Burnett, Miss Marguerite		
Burns, Mrs.		Anglican
Burrige, Miss. C.N		
Burris, Miss Grace D		
Cameron, Miss. A.D.		
Cameron, Miss. J.		St. Andrews Presbyterian
Cann, Miss		
Cann, Miss Jeanette A.		
Carmichael, Miss		
Carr, Miss. Edith (Older sister Emily)		
Carr, Mrs. Edith	WCTU	
Carter, Mrs. George (Black)		
Chapman, Mrs.	WCTU Superintendent of Jail Work	Centennial Methodist
Childs, Mrs.	Foundation	
Christie, Mrs.		
Christopher, Miss Daisy (becomes Welsh Lee)		
Christopher, Mrs. D.		
Clarke, Miss Georgia B		
Clarke, Mrs. Sarah		Protestant
Clay, Mrs. Margaret Jean Clay		St. Andrews Presbyterian
Cleaver, Mrs. Solomon		Metropolitan Methodist
Cleland, Dr. Annie (nee Chambers)		
Clyde, Mrs. A.J.	Foundation	Calvary Baptist
Coward, Miss.		
Craven, Mrs. Coneybeare		

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Crease, Miss. Susan		
Crease, Miss Josephine		
Crease, Mrs Sarah (Lady)		
Mrs. Cridge,		
Crowther, Mrs.	Member	
Cunningham, Miss	WCTU; Mother's Meeting/ Corresponding Secretary	
Cuppage, Mrs. E. M		
Davie, Mrs. Alex. E. B.		
Davie, Mrs. Theordore		
Davies, Miss		
Davis, Miss Dorthy	Foundation	
Day, Mrs. R. S.		
Dempster, Mrs.		First Presbyterian
Denne, Miss Lexa		
Denovan, Dr. Etta H.R. (nee Patterson)		
Dever, Mrs. Claire		
Dewdney, Mrs.		
Donovan, Miss		
Draper, Miss.	Foundation	
Dunnington, Miss		
Dupont, Mrs.		
Durham, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	
Durragh, Jana		
Earle, Mrs.		
Earsman, Mrs.		St. Andrews Presbyterian
Ede, Miss.		
Edmonds, Mrs.	Member	
Elford, Mrs.	Foundation	Metropolitan Methodist
Eliza, Mrs. E.		

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Elkin, Mrs.		
Fawcett, Miss	YWCTU	
Ferez, Mrs.		
Finlayson, Mrs.		
Flumerfelt, Mrs. (Dr.)		
Foote, Mrs. Dr.	WCTU Convention/ Heredity, Hygiene	
Foxall, Mrs.		
Frank, Miss		
Fraser, Miss	WCTU Convention	
Fraser, Miss Annie E.	WCTU	
Galletly, Mrs. A. J.		
Gerno, Mrs. J. G.	Foundation	
Gill, Mrs.		First Presbyterian
Gillepsie, Mrs. (wife to Alexander)	Foundation	
Gleason, Mrs.		
Godson, Mrs. M. (nee Edna Lehman)		
Goepal, Mrs.		Anglican
Goodacre, Mrs.	WCTU Convention; Superintendent, Hospital Work	
Gordon, Mrs. Anne	Foundation WCTU	
Gosnell, Mrs.	Foundation	
Gould, Miss (D.A. ?)	WCTU Convention	
Gould, Mrs.		First Presbyterian
Grant, Mrs William	Foundation WCTU	
Grant, Mrs. Gordon (nee Maria Pollard)	Foundation WCTU Pres. Victoria - Legislation Petition and Franchise Recording Secretary	
Greaves, Mrs.	Foundation WCTU	

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Green, Dr. A. E. (Mrs)		
Green, Mrs. Frank C. (nee Myra H. Holt)		
Griffin, Mrs.		Metropolitan Methodist
Hackett, Mrs. Charles		Centennial Methodist
Hadley, Mrs.		
Hall, Mrs. Lewis		
Hall, Miss. (Daughter?)		
Hall, Mrs. (Dr) Ernest	WCTU Member	
Hall, Mrs. Lashley (Mrs.H.G.)	Foundation WCTU Scientific Instruction/Schools	
Hamilton, Miss Mary W. (Black)		
Hancon, Miss ?		
Harding, Helen	Foundation	
Harrington, Mrs. H. G.		
Harris, Mrs. Dennis (Martha)		
Hart, Mrs.		
Hart, Mrs. E.C. (nee Margaret J. McPhee)		
Haughton, Mrs.		Emmanuel Baptist
Hayward, Mrs. Leone		
Hayward, Louis		
Hepburn, Miss		
Heweston, Miss.		
Hewlings, Miss Nora Gwen		
Hickey, Mrs. E. R.		
Higgins, Mrs.		
Higgins, Mrs.		Reformed Episcopal Church
Hiscocks, Mrs. (wife to Edwin A.)		

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Holt, Mrs. (daughter - Green)		Centennial Methodist
Humber, Miss Amy	WCTU Convention Flower Mission	
Humber, Mrs. M.L.	Foundation	
Hunter, Miss	WCTU Convention	
Hutcheson, Mrs.		Protestant
Hyndman, Mrs. J.F.C. (nee Mary E. MacVicar)		
Inkstor, Mrs. J. Gibson		
Jackson, Mrs.		
Jeffree, W.J	Foundation WCTU	
Jenkins, Mrs. Margaret	WCTU (Recording Sec)	
Jenkins, Mrs. William	WCTU Convention	
Jenns (?), Mrs.		Anglican
Jewell, Mrs. H.		
Johns, Mrs. Samuel		Centennial Methodist
Johnston, Miss.		Anglican
Jones, Miss Daisy		
Kains, Mrs.		Anglican
Keith, Mrs. C.S.		Women's Mission
Kent, Mrs. H.		Protestant
Lamb, Mrs.	Member	
Lawry, Mrs. Elis. Voris		
Lawson, Mis E. G.	Foundation	
Lawson, Miss. Mary		
Lazenby , Miss. E.	Foundation	
Leek/Leake Mrs.		
Leiser, Mrs. Gustav		Jewish, Emmanu-El (1863)
Lenz, Mrs.		Jewish, Emmanu-El (1863)
Lewis, Mrs.		

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Little, Mrs.	Foundation	
Lorimer, Miss		
Lowry, Mrs		
Luker, Mrs. W. G.	Foundation	
MacDonald, Mrs. W.J.		
MacInnes, Mrs.	WCTU Convention/ Parliamentary Usage	
MacIntosh, Mrs. James	Foundation	
MacLeod, Miss Adele		
MacLeod, Miss Jennie		
McConnan, Mrs.		Anglican
McCorkell, Miss		
McCorkell, Miss Geraldine		
McCorkell, Miss Smith		
McCulloch, Miss I.	Foundation	
McCullough, Mrs. Jennie F.	Foundation	
McDonald, Miss		
McDonald, Miss		
McDougall, Miss	WCTU Convention	
McGregor, Mrs. James (Bertha?)	WCTU Convention	First Presbyterian, Emmanuel Baptist
McKilligan, Mrs.		
McMillan, Mrs. J	Foundation	
McNaughton, Miss Jean	Foundation WCTU Recording Secretary Hospital Work	
McNaughton, Mrs. (Spofford's Mother)		Emmanuel Baptist
McNeil, Dr. Mary		
McQuade, Mrs.		
Mitchell, Mrs. A. E.		

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Monk, Mrs. E.	Foundation	
Montgomerie, Mrs		
Moore, Miss Ethel		
Morley, Mrs.		
Morris, Mrs. W.		Centennial Methodist
Morrison, Miss Amy		
Morrou, D. W. (Female?)	Foundation	
Munsie, Mrs.		First Presbyterian
Murphy, Willena		
Murray, Miss		
Nelson, Miss.		
Noot, Mrs.	Member	
Owen, Mrs. F.I.M.		
Parlow, Mrs. A. E. (nee Grace Ryan)		
Patterson, Mrs. (daughter - Dr. H. R. Denovan)		St. Andrews Presbyterian
Pemberton, Mrs.		
Pennington, Miss Margaret		
Perrin, Miss		
Peterick, Mrs.		
Pethick, Mrs. G. H.		
Phillips, Mrs.		Jewish, Emmanu-El (1863)
Pickard, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	Emmanuel Baptist Church
Pineo, Mrs.		Emmanuel Baptist Church
Playfair, Mrs. Harriet		
Please, Miss Emma J.		
Plumber, Mrs.	Foundation	
Pointer, Mrs. Susan (Black)	Foundation	
Pollard, Miss. A. (Mrs. D. Jenkins?)	Foundation WCTU Corr. Sec.	

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Pollard, Mrs. L. J. (Mother to Maria Grant)	Foundation WCTU Prov. President	
Powell, Miss (Parents signed Petition)	YWCTU	
Powell, Mrs. (George?)		Metropolitan Methodist
Prior, Mrs.		
Ralph, Miss		
Ramlose, Mrs. F. A		
Rankin, Mrs.		
Raymur, Mrs.		
Redfern, Mrs. (Daughter Kate Ford)		
Richardson, Miss Constance		
Riggs, Mrs. (Rigg)	Foundation WCTU	
Robinson, Miss.		
Robson, Mrs (Susan?) John	WCTU Convention	
Roper, Mrs.		
Rowland, Mrs. W. A. (nee Montana Bushwell)		
Rudge, Mrs.	Foundation	
Ryan, Mrs. L. J. (nee Dr. Helen Reynolds)		
Rykert, Mrs.		Anglican
Sargison, Mrs. (M. B.)		
Saville, Mrs.		
Sayyea, Mrs.	Foundation	
Sayyea, Mrs. J		
Scaife, Mrs. Arthur		
Schofield, Mrs. C. D. (nee Emily McAvity)		
Schooley, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Schroeder, Mrs.		
Shakespeare, Mrs N.	WCTU Convention/ Parlor Meeting	
Shaw, Mrs (Dr.)		
Shepard, Miss		
Shrapnel, Miss Gladys		
Siddall, Mrs. Hinckson		
Sivertz, Mrs.	Member Delegate (Conf.)	
Sketchley, Mrs. B.	Foundation	
Smith, Miss S. F.	WCTU Convention YWCTU	
Smith, Mrs R.H. (Died 1883-1884)	Foundation WCTU 1st Local Pres.	
Smith, Mrs. A. J.		Emmanuel Baptist Church
Smith, Mrs. Edward, S. (nee Edith May Hinch)		
Smith, Mrs. Harry L. (nee Alise Corry)		
Solly, Mrs.		Anglican
Spain, Mrs.	Member	
Speight, Mrs.		
Spencer, Miss (sister)	Music	
Spencer, Miss D.	Foundation WCTU Recording Sec. Social Purity 1893; Music	
Spencer, Mrs.	Mother's Meeting	
Spiers, Miss.		
Spofford, Mrs. Cecilia (William Henry)	Foundation; WCTU Convention/Parliamentary Usage and Organization - Becomes Prov. Pres. - Rescue Home Rep	
Stapleford, Mrs E. W. (nee Bucking?)		
Stirtan, Alice E.	Foundation	

<u>Names</u>	<u>Temperance/WCTU</u>	<u>Religious Affiliation</u>
Strouse (?), Mrs.		
Sutcliffe, Mrs		
Tait, Mrs.		Metropolitan Methodist
Teague, Miss	WCTU Convention	
Teague, Mrs. John	WCTU Convention	Metropolitan Methodist
Todd, Mrs		
Trutch, Mrs. John		
Van Sant, Miss (?)		
Walsh, Mrs. Arthur R. (nee Lilian R. Smith)		
Waskey, Mrs. M.	Foundation	
Watson, Mrs. W.M.	Foundation WCTU Vice President	
Watt, Mrs. A Robertion		
Weir, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	
Wells, Arsena		
White, Mrs.	Foundation	
Whitfield, Mrs.		
Whitlaw, Mrs. Kate		
Wild, Miss.		
Wilde, Miss.		
Williams, Mrs. J. W.	Foundation/WCTU/ Treasurer	Protestant
Wilson, Mrs. P	WCTU Convention	Emmanuel Baptist Church
Winter, Mrs.		
Wood, Mrs. (Rev)		
Woods, Miss.		Anglican
Wylde, Mrs.		
Young, Mrs. (H.E.) Rosalind W.		

Appendix 5

Young Women Christian Temperance Union, Temperance Pledge

I hereby promise, God helping me, to abstain from,
liquor as a beverage and to employ all proper means
to discourage the use of and traffic in, the same.

Appendix 6

1885 Petition Signatories

<u>Names</u>	<u>1885 Franchise Petition</u>
Adams, Mrs.	1885?
Angus, Mrs. William	1885
Burgess, Mrs. William	1885
Burkholder, Mrs.	1885
Cameron, Miss. A.D.	1885
Cameron, Miss. J.	1885
Christie, Mrs.	1885
Clarke, Miss Georgia B	1885
Clarke, Mrs. Sarah	1885?
Clyde, Mrs. A.J.	1885
Crowther, Mrs.	1885
Cunningham, Miss	1885
Dempster, Mrs.	1885
Dever, Mrs. Claire	1885
Elford, Mrs.	1885
Flumerfelt, Mrs. (Dr.)	1885
Fraser, Miss Annie E.	1885
Gillepsie, Mrs. (wife to Alexander)	1885
Gosnell, Mrs.	1885
Gould, Miss (D.A. ?)	1885?
Gould, Mrs. (Husband)	1885?
Grant, Mrs William	1885
Grant, Mrs. Gordon (nee Maria Pollard)	1885
Green, Dr. A. E. (Mrs)	1885
Hall, Mrs. Lashley (Mrs.H.G.)	1885
Hamilton, Miss Mary W. (Black)	1885

<u>Names</u>	<u>1885 Franchise Petition</u>
Hayward, Mrs. Leone Louis Hayward	1885
Hickey, Mrs. E. R.	1885
Higgins, Mrs.	1885?
Higgins, Mrs.	1885
Humber, Mrs. M.L.	1885
Jackson, Mrs.	1885?
Jeffree, W.J	1885
Jenkins, Mrs. Margaret	1885
Jenkins, Mrs. William	1885
Jewell, Mrs. H.	1885
Jones, Miss Daisy	1885
Lazenby , Miss. E.	1885
Leiser, Mrs. Gustav	1885!
Luker, Mrs. W. G.	1885
MacIntosh, Mrs. James	1885
MacLeod, Miss Adele	1885
MacLeod, Miss Jennie	1885
McCulloch, Miss I.	1885
McCullough, Mrs. Jennie F.	1885
McGregor, Mrs, James (Bertha?)	1885?
McMillan, Mrs. J	1885
McNaughton, Miss Jean	1885
McNaughton, Mrs. (Spofford's Mother)	1885?
Mitchell, Mrs. A. E.	1885
Monk, Mrs. E.	1885
Morley, Mrs.	1885
Morrison, Miss Amy	1885
Munsie, Mrs.	1885
Nelson, Miss. (parents?)	1885

<u>Names</u>	<u>1885 Franchise Petition</u>
Owen, Mrs. F.I.M.	1885
Peterick, Mrs.	1885
Pethick, Mrs. G. H.	1885
Please, Miss Emma J.	1885
Pointer, Mrs. Susan (Black)	1885
Pollard, Miss. A. (Mrs. D. Jenkins?)	1885
Pollard, Mrs. L. J. (Mother to Maria Grant)	1885
Powell, Mrs. (George?)	1885
Ralph, Miss	1885
Riggs, Mrs. (Rigg)	1885
Robinson, Miss.	1885
Robson, Mrs. (Susan?) John	1885?
Rudge, Mrs.	1885
Ryan, Mrs. L. J. (nee Dr. Helen Reynolds)	1885
Sayyea, Mrs.	1885
Sayyea, Mrs. J	1885
Shakespeare, Mrs N.	1885
Shaw, Mrs (Dr.)	1885
Smith, Miss S. F.	1885
Smith, Mrs R.H. (Died 1883-1884)	1885
Smith, Mrs. A. J.	1885?
Smith, Mrs. Edward, S. (nee Edith May Hinch)	1885
Spencer, Miss D.	1885
Spofford, Mrs. Cecilia (William Henry)	1885
Teague, Miss	1885
Teague, Mrs. John	1885
Todd, Mrs	1885
Walsh, Mrs. Arthur R. (nee Lilian R. Smith)	1885
Watson, Mrs. W.M.	1885
Wells, Arsena	1885

<u>Names</u>	<u>1885 Franchise Petition</u>
Whitlaw, Mrs. Kate	1885
Williams, Mrs. J. W.	1885
Wilson, Mrs. P	1885?
Wood, Mrs. (Rev)	1885
Woods, Miss.	1885
Wylde, Mrs.	1885
Young, Mrs. (H.E.) Rosalind W.	1885

Appendix 7

WCTU & Women's Council

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Adams, Mrs.	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women	Member (LAS, CMC)
Aikmen, Mrs.	Member (Sisters of St. Anne)	
Andrews, Mrs. E.W.	WCTU Convention	Member (MC,CBC)
Angus, Mrs. William	YWCTU	Member (YWCTU)
Atherton, Mrs. M. H.	Member (Local Union YPSCE)	
Baer, Mrs.		
Baker, Mrs. (Col) James	Member	Foundation President, Member (MC, CBC); Member (VOHH)
Barnes, Miss K.	Member (St. Ann's Benevolent Society)	
Bayne, Mrs.	Member (Girls' Friendly Society)	
Beanlands, Mrs.	Member (LWP, CCC)	
Beckwith, Mrs. J.L.	Member (MC, CBC)	
Beridge, Mrs. William	Member (LAS,MMC)	
Berkely, Mrs.	Member (WW)	
Besant, Mrs. R.P. (nee Frances Olive Kirk)		
Betts, Mrs.	Member (Centennial Missionary Society) Tithel; (LAS,CMC)	
Blake, Miss	Member (Girls' Friendly Society)	
Blalklock, Mrs.	Member (LWP, CCC)	
Bone, Mrs. W.H.	Member (LAS, CMC)	
Booth, Mrs. H. (nee A.O.Edna Henry)		
Bowes, Miss.	WCTU Convention, Member; YWCTU	Member, (YWCTU)
Bowness, Mrs.	Member (LofM)	
Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Breeze, Miss	Treasurer	

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Bromley-Jubb, Miss.		
Bruce, Leslie J.		
Burgess, Mrs. William	Member (LMS, MMC)	
Burkholder, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	Member (WCTU)
Burnett, Miss Marguerite		
Burns, Mrs.	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women; Member, (St.JLG)	
Burridge, Miss. C.N		
Burris, Miss Grace D		
Cameron, Miss. A.D.	Member (VSTA)	
Cameron, Miss. J.	Member (Local Union YPSCE); Member (LAS, St.APC)	
Cann, Miss		
Cann, Miss Jeanette A.		
Carmichael, Miss	Member	
Carr, Miss. Edith (Older sister Emily)	Member (YWCA)	
Carr, Mrs. Edith	WCTU	Member (WCTU)
Carter, Mrs. George (Black)	Member (YMCA)	
Chapman, Mrs.	WCTU: Superintendent of Jail Work	Member (Centennial Missionary Society) Tithe; WMS, CMC
Childs, Mrs.	Foundation	
Christie, Mrs.		
Christopher, Miss Daisy (becomes Welsh Lee)		
Christopher, Mrs. D.		
Clarke, Miss Georgia B		
Clarke, Mrs. Sarah	Member (BCPOH)	
Clay, Mrs. Margaret Jean Clay	Member (LAS, St.APC)	
Cleaver, Mrs. Solomon	Member (LAS,MMC)	
Cleland, Dr. Annie (nee Chambers)		
Clyde, Mrs. A.J.	Foundation	Member (MC, CBC)
Coward, Miss.		
Craven, Mrs. Coneybeare	Member	
Crease, Miss. Susan	Member	
Crease, Miss Josephine	Member	
Crease, Mrs Sarah (Lady)	Member (VOHH)	

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Cridge, Mrs.		
Crowther, Mrs.	Member	Member (WCTU)
Cunningham, Miss	WCTU; Mother's Meeting and Corresponding Secretary	
Cuppage, Mrs. E. M		
Davie, Mrs. Alex. E. B.	Foundation, Treasurer	
Davie, Mrs. Theodore	**Patron to Council	
Davies, Miss		
Davis, Miss Dorthy	Foundation	
Day, Mrs. R. S.	Resolution made at Foundation... Vice- President	
Dempster, Mrs.	Member (LAS,FPC)	
Denne, Miss Lexa		
Denovan, Dr. Etta H.R. (nee Patterson)		
Dever, Mrs. Claire		
Dewdney, Mrs.	Foundation, Member; Member (VOHH)	
Donovan, Miss		
Draper, Miss.	Foundation	
Dunnington, Miss	Member (Local Union YPSCE)	
Dupont, Mrs.		
Durham, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	
Durragh, Jana		
Earle, Mrs	Member (Maternity Home); Member (VOHH)	
Earsman, Mrs.	Member (LAS, St.APC)	
Edmonds, Mrs.	Member	Member (WCTU)
Elford, Mrs.	Foundation	Member (LMS, MMC)
Eliza, Mrs. E.		
Elkin, Mrs.		
Fawcett, Miss	YWCTU	Member (YWCTU)
Ferez, Mrs.		
Finlayson, Mrs.		
Flumerfelt, Mrs. (Dr.)	Member (VOHH)	
Foote, Mrs. Dr.	WCTU Convention/ Heredity and Hygiene	
Foxall, Mrs.		
Frank, Miss	Member	

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Fraser, Miss	WCTU Convention	Member
Fraser, Miss Annie E.	WCTU	Member (LWP, CHC)
Galletly, Mrs. A. J.	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women	
Gerno, Mrs. J. G.	Foundation	
Gill, Mrs.	Member (LAS,FPC)	
Gillepsie, Mrs. (wife to Alexander)	Foundation	
Gleason, Mrs.		
Godson, Mrs. M. (nee Edna Lehman)		
Goepal, Mrs.	Member (St.SWS)	
Goodacre, Mrs.	WCTU Convention; Superintendent Hospital Work	
Gordon, Mrs. Anne	Foundation WCTU	
Gosnell, Mrs.	Foundation	
Gould, Miss (D.A. ?)	WCTU Convention	
Gould, Mrs.	Member (LAS,FPC)	
Grant, Mrs William	Foundation WCTU	Member, (WCTU); 2nd VP; Member (VOHH)
Grant, Mrs. Gordon (nee Maria Pollard)	Foundation WCTU Pres. Victoria - Legislation, Petition and Franchise; Recording Secretary	Foundation, Recording Secretary
Greaves, Mrs.	Foundation WCTU	
Green, Dr. A. E. (Mrs)		
Green, Mrs. Frank C. (nee Myra H. Holt)		
Griffin, Mrs.	Member (LAS,MMC)	
Hackett, Mrs. Charles	Member (LAS, CMC)	
Hadley, Mrs.		
Hall, Mrs. Lewis	Member (YMCA)	
Hall, Miss. (Daughter?)	Member (Maternity Home)	
Hall, Mrs. (Dr) Ernest	WCTU Member	
Hall, Mrs. Lashley (Mrs.H.G.)	Foundation WCTU - Scientific Instruction in Schools	
Hamilton, Miss Mary W. (Black)		
Hancon, Miss ?		
Harding, Helen	Foundation	
Harrington, Mrs. H. G.		
Harris, Mrs. Dennis (Martha)		

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Hart, Mrs.		
Hart, Mrs. E.C. (nee Margaret J. McPhee)		
Haughton, Mrs.	Member (LA, EBC)	
Hayward, Mrs. Leone Louis Hayward	Member, Foundation; 1st VP; Member (VOHH)	
Hepburn, Miss		
Heweston, Miss.	Member (WW)	
Hewlings, Miss Nora Gwen		
Hickey, Mrs. E. R.	Member (Maternity Home)	
Higgins, Mrs.	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women; Maternity Home; Member (VOHH)	
Higgins, Mrs.	Member (LAS, REC)	
Hiscocks, Mrs. (wife to Edwin A.)	Member (LWP, CCC)	
Holt, Mrs. (daughter- Green)	Member, (WMS, CMC)	
Hunter, Miss	WCTU Convention	
Hutcheson, Mrs.	Member (BCPOH)	
Hyndman, Mrs. J.F.C. (nee Mary E. MacVicar)		
Inkstor, Mrs. J. Gibson		
Jackson, Mrs.	Member (LofM)	
Jeffree, W.J	Foundation WCTU	
Jenkins, Mrs. Margaret	WCTU (Recording Sec)	Member + Member (YWCA); Member (VOHH)
Jenkins, Mrs. William	WCTU Convention	Member ?
Jenns (?), Mrs.	Member (St.JLG)	
Jewell, Mrs. H.		
Johns, Mrs. Samuel	Member, (WMS, CMC)	
Johnston, Miss.	Member (St.JLG)	
Jones, Miss Daisy		
Kains, Mrs.	Member (St. James Sewing Society)	
Keith, Mrs. C.S.	Women's Mission	
Kent, Mrs. H.	Member (BCPOH)	
Lamb, Mrs.	Member	
Lawry, Mrs. Elis. Voris		
Lawson, Miss E. G.	Foundation	Member (?VSTA)
Lawson, Miss. Mary	Member; Member (VSTA); Secretary (FHA)	

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Lazenby , Miss. E.	Foundation	
Leek/Leake Mrs.		
Leiser, Mrs. Gustav	Member (HLAA)	
Lenz, Mrs.	Member (HLAA)	
Lewis, Mrs.		
Little, Mrs.	Foundation	
Lorimer, Miss	Member	
Lowry, Mrs		
MacDonald, Mrs. W.J.		
MacIntosh, Mrs. James	Foundation	
MacLeod, Miss Adele		
MacLeod, Miss Jennie		
McConnan, Mrs.	Member (St. James Sewing Society)	
McCorkell, Miss		
McCorkell, Miss Geraldine		
McCorkell, Miss Smith		
McCulloch, Miss I.	Foundation	
McCullough, Mrs. Jennie F.	Foundation	
McDonald, Miss		
McDonald, Miss		
McDougall, Miss	WCTU Convention	
McGregor, Mrs, James (Bertha?)	WCTU Convention	Member (Royal Templars of Temperance); Ladies' Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church); Member (LA, EBC)
McKilligan, Mrs.	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women; YWCA, Annual Meeting	
McMillan, Mrs. J	Foundation	Member (RJH)
McNaughton, Miss Jean	Foundation WCTU Recording Secretary; Hospital Work	Member (Committee for Home for Old Women)
McNaughton, Mrs. (Spofford's Mother)	Member (LMS, EBC)	
McNeil, Dr. Mary	Member (LofM)	
McQuade, Mrs.	Member, 2nd Vice Pres, Member (VOHH)	

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Mitchell, Mrs. A. E.		
Monk, Mrs. E.	Foundation	
Montgomerie, Mrs		
Moore, Miss Ethel		
Morris, Mrs. W.	Member, (WMS, CMC)	
Morrison, Miss Amy		
Munsie, Mrs.	Member (LAS,FPC)	
Murphy, Willena		
Murray, Miss	Member (LUCY)	
Nelson, Miss.	Member (WW)	
Noot, Mrs.	Member	
Owen, Mrs. F.I.M.		
Parlow, Mrs. A. E. (nee Grace Ryan)		
Patterson, Mrs. (daughter - Dr. H. R. Denovan)	Member (LAS, St.APC)	
Pemberton, Mrs.	**Patron to Council	
Pennington, Miss Margaret		
Perrin, Miss	Foundation, Member; Member (Girls' Friendly Society; SofWW)	
Peterick, Mrs.		
Pethick, Mrs. G. H.		
Phillips, Mrs.	Member (HLAA)	
Pickard, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	Member (LA,EBC)
Pineo, Mrs.	Member (LMS, EBC)	
Playfair, Mrs. Harriet		
Please, Miss Emma J.	Member (YMCA)	
Plumber, Mrs.	Foundation	
Pointer, Mrs. Susan (Black)	Foundation	
Pollard, Miss. A. (Mrs. D. Jenkins?)	Foundation WCTU Corr. Sec.	
Pollard, Mrs. L. J. (Mother to Maria Grant)	Foundation WCTU Prov. President	
Powell, Miss (Parents signed Petition)	YWCTU	Member (YWCTU)
Powell, Mrs. (George?)	Member (LMS, MMC)	
Prior, Mrs.	Member (VOHH)	
Ralph, Miss		

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Rankin, Mrs.		
Raymur, Mrs.		
Richardson, Miss Constance		
Riggs, Mrs. (Rigg)	Foundation WCTU	
Robinson, Miss.	Member; Member (VSTA)	
Robson, Mrs. (Susan?) John	WCTU Convention	Member, WCTU Rep; Member (WCTURH)
Roper, Mrs.		
Rowland, Mrs. W. A. (nee Montana Bushwell)		
Rudge, Mrs.	Foundation	
Ryan, Mrs. L. J. (nee Dr. Helen Reynolds)		
Rykert, Mrs.	Member (St. James Sewing Society)	
Sargison, Mrs. (M. B.)		
Saville, Mrs.		
Sayyea, Mrs.	Foundation	
Sayyea, Mrs. J		
Scaife, Mrs. Arthur	Foundation- Corresponding Secretary; Rep for BC	
Schofield, Mrs. C. D. (nee Emily McAvity)		
Schooley, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	
Schroeder, Mrs.	Member (YWCA)	
Shakespeare, Mrs N.	WCTU Convention/Parlor Meeting	Member (WCTURH)
Shaw, Mrs (Dr.)		
Shepard, Miss	Member	
Sivertz, Mrs.	Member Delegate (Conf.)	
Smith, Mrs R.H. (Died 1883-1884)	Foundation WCTU 1st Local Pres.	
Smith, Mrs. A. J.	Member (RJH)	
Smith, Mrs. Edward, S. (nee Edith May Hinch)		
Smith, Mrs. Harry L. (nee Alise Corry)		
Solly, Mrs.	Member (St. James Sewing Society)	
Spain, Mrs.	Member	
Speight, Mrs.		

Names	Temperance/WCTU	Local Council of Women
Spencer, Miss (sister)	Music	
Spencer, Miss D.	Foundation WCTU Recording Sec.	
Social Purity 1893; Music		
Spencer, Mrs.	Mother's Meeting	Member (WCTURH)
Spiers, Miss.	Member (VSTA)	
Spofford, Mrs. Cecilia (William Henry)	Foundation; WCTU Convention/Parliamentary Usage	Foundation Member , Organization - Becomes Prov. Pres. - Rescue Home Rep
Stapleford, Mrs E. W. (nee Bucking?)		
Stirtan, Alice E.	Foundation	
Strouse (?), Mrs.	Member (RJH)	
Sutcliffe, Mrs		
Tait, Mrs.	Member (LMS, MMC)	
Teague, Miss	WCTU Convention	
Trutch, Mrs. John		
Weir, Mrs.	WCTU Convention	
Wells, Arsena		
White, Mrs.	Foundation	
Whitfield, Mrs.	Member (Royal Templars of Temperance)	
Whitlaw, Mrs. Kate	Member (LofM)	
Wild, Miss.	Member (Girls' Friendly Society)	
Williams, Mrs. J. W.	Foundation/WCTU/Treasurer	Member (BCPOH)
Wilson, Mrs. P	WCTU Convention	Member (LA, EBC)
Winter, Mrs.		
Wood, Mrs. (Rev)		
Woods, Miss.	Member (St.JLG)	
Young, Mrs. (H.E.) Rosalind W.	Member (YWCA)	

Appendix 8

Women's Council & 1885 Petition

<u>Names</u>	<u>1885 Petition</u>	<u>Local Council of Women</u>
Adams, Mrs.	1885?	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women; Member (LAS, CMC)
Angus, Mrs. William	1885	Member (YWCTU)
Burgess, Mrs. William	1885	Member (LMS, MMC)
Burkholder, Mrs.	1885	Member (WCTU)
Cameron, Miss. A.D.	1885	Member (VSTA)
Cameron, Miss. J.	1885	Member (Local Union YPSCE) Member (LAS, St.APC)
Clarke, Mrs. Sarah	1885?	Member (BCPOH)
Clyde, Mrs. A.J.	1885	Member (MC, CBC)
Crowther, Mrs.	1885	Member (WCTU)
Dempster, Mrs.	1885	Member (LAS,FPC)
Elford, Mrs.	1885	Member (LMS, MMC)
Flumerfelt, Mrs. (Dr.)	1885	Member (VOHH)
Fraser, Miss Annie E.	1885	Member (LWP, CHC)
Gould, Mrs.	1885? (Husband)	Member (LAS,FPC)
Grant, Mrs William	1885	Member, WCTU; 2nd VP; Member (VOHH)
Grant, Mrs. Gordon (nee Maria Pollard)	1885	Foundation, Recording Secretary
Hayward, Mrs. Leone Louis Hayward	1885	Member, Foundation; 1st VP; Member (VOHH)
Hickey, Mrs. E. R.	1885	Member (Maternity Home)
Higgins, Mrs.	1885	Member, Committee for Home for Old Women, Maternity Home; Member(VOHH)
Higgins, Mrs.	1885?	Member (LAS, REC)
Humber, Mrs. M.L.	1885	Member (WCTURH)
Jackson, Mrs.	1885?	Member (LofM)
Jenkins, Mrs. Margaret	1885	Member, Member(YWCA); Member(VOHH)
Jenkins, Mrs. William	1885	Member ?
Leiser, Mrs. Gustav	1885	Member (HLAA)

<u>Names</u>	<u>1885 Petition</u>	<u>Local Council of Women</u>
McGregor, Mrs, James (Bertha?)	1885?	Member (Royal Templars of Temperance); Aid Society, First Presbyterian Church); Member (LA, EBC)
McMillan, Mrs. J	1885	Member (RJH)
McNaughton, Miss Jean	1885	Member, Committee for Old Woman Home
McNaughton, Mrs (Spofford's Mother)	1885?	Member (LMS, EBC)
Morley, Mrs.	1885	Member (Royal Templars of Temperance)
Munsie, Mrs.	1885	Member (LAS, FPC)
Nelson, Miss.	1885 (parents?)	Member (WW)
Please, Miss Emma J.	1885	Member (YMCA)
Powell, Mrs. (George?)	1885	Member (LMS, MMC)
Robinson, Miss.	1885	Member; Member (VSTA)
Robson, Mrs. (Susan?) John	1885?	Member, WCTU Rep. Member (WCTURH)
Shakespeare, Mrs N.	1885	Member (WCTURH)
Smith, Miss S. F.	1885	Member (YWCTU)
Smith, Mrs. A. J.	1885?	Member (RJH)
Spofford, Mrs. Cecilia (William Henry)	1885	Foundation member
Todd, Mrs	1885	Foundation member
Whitlaw, Mrs. Kate	1885	Member (LofM)
Williams, Mrs. J. W.	1885	Member (BCPOH)
Wilson, Mrs. P	1885?	Member (LA, EBC)
Woods, Miss.	1885	Member (St.JLG)
Wylde, Mrs.	1885	Member (RJH)
Young, Mrs. (H.E.) Rosalind W	1885	Member (YWCA)

Appendix 9

India Famine Fund List

Contributions listed in *British Colonist* Tuesday, October 9, 1900

Mrs. Chan Sing Kai	Mar Quoks	Mrs. Lee Chans
L.Chian	Mar Chows	Mrs. Wu Hos
B. Chan	Mrs. Lee Chong	Mrs. Youngs
Ida Chan	Lee Shew	Miss. Chu Qui Ping
Fannie Chan	Lee Yee	Mrs. James We Hope
Mrs. Lee On Yun	Mrs. Lee Woi	Mrs. S. Long She
Mrs. Lee Mong Kow	Mrs. Wong Ho	Chan Li She
Lee Yut	Mrs. Chong Noon	Chan Sum She
Lee Qunn	Mrs. Chew Kong	Chan Bong
Lee Lum	Mrs. Lee Chess	Chan Fun
Chu Chans	Mrs. Sam Kee	Chan Hin
Chu Wongs	Mrs. Seeto Chase	Macdoone
Chu Tow	Lim longs	Mrs. W. Chans
Chu Jun	Lim Youngs	Mrs. Chong Kee
Chu kay	Mrs. Yews	Mrs. Wong Lam
Mrs. Loo Gee Wing	Mrs. Fong Sye	Mrs. Fung Choy
Loo Chew Long	Mrs. Sing Lee	Mrs. Wing Wo Tai
Loo Chong Shong	Mrs. Mary Din War	Look Dias
Loo kay	Mrs. Hawk Taw	Look Chungs
Chan Less	Mrs. Wong Dok	
Chan Hoa	Mrs. Chew Chen	

Total of \$64.00 sent to Miss. M. E. Moore, secretary, Toronto, Canada, under the auspices of Mrs. Chan Sing Kai, wife of Reverend Chan Sing Kai, pastor of Chinese Mission of Methodist Church, Victoria, BC.