

The Business of Women:  
Gender, Family, and Entrepreneurship in British Columbia, 1901-1971

by

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We accept this dissertation as conforming  
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ABSTRACT

This study examines female self-employment in British Columbia from 1901 to 1971. Entrepreneurial women comprised a small proportion of the total female labour force but they exhibited differences from the rest of the labour force that deserve attention. The study relies on the *Census of Canada* to gain perspective on trends in female self-employment over a broad time period; qualitative sources are also utilized, including Business and Professional Women's Club records, to illustrate how individual businesswomen reflected patterns of age, marital status, and family observed at a broad level. The role of gender in women's decisions to run their own enterprises and in their choice of enterprise is also explored. While the research focus is British Columbia, this study is comparative: self-employed women in the province are compared to their counterparts in the rest of Canada, but also to self-employed men, and to other working women, in both regions. Regionally, women in British Columbia had higher rates of self-employment than women in the rest of the country between 1901 and 1971. Self-employed women in both British Columbia and Canada were, like wage-earning women, limited to a narrow range of occupational types, but they were more likely to work in male-dominated occupations. Self-employed women were also older and more likely to be married, widowed or divorced than wage-earning women; in these aspects, they resembled self-employed men. But there were gender differences: whether women worked in female or male-dominated enterprises, they stressed their femininity. The need to take care of their families, particularly if they had lost a spouse through death or desertion, provided additional rationale for women's presence in the business world. Family, marital status, age, gender and region all played a role in women's decisions to enter into self-employment between 1901 and 1971.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	iv
List of Figures	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Introduction	
Female Self-Employment in British Columbia	1
Chapter One	
Women's Labour Force Participation and Self-Employment: A Comparison of British Columbia with the Rest of Canada, 1901 to 1971	37
Chapter Two	
Careers for Women: The Gendering of the Female Labour Force, 1901-1971, and the Implications for Businesswomen	87
Chapter Three	
The Business and Professional Women's Clubs of British Columbia	152
Chapter Four	
"You have to think like a man and act like a lady:" Gender and the Businesswoman	212
Chapter Five	
The Business of Family	260
Conclusion	
Reflections on the Business of Women	323
Bibliography	332
Appendices	350

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Marital Status of Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	46
Table 1.2: Self-Employed Adult Women as a Percentage of all Gainfully Employed Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	52
Table 1.3: Marital Status of Gainfully Employed Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	53
Table 1.4: Gainfully Employed Adult Women, by Employment Status and Marital Status: British Columbia, 1901 and 1971	58
Table 1.5: Gainfully Employed Adult Women, by Employment Status and Marital Status: Canada, 1901 and 1971	60
Table 1.6: Gainfully Employed Married Women as a Percentage of all Married Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	62
Table 1.7: Self-Employed Married Women as a Percentage of all Married Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901 and 1971	64
Table 1.8: Gainfully Employed Single Women as a Percentage of all Single Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	72
Table 1.9: Self-Employed Single Women as a Percentage of all Single Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901 and 1971	74
Table 1.10: Gainfully Employed Widowed/Divorced Women as a Percentage of all Widowed/Divorced Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	75
Table 1.11: Self-Employed Widowed/Divorced Women as a Percentage of all Widowed/Divorced Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901 and 1971	83
Table 2.1: Percentage Distribution of the Female Labour Force by Occupational Group: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	93
Table 2.2: Gainfully Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations: Canada, 1921, 1941 and 1961	101
Table 2.3: Self-Employment Rates (provided as number self-employed and as percent of total employed) Among Gainfully Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	104

LIST OF TABLES, continued:

Table 2.4: Self-Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations, as a Percentage of Total Female Self-Employment: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	112
Table 2.5: Male and Female Share(Percentage) of Total Employment in Selected Occupations: British Columbia and Canada, 1921, 1941, and 1961	113
Table 2.6: Self-Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations, as a Percentage of the Total Female Labour Force: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	146
Table 3.1: Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club Membership, 1931	160
Table 3.2: Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club Membership, 1948	160
Table 3.3: Self-Employed Women in the Victoria and Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Club, 1921-1963	174
Table 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Female Workers in Selected Occupations, According to Age: Canada, 1921	276
Table 5.2: Female Farmers, 1901, 1941, and 1971	297
Table 5.3: Marital Status of Male and Female Farmers: British Columbia and Canada	300
Table 5.4: Female Boarding House Keepers, 1901, 1941, and 1971	312
Table 5.5: Marital Status of Male and Female Boarding House Keepers: British Columbia and Canada	315

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1: Adult women's share of total population, of total labour force, and of total Self-employed/employer labour force: British Columbia	48
Figure 1.2: Adult women's share of total population, of total labour force, and of total Self-employed/employer labour force: Canada	48
Figure 1.3: Gainfully Employed Adult Women as a Percentage of All Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada	51
Figure 2.1: Self-Employed Adult Women as a Percentage of all Gainfully Employed Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	137
Figure 2.2: Self-Employed Adult Men as a Percentage of all Gainfully Employed Adult Men: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971	137
Figure 3.1: The Wedding at the Clubroom, 736 Granville	202
Figure 4.1: Advertisements for Business Women's Week: Victoria, 1962	226
Figure 4.2: Vancouver BPW club member Mrs. Bertha Bell and Victoria BPW club member Mrs. Margaret Harvey	230
Figure 4.3: Vancouver BPW club member Miss Barbara Macfarlane	232
Figure 5.1: Farm Women in Terrace, British Columbia, c.1920s	305

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Wherever you go, there you are; and here I am, finally.

## **Introduction**

### **Female Self-Employment in British Columbia**

When I began to research self-employed women in British Columbia from 1901 to 1971, I supposed that most would be single just as other working women very often were, particularly in the first half of the century. Since marriage usually ended gainful employment for women, I hypothesized that some women, willingly or unwillingly, remained single and turned to self-employment to support themselves. For much of the twentieth century marriage was like an “occupation” for women. It provided financial security in the form of a wage-earning spouse but it was also an occupation in terms of the amount of unpaid work that married women did in the home. If marriage was a form of economic security, then self-employment was an alternative form of security –and as historian Joy Parr has said in the context of wage-earning work, a way to “escape” conjugality.<sup>1</sup> I also speculated that female entrepreneurship involved going against the grain of what British Columbia society felt was “appropriate” feminine behaviour. This, I believed, would hold true for much of the twentieth century for women who ran their own businesses, “however miniscule or ephemeral.”<sup>2</sup>

What I discovered about self-employed women – that is, women who worked for themselves, also referred to here as proprietors, entrepreneurs or businesswomen – contradicted my initial assumptions. Being single (never-married) was not a particularly likely condition for self-employed women. They were older, and more likely to be married, widowed or divorced, than wage-earning women. My initial position on businesswomen needed to be re-evaluated.

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<sup>1</sup> Joy Parr, “The Skilled Emigrant and Her Kin: Gender, Culture, and Labour Recruitment,” *Canadian Historical Review* LXVIII, 4 (December 1987): 530.

<sup>2</sup> Wendy Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 190.

The connections between women's self-employment, age, and marital status formed a central area of research. But this led to other questions about the differences between self-employed and wage-earning women, such as whether self-employed women worked in female-dominated trades, as most wage-earning women did. Women's labour force experiences were diverse and deserve to be examined from different perspectives. Since I was finding differences between self-employed and wage-earning women, the questions were extended: did self-employed women have more in common with self-employed men? How important was gender to women's entry into self-employment and to the kinds of enterprises they operated?

That entrepreneurship was a "school of manhood" in the period under study here is not in dispute.<sup>3</sup> Self-employed women formed a small proportion of all women workers *and* of all business owners in every decade under study and business ownership for much of the twentieth century was constructed as a masculine endeavour. Businesswomen, then, chose unconventional paths in life. Just being in the labour force in the early twentieth century was unconventional for women, and those who opened their own businesses were a distinct minority.

At the same time, self-employed women were not rebellious groundbreakers. They struggled to survive and often operated small, home-based businesses in traditionally female occupations. They sometimes ran their own businesses because they could not find other avenues of work and needed to support family members, and not because they were rebelling against traditional roles as wage earners, or as wives and mothers. Yet, their very existence is a demonstration of a less conventional choice, within the limited set of

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<sup>3</sup> The expression comes from a 1904 article by Henry Stimson titled "The Small Business as a School of Manhood," cited in Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise," 188-189.

choices available to them. While their accomplishments appear small when weighed against usual standards of success, such as size of business or material wealth, businesswomen achieved a measure of success, however they chose to define it, and independence that did not exist for most wage-earning men or women.

Some, such as newspaperwoman Sara McLagan, achieved a great deal of independence: McLagan founded the Vancouver daily, *The World*, with her husband in 1888 and as a widow, became sole owner in 1901. She was the first woman to run a daily newspaper in Canada.<sup>4</sup> McLagan was a prominent entrepreneur with an unusual amount of power, not representative of the majority of businesswomen in early twentieth-century British Columbia. But even when their operations were marginal there is no reason to assume that self-employed women did not achieve a level of personal fulfillment from their businesses. Evidence of economic need does not eliminate choice. Female entrepreneurs chose entrepreneurship over wage earning and they chose to open particular kinds of businesses. And all self-employed women, regardless of the size or success of their businesses, gained the distinct advantage of becoming their own (and sometimes someone else's) boss.

The degree to which businesswomen were "feminine" forms a central part of this study. Were self-employed women perceived as less feminine in behaviour or appearance than wage-earning women because they operated in a distinctly masculine sphere? As David Burley has argued, notions of masculinity were closely linked to the idea of the

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<sup>4</sup> Marjory Lang and Linda Hale, "Women of the *World* and Other Dailies: The Lives and Times of Vancouver Newspaperwomen in the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century," *BC Studies* 85 (Spring 1990): 4-5.

businessman.<sup>5</sup> In some ways, female entrepreneurs in British Columbia resembled male entrepreneurs more than they resembled other women in the labour force. Far from working in a female sphere or a women's work culture, many businesswomen were in a male work culture. Some ran businesses in male-dominated arenas, such as shopkeeping or farming or, in McLagan's case, publishing. Even women who ran businesses in female-dominated trades, such as sewing or boarding house keeping, were relatively rare in the very fact of their entrepreneurship. They ran their businesses in towns that were not exactly teeming with other businesswomen. Entrepreneurial women were, like businessmen, more likely to have families, to be in older age brackets, and to be married or once married, than their wage-earning counterparts.

While women in British Columbia were like men in choosing entrepreneurship, they could be feminine and also businesslike, characteristics that would seem antithetical according to literature on entrepreneurship (*and* on women). A colleague described Sara McLagan as a "most womanly woman and yet one...who can talk politics with men."<sup>6</sup> Businesswomen themselves, and the commentators who described them, reassured the public that even women who worked in male-dominated business worlds were still feminine, at least in mannerism and appearance if not in choice of occupation. Moreover, self-employed women and contemporary observers invoked the language of family responsibility to justify female entrepreneurship, whether it was in particularly feminized

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<sup>5</sup> See David Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 236. While Burley makes the connection here between manliness and self-employment, he is certainly not the first or only scholar to do so. Mary Yeager states in her introduction to the three-volume collection *Women in Business* that the business world has been made and recorded largely by men. See Mary A. Yeager, "Introduction," Yeager, ed., *Women in Business: Volume 1* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Elgar, 1999), ix-x.

<sup>6</sup> Gay Page, cited in Lang and Hale, "Women of the *World* and Other Dailies," 5. Lang and Hale note that while her associates may have wished to emphasize her femininity, "there can be no doubt that McLagan was a strong and independent woman...." See Lang and Hale, "Women of the *World* and Other Dailies," 5.

industries such as sewing, cooking, or cleaning, or in more male-dominated occupations such as farming.

The final question that needed to be considered was what was different about British Columbia. The province provides an interesting window on the actions of female entrepreneurs. There were proportionately more adult married women in the population, and in the gainfully employed population, in British Columbia than in the rest of Canada for much of the twentieth century. And, women were more likely to be self-employed in the province than in the rest of the country between 1901 and 1971.

These distinct facets of women's work made the province a good place to test the connections between women's ages, their marital patterns, their life cycles, and their decisions to enter into self-employment. British Columbia's striking gender imbalance for the first half of the twentieth century undoubtedly affected the proportion of women in the married population and in the labour force. That married women made up a greater share of the adult and the gainfully employed adult female population in the province than in the rest of Canada, in every decade under study, is perhaps not surprising in a province with few marriageable women and many eligible bachelors in the early decades of the twentieth century. But the higher incidence of self-employment in the province is also connected to the high rates of marriage, and to the nature of British Columbia as a frontier, as is elaborated in Chapter One.

Due to the overall lack of research into female self-employment in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada, it was necessary to undertake a broad overview of patterns of women's entrepreneurship over time using census data and then, where possible, to undertake a qualitative analysis of how trends over time were reflected in individual communities and lives. The period 1901 to 1971 was chosen due to the

compatibility of census records across the period, but other methodological and historical considerations justify it. 1901, the dawn of a new century, was an apt place to begin as the records for pre-1900 British Columbia are scant, and the white female population in the province was particularly small.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, in the pre-1901 period “white women’s experience was defined by limited opportunities for labour and financial dependence.”<sup>8</sup>

While such limitations still existed after 1901, women in the province addressed the limited opportunities for waged labour by turning to self-employment instead, and if depending financially on men was untenable, they actively sought out other options for financial survival. The economic and social possibilities available to women in the province, beyond simply arriving on “bride ships” to be married off to miners, were just beginning to be realized as the new century began.<sup>9</sup> In addition, the Canadian Families Project’s database, a five percent sample of the entire 1901 census, was a useful tool with which to begin to analyse female self-employment. 1971 was an appropriate year to stop, in part because later census data is incompatible with earlier censuses. Other methodological reasons for ending this study in 1971 are explained in more detail in the first chapter.

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<sup>7</sup> The extremely small population of white women in colonial British Columbia prior to 1901 is dealt with by Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Her book provides an excellent analysis of gender and of women’s “place” in colonial British Columbia.

<sup>8</sup> Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 193.

<sup>9</sup> “Bride ships” contained young single women, “living freight...destined for the colonial and matrimonial market,” as the *British Colonist* described them upon their arrival in Victoria, British Columbia in September 1862. Their arrival is described in N. de Bertrand Lugin, *The Pioneer Women of Vancouver Island 1843-1866* (Victoria: Women’s Canadian Club, 1928), 146-149. For more on the story of the women’s arrival on the first so-called bride ship, the Tynemouth, see also Jackie Lay, “To Columbia on the Tynemouth: The Emigration of Single Women and Girls in 1862,” Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women’s History in B.C.* (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980).

## Historiography

Businesswomen's stories have not been told as part of the larger narrative of business history. Self-employed women were simultaneously like men and yet, separate from the masculine world of business. If "gender matters," it is not widely acknowledged in the field of business history, in which women are largely absent except as helpmeets to men. American historian Mary Yeager states in the introduction to the ambitious 1999 publication, *Women in Business*, that there is "no theory of entrepreneurship, no theory of the firm, no theory of contracts or of marriage, no theory of the family, no feminist theory that adequately explains the history of women in business."<sup>10</sup> Similarly, gender and business historian Wendy Gamber suggests that "historians of women in business who venture forth in search of interpretative contexts are apt to return empty-handed." Female entrepreneurs "fall between a number of historiographical cracks" which may explain, according to Gamber, the dearth of scholars willing to combine the fields of gender and business history.<sup>11</sup>

That business and women's history have been considered distinct, and even contradictory, subdisciplines of history has limited the number of scholars in the area. Business historians have continued to deal with men's enterprises, failing to interrogate the role of gender in business, while gender historians have brought businesswomen into their own fields of study rather than becoming business historians. It has fallen largely to gender and women's historians to explain and include the histories of businesswomen.

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<sup>10</sup> Yeager, "Introduction," xxii. Yeager also wrote the first chapter (entitled "Will There Ever Be a Feminist Business History?") of her collection *Women in Business*. It is a useful survey of some of the main challenges of incorporating the "experiences of women in business" into "the history of business." See Yeager, "Will There Ever Be a Feminist Business History," 31.

<sup>11</sup> Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise," 192.

Lucy Eldersveld Murphy published two early articles on female entrepreneurship, in 1987 and 1991. They are devoted more to finding businesswomen in the American Midwest than to analysing gender in business, exemplifying the “women were there, too” approach. Even so, they mark a beginning point in the American historiography of female self-employment.<sup>12</sup> Eldersveld Murphy emphasizes the value of female worlds and separate spheres, describing female proprietors as “women on the edges of their sphere, with one foot in the male world of profit-seeking, but the other firmly planted in a world of tradition and female culture.”<sup>13</sup> This emphasis on women’s separate spheres has been critiqued in the field of women’s history generally. In 1988, Linda Kerber suggested that to “continue to use the language of separate spheres is to deny the reciprocity between gender and society, and to impose a static model on dynamic relationships.”<sup>14</sup> She did, however, acknowledge that “our private spaces and our public spaces are still in many important senses gendered.”<sup>15</sup>

Despite Eldersveld Murphy’s elaboration of female work worlds, the separate spheres paradigm is less applicable to studies of entrepreneurial women. As Peter Baskerville posited in 1993, “the notion of separate spheres may obscure rather than provide insights into the lives and behaviour of many enterprising women.”<sup>16</sup> The idea of a distinctive women’s culture has been useful in explaining the female work culture for

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<sup>12</sup> See Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, “Her Own Boss: Businesswomen and Separate Spheres in the Midwest, 1850-1880,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 80 (Autumn 1987): 155-176; and Eldersveld Murphy, “Business Ladies: Midwestern Women and Enterprise, 1850-1880,” *Journal of Women’s History* 3, 1 (Spring 1991): 65-89.

<sup>13</sup> Murphy, “Business Ladies,” 65.

<sup>14</sup> Linda K. Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *Journal of American History* 75, 1 (June 1988): 38.

<sup>15</sup> Kerber, “Separate Spheres,” 39.

<sup>16</sup> Peter Baskerville, “‘She Has Already Hinted At Board’: Enterprising Urban Women in British Columbia 1863-1896,” *Histoire sociale-Social History* XXVI, 52 (November 1993): 208.

wage-earning women, but it is less apt in this context.<sup>17</sup> While, as Eldersveld Murphy articulated, some types of female-owned businesses catered to a female clientele and were an important part of “women’s culture,”<sup>18</sup> entrepreneurship is not really about female worlds. And a more useful way of examining female entrepreneurs is to look at relationships between men and women, rather than looking at women in isolation. This study posits that self-employed women should be viewed in relation to self-employed men, rather than as part of a female work culture.

Angel Kwolek-Folland’s *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* was published in 1994. While she writes about the changing nature of work and “business” in corporate America, the latter is loosely defined. Kwolek-Folland writes about the rise of office work in a more general sense, but the book was a sign of increasing interest in understanding gender in women’s working worlds and in white-collar work worlds in particular.<sup>19</sup> She also raises the issue of separate spheres, noting that the entry of women into white-collar office work in the early 1900s called into

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<sup>17</sup> The notion of separate female spheres and of female work cultures has been used quite effectively to explain women’s experiences of work and the gendered division of labour. However, the importance of examining women’s work worlds in relation to men, and the importance of examining gender as a category of analysis, is also an important part of the research on women at work that has developed since the mid-1980s. Nancy Grey Osterud points out that historians of ‘women’s culture’ presumed that “women turned to one another as an alternative to their relationships with men and that the qualities characterizing their relationships with one another were confined to their separate sphere.” But, she suggests, women also responded to the “gender system” by trying to “create greater mutuality in their relationships with men.” See Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 9. Also see her Introduction, entitled “No Separate Spheres.” Other authors have dealt with female work cultures while providing a more qualified analysis of the once-heralded concept of women’s separate spheres. See for example Patricia Cooper, *Once A Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987) and in a Canadian context, Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990) and Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

<sup>18</sup> Murphy, “Business Ladies,” 68.

<sup>19</sup> See Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

question “the ideal of distinct public and private worlds for men and women.”<sup>20</sup> This was also true of self-employed men and women, although she does not adequately distinguish between self-employed and wage-earning women in “business.”<sup>21</sup>

Kwolek-Folland’s *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* was published in 1998. She was reacting to, and reflecting a wider interest in, the history of businesswomen but again she defines “business” broadly, to include wage-earning *and* self-employed women. She includes the business experiences of “diverse women in four areas related to the history of business,” including: entrepreneurs, women as members of family businesses, the business aspects of professionalization, and women’s roles as slaves, laborers, wage earners and managers.”<sup>22</sup> Kwolek-Folland places all these women under the heading “business,” something that does not seem warranted since there is much she might have said regarding entrepreneurs, her first area of research.

Kwolek-Folland’s work is significant, however, because like Wendy Gamber, she attempts to “bring into a dialogue the two important fields of women’s and business history.”<sup>23</sup> Her research reflects new directions in gender and business history. Those new directions were reinforced when the *Business History Review* published a special issue on gender and business that addressed the cross-disciplinary aspects of studying

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<sup>20</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*, 10.

<sup>21</sup> While Kwolek-Folland writes about office work, gender, and class, all relevant issues, she does not clearly separate self-employed from wage-earning women. She does, however, argue that business was “masculine” and that women’s entry into white-collar office work between 1870 and 1930 raised questions about gender and work, particularly in middle-class professional working worlds. She provides important insights about business and professional women that have not been raised by labour or women’s historians, making her work a useful starting point for the study of gender and self-employment.

<sup>22</sup> She suggests that these four areas, or roles, have been “crucial to business history.” See Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 11.

<sup>23</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women*, 10.

businesswomen: it was an important recognition of a new way of examining women in business.

In this special issue, Gamber suggests that three “subdisciplines” of historical inquiry, business history, labour history, and women’s history, can provide insights into the history of businesswomen. However, she points out that inherent contradictions between subdisciplines complicate the task of writing the history of women in business. This may be one reason why few scholars attempted it before the 1990s. But the interest in the area has also developed because it has gone hand in hand with the development of gender history. Joan Scott’s seminal 1986 article, “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis” first opened the doors for historians to develop “gender as an analytic category.”<sup>24</sup> In her commentary on Kathy Peiss’s and Wendy Gamber’s articles in *Business History Review*, Scott suggests that gender “is a useful category of analysis in business history, but also that using it is no easy matter.”<sup>25</sup> She reminds us that “reconciling questions about women’s access, experience, and status with questions about firms, markets, and economies is not an easy task.”<sup>26</sup> The danger, Scott posits, lies in celebrating the empowerment of women and, furthermore, perpetuating their exclusion “by establishing a separate women’s business history.” At the same time, we must pay attention to the ways in which business worlds were organized by gender.<sup>27</sup>

Kathy Peiss’s article in *Business History Review* reflects a slightly different aspect of gender and business. She addresses the role of gender in advertising, marketing,

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<sup>24</sup> Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 41. The chapter cited here is titled “Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis” and was first published as an article in the *American Historical Review* 91, 5 (December 1986).

<sup>25</sup> Joan W. Scott, “Comment: Conceptualizing Gender in American Business History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 242.

<sup>26</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 242.

<sup>27</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 248-249.

selling, and consumption. Examining the beauty industry in particular, Peiss investigates women's strategies for selling goods to other women as well as women's consumption of goods. This is another strand of business history, also tackled by Peiss in *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*.<sup>28</sup> Her research is part of a field of inquiry that looks at consumer culture more than business ownership, although sometimes the two are combined. *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*, edited by Philip Scranton, provides a good sampling of the work in this field.<sup>29</sup>

The ways in which production and consumption were gendered are relevant to any study of women and business and Peiss in particular provides a perspective on how female entrepreneurs reacted to the market and positioned themselves, according to their gender, in certain kinds of businesses. Female entrepreneurs in British Columbia operated flower shops, hair salons, and women's clothing stores, businesses in which the proprietors recognized that their potential as retailers depended in part on the gendered nature of consumption. Many businesswomen relied on a female clientele and opened businesses in fields that were associated with women; they understood their niche as female retailers and capitalized to some degree on their gender.

*Women in Business*, a three-volume collection edited by Mary Yeager, brings the themes of gender and business together and draws on the American historiography of the

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<sup>28</sup> Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998). See also Kathy Peiss, "'Vital Industry' and Women's Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History," *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 219-241.

<sup>29</sup> Philip Scranton, ed., *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America* (New York: Routledge, 2001). While Scranton's collection includes studies on entrepreneurship (for example, Tiffany Melissa Gill's article on the politics of African-American female entrepreneurship, and a case study of cosmetics entrepreneur Estée Lauder) it deals more with marketing, advertising and sales. Susan Porter Benson's *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* provides an earlier example of the study of consumerism that overlaps slightly with the "business" of retailing but the role of entrepreneurial women in mass consumerism is not her focus. See Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986).

mid- to late 1990s. Yeager suggests that with “more women and men in academia alert to issues of gender and culture, the boundaries distinguishing the sub-fields of history blurred.”<sup>30</sup> By the 1990s historians of women had “begun to recover the histories of business buried in the interstices of the economy, in local neighbourhoods, in motels and hotels, in the beauty and funeral parlours, laundries, and boutiques,” and, she adds, the “engendering of business history had begun.”<sup>31</sup>

Gamber is another of a handful of mostly American scholars who have attempted to bridge the gap between business and gender history. In addition to articles that may be seen as “thoughts on the history of business and the history of women,” as one is subtitled, she wrote *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930*.<sup>32</sup> She has specifically examined female entrepreneurs from a gendered perspective, and as she elaborates in the introduction, “existing accounts [of the histories of businesswomen]...are at best cursory, at worst celebratory....We need to know not only that women were ‘there, too,’ but also under what circumstances their businesses survived and flourished.”<sup>33</sup> Gamber’s work provides an excellent model for the study of female entrepreneurship in part because she suggests that a gendered analysis might help to “construct interpretative frameworks that encompass businesspeople of both sexes, while revealing the ways in which gender shaped their respective experiences.”<sup>34</sup> Many scholars have been unable “to ‘see’ women as the proprietors of business concerns, let alone place

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<sup>30</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xiii.

<sup>31</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xiii.

<sup>32</sup> Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). Her articles are also extremely useful for anyone interested in gender and entrepreneurship. See “A Gendered Enterprise,” mentioned above, as well as Gamber, “A Precarious Independence: Milliners and Dressmakers in Boston, 1860-1890,” *Journal of Women’s History* 4, 1 (Spring 1992): 60-88; and Gamber, “Gendered Concerns: Thoughts on the History of Business and the History of Women,” *Business and Economic History* 23, 1 (Fall 1994): 129-140.

<sup>33</sup> Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 3-4.

<sup>34</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 190.

them in any interpretative context.”<sup>35</sup> Few scholars have examined female entrepreneurship in a broader context, producing, instead, biographies of exceptional women. This is what Gamber cautions against and my work also moves away from highlighting women of distinction. I have attempted, as Gamber proposes, to place businesswomen in an interpretative context, examining them in relation to men, in relation to other women, and in relation to their families.

Gamber’s comments about the weaknesses of past histories of businesswomen apply equally to the history of Canadian businesswomen. Neither historians of business nor women have researched them and when they are mentioned it is often as “exceptional” actors either in the arena of business or in the arena of womanhood. In Canadian business history, women are given short shrift.

David Burley’s case study of self-employment in nineteenth-century Brantford, Ontario rarely mentions self-employed women, save for four pages in a chapter titled “Who Was Self-Employed?” Here, Burley proposes that self-employed women were an anomaly in a man’s world.<sup>36</sup> This fits with his overall thesis, which stresses the connections between masculinity, independence, and self-employment; however, that self-employed women were an anomaly, or that they had different reasons for entering into self-employment than men did, should not disqualify them from further study. He concludes that for “widows and ‘old maids,’ self-employment was a means of survival with dignity. Yet, their independence was a matter of form and appearance only.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>As Gamber articulates, Stimson, the author of the phrase “school of manhood” and many other men of his day linked the characteristics of business success – ambition, assertiveness, competitiveness – to masculinity. But she also notes that scholars have followed in Stimson’s footsteps, using the phrase “unwittingly.” Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 191.

<sup>36</sup> Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life*, 102. While the title of Burley’s book does not suggest that this is a study of men only, his introduction makes it clear that he is really only discussing self-employed men.

<sup>37</sup> Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life*, 102.

Burley has perhaps understated the importance of female self-employment but he may be partially excused in that he has written a narrowly defined case study, unlike Michael Bliss who dismisses businesswomen almost completely in *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business*. The book jacket proclaims that Bliss surveys “the entire history of business in Canada” and tells the story of “enterprising men and women willing to take incredible risks.”<sup>38</sup> This is not the case as his attention to women is limited and therefore he does not actually survey the “entire” history.

Bliss notes that some wealthy male entrepreneurs who had hoped to pass down the family business “had no children or were dynastically crippled by having given birth to daughters.”<sup>39</sup> Bliss presumably meant that the wives of these entrepreneurs gave birth; regardless, he argues that when sons “were not there to...take the helm it was necessary to go outside the family.” Daughters were “not thought to have managerial potential or aspirations. What right-minded woman, almost certainly destined for marriage and motherhood, would think of business as a career, even if she did have a head for it?”<sup>40</sup> Bliss did not allow for the possibility that women could be mothers, wives *and* businesswomen. In fact, marriage and motherhood did not impede most businesswomen and sometimes it was the presence of unreliable husbands or dependent children that led women to entrepreneurship.

Other Canadian business histories have also given little space to female entrepreneurship, although they have not dismissed businesswomen as confidently as Bliss. *A Concise History of Business in Canada* by Graham Taylor and Peter Baskerville,

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<sup>38</sup> Michael Bliss, *Northern Enterprise: Five Centuries of Canadian Business* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987). See back jacket of 1990 paperback edition.

<sup>39</sup> Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 351. He is referring to family dynasties of the early 1900s, here. However, he also dismisses the existence of businesswomen in the 1960s. see Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 502.

<sup>40</sup> Bliss, *Northern Enterprise*, 352.

published in 1994, is a broad study of the connections between Canadian business development and the evolution of capitalism. Like Bliss, Baskerville and Taylor cover an extensive period, from the 1600s to the 1990s. Their work focuses on larger themes rather than on micro-studies of individual businesspeople. The individuals who get attention in the book are “heroic” men of business, those who acquired vast wealth and power: Sir Adam Beck, C.D. Howe and other elite white men of business are mentioned in passing, as are family dynasties led by men, such as the Crosby or McCain families.<sup>41</sup>

While Baskerville and Taylor stress the growth of “big” business, they note the continued importance of individual small business owners. However, it is primarily in the Epilogue that they address the importance of examining new “challenges” to Canadian business history, such as gender relations and the importance of female-run businesses.

David Monod’s *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing 1890-1939* examines “the shopkeeper” in Canada and addresses the history of twentieth-century small business owners.<sup>42</sup> He addresses the patriarchal nature of small business and points out that women were largely “[b]arred from the brotherhood that underlay the professional ethos” of the shopkeeper.<sup>43</sup> Although he nicely highlights the gendered nature of the shopkeeper’s world, and gives examples of female shopkeepers, he generally examines gender from the perspective of male shopkeepers’ uneasiness with women retailers. Moreover, he frames his discussion of female shopkeepers in the language of folklore, arguing that male retailers’ cultural assumptions about women’s “place” in the world were used to refuse women retailers a place in their trade organizations. He does not

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<sup>41</sup> Graham Taylor and Peter Baskerville, *A Concise History of Business in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1994).

<sup>42</sup> See Introduction, David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996).

<sup>43</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 88.

separate “folkloric images” of women’s role in retail from their real existence.

Consequently, his treatment of female shopkeepers under the heading of ‘folklore’ negates their active participation in the business world.<sup>44</sup>

John Benson’s research on small-scale entrepreneurs in Britain is useful in separating out small businesses from large-scale capitalism, and he defines the penny capitalist as a “working man or women who went into business on a small scale in the hope of profit (but with the possibility of loss) and made him (or her) self responsible for every facet of the enterprise.”<sup>45</sup> This is a good term for understanding female entrepreneurs, often penny capitalists, and Benson includes women in this definition, in his 1983 publication *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs*. Benson provides more detail on women’s experiences in Canada in *Entrepreneurism in Canada: A History of “Penny Capitalists.”* He suggests that women were pushed into penny capitalism, running “food and accommodations” types of businesses, usually due to extreme poverty brought on by the death or disappearance of a spouse. Benson also argues that many small enterprises are not quantifiable and are missed by census data.<sup>46</sup>

This is corroborated by Bettina Bradbury: in her examination of working-class families in mid-nineteenth century Montreal, she points out that raising animals (often in small urban backyards), gardening, domestic production, and taking in boarders were all

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<sup>44</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 89-91. Monod also researches the place of young wage-earning women in the feminization of consumption; female wage earners increasingly sold goods to female shoppers, as retailing developed and grew. This is an interesting and useful examination of gender’s role in consumer culture but again, Monod gives much more attention to women as shoppers and wage earners than as business owners. See Monod, *Store Wars*, 114-115.

<sup>45</sup> John Benson, *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 6.

<sup>46</sup> John Benson, *Entrepreneurism in Canada: A History of “Penny Capitalists”* (Lewiston, NY : E. Mellen Press, 1990), 77, 86.

methods of “retaining an element of self-sufficiency” for working-class families.<sup>47</sup> Even though they may not have been recognized as forms of entrepreneurship in the census, such strategies were, Bradbury argues, forms of penny capitalism – although she does not refer to them as specifically entrepreneurial.

Labour historians have discussed female “penny capitalists” in many contexts, but there is some reluctance to label such working-class women as entrepreneurs. This is a matter of definition; while labour historians have researched boarding house keepers, and women who sold butter, milk and eggs, or who sewed in their homes, they have rarely been identified as entrepreneurial. When Canadian historians have acknowledged the existence of such entrepreneurial initiatives, they have examined them as non-wage contributions to family survival, as Bradbury has, or as temporary actions on the part of very poor women to cushion the blows of immediate financial crisis or seasonal unemployment, as Benson explains. My work reconceptualizes the ways in which women’s endeavours can be understood. Removing them from the history of the family economy, and highlighting the ways in which their endeavours were entrepreneurial, affords women a legitimate place among the self-employed: they ought to be viewed as in and of the business world, rather than being seen as home workers or secondary earners.

One exception to the lack of historical inquiry in the field of female entrepreneurship in Canada is Peter Baskerville’s research on gender and self-employment. His 1993 article on “enterprising” urban women in British Columbia is an excellent starting point. His observation that few detailed studies existed of self-employed

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<sup>47</sup> Bettina Bradbury, “Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival Among Montreal Families, 1861-91,” Ian McKay, ed., *The Challenge of Modernity: A Reader on Post-Confederation Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1992), 68. For a more detailed treatment of non-wage survival in Montreal, see Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

women and that historians tended to assume “that women did not pursue such activity,”<sup>48</sup> is still valid. Baskerville also addresses the relationships between self-employment, marriage, and bearing children and suggests that studying self-employed women provides a way of “uncovering, at all class levels, the hopes, fears and aspirations of individuals within families.”<sup>49</sup> His recognition of the importance of these variables prompted, in part, my considerations of marital status, age, and family among self-employed women across a broader time period.

Baskerville has continued to research enterprising women in British Columbia and in Canada. “Women and Investment in Late-Nineteenth-Century Urban Canada: Victoria and Hamilton, 1880-1901,” published in 1999, also challenges the separate spheres paradigm as a way to understand women’s economic activities, particularly as “the owners and managers of material assets in their own names.”<sup>50</sup> The article addresses women’s investments as opposed to their actual entrepreneurship – obviously, not all women who owned property or invested money were self-employed – and it covers an earlier period than my work, but it provides a useful comparative study of women’s economic behaviour in two Canadian cities, one in British Columbia and one in Ontario.<sup>51</sup>

As this brief summary outlines, very few Canadian business historians are actively researching female entrepreneurship. Baskerville is the only historian writing specifically about women’s self-employment in a Canadian context and other than in his

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<sup>48</sup>Baskerville, “ ‘She Has Already Hinted At Board’,” 205.

<sup>49</sup> Baskerville, “ ‘She Has Already Hinted At Board’,” 226.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Baskerville, “Women and Investment in Late-Nineteenth-Century Urban Canada: Victoria and Hamilton, 1880-1901,” *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 2 (June 1999): 191.

<sup>51</sup> Baskerville has also written two useful as-yet unpublished papers: “Women, Credit and Consumption in Victoria, British Columbia, 1880-1901,” presented at the Women and Credit Conference, Fredericton, New Brunswick, September 1999; and “Gender and Self-Employment in Urban Canada, 1901,” presented at the American Historical Association, Chicago, January 2002. See also Baskerville, “Familiar Strangers: Urban Families with Boarders, Canada, 1901,” *Social Science History* 25 (2001): 321-346.

ongoing research, when women are included in Canadian business or economic history it is as exceptional actors or as family members contributing to the family economy but not necessarily as independent proprietors.<sup>52</sup> The scholars who are beginning to interrogate the intersection of gender and business history still form a small group and research published in this area has been almost entirely American.<sup>53</sup> If the field has been small in the United States, it is almost nonexistent in Canadian historiography. The history of business has not included many women, while the history of women has not included many business owners.

### **Theoretical Considerations**

Despite the lack of attention paid to female-operated businesses, we know that they existed and that women have been entrepreneurs for centuries. In the neoclassical economic paradigm, however, individuals are assumed to be men and there is, as Michèle Pujol has argued, a notable “silence” on gender relations. Neoclassical economic theory has “consistently denied the existence of social or economic power relations between classes, races or sexes.”<sup>54</sup> Business historians have also considered business to be gender-

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<sup>52</sup> A useful exception to this dismissal of female entrepreneurs can be found in John Douglas Belshaw, *Colonization and Community: The Vancouver Island Coalfield and the Making of the British Columbian Working Class* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002). While the book is not about entrepreneurs, and while it deals with nineteenth-century British Columbia, he includes examples of women running businesses in coal mining towns and credits them as entrepreneurs in their own right.

<sup>53</sup> An exception to the dominance of American research and subject matter is published in a special forum, “Women and Business in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Northwestern Europe,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* XXXIV, 68 (November 2001). The papers explore issues similar to those raised by North American gender and business historians, such as the declining usefulness of the concept of “separate spheres,” and point to the need to consider gender relations in business history. The papers pay “attention to the ways in which gender structures shaped economic change rather than simply the reverse,” as Merry Wiesner-Hanks points out in her “Response” to the forum. See Wiesner-Hanks, “Response,” 374. However, the time period dealt with in this collection is much earlier than mine, or than that of the burgeoning American literature.

<sup>54</sup> Michèle A. Pujol, *Feminism and Anti-Feminism in Early Economic Thought* (Aldershot, UK & Brookfield, U.S.A.: Edward Elgar, 1992), 7.

neutral: the “only constancy in the meaning and usage of the term ‘business’ has been an unexamined and unexplained gender bias” that has posed as gender neutrality.<sup>55</sup>

Portraying businesswomen as operating in a “separate sphere” of women’s culture and celebrating their similarities with other women at the expense of their similarities with other businesspeople can be just as dangerous as ignoring gender altogether as an analytic tool. Generalizations can be hazardous, and “the experiences of female employers in two trades in a particular locale may not reflect the experiences of all...women entrepreneurs.”<sup>56</sup> Incorporating the history of women with the history of business, without simply adding in women and celebrating the fact that they were in the field at all, is part of the challenge of a gendered history of female entrepreneurship. Joan W. Scott argues that the history of businesswomen cannot rest on the “emancipatory impulses of women’s history.”<sup>57</sup> Yet, she also notes that while the study of separate spheres and the celebration of women-specific experiences of entrepreneurship may not be useful approaches, “some kind of segregation did still exist in the world of business.... Specialization rested on sex-segregated markets.”<sup>58</sup> Businesswomen were different in some ways from businessmen and the differences deserve exploration, but the interaction between men and women and concurrently, the interaction between gender and business, must be given consideration.

The great benefit to applying an understanding that business is not gender-neutral to the history of business is that it permits the historian to view female entrepreneurs as businesspeople and as women. Making allowances for gender does not necessitate a re-

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<sup>55</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xvii.

<sup>56</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 202.

<sup>57</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 242.

<sup>58</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 243.

telling of the story of men in business; rather, it allows us to bring women into the history of business, focusing on them and accounting for the influence of sex and gender.

Moreover, acknowledging that business is not gender-neutral means acknowledging that “business” is a malleable rather than fixed concept. Businesses, as Kenneth Lipartito argues, “are inevitably caught up in culture, and must rely on the language of that culture to take action.”<sup>59</sup> Lipartito asserts that we need to know “how values crucial to business structures are constructed and how they operate.”<sup>60</sup> All behaviours, even supposedly rigid and “unambiguous” rules of business, “are filtered through cultural lenses by all actors all the time.”<sup>61</sup> The implication for the history of gender in business is clear. Gender is another lens that we must apply to the world of business if we are to better understand what Lipartito defines as the culture of business; “business too is a text to be read,”<sup>62</sup> and gender is one of the tools that can be used to read it.

Acknowledging gender means acknowledging that women’s activities as entrepreneurs may or may not differ from men’s, but that both men and women are involved. As Scott has consistently argued, “gender is not fixed; it is always being worked on and always being produced.”<sup>63</sup> Therefore, business “is not reflecting or appealing to stable beliefs in gender...rather it is producing these beliefs and relationships in contradictory and unstable ways.”<sup>64</sup> The challenge is to understand the experiences of female business owners in relation to male business owners, dealing with the ways in which they were different without separating the two groups into entirely separate spheres.

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<sup>59</sup> Kenneth Lipartito, “Culture and the Practice of Business History,” *Business and Economic History* 24 (Winter 1995): 33.

<sup>60</sup> Lipartito, “Culture,” 17.

<sup>61</sup> Lipartito, “Culture,” 25.

<sup>62</sup> Lipartito, “Culture,” 36.

<sup>63</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 246.

<sup>64</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 246.

Mary Yeager emphasizes this difficulty. While the literature on women in business has often suggested “the existence of distinct and separate female business cultures,”<sup>65</sup> business historians need to go further to incorporate gender into the field of business history. “Rather than examining women as lonely travelers following separate paths carved by historians of women,” business historians are “poised to examine men and women as they interact in a changing economy.”<sup>66</sup>

For all these reasons, this study incorporates gender into the history of business. I argue, as other Canadian gender historians have, that women’s lives are “no less rich or complex than men’s, and that women’s lives do not necessarily share the same rhythms.”<sup>67</sup> The study of gender is not a study only of women’s experiences, but of the interactions between men and women and of the ways in which “all social relations are gendered.”<sup>68</sup> Certainly, the importance of gender history in particular lies in the way in which it can “take us beyond the study of the subject ‘woman’.”<sup>69</sup>

While I acknowledge the importance of studying both men and women as gendered subjects and accept that they interact in the history of business in all kinds of gendered ways, this study nonetheless privileges the history of women. As Nancy Grey Osterud argues, adopting gender as a theoretical framework does not mean abandoning a woman-centred approach.<sup>70</sup> If gender history is in part to study relations between the sexes, it is also, as Gisela Bock maintains in her seminal essay on women’s history and gender history, to study relations within the sexes. In arguing for a gender-encompassing

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<sup>65</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xiv.

<sup>66</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xv.

<sup>67</sup> Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women’s History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992). See “Introduction,” xix.

<sup>68</sup> Iacovetta and Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts*, xx.

<sup>69</sup> Iacovetta and Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts*, xviii.

<sup>70</sup> Osterud, *The Bonds of Community*, 7.

approach rather than a gender-neutral approach, women's history can be "gender history par excellence."<sup>71</sup> Women's lives are as rich, complicated, and diverse as men's, and yet little has been written about the diverse experiences of businesswomen. It is possible and necessary to insert gender as a category of analysis into the history of businesswomen and to privilege women's stories over the already-established historiography of male businessmen.

Gender as a category of historical analysis has become entwined with two additional analytical categories: class and race/ethnicity. As the authors of the Canadian collection *Gender Conflicts* emphasize, "just as gender is equally, though distinctly, constitutive for men and women, so, too, class and race or ethnicity inform the lives of all women."<sup>72</sup>

Class is, however, a difficult analytical category to apply to the history of businesswomen. Many female entrepreneurs ran very small businesses that lay at what Gamber refers to as the "murky boundaries of public and private, profit-seeking and philanthropic, wage labour and entrepreneurship, legitimate and illegitimate enterprise."<sup>73</sup> Women-owned businesses have been hard to locate and difficult to define, particularly because they often differed from conventional businesses run by (and defined by) men. The histories of female self-employment do not document large, female-owned businesses reaping profits in a male-dominated economic sphere, but extremely small operations run by women, often out of their own homes, to support their families and eke out a living. Most female entrepreneurs in British Columbia did not acquire wealth by running small

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<sup>71</sup> Gisela Bock, "Women's History and Gender History: Aspects of an International Debate," *Gender and History* 1, 1 (Spring 1989): 16.

<sup>72</sup> Iacovetta and Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts*, xvi. Note: the introduction is written collectively by all of the authors whose essays are included in the book.

<sup>73</sup> Gamber, "A Gendered Enterprise," 193.

boarding houses, laundries, or hair salons. This complicates the use of class as a category of analysis and points to another of the historiographical cracks that hinders the study of businesswomen: labour history has not integrated the histories of working women who happen to be self-employed into histories of working-class wage-earning women. “Despite their proprietary status,” female proprietors often remained within the working class.<sup>74</sup>

The female entrepreneurs in this study were for the most part petty proprietors.<sup>75</sup> They operated very small and financially vulnerable home-based businesses. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that many business owners, particularly those who were members of business and professional women’s clubs in British Columbia, were middle-class, educated women. Very few businesswomen actually left records of their lives in print, and as in all other cases, educated middle- to upper-class women left more written records than did lower-class women. Indeed, that some women pursued “an option [self-employment] that suggested a somewhat individualistic outlook” and “wittingly or unwittingly set themselves ‘above’ those they served”<sup>76</sup> means that self-employed women are not easily categorized.

The problem with class, then, in the history of women in business is whether businesswomen are best viewed as “workers” or “capitalists.”<sup>77</sup> Business ownership, however small or financially precarious the business, separates the owner from the labourer and despite having much in common with their wage-earning counterparts, self-employed women have perhaps been justifiably left out of working-class history. The fact

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<sup>74</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 195.

<sup>75</sup> Gamber uses this term, and it is appropriate since women’s businesses were much smaller than men’s businesses: see “A Gendered Enterprise,” 195. John Benson’s definition of petty capitalists would also suffice. See Benson, *The Penny Capitalists*, 6.

<sup>76</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 196.

<sup>77</sup> Scott, “Comment,” 247.

that female business owners “defy easy categorization” in all kinds of ways, as Gamber states, should not lead us to abandon the question of their class status.<sup>78</sup> But as Yeager points out, businesswomen’s lives tell us “more about hopes and expectations than spectacular achievements; more about the property-less than the property-blessed...more about petty market traders than rich merchants; more about service than manufacturing...more about family strategies than managerial strategies.”<sup>79</sup> For all of these reasons, gender is the primary category of analysis in this study: where applicable, class is discussed as it pertains to certain groups of businesswomen in British Columbia (see Chapters Three and Four which detail the experiences of the members of the Vancouver and Victoria Business and Professional Women’s Club).

Race and ethnicity as categories of historical analysis have also gone hand in hand with studies of gender. Certainly, I may be accused of ignoring more nuanced aspects of race and ethnicity in the history of businesswomen. However, just as gender history is not only the study of women, the history of “race” is not only the study of women of colour. Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham argues that race is a “metalanguage.” She suggests that it affects other social and power relations, such as gender, and that representations of gender can be “coloured” by race. Race, she maintains, is all-encompassing.<sup>80</sup> My study focuses on Anglo-Canadian women who occupied “a position of race privilege.”<sup>81</sup> That they were white women is not an indication that “race” was absent or that race cannot be used as an analytical category. The BPW club members did not interrogate their whiteness or their privilege: rather, they accepted it as fact. But they

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<sup>78</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 193.

<sup>79</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xxi.

<sup>80</sup> Evelyn Brooks Higginbotham, “African-American Women’s History and the Metalanguage of Race,” Joan Wallach Scott, ed., *Feminism and History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 184-186.

<sup>81</sup> Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne, eds., *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women’s History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000). See Cavanaugh and Warne’s “Introduction,” 13.

were privileged, nonetheless, and their race *and* class privilege was entwined with gender. In researching the history of white women we may be tempted to bemoan, at times, their powerlessness as women but we must also address their power as *white* women.

Of course non-white, non-Anglo-Canadian women also operated businesses.<sup>82</sup>

The 1901 census recorded specific examples in British Columbia of First Nations women who were enumerated as hunter/fisher/farmers and who declared their status as self-employed.<sup>83</sup> The 1931 census included, in its data on British Columbia, the numbers of stores operated by “persons of Chinese and Japanese Origins.” These figures illustrated that about 12.9 percent of all Japanese and Canadian storekeepers in the province in 1931 were female. When all storekeepers in British Columbia were considered, a slightly lower percentage – 12.3 percent – were female.<sup>84</sup> Non-white women also appear in other sources, such as city directories: in 1918, Mrs. K. Ushijima operated a dry goods store and worked as a dressmaker in Vancouver.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Robert McDonald notes that “immigrant” women contributed to the family economy in Vancouver, some through wage labour, such as Japanese women who worked in the canneries; others, such as Italian immigrant women, ran boarding houses. See Robert A. J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 216. McDonald also argues that although Asians were “forced to the margins of Vancouver’s economy,” the Chinese in Vancouver became prominent in small business, providing service as grocers, launderers and restaurant and shop owners. However, he makes no reference to Asian women entrepreneurs. See McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 101.

<sup>83</sup> See the Canadian Families Project’s five percent public-use sample of the 1901 census. Note: one of the difficulties with using the information on First Nations women who declared that they were self-employed is that they were very poorly enumerated. Census takers in 1901 did not reliably enumerate their ages, marital statuses, or even their names, making it harder to rely on the census to glean information about these self-employed women. Because they were not well-enumerated and the information on their employment status, their specific occupations, and their names, was sketchy, those that did appear in the five percent sample are not included among the total number of self-employed women taken from 1901 database.

<sup>84</sup> *Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 11, Tables 1a and 1b.*

<sup>85</sup> Wrigley’s *British Columbia Directory, 1918* (Vancouver: Wrigley Directories Ltd, 1918). Other sources, such as the Okanagan Historical Society’s reports, provide stories of Asian businesswomen, such as Sue Lee Ping Wong. Mrs. Wong moved to Kelowna in the 1930s. Her second husband died in 1960, leaving her with 11 children. Mrs. Wong supported her family by making and selling tofu. She sold it to individuals in the Chinese and Japanese community in Kelowna but she also sent shipments to a Chinese restaurant in Vernon. See Tun Wong, “Sue Lee Ping Wong,” *Okanagan History: The Sixty-Third Report of the Okanagan Historical Society* 63 (1999): 156-159.

One Japanese woman's small business is portrayed in Tomoko Makabe's *Picture Brides*. One of the women Makabe interviewed described the dressmaking business she opened in the late 1920s in Vancouver. Hana Murata was twice-divorced, an unusual situation for any woman at the time, and she decided she was "going to work no matter what," rather than risking a third unhappy marriage.<sup>86</sup> She expressed pride in her independence: "I'd managed to stand on my own two feet and was confident I could make my way in life."<sup>87</sup> She ran the business for almost 20 years.<sup>88</sup> Mrs. Murata also explained that in Vancouver "there were a lot of Japanese dressmakers, they say about 40 in those days, but not many like me, a woman working alone."<sup>89</sup>

There are, then, glimpses in the data of the importance of studying race and entrepreneurship in the province.<sup>90</sup> Yet in a larger sense, the data on female entrepreneurs in the province is extremely limited: first, there were relatively few female entrepreneurs in British Columbia and within this minority, non-white women and women belonging to ethnic minorities were an even more distinct minority. In addition, census data does not break down entrepreneurial women according to categories of ethnicity and race, with the exception of scattered information in some places, such as the 1931 census volume that discussed Japanese and Chinese storekeepers.<sup>91</sup> Lastly, very few archival sources exist

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<sup>86</sup> Tomoko Makabe, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada*, trans. Kathleen Chisato Merken (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995), 80.

<sup>87</sup> Makabe, *Picture Brides*, 85.

<sup>88</sup> In 1942, Mrs. Murata was forced to leave Vancouver for the "ghost town" of Slocan, as part of the Japanese Canadian relocation or internment during the war. It was this uprooting that led to the closure of her business.

<sup>89</sup> Makabe, *Picture Brides*, 83.

<sup>90</sup> See Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961," *BC Studies* 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995): 159-182. This article is not solely about entrepreneurial women but it does recount the stories of Italian women who worked as boarding house keepers.

<sup>91</sup> The database for the 1901 census would allow for a more detailed analysis of race and racial categories of people of different employment statuses, for instance. But for self-employed women, the sample size of five percent is too small for such subdivisions to be useful.

which illuminate even the patterns of white middle-class entrepreneurs in the province. The ways in which businesswomen's histories were also racially constructed still need to be teased out. This study, which begins the task of incorporating women into the history of entrepreneurship, stops short of unraveling the multiple ethnic and racial identities of businesswomen in the province. However, the decision to operate a business in twentieth-century British Columbia was necessarily complicated by issues of race that are not fully explored here.

This study is a foray into the history of female entrepreneurship in British Columbia and the chapters that follow provide a contextual overview of female self-employment trends between 1901 and 1971. The work is necessarily quantitative: in order to understand the ways in which self-employed women were distinct from other working men and women, it was essential to turn to census data and establish identifiable patterns among self-employed women. This has not been attempted by other scholars, in gender history or in business history, in Canada. While many more individual women's stories might have been included here, there was a need for an overview of the patterns of female self-employment at the provincial and indeed, at the national level.

There is enormous potential for continued study of female self-employment, particularly at the individual level. This study provides a context within which more detailed studies of female self-employment may be attempted and, although I have incorporated the stories of individual businesswomen, the focus is on establishing larger trends, particularly in the first two chapters. Since little scholarship had been completed on the history of self-employed women in any region of Canada, it seemed imperative to establish a basic understanding of what kinds of women ran their own businesses, why they ran them, and how those factors changed over time.

Chapter One, almost entirely quantitative in nature, is intended to flesh out our understanding of women at work between 1901 and 1971 by zeroing in on self-employed women. Understanding the patterns of women's employment in their entirety means that we must look beyond female wage earners. Census data is used extensively in Chapter One to compare self-employed women in British Columbia to their female wage-earning counterparts and to their male self-employed counterparts across the period of study, something that has not been done in any other studies of the female labour force. But I also compare self-employed women in British Columbia to self-employed women in the rest of the country. Such comparisons provide essential contextual evidence for further individual studies of female self-employment.

In addition to the published census returns from 1901 to 1971, I use the Canadian Families Project's database, a five percent sample of the 1901 census that includes far more detail about individual people, dwellings, and families, than do any of the published census returns. One problem with using the five percent sample is that it does not include *all* self-employed women in the province or in the rest of Canada and by extension it does not capture all types of female-operated enterprises that existed in 1901. There were relatively few entrepreneurial women in either region in 1901, and therefore the number in a five percent sample is also small: for instance, the database captures 68 self-employed women living in British Columbia. However, the 1901 published census returns include almost no information on women in the labour force, and no information on female self-employment. The Canadian Families Project database is therefore the best available source of census information on female self-employment in 1901. Moreover, it represents occupations that were most central in female self-employment: dressmakers, boarding

house keepers, and farmers are all represented. The database captures those that dominated the entrepreneurial landscape.

While female-run enterprises such as retail clothing stores, private nursing homes, hospitals and schools do not appear in the database, they did exist, as British Columbia business directories for 1901 demonstrate. The Misses Crickmay were listed in the 1900-1901 British Columbia Directory as proprietors of the Cottage Hospital in Nelson; widow Jane George ran a fruit and tobacco store in Nanaimo. Mrs. David Matheson ran a ladies' furnishings business in New Denver while Mrs. Margaret Beatty was matron of the provincial "gaol," although this was likely a wage-earning occupation.<sup>92</sup> Other proprietresses in 1901, not captured by the census database, included "Birck & Daniels Ladies Furnishing" run by Anne Jane Birck, a widow, and Alice Daniels, and a "select Preparatory School" run by Mrs. Frith in Vancouver; Mrs. G. Woods was the matron (and likely owner) of St. Catherines Home for Old Ladies in Victoria. Other women were listed in the directory as grocers, hotel proprietors, restaurant owners, and owner-operators of old age homes and schools.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> Another matron was Maria Filmore, listed as matron of the New Westminster Insane Asylum in 1900-1901; this was also likely a wage-earning, although certainly a professional, occupation.

<sup>93</sup> *Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory and Mining Companies with which is Consolidated the Williams' British Columbia Directory for 1900-1901* (Victoria and Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1901). One difficulty with comparing directories to census data is that whether a woman was self-employed is not always indicated by the directories; some women appear as self-employed in census data but their status as entrepreneurs is not indicated in directories. On the other hand, women listed as proprietors in city directories were not always enumerated by the census as self-employed. The 1900-1901 directory shows many women operating hotels in the province, as well as a fair number of women selling "dry goods," and "fruits and tobaccos." Not all of these women were necessarily listed as entrepreneurs in the census and some may have been running stores that were owned by someone else. In Vancouver alone I found a widowed female restaurateur, at least five music and vocal teachers (whose employment status is not always listed), four women running dry goods and grocery stores, and a number of hotel owners. In Victoria, Mrs. F. M. Smith and Mrs. W. Hewartson ran grocery and dry goods stores; Mrs. Vigor ran a fancy goods retail shop and there were close to ten hotels with female "proprietresses." Again, that they were running the hotel is not necessarily an indication that they owned their establishments which may explain why so few female-run hotels appear in the five percent sample of the 1901 census.

Some of these enterprises would shift in importance in later decades, but their relatively small numbers in 1901 explain their absence in the five percent sample of the 1901 census. Other occupations that did appear in the database also appeared in the 1900-1901 directory, and would remain significant for many decades: according to both census data and directories, many women were employed, and some were self-employed, as dressmakers, nurses, stenographers, teachers, boarding house keepers and farmers in 1901 British Columbia.

Women capitalized on their perceived femininity to succeed in business, whether that success was measured by their ability to feed themselves or their families, to make more money, or simply to operate a type of business not usually run by women. They have not been remarked upon in traditional business history in part because they were never really considered as being in business, despite their obvious self-employment. However, they had many ways of reinterpreting the masculine world world to 'fit' their gender, and once I had established what businesses women entered and in what proportions, I looked more closely at the gendered nature of their businesses.

One way that businesswomen escaped censure in a masculine world was to operate businesses in feminine industries, either selling to a female clientele or doing work that was domestic or sex-typed as female work. Indeed, most self-employed women worked in the same limited set of occupational groups in British Columbia as their wage-earning counterparts. The nature of the occupations that women entered in British Columbia and the ways in which those occupations were "female-typed" is the subject of Chapter Two. The occupations that women entered between 1901 and 1971, but also the occupations that reflected particularly high female self-employment, are dealt with in more detail. Chapter Two also addresses the decline in self-employment among both men

and women from 1901 to 1971. Differences between women's occupations in British Columbia and Canada are clarified as well.

Boarding house keepers, dressmakers and seamstresses worked in industries that had long been labelled as feminine, and many female shopkeepers operated retail stores that catered to a female clientele; owning a hardware store was not a popular choice for businesswomen. However, I also argue in Chapter Two that women who ran businesses in female-dominated occupational types were still unconventional in choosing entrepreneurship at all, and some businesswomen challenged "woman's place" in the work world doubly, by being in business for themselves and by operating businesses that were sex-typed as "masculine."

Chapters Three and Four rely on archival and other qualitative sources. The records of the Vancouver and Victoria Business and Professional Women's Clubs allowed for an examination of how businesswomen perceived themselves within the larger business community and of the language they used to describe themselves. Qualitative material, including newspaper advertisements and articles, biographical information on individual business owners, and club records, also enabled a more detailed look at how the broad patterns outlined by the census data were reflected in communities and in individual's lives. The census can express whether a woman was a self-employed farmer but the archival records provide a better understanding of why she chose the occupation and how she might have described herself and her enterprise.

Chapter Three looks in detail at the Business and Professional Women's Clubs in Vancouver and Victoria and argues that publicly, businesswomen portrayed themselves as respectable and feminine members of their communities although they were also willing, within the confines of the club, to mock the gender conventions that made such public

conservatism necessary. Chapter Three also provides a brief history of the club's efforts to help all working women; for instance, the clubs encouraged women to use the franchise, promoted female candidates in municipal, provincial and national elections, pushed for employment equity legislation, assisted unemployed women during the depression and consistently defended women's rights to gainful employment. The clubs also provided an important social space for professional women to meet and network.

In Chapter Four, I suggest that businesswomen found ways to maintain normative gender constructions in the language they used to describe their enterprises. The women themselves stressed their appearance, as did media commentators and observers who emphasized that businesswomen were feminine in mannerism and appearance if not in occupational choice. Businesswomen also emphasized their feminine qualities and the ways in which they resembled other respectable women in various walks of life as a way to justify their presence in particularly masculine professions. Some female entrepreneurs emphasized their devotion to fashion and family as though to demonstrate that they were appropriately feminine in spite of their chosen professions. Women who belonged to the Business and Professional Women's Clubs in British Columbia expressed this over and over again, in their private discussions with each other and in the public interviews they gave, as Chapter Four illustrates.

Another way to avoid attracting attention as a woman in a man's world was to invoke the language of family. David Monod suggests that businesswomen emphasized their domestic responsibilities in order to justify their self-employment, drawing attention to their homes, husbands, and children.<sup>94</sup> A woman in business purely for capitalist gain was not as widely accepted as a widow running a small business out of her home to

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<sup>94</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 75.

support her children. How self-employed women explained their presence in what was arguably an arena of masculine endeavour was critical to whether their efforts were met with approbation or disapproval, and for many businesswomen, family obligations provided the rationale for their presence.

That many businesswomen also worked out of their homes more firmly established their separation from the masculine work world of businessmen. Women who operated boarding houses, took in sewing, or ran small retail establishments out of their homes were arguably just as business-like as men whose businesses were separated from their home. But the link with home and family provided another way for the female entrepreneur to succeed alongside, but not compete with, male entrepreneurs. Women were not uncomfortably intruding upon the businessman's world, and the businesswoman could be regarded as someone for whom 'business' was an extension of female domestic drudgery. A boarding house keeper could be explained, despite her hard work and entrepreneurial initiative, as a housewife who washed more clothes and fed more mouths, while a male shopkeeper or even boarding house keeper was more likely to be described as a businessman.

Finally, entrepreneurial women could also maintain gender conventions about what sort of work was acceptable for women if upon the death of a husband or father, they took over the family business. Widows running all manner of businesses elicited approval and sympathy, partly because they seemed to be entrepreneurs by necessity rather than by choice but also because they were continuing on in an established business rather than actively beginning a new one.

The thread begins in Chapter One, but runs throughout this work, that a woman's age, life cycle, and family status are irrevocably tied to her propensity to be self-

employed. The pattern is sketched in a broad way across the period 1901 to 1971 in Chapter One, but the links are present throughout. Chapter Five uses both census data and qualitative sources to examine two occupations, farming and boarding house keeping, in a more detailed way, first through census data and then looking at individual women and how their situations reflect larger patterns. This close study of female boarding house keepers and farmers demonstrates that women were pushed or pulled into self-employment in British Columbia, as in the rest of the country, because they were more likely to be married than wage-earning women, they were older than the average female wage earner, and they had families to provide for.

Family is thus central to female entrepreneurship in British Columbia between 1901 and 1971, but age and marital status were also important variables. Moreover, gender relations provide a framework within which to study businesswomen in the province. Self-employed women formed a small but distinct proportion of the labour force overall, and of the female labour force in particular, but their distinctive characteristics are worthy of study. Women's experiences in the labour force were not uniform across the country, nor were they the same for wage-earning women as for self-employed women. They also differed from men's labour force experiences in important ways. Comparisons across time and between different groups of workers are necessary if we wish to understand how the disparate experiences of wage-earning *and* self-employed men and women combined to form the Canadian "labour force" of the twentieth century.

**Chapter One**  
**Women's Labour Force Participation and Self-Employment: A Comparison**  
**of British Columbia with the Rest of Canada, 1901 to 1971**

From the beginning to the middle of the twentieth century, gainfully employed women in Canada were very likely to be young, single wage earners. This pattern held until the 1950s when married women entered the labour force in much higher numbers. Many studies of women in the labour force have focused on “working girls,”<sup>1</sup> wage earners who accounted for the steady rise in women's labour force participation in the first half of the century, and many historians have researched the entry of married women into the labour force only after World War Two. Most conclusions about the age, marital status, type of occupation, and even geographic locale of gainfully employed women have been reached based on wage earners, but this overlooks the less numerous self-employed.

Self-employment was a very different occupational choice from wage earning and had different occupational patterns. It was not the most common choice made by women (or men) between 1901 and 1971. Yet historians have paid attention to businessmen and their enterprises. As Wendy Gamber facetiously points out, “women rarely appear in business history....After all, is not the history of business – of self-made men, robber barons, and men in gray flannel suits – necessarily a chronicle of

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<sup>1</sup> Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 3. Strange uses the phrase “working girl” extensively to describe the “archetypal working girl” of urban centres, the young single wage-earning woman. See Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 5. The term has also been used as a euphemism for prostitutes but Strange uses it to refer to all kinds of women working for pay. Christine Stansell also differentiates between prostitutes and working girls, although she notes that some women were both: “the working girl who made known her independence...could still be interpreted as issuing a sexual invitation.” Young women, Stansell suggests, “found casual prostitution inviting as metropolitan life made it an increasingly viable choice for working girls.” See Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 97 and 181.

masculine activity?”<sup>2</sup> Others have endeavoured to explain how the connection of men with business has been ingrained. Mary Yeager argues that the “men have long controlled, dominated and defined the business world,”<sup>3</sup> and historians of business and enterprise have ignored or avoided the history of female enterprise.

This is in part because biographies of twentieth-century businessmen have chronicled “big” business, and most women’s businesses were small in size and in number. Women in business were hard to see, “and almost impossible to count. They represented a distinct minority of women and of businesspeople.”<sup>4</sup> That women’s self-employment was a very small component of the entire female labour force should not, however, deter historians from examining businesswomen more closely: “a close examination of phenomena in our peripheral vision may lead us to reassess what we perceive as ‘vital’.”<sup>5</sup>

Understanding the patterns of women’s employment demands that we look beyond the cadres of female wage earners to investigate other female earners more closely. Moreover, identifying the actions of the minority may shift our perspective on women at work over the century and how their employment choices reflected their marital status, age, family situation, and locality. Employment patterns and their relationship to variables such as marital status and age can be better understood through comparisons of self-employed women with other gainfully employed women, self-employed women in British Columbia with their counterparts in the rest of Canada, and

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<sup>2</sup> Wendy Gamber, “Gendered Concerns: Thoughts on the History of Business and the History of Women,” *Business and Economic History* 23, 1 (Fall 1994): 129.

<sup>3</sup> Mary A. Yeager, “Introduction,” Yeager, ed., *Women in Business: Volume 1* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Elgar, 1999), xvii.

<sup>4</sup> Mary A. Yeager, “Will There Ever Be A Feminist Business History?” *Women in Business: Volume 1*, 20.

<sup>5</sup> Kathy Peiss, “‘Vital Industry’ and Women’s Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 223.

self-employed women with self-employed men. Recognizing the patterns specific to female entrepreneurs broadens our understanding of women at work.

This chapter outlines the importance of examining self-employed women as a separate entity within the female labour force, but more critically it explores the differences between adult women in British Columbia and those in the rest of Canada from 1901 to 1971. In the data presented, population figures listed for Canada do not include the British Columbia figures: British Columbia is in all cases (unless otherwise noted) being compared to the rest of the country.

The main source for this chapter is the published reports of the *Census of Canada* from 1901 to 1971, which provide aggregate data on the entire population of Canada. This data is supplemented by the Canadian Families Project's five percent public use sample of the 1901 census, which provides more detail than the aggregate published data, and a three percent public use sample of the 1971 census. Unfortunately, the published census volumes from 1871 to 1891 are sketchy, particularly with respect to labour force participation rates. After 1971 the published data is increasingly less compatible with earlier material and, of course, Canadian society was also changing making comparisons difficult.

There were other valid reasons to justify ending with the 1971 census. The rise and influence of second-wave feminism in the 1970s had affected women's employment options and particularly their self-employment. By the time of the 1981 census, the patterns of women's employment had changed and while this warrants further study, it forms the beginning of a new and different chapter in the history of women's labour force activity.

Female self-employment declined between 1901 and 1971, but after 1971 small business ownership rapidly and steadily increased. Between 1975 and 1986, the number of self-employed women in Canada rose three times as fast as the number of self-employed men, and women's share of total self-employment rose from 12 percent in 1971 (see Figure 1.2) to 27 percent in 1986.<sup>6</sup> In 1983, 7 percent of all women in the work force in Canada were self-employed (an increase from 3 percent in 1971: see Table 1.2). By 1993, 10 percent of all employed women were self-employed.<sup>7</sup> In 1999, the Canadian women's magazine *Chatelaine* published what has become an annual showcase of Canada's top women entrepreneurs. The first series noted that the number of self-employed women in Canada grew 42 percent between 1992 and 1997.<sup>8</sup> This feature also claimed that women in business were loving their work, breaking into new enterprises, and "shattering stereotypes."<sup>9</sup>

The increased attention was a response to a surge in female entrepreneurship after 1971, and while it deserves mention, Peter Baskerville cautions that the increase in female self-employment in the past two decades does not represent a new "frontier" for women. "More women in the work force were self-employed in 1901 than in 1996," Baskerville notes, and he adds that women in the work force in 1901 were 1.7 times more likely to be self-employed than their 1989 counterparts.<sup>10</sup>

This is the final reason to end this study of women's self-employment in 1971. Some things have changed for women entrepreneurs and in the last three decades of the

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<sup>6</sup> Gary Cohen, *Enterprising Canadians: The Self-Employed in Canada* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1988), 9.

<sup>7</sup> Pamela Best, "Women, Men and Work," *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada (Spring 1995): 33.

<sup>8</sup> "100 Top Women Entrepreneurs," *Chatelaine* (November 1999): 110.

<sup>9</sup> "100 Top Women Entrepreneurs," 74.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Baskerville, "Gender and Self-Employment in Urban Canada, 1901," *American Historical Association*, Chicago, January 2002 (unpublished paper, quoted with permission of the author), 8.

twentieth century, the number of self-employed women rapidly increased as a proportion of the entire labour force and as a proportion of the female labour force. But to focus only on the upswing of the latter third of the century and to celebrate recent achievements works against the achievements of women in the first third of the century, when self-employment was also a significant avenue for working women. While Pamela Best points out that 10 percent of all employed women in Canada were self-employed in 1993,<sup>11</sup> she does not note that a much larger percent of all working women were self-employed in earlier decades – 19.5 percent in 1901, and a still-high 11 percent in 1931 (Table 1.2). “Self-employment for Canadian women is far from being simply a late twentieth century phenomenon,” as Baskerville argues.<sup>12</sup> The features of female self-employment that have been noted since 1971 need to be set in the context of female entrepreneurship at the beginning of the twentieth century. A perspective on earlier trends assists in understanding the more recent upswing in women’s self-employment while also offering a corrective to recent scholarship’s assertion that women’s entrepreneurship is a new trend.

The following discussion deals with the adult population only, although it must be noted that the ages chosen to represent “adulthood” changed over the century. In the published census data, the adult population was defined as ages 10 and over from 1901 to 1931, ages 14 and over for 1941 and 1951, and ages 15 and over for 1961 and 1971. The differences should not strongly affect the figures and trends presented here, since a relatively small percentage of the population ages 10 to 15 would have worked for pay

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<sup>11</sup> Pamela Best, “Women, Men and Work,” 33.

<sup>12</sup> Baskerville, “Gender and Self-Employment,” 10.

in any of the decades under study. Girls from the ages of 10 to 15 were even less likely to be found among the self-employed population.

The adult female population in British Columbia exhibited interesting variations from the adult female population in the rest of the country with respect to conjugal patterns, participation in the labour force, and tendencies toward self-employment. Men greatly outnumbered women in British Columbia at the beginning of the twentieth century and, partly as a result, women in British Columbia had higher rates of marriage than did women in Canada. However, the tendency toward marriage remained higher for women in British Columbia for the entire period of study and the relatively small population of white women in the province was as active in the labour force as was the female population in Canada, regardless of their marital status. This is especially interesting given that women's employment is usually strongly associated with being single and in British Columbia less of the female population was single than in Canada from 1901 to 1971. Women in British Columbia participated in the labour force *despite* their marital status; gainfully employed women were also more likely to be self-employed in British Columbia.

The province was thus distinctive in certain aspects of its female population and their labour force participation rate. While some distinctive patterns, tied to the gender imbalance, had disappeared by 1951 others, such as the rate of female self-employment, continued to show variation from the rest of the country right up until 1971. The higher rates both of marriage and self-employment among women in the province provide an opportunity for a closer examination of the relationships between female employment in general, female self-employment in particular, and marital status.

The following discussion of labour force participation rates refers to gainfully employed men and women: that is, they worked for pay. It should be noted that women (and also men) who were not gainfully employed still worked, doing unpaid labour. While many consider women's work in the home as an occupation, the census limited the definition of employment to occupations with financial compensation. The term "gainfully employed" was consistently used in census data because only paid work was considered in questions pertaining to occupation, employment, or labour force participation.<sup>13</sup> The 1921 *Census of Canada* makes the point quite emphatically: "in every census women, performing household duties in their own home, are not regarded as being 'gainfully employed'.... This restriction in the classification index of occupations is purely arbitrary." The statisticians admitted, somewhat apologetically, that in the "agricultural class, particularly, the women of the family perform as large and as important a proportion of the farm work, as do the male portion thereof."<sup>14</sup> I would not want to "arbitrarily" determine, as census takers have in the past, that women who work in their own homes are not occupied. However, as housework within the family has traditionally been unpaid, it has not been included in the following discussion of gainful employment, based primarily upon census data.<sup>15</sup>

Some features of the adult female population in British Columbia and Canada must be illustrated as a preface to the discussion of variations in the labour force participation rates of women. For the first half of the twentieth century, British

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<sup>13</sup> This is true throughout the period of study, 1901 to 1971. Beginning in 1951, the census began to use the term "labour force" instead of the term "gainfully employed" to describe the proportions of the population who worked, but the labour force was still defined in terms of the "gainfully" occupied, that is, those who worked for pay.

<sup>14</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1921, Volume 4, xiv.

<sup>15</sup> The only form of housework included in employment figures was that done by domestic servants who were paid to do housework in other people's homes.

Columbia had a gender imbalance that stemmed from a number of factors. The newness of the colony, the influx of mostly male miners during the gold rush of 1858, and the high immigration rates in the early 1900s of single males who worked in logging, fishing, mining, and in road and railroad building, for example, all contributed to an overabundance of white men in the province.<sup>16</sup> For myriad reasons, the gender imbalance was significant and took many decades to even out. In 1901, there were 44,094 adult women in British Columbia out of a total adult population of 136,590. This meant that there were 48,402 *more* adult men living in British Columbia than women; the ratio of men to women was 2.10:1. In 1911, the ratio of adult men to women was still 2:1. The ratio of adult men to women had dropped to 1.34:1 in 1921, when there were 61,575 more men than women in British Columbia, out of a total adult population of 420,551. The ratio dropped steadily thereafter and by 1971 there were just 3495 more men than women in British Columbia, a ratio of almost 1:1.<sup>17</sup>

In the first half of the twentieth century, there were more adult men than women in Canada, but the ratio was not as dramatic as it was for British Columbia. In 1901, when only 32 percent of the adult population of British Columbia was female, 49 percent of the adult population in Canada was female. In 1911 when the ratio of adult

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<sup>16</sup> Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 102, 142-145, and 159. For more on early British Columbia's resource-based economy and immigration, particularly of men seeking work, see Hugh Johnston, "Native People, Settlers and Sojourners 1871-1916," and Allen Seager, "The Resource Economy, 1871-1921," Hugh J.M. Johnston, ed., *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1996). While census data on population ratios includes first nations populations, in general, natives were not well enumerated. It should also be stressed here that this discussion focuses primarily on white men and women in British Columbia, and that most of my data on women and self-employment is about white women.

<sup>17</sup> For specific references to the data for these ratios see Appendix, 1.1-1.5, which provides tables, categorized by individual census years, on Numbers of Adult Men and Women, and Number and Percent of Gainfully Employed Adult Men and Women, in British Columbia and Canada. Data for all tables in the chapters to follow also appears in the Appendix in a more comprehensive form, and source information for the figures presented in all tables to follow also appears in the Appendix.

men to adult women was 2:1 in British Columbia it was 1.14:1 in Canada. After 1921, the difference between numbers of men and women in Canada was negligible.

In the early decades of the century adult women in British Columbia would have found it relatively easy to marry while adult men may have had difficulty finding a spouse. As Elizabeth Herr noted in a study of women, marital status and work in 1880 in Colorado, uneven gender imbalances meant that women had better choices and options in the marriage market.<sup>18</sup> In British Columbia, Adele Perry suggests a “scarcity model,” the idea that “women’s experience improves commensurate with their rarity....women’s value and options soar when their numbers trail behind those of the male population.”<sup>19</sup> Sources from the late 1800s substantiate the connection between a small female population and a potentially attractive marriage market. Byron Johnson noted that in British Columbia in 1872, “even the homely laundress was raised by the scarcity of her sex into a goddess for the nonce.”<sup>20</sup> Perry argues that the gender imbalance in British Columbia increased “white women’s opportunities for heterosexual contact while restricting their social options outside the heterosexual nexus.”<sup>21</sup> However, in addition to their worth as sexual beings and eligible brides, white women were also desired as labourers.<sup>22</sup> Colonial promoters wanted white women to aid British Columbia’s

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<sup>18</sup>Elizabeth Herr, “Women, Marital Status, and Work Opportunities in 1880 Colorado,” *The Journal of Economic History* 55, 2 (June 1995): 340-341.

<sup>19</sup> 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* 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995): 28. See also Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), especially Chapters Six and Seven.

<sup>20</sup>R. Byron Johnson, cited in Perry, “Gender Imbalance,” 38.

<sup>21</sup> Perry, “Gender Imbalance,” 28.

<sup>22</sup> Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 141, 145-146.

transformation “from a rough, racially plural resource settlement into an orderly settler colony.”<sup>23</sup> They were wanted as wives and as workers, and many performed both roles.<sup>24</sup>

Census data on the marital status of the adult population corroborates that a larger percentage of adult women was married in British Columbia than in Canada from 1901 to 1971 (Table 1.1). And from 1931 to 1971, a larger percentage of adult women was widowed and divorced in the province than in Canada.

*Table 1.1: Marital Status of Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971*<sup>25</sup>

Adult Women:	Single (percent)		Married (percent)		Widowed/ Divorced (percent)	
	BC	Canada	BC	Canada	BC	Canada
1901	33.9	47.1	59.3	45.3	6.8	7.8
1921	25.5	32.4	65.9	58.7	8.5	8.7
1931	28.7	34.4	62.2	57.0	9.1	8.6
1941	26.5	33.0	61.4	56.9	12.1	10.1
1951	19.2	26.3	69.1	64.1	11.7	9.7
1961	17.8	23.6	69.9	66.5	12.4	9.9
1971	20.9	25.5	66.1	63.6	13.0	10.9

While the high rate of marriage was likely tied to women’s relative scarcity in the first few decades of the century, the percentage of married women in British

<sup>23</sup> Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 145. Perry’s book provides a more nuanced analysis of the role of white women in the settlement of British Columbia. She suggests that their experiences in the colony hint at “the limits on the representations of white women as an unmitigated ‘unspeakable benefit’ to the colonial project. White women’s experience...demonstrates the sharp disjuncture between colonial discourse and colonial practice on this edge of empire.” While they were constructed as a solution to “myriad gendered and racialized dilemmas” in the colony, their behaviour did not always conform to what colonial promoters envisioned. And despite their scarcity and therefore, their “value” the women who immigrated in the 1860s and 1870s did not always benefit from their position. Perry notes that it is hard to reconcile some women’s sad marital histories “with boosterism about white women’s choice spot in the marriage market.” See Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 139, 167, 172.

<sup>24</sup> Perry suggests that white women’s opportunities for paid work were limited and that, while they did marry in very high numbers, they were usually financially dependent on their husbands. See Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 167-173. However, she addresses an earlier period of British Columbia’s history than this study and the significance of women’s enterprises, especially considering their relative scarcity in the colony, is not addressed by Perry.

<sup>25</sup> For most of the data in Table 1.1, the ‘adult’ age is 15 years and over. The exception: in 1901, adults were defined as 10 years and over. Data for 1911 is not available. Data for 1901 is from the national five percent public use sample (Canadian Families Project); all other data is from the published *Census of Canada*, 1921-1971. See Appendix 1.1 for specific references including Table and Volume numbers.

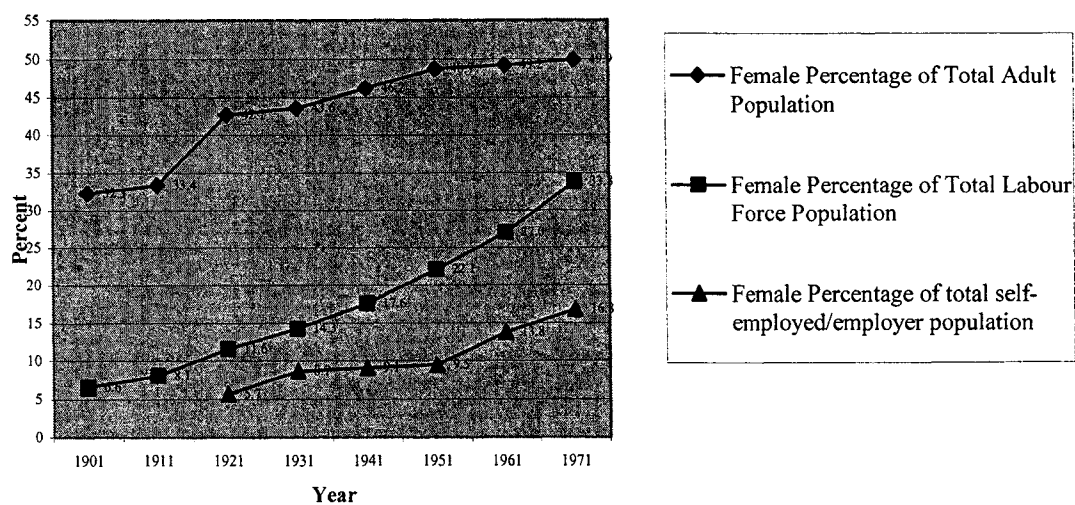
Columbia continued to be higher than that in Canada, beyond the point at which the ratio of men to women balanced out

There were also differences in the proportions of gainfully employed and self-employed women in the province compared to Canada. Figure 1.1 demonstrates the percentage of the total adult population that was female, the percentage of the total labour force population that was female, and the percentage of the self-employed section of the labour force that was female, for British Columbia from 1901 to 1971. Figure 1.2 presents the same data for the rest of Canada. Looking at both graphs, it is apparent that between 1901 and 1971 the female share of the total labour force population increased. Women's share of total self-employment (self-employed includes those with and without paid help for the purposes of this chapter) also increased in British Columbia and in the rest of the country, over the period under study. As more women entered the labour force, their share of total employment and of total self-employment rose.<sup>26</sup>

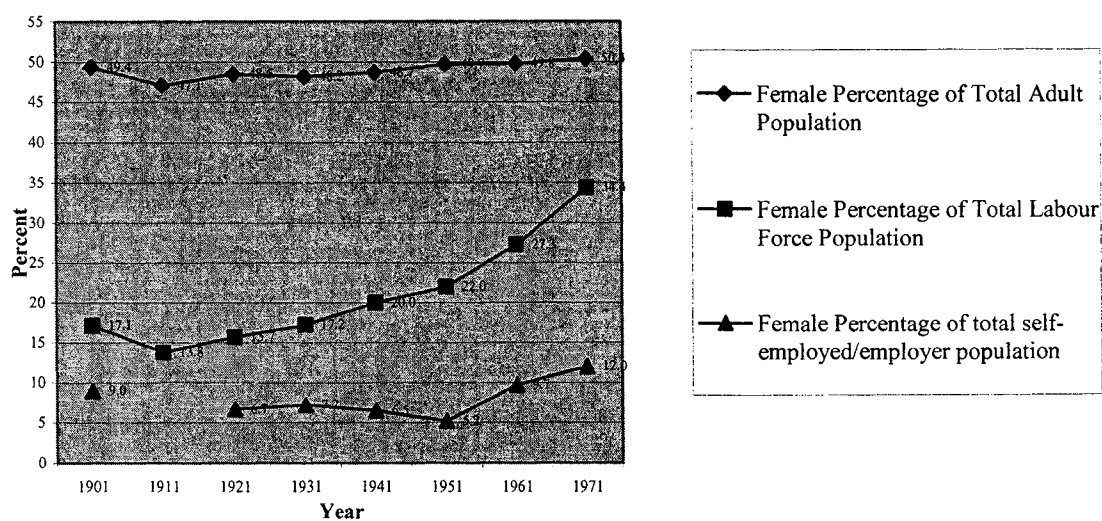
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<sup>26</sup> Data on female self-employment is unavailable for 1911 and therefore does not appear in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. Data for Figures 1.1 and 1.2 is compiled from the published *Census of Canada* and from the five percent sample of the 1901 census: See Appendix 1.2-1.4 (on labour force population, employment status of adult population, and proportions gainfully employed by sex) for specific reference information.

**Figure 1.1: Adult women's share of total population, of total labour force, and of total self-employed/employer labour force: British Columbia**



**Figure 1.2: Adult women's share of total population, of total labour force, and of total self-employed/employer labour force: Canada**



The trends over the century were broadly similar in British Columbia and Canada, but there were notable differences. Women in British Columbia were involved in the labour force and in self-employment in different patterns and proportions than were their counterparts in the rest of the country. Until 1951, a significantly lower percentage of women participated in the labour force in British Columbia than in the rest

of Canada. This was undoubtedly linked to the lower percentage of women in the province's population. By 1951, however, when the ratio of women to men equalled the Canadian figure, the labour force participation of women in the province 'caught up' to that of the rest of Canada. Some of the variation between women in British Columbia and Canada from 1901 to 1951 was related to their share of the total adult population.

Another difference is reflected in Figures 1.1 and 1.2. The female share of total self-employment was higher in Canada in 1901 and 1921, but from 1931 to 1971 women in British Columbia captured a larger share of total self-employment than did their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. Women's share of total self-employment in the province almost doubled in that period, from 8.7 percent in 1931 to 16.8 percent in 1971. Their share of total self-employment in British Columbia was not as strongly affected by the gender imbalance in the province as was their overall share of the labour force. That is, in 1931, despite forming a smaller share of the total population, and of the total labour force population, women were already forming a larger share of the total self-employed population in British Columbia compared to Canada. While women's lower share of total employment seemed linked to their lower proportions in the adult population up to 1951, the female share of total self-employment was higher in the province than in Canada as early as 1931.

As Figures 1.1 and 1.2 reflect, examining women as a percentage of the total adult population illuminates some differences between women in British Columbia and women in the rest of the country. Some of the patterns seen in the graphs, particularly from 1901 to 1951, are explained by the fact that women made up a smaller share of the total population in the province than in Canada and further, that overall, women made up relatively small proportions of the labour force and even smaller proportions of the self-

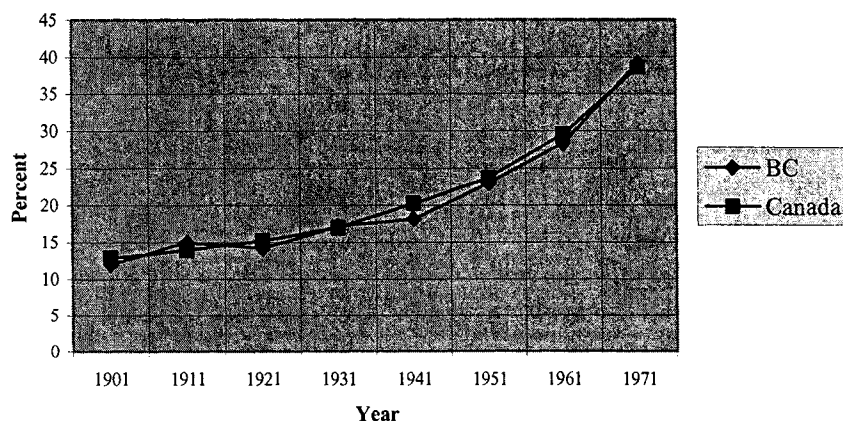
employed labour force. But these figures invite comparisons of women to men and hide the relative significance of the proportions of women who were self-employed out of all employed women, or the proportions of married employed women out of all married women, for instance. Considering a “female universe” removes the constant reminder that gainfully employed women, and especially self-employed women, were always a minority within the total employed population. Examining a female universe demonstrates the greater labour force activity of some women over others, trends not evident in comparisons of women to men, and helps to elucidate dissimilarities rather than similarities, such as different types of employment that women of various conjugal conditions undertook in British Columbia and Canada or the higher female self-employment rate in British Columbia compared to Canada.

Figure 1.3 demonstrates the proportion of all adult women who were in the labour force in British Columbia and in Canada. The percentage of women who were gainfully employed rose from 1901 to 1971 in the province and in the rest of the country.<sup>27</sup> The percentage of women gainfully employed in British Columbia was higher in 1911 than it was in either 1901 or 1921 but beyond this anomaly, labour force participation rates steadily increased for women in both regions from 1901 to 1971. This is to be expected: more and more women entered the labour force as the twentieth century progressed.

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<sup>27</sup> 1901 data is from the Canadian Families Project national five percent sample of the 1901 census; all other data is from the published *Census of Canada*. See Appendix 1.2 and 1.4 for references.

**Figure 1.3: Gainfully Employed Adult Women as a Percentage of All Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada**



But the information provided in this table only supplies the crudest understanding of how many women went to work. Moreover, the variations between the proportions of adult women who went to work in British Columbia compared to Canada appear insignificant in the table because the data is not broken down by employment status – whether the women were employees, self-employed or employers – or by marital status. Because the percentage of the female labour force that was self-employed was relatively small, it is tempting to draw conclusions about the employment patterns of *all* gainfully employed women and their ages, conjugal conditions, types of employment, and family situations from the labour force data in the census. But the census data reflects the majority, and most women at work in British Columbia and Canada were wage earners. The data simply does not provide enough detail to understand differences *between* women.

Table 1.2 demonstrates the rates of self-employment among all gainfully employed women in British Columbia and in Canada, and it is immediately apparent that self-employment did not follow the same pattern as general labour force

participation in a female universe. Women's labour force participation rate steadily increased, but the proportion of self-employed women in the labour force (including employers) declined between 1901 and 1971.

*Table 1.2: Self-Employed Adult Women as a Percentage of all Gainfully Employed Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971<sup>28</sup>*

<b>Females</b>	<b>1901</b>	<b>1911</b>	<b>1921</b>	<b>1931</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1951</b>	<b>1961</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC:</b>	27.4	N/A	13.4	12.8	11.1	6.6	6.3	3.1
<b>Canada:</b>	19.5	N/A	13.1	11.0	8.1	4.7	5.2	2.8

While the table demonstrates the declining importance of female self-employment (a decline that also occurred, it should be noted, among employed men), it also illustrates that a higher proportion of gainfully employed women were self-employed in British Columbia than in Canada. The pattern, which persists over the entire period under study, reveals differences between the province and the rest of the country.

Marital status is a key variable in understanding the female labour force participation rate and its increase over the twentieth century in British Columbia and Canada and it is critical to understanding the difference between self-employed and wage-earning women.

Many historians have demonstrated the connection between women's labour force participation generally, and their age and marital status.<sup>29</sup> Carolyn Strange points out that until the mid-twentieth century in North America, most wage-earning women

<sup>28</sup> See Appendix 1.3 and 1.4 for specific references for Table 1.2.

<sup>29</sup> See, for example, Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), and in an American context, Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988) and Stansell, *City of Women*. All of them mention the age and marital status of working women, and the latter two also deal with prescriptive literature on the "girl problem," produced by middle-class social reformers who started to take note of the increase in young single girls working in urban centres in the late nineteenth century.

were young and single, a fact which has led many historians to focus on single women without even making marital status an “explicit subject of analysis.”<sup>30</sup> Mary Kinnear suggests the use of the term “girl” reflects the assumption that “the paid working woman would be young and single.”<sup>31</sup> Census data substantiates that women in the labour force were more likely to be single than adult women in the general population, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. The percentage of the adult female population that was single in both British Columbia and Canada ranged from 18 to 34 percent (with a few exceptions) as Table 1.1 demonstrated, but the percentage of the gainfully employed female population that was single was much higher, particularly up to 1951, as Table 1.3 shows.

*Table 1.3: Marital Status of Gainfully Employed Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971*<sup>32</sup>

Gainfully Employed Adult Women:	Single (percent)		Married (percent)		Widowed/Divorced (percent)	
	BC	Canada	BC	Canada	BC	Canada
1901	60.1	78.5	24.6	9.3	15.3	12.2
1921	77.2	82.3	11.4	7.0	11.4	10.7
1931	76.5	81.0	13.6	9.8	9.9	9.2
1941	74.9	80.3	11.3	10.2	13.8	9.5
1951	49.8	63.3	39.3	29.1	10.9	7.6
1961	31.8	43.3	57.6	49.0	10.6	7.7
1971	28.2	32.9	61.7	59.8	10.1	7.4

<sup>30</sup> Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 7.

<sup>31</sup> Mary Kinnear, *A Female Economy: Women's Work in a Prairie Province 1870-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 23.

<sup>32</sup> Note: In 1921, 1961 and 1971, the 'adult' age is 15 years and over. The exceptions: 1901, gainfully employed adults =10 years and over; 1931, gainfully employed adults =10 years and over; and 1941 and 1951, gainfully employed adults =14 years and over. Data for 1911 is not available. Data for 1901 is from the five percent public use sample (Canadian Families project); all other data is from published census, 1921-1971. See Appendix 1.1 for reference information.

Just as there were more married (and fewer single) women in the adult female population in British Columbia, a higher proportion of the adult female labour force was married in British Columbia than in Canada between 1901 and 1971. And, a smaller percentage of all gainfully employed women were single in British Columbia compared to the rest of the country. However, the preponderance of single women in the labour force was a pattern found in both regions, at least from 1901 to 1941.

Table 1.3 also demonstrates that between 1941 and 1951, the percentage of gainfully employed women in Canada and British Columbia who were married rose significantly and eclipsed the percentage of single women at work for the first time in 1961. It is worth noting that the proportion of gainfully employed females between the ages of 10 and 19 who were in the workforce declined as the century progressed, as more and more youths left the workforce for the classroom, and these age groups would be the most likely to contain single women. Hugh and Pat Armstrong point out that the proportion of women between the ages of 15 and 24 attending school full time “more than doubled” between 1941 and 1971.<sup>33</sup> But the definition of the “adult” population shifted over time from 10 years and older to, eventually, 15 and older to reflect the prolonged adolescence (and delayed entry into the workforce) of girls and boys.

A direct comparison of young men and women at each individual age is not possible but in 1921, 24 percent of all employed “adult” (10 and over) women were ages 10 to 19 while in 1951 in Canada, 17 percent of all employed “adult” (14 and over) women were ages 14 to 19. Raising the age considered “adult” in 1951 appears to have largely counteracted the effect of young people’s delayed entry into the labour force by

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<sup>33</sup> Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978), 13.

1951. At any rate, even in the early decades of the century girls in the labour force would more likely have been 14 years of age and older than to have fallen between the ages of 10 and 13.

The census data shows a surge in the numbers of married women who entered the labour force from 1951 to 1971. By 1971, the marital patterns in the gainfully employed population were not much different from the patterns in the adult female population generally (see Tables 1.1 and 1.3). This finding contradicts the impulse of some historians to portray a post-war return of women to the home. While they recognize the increased numbers of married women in the labour force following World War Two, they have debated the steadiness or permanence of that increase. Veronica Strong-Boag acknowledges that the post-war increase in the labour force participation rate of married women was dramatic but she suggests that married women accepted “periods of employment” as intervals in a modern life cycle that still saw them as “chiefly responsible for home and family.... Incentives for female citizens to return home as soon as possible [after the war] always remained considerable.”<sup>34</sup> Ruth Roach Pierson argues that World War Two drew more women into the workforce, including wives, but the “slight yet disquieting reconstruction of womanhood... was scrapped for a... re-domesticated post-war model.”<sup>35</sup> The tension between “woman as wife/mother/homemaker and woman as paid worker was eased on only a limited scale and only for the duration of the war.”<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, “Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945-60,” *Canadian Historical Review* 72, 4 (December 1991): 480.

<sup>35</sup> Ruth Roach Pierson, *They're Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986), 220.

<sup>36</sup> Pierson, 220.

However, the numbers of married women in the workforce continued to rise. The increasing demands for “labour to meet wartime requirements had by 1941 added an appreciable number of women to the gainfully occupied population,”<sup>37</sup> and many were married.

The literature discussed here focuses on the societal pressures on women to return to the home after the war, but the statistical evidence indicates that married women’s participation in the labour force increased dramatically between 1941 and 1951. As Valerie Korinek has also argued, the numbers do not match the perception that in postwar Canada, women returned to the home: she refers to a “general dissonance in postwar society over the appropriate roles of women.”<sup>38</sup> In her study of *Chatelaine* magazine in the 1960s, Korinek points out that with its 1961 “Mrs. Chatelaine” contest, even the magazine portrayed a domesticated ideal of post-war womanhood that did not match the reality of women’s lives. The “media representation of the stay-at-home mother as the ideal contrasted with the reality that many women were in the workforce.”<sup>39</sup> The contest itself and the resulting backlash from women who did not feel represented by the feminine model held up by *Chatelaine* illustrate the “discontent and debate about the ideology of domesticity in postwar Canada.”<sup>40</sup>

Regardless of the pressures on women to go back to the home, the data shows that many of them did not respond: the increase in married women’s participation in the labour force was significant and steady after 1941. And this was not only due to the

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<sup>37</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 1(c).

<sup>38</sup> Valerie Korinek, “‘Mrs. Chatelaine’ vs. ‘Mrs. Slob’: The Contestants, Correspondents and the *Chatelaine* Community in Action, 1961-1969,” *Journal of the CHA* 7 (1996): 253.

<sup>39</sup> Korinek, “‘Mrs. Chatelaine’ vs. ‘Mrs. Slob’,” 275.

<sup>40</sup> Korinek, “‘Mrs. Chatelaine’ vs. ‘Mrs. Slob’,” 274-275. Korinek’s book about *Chatelaine* magazine deals with these themes in a more comprehensive way: see Valerie J. Korinek, *Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

demand for female workers to replace men who had joined the armed forces between 1941 and 1945. The 1951 census noted that women's labour force participation in the whole of Canada increased by 37.7 percent between 1941 and 1951, and the "expected decline of females in employment after the war did not materialize with the result that the female labour force showed an increase" that was not limited to the war years.<sup>41</sup> Overall, the increase of women into the labour force – married and single – more than counteracted those who actually did leave their jobs for their homes after the war ended. Moreover, the share of the female labour force that was married, in both British Columbia and in Canada, remained high from 1951 to 1971.

The literature that does note that married women were a lasting addition to the female labour force after 1941 remains cautious in its conclusions. As Alison Prentice et. al. noted, the promotion of the return of married women to the home after World War Two was only partially successful: while many women still withdrew from the workforce to have families, "the average length of time spent doing so contracted. Though few noticed it, a new era had begun for women."<sup>42</sup> The census data demonstrates that the promotion of the return of married women to the home was in fact a failure. As Table 1.3 reinforces, married women's share of the total female labour force was not uncertain, halting, or temporary: it jumped dramatically between 1941 and 1951, and it increased steadily in British Columbia and Canada in 1961 and 1971.

The percentage of the adult female labour force that was married, single, widowed and divorced changed over time, and the shift is particularly evident after World War Two. But the marital patterns of self-employed women are not indicated by

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<sup>41</sup> *Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 10, 247-248.*

<sup>42</sup> Alison Prentice et. al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 295.

census data that deals with the entire female labour force. Historians of women at work have often relied upon the female labour force figures as a whole, excluding any detailed examination of differences *between* women in different types of occupations. The proportions of self-employed women who were married, widowed and divorced, and single over the period 1901 to 1971 were distinct from those of the rest of the female labour force.

The published census from 1901 to 1971 did not demonstrate the correlation between women's employment status (whether they were employees or self-employed) and their marital status. But the Canadian Families Project's five percent sample of the 1901 census and the Statistics Canada three percent public use sample of the 1971 census offer a better understanding of the relationship between marital status and employment status. Comparing 1901 to 1971 provides useful benchmarks for the marital and employment status of gainfully employed women at either end of the period of study and documents change over time. Although some changes among women in the labour force developed in the intervening decades, the major differences over the period of study in British Columbia and in Canada are clear in Tables 1.4 and 1.5.

*Table 1.4: Gainfully Employed Adult Women by Employment Status and Marital Status, British Columbia: 1901 (Five percent sample) and 1971 (Three percent sample)<sup>43</sup>*

Adult Women: British Columbia		Single (%)	Married(%)	Wid.& Div. (%)	Separated (%)	Total, All Status( n.)
1901	Employer/Self-employed	26.5	39.7	33.8	0.0	68
	Wage Earners	72.8	18.9	8.3	0.0	186
1971	Employer/Self-employed	14.4	58.2	21.9	5.5	146
	Wage Earners	27.9	57.8	9.8	4.6	3517

In 1901 self-employed women in British Columbia were more likely to be married or once-married than single. Being single (i.e., never-married) was not a strong

<sup>43</sup> See Appendix 1.5 for notes and a more complete data set for the information in Tables 1.4 and 1.5.

indicator of self-employment. It was, however, an indicator of wage earning. 73.5 percent of self-employed women were married, widowed or divorced while among wage-earning women, almost as many – 72.8 percent – were single. The marital patterns of the female labour force largely reflected wage-earning women, thereby concealing the marital patterns of self-employed women in 1901.

By 1971, as Table 1.4 shows, the differences between the marital patterns of the self-employed female labour force and the wage-earning female labour force in British Columbia were reduced. Singleness had ceased to be the primary marital status for wage-earning women and marriage was the most likely status for both self-employed and wage-earning women in British Columbia in 1971. However, wage-earning women were still more likely to be single than were self-employed women. Furthermore, the percentage of all self-employed women who were widowed or divorced remained high in 1971 and, as in 1901, a low percentage of wage earners were widowed or divorced. Widowed and divorced women in the labour force were much more likely to be self-employed than wage earners and this did not change over the period of study. The proportions of gainfully employed women who were married, however, were almost the same in the wage-earning population as in the self-employed population in British Columbia by 1971 and the importance of singleness had lessened by 1971.<sup>44</sup>

The proportions of self-employed women who were single, married, widowed and divorced in Canada in 1901 (Table 1.5) were not the same as those observed in British Columbia.

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<sup>44</sup> The marital status of self-employed women, compared to wage-earning women, is linked to age; wage-earning women in the workforce were more likely to be young *and* single, and self-employed women, who were more likely to be married, widowed or divorced, were generally older than wage-earning women. The connections between self-employment, marital status and age are also explored in Chapter Five.

*Table 1.5: Gainfully Employed Adult Women by Employment Status and Marital Status, Canada: 1901 (Five percent sample) and 1971 (Three percent sample)*

Adult Females: Canada		Single (%)	Married(%)	Wid.& Div. (%)	Separated (%)	Total, All Status( n.)
1901	Employer/Self-employed	38.8	24.6	36.6	0.0	2536
	Wage Earners	88.1	5.6	6.3	0.0	9952
1971	Employer/Self-employed	15.1	61.9	18.8	4.2	1042
	Wage Earners	32.8	55.8	7.7	3.8	30358

In 1901 a slightly higher percentage of self-employed women was widowed or divorced, a lower percentage was married, and a much higher percentage was single in Canada than in British Columbia. 38.8 percent of self-employed women in Canada were single in 1901 while a much lower 26.5 percent of self-employed women in British Columbia were single in 1901. The difference between the two (12.3 percentage points) was similar to the difference between all adult women who were single in Canada compared to British Columbia (shown in Table 1.1). It stands to reason that the share of the self-employed female population that was single was higher in Canada because there were proportionately more single women in the adult population in Canada.

A similar trend is noticeable in the proportions of married self-employed women in Canada. 24.6 percent of Canada's self-employed women were married – higher than the percentage of married wage-earning women (just 5.6 percent) but much lower than the percentage of married self-employed women in British Columbia in 1901. Generally, in 1901 self-employed women were more likely to be married than were wage-earning women, as Tables 1.4 and 1.5 demonstrate. And Table 1.1 showed that women in British Columbia married in higher proportions than did women in Canada. Therefore, it is not surprising that the percentage of all self-employed women who were married was also higher in British Columbia than it was in Canada in 1901. The connection between being self-employed and being married is borne out in British

Columbia where adult women also had a higher rate of self-employment than did their counterparts in the rest of the country, as Table 1.2 indicated.

Wage-earning women in Canada in 1901 were more likely to be single than wage-earning women in British Columbia were. Again, this is in keeping with the higher proportion of single women in the adult population in the rest of Canada, as Table 1.1 showed. But generally, in 1901 the preponderance of single women in wage-earning occupations was observed in both British Columbia and Canada, while singleness was less significant among the female self-employed. Comparing the marital status of self-employed women to the marital status of wage-earning women proves that generalizations about the marital patterns of the female labour force in 1901 cannot be made. Self-employed women were unique.

In 1971 in Canada marriage was the most likely marital status for both self-employed and wage-earning women, as it was in British Columbia. By 1971, the proportion of the self-employed and wage-earning labour force that was married reflected more closely the proportion of married women in the adult population (see Table 1.1). The link between being a female wage earner and being single had ceased to be as important in Canada by 1971, although as in British Columbia, a higher proportion of wage-earning women were single compared to self-employed women in 1971. Another pattern persisted among women in Canada from 1901 to 1971 that was also apparent in British Columbia: self-employed women were far more likely than wage-earning women to be widowed and divorced in Canada in 1971, just as they had been in 1901. Vestiges of the patterns noted at the beginning of the century were still present in 1971.

Were married women significantly more likely to join the labour force in British Columbia, beyond the fact that there were simply more of them in the adult population compared to Canada? Table 1.6 presents gainfully employed married women as a percentage of all married women rather than as a percentage of all gainfully employed women. In effect, by making marital status the unit of analysis the table eliminates the impact of the gender ratio on the proportions of married women and gainfully employed married women in British Columbia compared to Canada. Isolating just the married female population highlights the significance of their labour force participation rate.<sup>45</sup>

*Table 1.6: Gainfully Employed Married Women as a Percentage of all Married Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971*

Married Women:		Total (n.)	Labour Force Participation (n.)	Labour Force Participation (%)
<b>1901</b>	BC	1249	61	4.9
	Canada	43618	1143	2.6
<b>1921</b>	BC	103431	2891	2.8
	Canada	1528290	32311	2.1
<b>1931</b>	BC	139575	5938	4.3
	Canada	1797883	60860	3.4
<b>1941</b>	BC	181932	6221	3.4
	Canada	2292478	79412	3.5
<b>1951</b>	BC	289321	38519	13.3
	Canada	2830503	310442	11.0
<b>1961</b>	BC	384937	89723	23.3
	Canada	3619642	789418	21.8
<b>1971</b>	BC	519475	189835	36.5
	Canada	4369370	1585970	36.3

From 1901 to 1971, the sole exception being 1941, a war year, a higher proportion of all adult married women joined the labour force in British Columbia than in Canada. In 1901 the participation rate of married women in British Columbia was particularly high, almost twice that of married women in Canada. Table 1.6 also

<sup>45</sup> In Table 1.6 and in the rest of the tables in this chapter, comparable data for 1911 was not available. The tables to follow all deal with the “adult” population as it was defined in each census year.

indicates that between 1951 and 1961 there was a significant increase in the percentage of married women who entered the labour force. In British Columbia and Canada the proportion of all adult married women in the population who were gainfully employed was low until 1951, and events such as the depression and World War One did not cause an immediately discernable surge in their participation rates. But in 1951 that changed, and it changed more quickly in British Columbia than in Canada. The percentage of married women in the labour force in British Columbia surged from 3.4 percent in 1941 to 13.3 percent in 1951. The rise of married women's labour force participation during World War Two was thus noticeable in the first post-war census.

The war also had a greater impact on married women's labour force participation in British Columbia than in Canada, where married women's participation increased from 3.5 percent to 11.0 percent. By 1971 the percentage of all married women who worked had risen to 36.5 percent in British Columbia, almost the same percentage as that found in the rest of Canada. Married women in British Columbia participated in the labour force to a greater degree than their counterparts in the rest of the country for most of the period under study but by 1971 that discrepancy had almost disappeared.

Discrepancies between self-employed women and the rest of the female labour force are not revealed in data that examines all gainfully employed women, as has been discussed, because self-employed women were a minority. Therefore, Table 1.7 examines married self-employed women as a percentage of all married women, in British Columbia and Canada.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> As is the case in the previous tables dealing with self-employment and marital status, I only have data from national public use samples for 1901 and 1971; data that links marital status and employment status is not available in published censuses between 1901 and 1971.

*Table 1.7: Self-Employed Married Women as a Percentage of all Married Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901 (Five percent sample) and 1971 (Three percent sample)*

Married Women		Total (n.)	Married Self-employed (n.)	Participation (%)
1901	BC	1249	27	2.2
	Canada	43618	590	1.4
1971	BC	4913	85	1.7
	Canada	46376	645	1.4

Table 1.7 illustrates that almost twice as many married women entered self-employment in British Columbia compared to Canada in 1901. The same trend was noted in the case of all gainfully employed married women, in Table 1.6. And in 1971, the participation rate of married women in self-employment was slightly higher in British Columbia than in Canada but the difference was much reduced, again demonstrating a similar pattern as that for all gainfully employed married women in 1971. The features of British Columbia that encouraged more married women to enter the labour force and to enter self-employment were no longer as significant by 1971.

Tables 1.6 and 1.7 indicate that married women in British Columbia were more likely than married women in Canada to participate in the labour force generally, and in self-employment specifically, in the early twentieth century. Phenomena observed in 1880 Colorado that a new frontier had “loosened the constraints under which women lived in more established areas and offered them a variety of opportunities,”<sup>47</sup> may also apply to women in British Columbia up to 1951. The “relative scarcity of women” indicated an “attractive marriage market; this, combined with a demand for female labour, allowed women to both marry and work.”<sup>48</sup> In British Columbia, women could arguably demand a higher wage for performing services that they were accustomed to

<sup>47</sup> Herr, “Women, Marital Status, and Work Opportunities in 1880 Colorado,” 341.

<sup>48</sup> Herr, “Women, Marital Status, and Work Opportunities in 1880 Colorado,” 340-341.

providing since there were fewer women available, but they could also expect to marry eventually.

Women in British Columbia were, like their American counterparts, less likely to see marriage as an impediment to working. During the Cariboo gold rush, from 1862 to 1875, Sylvia Van Kirk argues that women, particularly wives, had a role to play and “an impact on the society out of all proportion to their numbers.”<sup>49</sup> While the mining frontier “did not provide an opportunity for women to step out of traditional sex roles it did occasion rather exceptional opportunities to commercialize these by providing a range of services for a large male population.”<sup>50</sup> In the Cariboo, many women married *and* opened businesses.<sup>51</sup> The unique combination of the characteristics of the frontier, the scarcity of women, and the high rates of marriage that Elizabeth Herr points to in Colorado are also visible in British Columbia.

The province was still in many respects a frontier between 1901 and 1941. Work for men at the turn of the century was in primary resource extraction or in road and town building, in preparation for the imminent arrival of more white settlers. But even after settlers had “arrived,” the province’s economy still relied on primary resource extraction – and the province was still largely undeveloped. By 1930, the British Columbia government had replaced many old dirt roads with new ones and yet, the system “remained meagre.”<sup>52</sup> Cole Harris points out that in 1930, most of British Columbia was still “roadless,” and the province still had resources “in the spaces beyond the transportation corridors, often high on mountains or tucked away in inaccessible

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<sup>49</sup> Sylvia Van Kirk, “A Vital Presence: Women in the Cariboo Gold Rush, 1862-1875,” Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds., *British Columbia Reconsidered* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 21-22.

<sup>50</sup> Van Kirk, “A Vital Presence,” 22.

<sup>51</sup> Van Kirk, “A Vital Presence,” 24.

<sup>52</sup> Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia*, 172.

valleys.”<sup>53</sup> In many ways, British Columbia was modernized by the time World War Two began, but some frontier elements had not changed: men still worked in logging camps and canneries,<sup>54</sup> immigrants built cabins in remote areas inaccessible by paved roads and “packhorse trails and railways intersected.”<sup>55</sup> While the province did modernize, the vestiges of what Harris termed the “struggle with distance” remained, as did the overwhelming dominance of resource-extraction in the province’s economy.<sup>56</sup>

Other archetypal frontier characteristics were still evident in the early decades of the twentieth century, such as the large numbers of single white males from various social classes and occupational backgrounds, a perception of rowdy and undisciplined masculinity, and a perception that the province was on the outskirts of civilization.<sup>57</sup> These conditions meant that white women were outnumbered, that they had correspondingly high rates of marriage, something that also occurred in other frontier communities, and that they had a variety of employment opportunities.<sup>58</sup> Peter

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<sup>53</sup> Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia*, 179.

<sup>54</sup> It should be noted that women also worked in canneries - particularly First Nations and Japanese women. See Robert A. J. McDonald, *Making Vancouver: Class, Status, and Social Boundaries, 1863-1913* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996), 216.

<sup>55</sup> Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia*, 192. Harris does not make a direct link between the pace of change and the vestiges of the “frontier” in British Columbia. The difficulty that distance and geography played in the slow pace of modernization in the province, the continued economic reliance on primary resource extraction, and the isolation of many settlers in remote and often-inaccessible parts of the province, are aspects of the province’s history that I suggest are imprints left behind by a “frontier” mentality. These imprints were present in 1901 and they remained at mid-century. Vestiges of the pre-1901 white settlers’ struggles to tame and inhabit their new environment, their struggles with the province’s original First Nations inhabitants, and the effects of a gender imbalance that took decades to even out, were still present at mid-century.

<sup>56</sup> See Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia*; Chapter Six is entitled “The Struggle with Distance.”

<sup>57</sup> The archetypal elements of frontiers in general, and the British Columbia frontier in particular, are dealt with more extensively in my MA thesis. See Melanie Buddle, “‘All The Elements of a Permanent Community:’ A History of Society, Culture and Entertainment in the Cariboo,” MA Thesis (University of Northern British Columbia, 1997). See also Barry M. Gough, “The Character of the British Columbia Frontier,” *BC Studies* 32 (Winter 1976-77): 28-40. See also S.D. Clark, *The Developing Canadian Community*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), 82.

<sup>58</sup> Perry makes similar observations about British Columbia in “‘Oh I’m Just Sick of the Faces of Men: Gender Imbalance, Race, Sexuality, and Sociability in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia.” She is writing about the late nineteenth century but I suggest her points, can be carried into the twentieth century. Charlene Porsild points to the same frontier characteristics, including the low numbers of women and their

Baskerville notes the existence of some of these frontier conditions in Victoria, British Columbia, in 1901. Women may have had “greater possibilities for independent economic activity,” in that particular city, occasioned in part by the sex ratio and the heightened opportunities for land ownership in the “frontier zone.”<sup>59</sup>

Herr concludes that in Colorado, the pull of a high wage did attract married women to the labour force and none of her results “point toward a hypothesis in which all women marry and drop out of the labor market, as suggested by the economic theory of marriage. Almost all women seemed to marry eventually, ...but this did not preclude some women from participating in the labor force.”<sup>60</sup> This seems to have been the case in British Columbia where married women were “pulled” into entrepreneurship, perhaps in part because it was lucrative. Studies such as Van Kirk’s, of mining towns in the late nineteenth century, demonstrate the preponderance of married women in self-employment, operating restaurants, saloons, hotels and boarding houses. City directories also illustrate that a wide variety of businesses were run by married women in the province. Mrs. Hanes in Kelowna, and Mrs. Clark in Cranbrook, operated dairy farms in 1918, while in Vancouver married women ran grocery, tobacco and confectionery stores, bakeries, tea rooms, laundries and women’s clothing stores. Businesses normally operated by men (and that sometimes employed single women) were also avenues of entrepreneurship for married women in the province: the Seymour Street Auto Stand was operated by Mrs. H. Coutts in Vancouver.<sup>61</sup>

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high rates of marriage, in the case of the Yukon between 1896 and 1905. See Charlene Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers: Women, Men, and Community in the Klondike* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998), 14-20.

<sup>59</sup> Peter Baskerville, “Women and Investment in Late-Nineteenth-Century Urban Canada: Victoria and Hamilton, 1880-1901,” *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 2 (June 1999): 205.

<sup>60</sup> Herr, “Women, Marital Status, and Work Opportunities in 1880 Colorado,” 359-360.

<sup>61</sup> *Wrigley’s British Columbia Directory, 1918* (Vancouver: Wrigley’s Directories, Ltd., 1918).

Women may also have worked after marriage because of what might be called “push” factors, namely when spouses did not provide adequate financial security. A higher proportion of self-employed married women in British Columbia than in Canada were living without a spouse and heading their households. The five percent national sample of the 1901 census reveals that 53.8 percent of all women in British Columbia who reported that they were married and self-employed (or employers) headed their households, which usually meant they were living without men. According to 1901 census instructions, men who were away temporarily were to be listed as head of the household if they normally lived there for part of the year. Female-headed households were female-headed because there was no male present and these women can be considered as separated/single. This helps explain the very high percentage of married self-employed women in British Columbia: many of them were effectively single and self-employed but they did not have the means to state that they were separated, and by law they were married women. The instructions to enumerators for the 1901 census indicated that couples “separated as to bed and board will be described as married.”<sup>62</sup>

In Canada, the percentage of married self-employed women who were listed as heads of households, and again presumably lived without a spouse, was 19 percent. Proportionately more married self-employed women lived with a spouse in Canada than in British Columbia. This helps clarify the discrepancy between the married and single self-employed in the province versus the rest of the country in 1901. If a married couple normally lived together, and if husbands were supposed to head households, then the high numbers of “married” businesswomen in British Columbia need to be reconsidered since more than half of them were living as though they had no spouse.

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<sup>62</sup>*Census of Canada*, Volume 1, 1901, xviii.

There are a few possible reasons for the high numbers of married women who lived without their husbands in the province. Long-time bachelors may not have been well prepared for the “rigours” of marriage. While they married quickly and excitedly, perhaps anticipating wedded bliss after months or years labouring with other single men, the reality of married life – with women they hardly knew – may have overwhelmed many men. George Seel, a trapper and prospector in north-central British Columbia, married Else Lübcke in 1927, the day after she arrived from Germany in response to his advertisement for a bride. One week after they arrived at their home near Burns Lake, George left for two months of trapping and hunting.<sup>63</sup> While Seel occasionally returned home, he repeatedly left his wife and later, his wife and children, to pursue work.

Men like George Seel returned to the transient or seasonal work they had done before marriage. While the Seels remained married until George’s death in 1950, his homecomings were sporadic and some men never returned, leading wives to list themselves as household heads. Employment opportunities in remote resource areas may have lured men back into nomadic working lives. George Seel did not change his nomadic ways upon marriage, and Elsie Lübcke Seel may have been one of those who listed herself as head of her household, given that her husband was rarely home.<sup>64</sup>

It is also possible that men and women who were living separately still saw each other throughout the year and supported each other emotionally or financially. The census cannot describe or explain what marriage meant to individual couples. Olive Fredrickson’s first husband Walter Reamer, whom she described as “afflicted with a

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<sup>63</sup> Rosemary Neering, *Wild West Women: Travellers, Adventurers and Rebels* (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2000), 228.

<sup>64</sup> This is speculative; it is also possible that George Seel was listed as household head, since he did reside there normally and they were not separated.

fatal wanderlust,”<sup>65</sup> repeatedly left his wife and their three young children to wander, work, and trap. Olive moved in 1928 with the children but without Walter to a 600-acre homestead, that she purchased with her own earnings, in northern British Columbia.<sup>66</sup> Yet she was still married, and waited for Walter to join her. Her husband never arrived at the homestead: he drowned in 1928 while on one of his long absences, and she was left a widow at the age of 27. While she clearly had not been able to depend upon her husband for much of their married life, Olive Fredrickson lived sporadically with him, bore his children, and at the time of his death was anticipating his imminent return. Yet, given his many and prolonged absences, Olive may also have listed herself as household head in the census prior to his death, and was almost certainly listed as head of her household after her husband’s death, and before her remarriage.

The pressure to marry may have been strong enough to sway even the faint of heart in British Columbia, and perhaps led to hasty and ill-advised marriages. This too would have inflated the numbers of married women in various occupational categories, while eventually inflating the numbers of separated women if these men did not remain with their wives. By 1971 “separated” was a socially acceptable marital status and arguably, the inflation of the numbers of “married” businesswomen (who might have been separated) evident in 1901 would no longer have occurred in 1971.

If marriage was a form of economic security, it is reasonable to infer that when husbands ceased to provide economic support, due to absence or because they were unemployed or unreliable, married women were compelled to enter or return to the labour force. This was true of wage-earning and self-employed women. Married women

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<sup>65</sup> Olive Fredrickson, with Ben East, *Silence of the North* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1972), 10. Fredrickson’s story is told in Rosemary Neering, *Wild West Women*, 145-152.

<sup>66</sup> Neering, *Wild West Women*, 149.

who headed households could also be found in wage-earning jobs, although fewer married wage-earning women headed households compared to their self-employed counterparts. In 1901, 27.8 percent of all married wage-earning women in British Columbia were listed as household heads. As was the case with married self-employed women, proportionately fewer married wage-earning women – 15.9 percent – headed households in Canada.

Rather than being deserted or abandoned by their spouses, some women may have chosen to leave their marriages. Sylvia Van Kirk suggests that for women in the Cariboo, economic opportunities may have provided “a chance to escape from an unhappy marriage.”<sup>67</sup> Whatever – or whoever – caused marriages to falter, women who continued to state that they were married but who clearly headed their own households were more likely to be self-employed than employees. This was particularly noticeable in British Columbia, where almost half of all married self-employed women told census takers that they headed their households.

In British Columbia there were therefore a number of potential “pull” and “push” factors inflating the participation rate of married women in the labour force generally and in self-employment in particular. Pull factors could include a high wage for “women’s work” in regions where women were scarce. Charlene Porsild points to such factors in the Klondike at the beginning of the twentieth century, another frontier with high ratios of women to men: enterprising women found that work was “plentiful and the demand for services was high.”<sup>68</sup> In Dawson and other communities, Porsild notes that the demand for restaurants, saloons and laundries ensured employment and business

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<sup>67</sup>Van Kirk, “A Vital Presence,” 25.

<sup>68</sup>Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers*, 63-64.

opportunities for many women. When women were scarce in the Klondike, female-typed work brought “considerable wages.”<sup>69</sup> The scarcity of women in British Columbia also led to a market demand for the types of services women typically provided, such as food preparation, cleaning, lodging and boarding establishments, nursing and teaching.<sup>70</sup> The next chapter deals more specifically with these occupational options.

On the Colorado frontier, high wages pulled married women into the work force but single women worked to support themselves; thus, pull factors were less significant for them.<sup>71</sup> Married women in British Columbia were more than twice as likely to be in the labour force as their counterparts elsewhere in Canada, but single women participated in almost exactly the same proportions as their counterparts elsewhere in Canada (Table 1.8).

*Table 1.8: Gainfully Employed Single Women as a Percentage of all Single Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971*

Single Women:		Total (n.)	Labour Force Participation (n.)	Labour Force Participation (%)
1901	BC	714	149	20.9
	Canada	45421	9621	21.2
1921	BC	40056	19612	49.0
	Canada	884568	378271	42.8
1931	BC	64322	33486	52.1
	Canada	1084655	504171	46.5
1941	BC	78598	41298	52.5
	Canada	1328489	624325	47.0
1951	BC	80533	48797	60.6
	Canada	1161904	674636	58.1
1961	BC	97757	49627	50.8
	Canada	1281976	697640	54.4
1971	BC	163810	86820	53.0
	Canada	1749215	871965	49.8

<sup>69</sup> Porsild, *Gamblers and Dreamers*, 68-69.

<sup>70</sup> In British Columbia, the scarcity of women in the early twentieth century may have been one reason why Chinese men were often found working in domestic service. See Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 141, 143, and Patricia E. Roy, *A White Man's Province: British Columbia Politicians and Chinese and Japanese Immigrants, 1858-1914* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1989), 180.

<sup>71</sup> Herr, “Women, Marital Status, and Work Opportunities in 1880 Colorado,” 356.

While married women in British Columbia were almost twice as likely to be in the labour force compared to married women in Canada in 1901, the single female population did not show the same pattern in 1901. It is possible that in 1901 the labour force participation rate of single women was not significantly affected by frontier characteristics, such as a scarcity of women, a lessening of social constraints, or a potentially high demand for female-provided services. That is, for women there was a high correlation between singleness and labour force participation regardless of region. Moreover, many of the occupations that commonly employed single women, such as jobs in manufacturing, were not available to women in British Columbia at the beginning of the century.<sup>72</sup> However, from 1921 to 1951 and again in 1971 a higher percentage of single women worked in British Columbia compared to Canada. More opportunities developed in the labour force for single women as the province became more settled, and women in British Columbia pursued more economic options, as Herr says that women in Colorado did, as the province expanded.

Examining the entire female labour force may mask some of the differences between single women in British Columbia and Canada. Table 1.9 therefore turns to single self-employed women. The data in Table 1.9 is based upon the five percent sample of the 1901 census and the three percent sample of the 1971 database.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>“Reflecting the resource-extractive economy of the surrounding region,” Robert McDonald notes that 1911 Vancouver provided a “disproportionate number of jobs for men. By contrast, women were much more likely to work as factoryhands in Toronto, a larger city with a higher ratio of jobs for women in the clothing, textile, tobacco, and food-processing industries.” This changed, however, beginning in the First World War as women entered white-collar office work and work as telegraph and telephone operators. See McDonald, *Making Vancouver*, 104, 107.

<sup>73</sup> Note that the 1971 numbers in Table 1.8 which were based on the entire 1971 census will not match those in Table 1.9 from the three percent sample.

*Table 1.9: Self-Employed Single Women as a Percentage of all Single Women, British Columbia and Canada: 1901 (Five percent sample) and 1971 (Three percent sample)*

Single Women		Total (n.)	Self-employed Participation (n.)	Self-employed Participation (%)
1901	British Columbia	714	18	2.5
	Canada	45421	929	2.0
1971	British Columbia	1636	21	1.3
	Canada	17260	157	0.9

Single women in British Columbia had a higher participation rate in self-employment than did single women in Canada, in 1901 and in 1971. In 1901, both single and married women were more active in self-employment in British Columbia than in Canada. What emerges is the sense that British Columbia provided “pull” factors to women, in the form of opportunities for proprietorship, which attracted them to self-employment to a greater degree in British Columbia than in Canada in 1901. Pull factors may also have led to a consistently higher rate of participation in the overall labour force by married women from 1901 to 1971, and a higher rate of participation by single women, for most of the same period in British Columbia.<sup>74</sup>

Some of the pull factors were the result of frontier conditions in British Columbia in the early twentieth century, and these conditions persisted. Women such as Mrs. Koenig, listed in the 1905 British Columbia directory as widow of George and “proprietress” of the Shawnigan Lake Hotel in the small community of Koenig’s Station on Shawnigan Lake, operated their businesses in frontier conditions.<sup>75</sup> Married women such as Mrs. Revesbeck, Mrs. Roberts, and Mrs. Allen operated hotels in Yale, Nelson, and Rossland: the towns in which they provided lodging, food and drink were often

<sup>74</sup> Chapter Two indicates more clearly the presence of women in what can be considered “female-provided service” establishments in British Columbia.

<sup>75</sup> *Henderson’s British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory, 1905* (Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1905).

small outposts that existed only to provide services to men working on the resource frontier. These businesses, set up to serve a larger industry, provided a niche for female business owners at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>76</sup> But even after 1951, married (and single) women entered the labour force in the province at higher rates than in Canada; the female share of all self-employed adults was higher in the province than in Canada from 1931 to 1971; and of all women in the labour force a higher share was self-employed in British Columbia than in Canada, throughout the period of study.

Widowed and divorced women also participated in the labour force in higher rates in British Columbia than in Canada from 1901 to 1971, as Table 1.10 indicates. A comparison of Tables 1.6 and 1.10 signifies that until 1961 they were also appreciably more involved in the labour force in the province and in Canada, than were married women.

*Table 1.10: Gainfully Employed Widowed/Divorced Women as a Percentage of all Widowed/Divorced Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971*

Widowed/Divorced Women:		Total (n.)	Labour Force Participation (n.)	Labour Force Participation (%)
1901	BC	144	38	26.4
	Canada	7541	1497	19.9
1921	BC	13316	2899	21.8
	Canada	226693	49057	21.6
1931	BC	20417	4316	21.1
	Canada	271505	57019	21.0
1941	BC	35831	7612	21.2
	Canada	405777	73934	18.2
1951	BC	49018	10662	21.8
	Canada	426618	81265	19.0
1961	BC	68204	16512	24.2
	Canada	541007	123412	22.8
1971	BC	102285	31100	30.4
	Canada	751370	195525	26.0

<sup>76</sup> Henderson's *British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory, 1905, 1910.*

In addition to their consistently higher participation rate, from 1931 to 1971 there were proportionately more widowed and divorced women in British Columbia than elsewhere in Canada, as Table 1.1 showed.<sup>77</sup> Table 1.3 further demonstrated that a higher proportion of all gainfully employed women were widowed and divorced in the province than in Canada. These features seem irregular; one would think that the gender imbalance in the first half of the twentieth century, which led to high rates of marriage among women in the province, would have provided strong incentives for remarriage as well. Why would there have been a higher proportion of widows/divorcées in British Columbia than in Canada, and why did a higher proportion of widowed/divorced women work in the province compared to Canada? What explains their relatively high participation in the labour force in both regions?

Several factors help explain their high rates in the adult and gainfully employed adult population. Widows in particular (for there were many more widows than divorcées for most of the period under study) were apt to be poor and vulnerable. Their survival strategies more often involved entering the work force than remarrying: Bettina Bradbury states that in nineteenth-century Montreal, men whose wives had died remarried rapidly, essentially replacing one domestic worker with another, while women did not have the same opportunities for remarriage.<sup>78</sup> Widows often had children at home and the prospect of taking on an older woman with children, who had few

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<sup>77</sup> Some widowed/divorced entrepreneurs began their careers as married women and continued the businesses after widowhood, such as Mrs. Koenig of Koenig's station. In 1921, while married to Ollie Hearn, social justice reformer Helena Gutteridge bought a three acre farm just outside Vancouver "with her own money, in her own name," and became "Mrs. Fearn, poultry farmer." Her husband continued his wage-earning job while she worked on the farm. After her divorce in 1928, she continued to run the farm alone, thereby becoming a divorced self-employed woman until she left the farm and returned to wage-earning work in Vancouver in 1933. See Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 139-153.

<sup>78</sup> Bettina Bradbury, "Surviving As A Widow In 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* 17, 3 (February 1989): 150.

financial assets, was likely not an attractive one to many men. Bradbury argues, “widows already experienced in motherhood should have appeared attractive spouses, but they competed in the marriage market with young, attractive, and not yet weary girls.”<sup>79</sup>

This was true even in British Columbia where there were ostensibly less “not yet weary” girls available for marriage due to the gender imbalance in the province. A widow’s age and whether or not she had children were thus “critical factors in determining whether or not she would remain a widow.”<sup>80</sup> Those who did remarry were apt to be under the age of forty and childless.<sup>81</sup> This was the case for widows in the late nineteenth century but it also applied to women in early twentieth-century British Columbia. It is difficult to study young widows since remarriage obviously altered their status.<sup>82</sup> Nonetheless, it is clear from census data and other sources that widows in the province who were in older age brackets and often had children in their households were more likely to remain widows. Annie Gordon was a not atypical example; widowed in 1911, she found she was “kept busy with financial affairs,” with her children, and with an expanding role in social reform and public service. Remarriage was either not wanted or not plausible for a woman in her mid-forties with three children.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Bradbury, “Surviving As A Widow,” 150.

<sup>80</sup> Lorna McLean, “Single Again: Widow’s Work in the Urban Family Economy, Ottawa, 1871,” *Ontario History* 83, 2 (June 1991): 131.

<sup>81</sup> On this point, McLean cites Diane Farmer, “Widowhood in the Parish of Notre Dame: An Examination of Death and Remarriage in Mid-Nineteenth Century Lower Town,” MA research essay (Carleton University, 1981).

<sup>82</sup> For instance, Anna Sprott, in her mid-thirties and mother of a young daughter, was a widow when she arrived in Vancouver in 1911, but she remarried in 1918 and had a long career as a married businesswoman and city politician. With the exception of prominent women such as Sprott, whose histories are known, remarriages are sometimes difficult to trace. See Jean Barman, “Vancouver’s Forgotten Entrepreneurs: Women Who Ran Their Own Schools,” *British Columbia Historical News* 31, 4 (Fall 1998): 27.

<sup>83</sup> Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 214-215. While she was not self-employed, Annie (McQueen)

The relative scarcity of women in British Columbia may not have been enough incentive for widows to find a new spouse: their liabilities (age, financial vulnerability, and dependent children) outweighed their attributes.<sup>84</sup> Moreover, if British Columbia was, as has been discussed, a frontier environs, it provided pull factors for enterprising women that included a market demand for women's services and higher wages, that might have enticed widowed women more than the prospect of remarriage.<sup>85</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum, some widows were financially secure enough that they may have been able to 'attract' a new spouse, but did not need or want one. Affluent widows "may have shunned a second marriage in order to maintain their financial independence."<sup>86</sup> It is not inconceivable that for many, no longer having to look after a man could have been a welcome relief, especially for those widows who could financially support themselves. It is also the case, however, that wealthy widows more easily attracted new spouses than did poor widows. Peter Baskerville has noted that in Victoria in 1901, widows remarried at relatively high rates, but he links this

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Gordon was a property owner after her widowhood and made business and financial decisions in her own name. And she and her husband had farmed at the turn of the century, first in Salmon Arm: while her husband Jim owned the ranch, he worked in Kamloops and Annie ran the farm. "Left alone most of the time with two young children...Annie shouldered all of the demands of the frontier." Annie described the poultry operation in particular as her own. Barman, *Sojourning Sisters*, 154. Thus we might consider women such as Annie Gordon, when married and even after widowhood, as intermittent businesswomen.<sup>84</sup> Most studies of widowhood do not, for obvious reasons, focus on re-marriage since widowed women were no longer widows if they re-married. McLean notes that widowed women had "few choices" and she implies that re-marriage was rarely one of them. Her article illustrates the economic measures that widows turned to in order to survive, including home-based enterprises such as taking in sewing or boarders. See McLean, "Single Again," 140.

<sup>85</sup> Moreover, widows receiving pensions lost their benefits upon remarriage. While pensions were likely not large enough to keep a woman permanently out of the work force, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century, they may have been an incentive to remain in a widowed state. On Mother's Pensions and Workmen's Compensation benefits, some of which were paid to widows, see Gillian Creese, "The Politics of Dependence: Women, Work and Unemployment in the Vancouver Labour Movement Before World War II," Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds., *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992). Irene Howard notes that the Workmen's Compensation and the Mother's Pension Acts in British Columbia were passed in December 1921 and January 1922. See Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice*, 145.

<sup>86</sup> McLean, "Single Again," 133.

finding to the accompanying high rates of property ownership and investment activity. Widows with property had greater opportunities for remarriage, and he found that women were gaining independence in economic activity through land ownership and investments – but, they had full control over these investments and they did not relinquish control when they remarried.<sup>87</sup>

There is also literature that suggests women have historically married because of economic necessity, but when they had the economic means to support themselves, their rates of marriage were lower.<sup>88</sup> Some single women in the labour force in British Columbia and Canada might conceivably have been working *instead of* marrying, or at least we can surmise they may have delayed their marriages. And as we have seen, more women continued to work after their marriages in British Columbia. They may have faced struggles to reconcile work life and conjugal life, but widows had already faced the struggles of reconciling work and marriage and some did not economically need – or desire – remarriage.<sup>89</sup>

Lisa Wilson Waciega argues in her study of widows of “means” in Pennsylvania, from 1750 to 1850, that even before the deaths of their husbands many women acted on behalf of their husbands and acquired “financial competence” in business matters: they were prepared upon the deaths of their husbands to use their inheritances to support

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<sup>87</sup>Baskerville, “Women and Investment,” 195.

<sup>88</sup> Ellen Ross suggests, in her study of working-class wives and mothers in London, England, that many women married in the late nineteenth century because they had to, for economic survival. See Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 58-68. Joy Parr argues that for women employed in textile factories in Paris, Ontario between 1880 and 1950, there were negotiations and struggles to reconcile work life with domestic conjugal life, such as later age at first marriage and a “greater incidence of non-marriage.” See Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 542.

<sup>89</sup>As American historian Glenda Riley points out, not all widows were “anxious to give up their new-found autonomy.... Instead, they chose to support themselves in a variety of occupations, ranging from farmer to journalist.” Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 22.

themselves and their families.<sup>90</sup> That they sometimes inherited their husbands' businesses demonstrates that they were deemed competent in business matters, and that they went on to run those businesses without remarrying demonstrates their confidence and competence. Some widows clearly functioned in the business world, "outside the domain of hearth and home," even though their experiences have been viewed as anomalous.<sup>91</sup>

Inheriting a husband's business was therefore another reason for widows' high rates of self-employment. Bradbury also argues, in the case of late-nineteenth-century Montreal, that some widows had the "practical experience" and knowledge they needed to continue to operate the businesses after the death of their spouse.<sup>92</sup> Other Montreal widows chose to set up their own businesses rather than remarry.<sup>93</sup> If they received any pension or death benefit, opening a small business was an important survival strategy.<sup>94</sup>

Proprietorship, like other kinds of work, "potentially freed women from economic dependence on men."<sup>95</sup> The same factors that might have led to a high participation rate of widows and divorcées in the labour force generally – vulnerability or a desire to remain independent – may have also influenced their interest in self-employment.

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<sup>90</sup> Lisa Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business': The Widow of Means in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1750-1850," *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 42.

<sup>91</sup> Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business'," 41. It is significant that she discusses only widows of means; many widows were poor and vulnerable and business ownership would not have been attainable. However, she deals with poverty and widowhood in her book: see Lisa Wilson, *Life After Death: Widows in Pennsylvania 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992). Certainly, many widows ran small home-based enterprises, cooking, running boarding houses, or taking in laundry. These enterprises were labour intensive, not capital intensive.

<sup>92</sup> Bradbury, *Working Families*, 199.

<sup>93</sup> Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business'," 60.

<sup>94</sup> Bradbury, *Working Families*, 197-198.

<sup>95</sup> Wendy Gamber, "A Precarious Independence: Milliners and Dressmakers in Boston, 1860-1890," *Journal of Women's History* 4, 1 (Spring 1992): 74.

Furthermore, widows may have been over-represented in self-employment because they were, like married women, less likely than young single women to be hired in wage-earning occupations. Even though married and once-married women, with no men to support them, were not castigated for entering the labour force, they did not enter wage-earning occupations in large numbers, suggesting at least a societal barrier. Many women *and* men saw wage-earning jobs as the domain of men, particularly if they had families to support.<sup>96</sup> Widowed and divorced women may have turned to self-employment because wage-earning jobs were not considered a viable option for married or even for once-married women. On the other hand, home earning was “an attractive alternative to public sphere employment” for women who were bound by home responsibilities.<sup>97</sup> Married or widowed women who had children and domestic work that tied them to their homes turned to home-based forms of self-employment such as taking in boarders, sewing and laundry, or operating small shops.

Margaret Hobbs discovered outright hostility directed toward married women in the labour force in Canada during the 1930s. Many people expressed concern that wage-earning women were taking jobs away from men and Ontario Premier Mitchell Hepburn announced in 1936 that: “We take the position, as have all previous governments, that if a woman marries, her husband should keep her.”<sup>98</sup> British Columbians expressed similar opinions. In 1939, Vancouver City Council considered denying employment to married

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<sup>96</sup> See Chapter Three for a more detailed discussion of British Columbian women’s limited support for married women at work. Women in the province between 1930 and 1960 supported married women’s rights to employment, but stressed in most cases that married men with families ought to be the first priority in hiring decisions.

<sup>97</sup> Hobbs, “Gendering Work and Welfare,” 41.

<sup>98</sup> Margaret Hobbs, “Gendering Work and Welfare: Women’s Relationship to Wage-Work and Social Policy in Canada During the Great Depression,” PhD Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1995), 48.

women in stores, offices, and factories.<sup>99</sup> And as World War Two ended, the Prince Rupert *Daily News* argued for the return of women from industrial jobs back to their homes. The newspaper suggested that one way to ensure this was “for some veteran to take a woman's job, then marry her and support her.”<sup>100</sup>

Joan Sangster refers to a “marriage bar” that existed at least until World War Two, and in some workplaces, until the 1950s: employers that willingly hired women only employed single women. Sangster argues in a case study of Peterborough, Ontario, that the marriage bar was “linked in women’s minds to the impermanent status of women in the workforce and to the family wage ideal....”<sup>101</sup> Thus the bar was real in many cases, but Sangster proposes it was also imagined in the minds of the women. “In those days,” one woman recalled when Sangster interviewed her, “your husband kept you. That’s why you got married.”<sup>102</sup>

With such limitations on married women’s labour force participation in effect until the mid-twentieth century, married or once-married women may have felt freer to pursue self-employment than to seek out wage-earning jobs. Subject to policies such as that of the Manitoba government, which declared in the 1930s that for civil service jobs, the “retirement of women is compulsory at marriage,”<sup>103</sup> they turned to self-employment instead. The six female founders of York House, a private school for girls that they opened in 1932 in Vancouver, did just this: some of the women recalled that they “wanted to keep on working and were not allowed to teach in the public school because

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<sup>99</sup> Cited in Margaret Hobbs, “Equality and Difference: Feminism and the Defence of Women Workers During the Great Depression,” Wendy Mitchinson et al., eds., *Canadian Women: A Reader* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 226.

<sup>100</sup> Prince Rupert *Daily News*, January 31, 1946.

<sup>101</sup> Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 79.

<sup>102</sup> Sangster, *Earning Respect*, 78.

<sup>103</sup> Hobbs, “Gendering Work and Welfare,” 49.

we were married.”<sup>104</sup> The idea that married or once-married women did not belong in wage-earning jobs may have continued to influence women who were widowed or divorced, beyond mid-century. However, the difficulties that these women faced in obtaining wage-earning occupations were not overtly present by 1971, when marriage bars were no longer in effect.

Widows and divorcées worked in fairly significant numbers in Canada and their labour force participation was even higher in British Columbia. And in 1901, the proportion of widowed/divorced women who were self-employed was also higher in the province than in Canada as Table 1.11 shows.<sup>105</sup>

*Table 1.11: Self-Employed Widowed/Divorced Women as a Percentage of all Widowed/Divorced Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901 and 1971*

Widowed/Divorced Women		Total (n.)	Self-employed Participation (n.)	Self-employed Participation (%)
1901	BC	144	23	16.0
	Canada	7541	876	11.6
1971	BC	1057	32	3.0
	Canada	7552	196	2.6

Again, the data demonstrates that at the beginning of the twentieth century women who were married or at-one-time married participated to a greater degree in the labour force and more explicitly, they participated to a greater degree in self-employment in the province than in Canada. The constraints (real or perceived, external or internal) that prevented women from remaining in the labour force after marriage seem to have been less influential in British Columbia and the nature of the frontier environment, society and economy meant that particular female-typed tasks were in high

<sup>104</sup> See Barman, “Vancouver’s Forgotten Entrepreneurs,” 24. Three of the six women who founded the school had husbands.

<sup>105</sup> The data in Table 1.11 uses the five percent sample of the 1901 census and three percent sample of the 1971 census; therefore, the 1971 data presented in Table 1.11 is not the same as that in Table 1.10, which used the published census returns for 1971. Again it should be noted that in 1901 in particular, very few women were divorced: most in this category would have been widows.

demand. When women were outnumbered by men, they were in demand as marriage partners and as workers in feminine-typed occupations. Women who were married, widowed and divorced continued to work after marriage or at the end of a marriage, and often in self-employment.

There was a dramatic decline in the percentage of all widowed and divorced women who entered self-employment in British Columbia and Canada between 1901 and 1971. In 1901, 16 percent of all widowed and divorced women in British Columbia, and 11 percent in Canada, were in the labour force and were self-employed. By 1971, less than 3 percent of all widows and divorcées were in the labour force and self-employed, in either region (Table 1.11). Yet Table 1.10 demonstrated that the percentage of all widowed and divorced women who were in the labour force remained fairly steady throughout the century. By 1971, widowed and divorced women were as likely to enter the labour force as they had been in 1901 but they were much less likely to pursue entrepreneurship. As Chapter Two discusses, self-employment declined steadily over the period of this study among women and men regardless of marital status: it is therefore not surprising that rates of self-employment declined among widowed and divorced women between 1901 and 1971.

Despite the fact that labour force participation rates have historically been connected to single women, in a province that had more men than women (until 1951) and a somewhat inflated proportion of married women between 1901 and 1971, the female labour force participation rate did not suffer. Adult women in British Columbia were as likely as their Canadian counterparts to join the labour force. Gainfully employed women in British Columbia were more likely to be married, and more likely to be self-employed, than their Canadian counterparts. Furthermore, the participation

rate of married women in the labour force (out of all married women in the adult population) was higher in the province than in Canada – demonstrating that the participation of married women in British Columbia’s labour force was significant, above and beyond the fact that there were proportionately more married women in the population.

More importantly, the relatively high rate of female entrepreneurship and the high rate of marriage in British Columbia’s adult female population were not isolated variables. In the early twentieth century, British Columbia had elements of a frontier society: a large population and continued immigration of young males; relatively unsettled (by a white populace, that is) and undeveloped territory that was experiencing a rapid influx of white settlers eager to tame, civilize and develop the new province; and a prevailing harsh physical environment. White men outnumbered white women in the first half of the twentieth century, and many men immigrated to British Columbia because there were work opportunities in mining, logging, fishing and development of the province – work, in other words, that contributed to ‘taming’ the frontier.

White women’s opportunities for marriage increased as a result of their scarcity in the province, but so did their opportunity to make money by providing female services desired by white males. Women in British Columbia did not find work incompatible with marriage: their opportunities for marriage were high but so were their opportunities to enter the labour force. And their entry into the labour force was particularly linked to self-employment because of the kinds of occupations open to women. Entrepreneurial opportunities were prevalent to a greater degree in British Columbia than in Canada because of the nature of the services that were needed. Typically self-owned and operated businesses such as sewing work, boarding houses,

restaurants, and cleaning or laundry establishments were traditionally female occupations but often women were occupied doing these tasks as wives, and the work was unpaid. In British Columbia, women could and did offer these same services, but many offered them for a fee to the abundant population of unmarried (or married, spouse absent) men. The demand for these services pulled more women into the labour force and into self-employment, despite the fact that many were married. Thus the province provided married women with work opportunities, particularly in self-employment. British Columbia provides a test case for proving that for women, entrepreneurship and marriage were interconnected.

## Chapter Two

### Careers for Women: The Gendering of the Female Labour Force, 1901-1971, and the Implications for Businesswomen

“There are many occupations, such as carpenter or blacksmith, which women usually do not follow. Therefore, if you are told that a woman follows an occupation which is peculiar or unusual for a woman, verify the statement.”<sup>1</sup>

Women’s labour force participation rate increased from 1901 to 1971 as Chapter One indicated, but women, whether employed or self-employed, remained segregated in a very few occupational categories, or groups, as defined by the *Census of Canada*. Census data also demonstrates that women’s increasing labour force participation was linked to wage-earning occupations. Rates of self-employment declined over the period of study even as the percentage of adult women who entered the labour force climbed steadily. But the limitations to women’s full participation *across* occupational groups over the period 1901 to 1971 were similar for all working women, whether or not they were self-employed.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter examines the occupational categories that encompassed most working women in British Columbia and the rest of Canada between 1901 and 1971, and some of the reasons for their limited number.<sup>3</sup> The occupational categories have changed over time, but the changes have not led to an expansion of the narrow range of occupational categories available to women. Gender has been a determining factor in the limited occupational categories and the specific occupations for women workers. The labour force in Canada was gendered in that certain occupations were open to

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<sup>1</sup> *Census of Canada*, Volume 7, 1931, “Selected Instructions to Enumerators,” xii.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise specified, all data on the self-employed in this chapter includes those who employed others; that is, who were defined as employers.

<sup>3</sup> Unless otherwise explicitly noted, all the population figures listed in this chapter for Canada exclude British Columbia; I am comparing British Columbia population figures to the rest of Canada.

women *because* they were women, while others were closed to them, again *because* they were women.

Only a few occupational *groups* employed many women in the twentieth century. The census often placed wage-earning and self-employed women in the same occupational categories, based on the kinds of work they did. But their specific jobs were different; furthermore, self-employed women were not sex-typed by occupation to the same degree as were wage-earning women. While wage-earning women worked in what some historians have defined as a female work culture, self-employed women were more often found in male-dominated professions, working with men rather than with other women.<sup>4</sup> Gender forms an important part of the story of businesswomen but the ways in which gender “matters” are different for entrepreneurial women as compared to wage-earning women.

There are also differences in the ways gender mattered for women in British Columbia compared to the rest of Canada. Data presented in this chapter on specific occupations buttresses the points made in Chapter One: female entrepreneurs in British

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<sup>4</sup> Many historians have written about women’s work cultures. In a Canadian context, see, for example, Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990); Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). For a good treatment of women’s work culture in an American context, see Patricia A. Cooper, *Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women, and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories, 1900-1919* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). Historians of women have also explored the idea of women’s separate spheres (both at home and at work) more generally. For early and seminal discussions of “women’s spheres,” see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: Women’s Sphere in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977) and Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual,” *Signs* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29. On the extent to which businesswomen operated in separate female cultures, see Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, “Business Ladies: Midwestern Women and Enterprise, 1850-1880,” *Journal of Women’s History* 3, 1 (Spring 1991): 65-89, and Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). Authors such as Linda Kerber have extensively criticized the usefulness of the notion of separate spheres as a way to understand women. See Linda K. Kerber, “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History,” *Journal of American History* 75, 1 (June 1988): 9-39. The extent to which the “separate spheres” paradigm is even useful for working women, but especially for self-employed women, is addressed in my Introduction.

Columbia worked in relatively high numbers in a province with a high ratio of men to women, and women were more willing to pursue entrepreneurship in general, and in male-dominated professions in particular, than their counterparts elsewhere in Canada. Although women's self-employment was limited to a small list of specific occupations, women in British Columbia made the most of those restrained possibilities.

The jobs held by entrepreneurial women shifted over the period 1901 to 1971, without widening their choices in terms of the kinds of jobs open to them. Despite the fact that some businesswomen worked in male-dominated occupations they remained limited to a narrow range of occupations overall, and the limitations persisted between 1901 and 1971. In the latter half of this chapter the consequences of these limited choices are explained with respect to the occupations in which women had higher than average rates of self-employment in a given census year.<sup>5</sup> The declining rate of self-employment for women in British Columbia and Canada between 1901 and 1971, and specific occupational shifts within the arena of female self-employment, are also examined. While this chapter acknowledges the broad similarities in terms of limited work opportunities that all women in the labour force faced between 1901 and 1971, it deals more extensively with women's opportunities for self-employment.

### **Occupational Groups, Women, and the Census**

The occupational groups used in the census shifted in small but important ways over the twentieth century. Some of the shifts make comparisons across decades difficult since, as the 1941 census pointed out, there was no "uniform scheme of classification of

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<sup>5</sup> The tables presented later in the chapter provide information on self-employment rates, 1901 to 1971 and information on specific occupations with high rates of female self-employment. For more comprehensive data on labour force participation rates of men and women, and a more complete list of male and female participation rates in a wide variety of occupations, see Appendix, 2.1-2.7. Unless otherwise specifically listed, source information for tables in Chapter Two is found in the Appendix.

occupations.”<sup>6</sup> In addition, changes took place in “the nature of the work performed in many occupations,” with the introduction of machines.<sup>7</sup> As more women and men entered clerical and other professional white-collar jobs, for instance, the occupational groups changed to reflect the new work force.

In 1901 the main categories, or groups, used by the census to organize individual occupations were: Agriculture; Logging; Fishing, Hunting and Trapping; Mining and Quarrying; Manufactures; Building Trades (Construction); Transportation; Trade; Finance; and Service (professional and personal). Most of the groups continued to be used throughout the twentieth century, although there were a few changes. The Clerical occupational group first appeared in 1931 and the Transportation occupational group became Transportation and Communication in 1931. By 1931 occupations in communication, such as telegraph and telephone operators, had become more prominent across Canada. And while there were clerical workers in Canada and in British Columbia before 1931 they were scattered across other occupational groups. The new Clerical occupational category was largely filled with “stenographers and typists” in 1931. There were 5,559 female stenographers/typists in British Columbia in 1931, within the Clerical occupational group; no stenographers/typists were listed in British Columbia in 1921.<sup>8</sup>

The Service occupational group encompassed personal, professional, and recreational service jobs from 1901 to 1941. The Professional occupational group first

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<sup>6</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 328.

<sup>7</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 328.

<sup>8</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 7, Table 50. The 1921 census listed office employees, clerks, and messengers within their relevant occupational groups but did not list stenographers or typists as specific occupations, in any occupational groups. See *Census of Canada*, 1921, Volume 4, Table 4: “Occupations of the population 10 years of age and over, classified by sex and age groups,” for Canada and the provinces. Presumably some of these workers were typists or stenographers but they may not have been numerous enough to include as a separate category.

appeared in 1951. Occupations that had previously appeared in the Service group under the sub-heading Professional Service, such as accountants, architects, dentists, physicians and teachers, now appeared in their own occupational group. After 1951 the Service group contained personal, recreation, and protective occupations. Personal service jobs included hairdressers, cleaners, cooks, waitresses, restaurant and hotel owners, and lodging house keepers. Protective service jobs included guards and police officers while recreational service jobs included actors and movie projectionists. The creation of the Professional classification occurred as professional service jobs became more important in the labour force – a reflection of an increasingly bureaucratic and white-collar work environment where office skills were becoming more valuable than manual skills, and a further extension of the Clerical category that had been introduced twenty years earlier.

In 1951, the list of occupational groups included, for the first time, the Proprietary and Managerial group. In the first half of the twentieth century, owners and managers of various businesses were listed by specific industry: for instance, owners of retail stores were listed under Trade, and owners in textiles were listed under Manufacturing. The introduction of the more generic category of Managerial occupations suggested that class of worker – whether one was self-employed, an employer, or an employee in a managerial capacity, for instance – began to matter more than the industry itself. Certainly, managers could be, but were not necessarily, self-employed or employers. But managers who were employees still had status and power as supervisors that differed significantly from the status of other employees who worked under their supervision. Owners and managers of all kinds were placed in one occupational group rather than being placed with the workers in their field.

Though small, these changes in census classifications make comparison of occupational groups over time difficult. However, Table 2.1 shows the distribution of the female labour force by occupational groups from 1901 to 1971, using standardized occupational groups. In the 1951 census, occupations that had appeared in the census between 1901 and 1951 were re-organized according to 1951 occupational classifications. Thus, although there had not been a Clerical occupational group in the census data published between 1901 and 1921, occupations that could be specifically defined as clerical were reclassified in 1951 and placed in the Clerical category for the purposes of comparison. Service jobs from earlier decades were separated out, where possible, into personal and professional service classifications.

In addition, I have added in occupational data from 1961 and 1971 comparable to that used in 1951 although the 1961 census noted that revisions occurred in each decade that “complicate[d] the task of developing comparable occupational data from census to census.”<sup>9</sup> By 1971 the occupational classification differed “considerably from previous ones” and older classifications were revised in such a way that direct comparisons with earlier censuses were made almost impossible.<sup>10</sup> However, Table 2.1 demonstrates as clearly as is possible women’s distribution among occupational groups and changes over time, in British Columbia and Canada.

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<sup>9</sup>*Census of Canada*, 1961, Catalogue 94-551, v-vii.

<sup>10</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1971, Volume 3, Part 2, Catalogue 94-723.

Table 2.1: Percentage Distribution of the Female Labour Force by Occupational Group: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971<sup>11</sup>

Occupation Group	1901		1911		1921		1931	
	BC	Canada	BC	Canada	BC	Canada	BC	Canada
Agricultural	2.0	3.8	2.5	4.5	2.9	3.7	3.3	3.6
Fishing/Trapping	0.2	0.0	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Logging	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mining/Quarrying	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing/Mechanical	20.0	29.9	19.3	26.9	8.1	18.9	7.5	15.7
Construction			0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transportation/Communication	5.3	3.8	2.0	1.4	5.0	2.9	4.4	2.6
Trade/Finance			7.5	7.9	11.8	9.6	11.5	8.3
Service- Professional	65.7	56.8	12.6	12.4	21.1	18.9	18.2	17.6
Service- Personal			41.8	37.4	28.4	27.0	34.7	34.3
Service- Other			0.5	0.3	0.4	0.2	0.4	0.1
Clerical	6.9	5.3	13.4	9.1	22.0	18.3	19.9	17.5
Labourers	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2
N/S	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Occupation Group	1941		1951		1961		1971	
	BC	Canada	BC	Canada	BC	Canada	BC	Canada
Agricultural	2.6	2.3	1.6	2.9	2.0	4.5	2.3	3.5
Fishing/Trapping	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Logging	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mining/Quarrying	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Manufacturing/Mechanical	7.5	18.5	8.1	18.5	6.0	12.2	5.3	9.0
Construction	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Transportation/Communication	3.2	1.9	4.7	3.3	2.3	2.1	1.8	1.3
Trade/Finance	13.0	8.6	14.6	10.7	10.5	8.1	8.6	6.9
Service- Professional	16.2	15.2	14.3	14.3	15.0	15.5	13.4	16.4
Service- Personal	37.1	34.5	24.2	21.5	23.7	22.1	20.2	17.1
Service- Other	0.4	0.1	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.0
Clerical	19.7	18.4	30.7	27.1	31.8	28.6	33.2	30.2
Labourers	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.2
N/S	0.2	0.2	1.2	1.1	3.0	2.4	10.8	11.6
Managerial					4.6	3.1	3.2	2.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

<sup>11</sup> Source information for Table 2.1: Data for 1901-1951: *Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 4, Table 2.* Data for 1961: *Census of Canada, 1961, Series 3.1, Catalogue 94-509, Table 17, and Catalogue 94-512, Table 17.* Data for 1971: *Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 94-716, Volume 3, Part 2, Table 1.* Note: in 1901, the "Service" category represented all service workers; the apparent decline in Service in 1911 is therefore only a result of the division of the category into three subcategories of "Service."

The “distribution of people in various occupations has changed considerably” over the twentieth century. Nonetheless, growth in the labour force “has not been distributed evenly among...occupational groups.”<sup>12</sup> Despite the shifts in the labour force and in the distribution of people across occupational groups, one aspect of the labour force remained the same. Women were not evenly distributed across occupational groups, nor were they found in very many groups, and this situation did not change perceptibly between 1901 and 1971 as Table 2.1 demonstrates.

At the beginning of the twentieth century over 90 percent of the female labour force, in both British Columbia and Canada, worked in four occupational groups: Manufacturing/Mechanical, Trade/Finance (from 1911 on), Service (personal, professional and other), and Clerical. In 1901, 20 percent of all women in the labour force in British Columbia, and 30 percent in Canada, worked in Manufacturing occupations while a very high 65 percent of working women in British Columbia, and 57 percent in Canada, worked in Service occupations. Just 7 percent of women in the labour force in British Columbia, and 5 percent in Canada, worked in Clerical occupations.

In 1901, some patterns emerged in the groups in which nearly all women were found that remained for most of the twentieth century. First, most women worked in the same four occupational groups in every census year, up to 1971. In 1971 with changes in occupational classifications the percentage of “not stated” occupations was much higher, resulting in fewer women appearing in the other “stated” occupational groups, but despite this change, 80 percent of all working women still fell into the same four

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<sup>12</sup> Jeff O’Neill, “Changing Occupational Structure,” *Canadian Social Trends*, Statistics Canada (Winter 1991): 9.

occupational groups in which women had been working in 1901. The distribution across these groups changed over time, as Table 2.1 demonstrates – for instance, more working women were found in the Clerical group as the century progressed, while Manufacturing lessened in importance – but the same four groups employed most of the female labour force. Even in 1986 women were “heavily concentrated in only 3 of the 12 occupational groups,” in Clerical and Professional and Personal Service occupations.<sup>13</sup>

Secondly, the differences between British Columbia and the rest of Canada remained quite constant over the century. Proportionately more women worked in the Service, Trade and Finance, and Clerical occupational groups in British Columbia than in Canada in most decades, while fewer women worked in Manufacturing in British Columbia. The differences are minor and they primarily indicate industrial differences between British Columbia and the rest of Canada. However, they may help to explain the higher rate of self-employment for women in British Columbia compared to Canada. More entrepreneurs worked in the occupational groups of Service and Trade than in Manufacturing and proportionately more women worked in those two occupational groups in British Columbia than in Canada.

There were not many manufacturing occupations open to women in British Columbia, especially in the first half of the twentieth century. Most worked as domestic servants, cooks, teachers and nurses, all Service occupations; others turned to entrepreneurial activities such as boarding house keeping in which they capitalized on domestic skills that were in demand in a province filled with labouring, often-single,

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<sup>13</sup> O’Neill, “Changing Occupational Structure,” 11.

males.<sup>14</sup> These occupations were in Trade and Service, not in Manufacturing – with the exception of dressmaking and related occupations, which employed high numbers of women in both British Columbia and in Canada. Women in Canada also worked in Service occupations, but they had many more opportunities in Manufacturing as well.

While women in British Columbia and Canada worked principally in four occupational categories, shifts occurred within categories between 1901 and 1971. Management jobs, technical occupations, and commerce all became more prominent across Canada as the century progressed, while occupations like domestic service, which had employed the largest numbers of women prior to World War Two, declined.<sup>15</sup> These patterns are clear in the census data shown in Table 2.1. Domestic service occupations fell under the Service occupational category, within the smaller category of Personal Service, which clearly decreased over the twentieth century. It must be noted, however, that even though the percentage of women working in personal service occupations declined, the entire Service occupational group was the most significant occupational group for women in the labour force throughout the twentieth century. More than 50 percent of all women in the labour force were clustered in Service occupations until 1951 when the percentage of women in all Service occupations decreased in British Columbia and Canada.

The share of all women in the labour force who were in the Manufacturing group also declined over the twentieth century. And as the percentage of women working in Personal Service and Manufacturing occupations declined, the percentage of women

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<sup>14</sup> For detailed occupations see the Canadian Families Project's database, a five percent sample of the 1901 *Census of Canada*.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Kinnear, *A Female Economy: Women's Work in a Prairie Province 1870-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 108.

working in Trade, Finance and Clerical occupations increased as Table 2.1 demonstrates. By 1971, 30 percent of the female labour force in British Columbia and in Canada worked in the Clerical group.

These shifts in the occupational distribution of women reflect larger changes in industries and in the labour force in Canada over the twentieth century. Sylvia Ostry notes that in 1951 for the first time the census recorded “a smaller number of workers in primary occupations than in manual pursuits.” But the manual workers “were themselves outnumbered by the white collar work force. Together the professionals, the managers, the clerks and the salesmen formed the largest single occupational sector of the working population.”<sup>16</sup> This shift in the entire labour force was also clear in the female labour force – although in 1951, the combined Service categories still encompassed more working women than did any other occupational category. Even so, more and more women were entering the work force, many into wage-earning jobs as sales clerks, telephone operators, secretaries and stenographers. In the “post-1900 economic boom,” the clerical labour force “grew and shifted in sex composition from mostly male to mostly female clerical workers.”<sup>17</sup>

### **Sex Segregation in the Labour Force: Women’s Work, 1901 to 1971**

More women entered the labour force between 1901 and 1971 but they remained segregated in certain kinds of jobs. Women’s occupations shifted from domestic service jobs as cleaners, servants and housekeepers to white-collar occupations as stenographers

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<sup>16</sup> Sylvia Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967), 14.

<sup>17</sup> Graham S. Lowe, *Women in the Administrative Revolution: The Feminization of Clerical Work* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987), 4.

and office clerks, but women remained in low-paying occupations within the same four occupational groups that they were found in at the beginning of the century.<sup>18</sup>

The sex-typing of occupations as particularly feminine or masculine was also made explicit in the published census notes that accompanied the tabular data. The 1921 census noted that “the increase in the proportion of employed females synchronizes with the more general introduction of typewriters and other mechanical office appliances, in the operation of which women have shown marked ability.”<sup>19</sup> It is difficult to assess whether women entered these jobs because they were particularly skilled at operating mechanical appliances in the office as opposed to mechanical appliances on factory lines, for example, or whether office jobs happened to be the only ones that were open to women. The argument is circular: the jobs women get are the jobs that are open to them, which then become described as the only jobs that women can competently perform. The census takers did not interrogate the ways in which women’s abilities were tied to assumptions about gender. Women’s “marked ability” was, perhaps not coincidentally, attached to jobs that had already been labelled ‘feminine’ and that were usually low paid. The census commentary infers that women chose low-paid clerical work because they were ‘naturally’ good at such tasks. The problem with this assumption has been acknowledged by historians such as Joan Sangster, Shirley Tillotson and Graham Lowe,

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<sup>18</sup> As Marsha Courchane and Angela Redish have argued, women’s concentration in a narrow range of “traditionally female” occupations including clerical work, teaching, nursing, and domestic service has changed little over the twentieth century: “the concentration of women in a few occupations shows a disturbing continuity” and they note that this is true in Canada and in British Columbia. Marsha Courchane and Angela Redish, “Women in the Labour Force, 1911-1986: A Historical Perspective,” Robert C. Allen and Gideon Rosenbluth, eds., *False Promises: The Failure of Conservative Economics* (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1992), 151-153.

<sup>19</sup> *Census of Canada, 1921*, Volume 4, xiii.

all of whom have argued that gender is the locus of “power and inequality” within the workplace.<sup>20</sup>

Lowe suggests that “stereotypes of women as manually dexterous, patient, ineffectual supervisors, and secondary wage earners...have provided strong rationale for their restricted employment at the bottom of the occupational hierarchy.”<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the expectations of female telegraph operators were affected by preconceptions about gender. Stereotypes about women’s ability restricted women’s access to training and promotion, thereby reinforcing ideas about innate skill levels or differences between men and women.<sup>22</sup> Differences in ability “resulting from differences in amount of practice and length of career” meshed with stereotypes about female inferiority to obstruct women’s development and access to the best paid, highest status jobs.<sup>23</sup>

Joan Sangster argues that sex segregation in the workplace is “grounded in the historical and material structures imposed by advanced capitalism; but these structures were in turn fostered by social practices established in family life and by an ideology of female difference, dependency and subordination,” an interweaving, she suggests, of “material necessity and patriarchal ideology.”<sup>24</sup> This can be said not only of office work but also of work in a variety of other ‘feminine’ jobs: cooking, cleaning, food preparation and other domestic and personal service occupations. Moreover, sex-specific pay has accompanied occupational segregation, and women have consistently entered

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<sup>20</sup> Lowe, *Women in the Administrative Revolution*, 11.

<sup>21</sup> Lowe, *Women in the Administrative Revolution*, 16.

<sup>22</sup> Shirley Tillotson, “‘We may all soon be first-class men’: Gender and Skill in Canada’s Early Twentieth Century Urban Telegraph Industry,” *Labour/Le Travail* 27 (Spring 1991): 109.

<sup>23</sup> Tillotson, “Gender and Skill,” 111.

<sup>24</sup> Sangster, *Earning Respect*, 36.

occupations with very low pay.<sup>25</sup> A clear division of labour, based on sex, still existed in 1971 in the Canadian economy. “Women are segregated into particular sectors...and within these sectors they perform a limited number of low-skilled and/or low-paid jobs.”<sup>26</sup>

Table 2.2, created from published census data, substantiates the segregation of female workers into particular sectors, notably in service and clerical occupations. The table includes *all* female workers, regardless of their employment status. It lists the occupations that employed about half of all women in the labour force in Canada (including, in this case, British Columbia) in 1921, 1941, and 1961.<sup>27</sup> Table 2.2 corroborates the arguments of Courchane and Redish, and Hugh and Pat Armstrong: women in the labour force have been clustered in a very few occupations and occupational groups. Clearly, women were not branching out into new occupational groups and the only real change in the work of women was a shift from domestic service work to clerical work.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd, 1978), 39.

<sup>26</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 40.

<sup>27</sup> I have only used three decades for Table 2.2 because the focus of my work is self-employed women and I include data on women in the labour force, generally, or on wage-earning women specifically, for reasons of comparison to self-employed women. Later tables in this chapter that focus on self-employment are more detailed. Detailed data on wage-earning women can be found in the literature of many other authors who have focused on the female labour force but not on self-employed women; moreover, the patterns evident in Table 2.2 hold true for other census decades.

<sup>28</sup> In Table 2.2, data for Canada includes British Columbia. Occupations that employed more than 4 percent of the female labour force in at least one of the three decades represented, and those that employed primarily wage earners, were chosen for the table. Exceptions: occupations that employed less than 4 percent of all working women in one of the decades presented, but that showed a decline or increase across the three decades, were included to demonstrate change over time in occupations that were, at least at one point, significant. Other notes: in 1961, “Housekeeper” excluded workers in private households. Bookkeepers/cashiers and stenographers/typists were not included in the 1921 list of occupations in the census. Nurses and nurses-in-training were listed together in 1921; to preserve continuity I have done the same for 1941 and 1961. In 1921, there was no “Clerical” occupation group; office clerks were listed under “Unspecified Industry.” I have included them here, in the “Clerical” group. In every census, clerks and employees are also found scattered throughout all occupational groups, depending on their specific field. I have listed only the clerks described as office clerks and listed in the “Clerical” group, as opposed

Table 2.2: Gainfully Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations: Canada, 1921, 1941 and 1961

Occupation Group	Occupation	Total Employed (number)			Total Employed (percent of total female labour force)		
		1921	1941	1961	1921	1941	1961
<b>Trade:</b>	Sales clerks	35474	56646	133377	7.2	6.8	7.6
<b>Service (personal):</b>	Housekeepers	23167	46256	12220	4.7	5.6	0.7
	Servants	78118	148999	120392	15.9	17.9	6.8
<b>Service (professional):</b>	School teachers	49795	64465	118807	10.2	7.7	6.7
	Nurses	21162	38283	82012	4.3	4.6	4.6
<b>Clerical:</b>	Office clerks	18385	49841	165848	3.8	6.0	9.4
	Bookkeepers & cashiers	n/a	20924	98781	n/a	2.5	5.6
	Stenographers & typists	n/a	77882	209642	n/a	9.4	11.9
<b>Total:</b>	<b>Total, selected occupations</b>	<b>226101</b>	<b>503296</b>	<b>941079</b>	<b>46.1</b>	<b>60.4</b>	<b>53.3</b>
	<b>Total, female labour force</b>	<b>490150</b>	<b>832840</b>	<b>1766332</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Furthermore, while the occupations in Table 2.2 employed close to half of all women in the labour force, the same was not true for men. Of all men in the labour force (again, including wage earners and the self-employed) in Canada, 4 percent in 1921, 7.2 percent in 1941, and 8.4 percent in 1961, were employed in the occupations listed in Table 2.2.<sup>29</sup> Similarly, Courchane and Redish found that between 62 and 72 percent of women in the labour force worked in “traditionally female” occupations, as teachers, nurses, sales clerks, and food/hotel/domestic service workers, in both British Columbia and Canada between 1921 and 1986. However, less than 20 percent of men in the labour force worked in the same set of occupations in any decade. They concluded, “not only are men not concentrated in the same occupations as women, they are not concentrated in any small number of occupations at all.”<sup>30</sup> “Women’s work” was clearly not the same as “men’s work” in the Canadian labour market.

to those found in other industries. Sources for Table 2.2: *Census of Canada*, 1921, Volume 4, Table 4; 1941, Volume 7, Table 5; 1961, Catalogue 94-514, Series 3.1, Table 20.

<sup>29</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1921, Volume 4, Table 4; 1941, Volume 7, Table 5; 1961, Catalogue 94-514, Series 3.1, Table 20.

<sup>30</sup> Courchane and Redish, “Women in the Labour Force,” 151-152.

The notes provided in the published censuses make a few other telling assumptions about women's work. The 1931 notes state that any occupation "that has more than 17 p.c. females [17 percent being the average share of female employment in most jobs in 1931] has more than its share and may be said to lean to feminism."<sup>31</sup> Having made the first leap in logic, that of assuming that women could have had their choice in 1931 of any available occupation and that the resulting list of occupations, free of any real-world bias, comprehensively summed up feminine tasks, the notes further state that the list "enables us to ascertain the extent of, and the reasons for any tendency towards a feminine cast in occupations."<sup>32</sup> This seems to be a similarly unwise assumption. The jobs listed, which included cigarette makers, cooks, telephone operators, nurses, librarians and schoolteachers, reflected the jobs that were deemed feminine in 1931 but why these occupations have, over time, become associated with women rather than men requires a much more sophisticated gender analysis. The segregation of women "in specific industries and occupations characterized by low pay, low skill requirements, low productivity, and low prospects for advancement" was still occurring in 1971 in Canada.<sup>33</sup> Clerical work continued to employ a high number of women, and the jobs that had been notably feminine in 1921 and 1931 still employed a female work force 40 years later: the occupations of stenographers and typists, nurses and telephone operators were over 90 percent female. In 1971, women were "generally filling jobs similar to those held by women in 1941."<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 1, 279.*

<sup>32</sup> *Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 1, 279.*

<sup>33</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 20.

<sup>34</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 181.

The assignation of feminine skills to certain jobs has been persistent and as Hugh and Pat Armstrong suggest, the reasons for women's segregation in low paid "feminine jobs" are circular. Women enter the jobs available to them, which are low paying and demand few skills. The work, often isolated, dull and repetitive, "does not encourage commitment and permanency," nor does it develop women's skills or aspirations for higher paid or higher skilled work. When women are trapped in job "ghettos," the work itself becomes defined as "feminine."<sup>35</sup>

### **Female Self-Employment and Sex Segregation**

All women were segregated within the labour force, including self-employed women. Census data demonstrates that there were a limited number of occupations in which women were self-employed from 1901 to 1971, and furthermore, that many self-employed women in British Columbia and Canada, much like female wage earners, did not stray from the realm of acceptable women's work. Self-employed women were concentrated in work involving housekeeping, food preparation, sewing, and personal care, jobs that were in the Service and Manufacturing occupational groups (Table 2.3).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 180-182.

<sup>36</sup> Notes, Table 2.3: In 1921, data is incomplete because the published census did not provide detailed breakdowns by province or for all occupations. The data listed here is only for Canada, including British Columbia, and it is only available for selected occupations. Also in 1921: hotelkeepers included restaurant keepers. In 1951 and 1961, hotelkeepers were not listed, but there was a category titled "personal service, N.E.S. [not elsewhere specified], owners and managers" that I used as it would have included principally owners/managers in the hotel and restaurant industry. In 1961, real estate dealers were listed separately from "owners/managers/officials in finance, insurance, real estate." I combined them in order to include self-employed real estate agents with real estate dealers, many of whom were employees; this made 1961's data on real estate agents more compatible with earlier data. By 1971, more data was incompatible with earlier census data, making some occupations difficult to compare due to differences in occupational classifications. While I have provided 1971 figures, some occupations included are clearly not compatible with earlier data. See Appendix, 2.1-2.7, for source information for Table 2.3. Here, as elsewhere, data for 1901 is from the Canadian Families Project's five percent sample of the 1901 census.

Table 2.3: Self-Employment Rates (provided as number self-employed and as percent of total employed) Among Gainfully Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971

Occupation		1901		1921		1931		1941	
		Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed	Self-employed		
		(n.)	(%)	(n.)	(%)	(n.)	(%)	(n.)	(%)
<i>Agriculture:</i>									
Farmers	BC	11	91.7			880	100.0	852	100.0
	Canada	718	98.6	16090	100.0	18287	100.0	13211	100.0
<i>Manufacturing:</i>									
Dressmakers and Sewers	BC	15	53.6			453	53.0	374	51.0
	Canada	447	35.6	11664	70.2	6449	50.7	5429	53.5
<i>Transportation/Communication:</i>									
Chauffeurs, Taxi Drivers	BC	0	0			4	80.0	7	70.0
	Canada	0	0			2	28.6	10	18.9
<i>Trade/Finance:</i>									
Retail Store Owners <sup>37</sup>	BC	2	100.0			639	93.4	1037	90.3
	Canada	95	80.5	5764	92.4	5420	90.0	7610	88.5
Real Estate Agents	BC	0	0			33	78.6	75	77.3
	Canada	1	100.0			64	61.5	124	70.5
<i>Service (personal):</i>									
Lodging House Keepers	BC	11	100.0			1419	100.0	1738	100.0
	Canada	102	98.1	4810	100.0	17288	100.0	19375	100.0
Hotelkeepers	BC	4	100.0			79	78.2	122	79.2
	Canada	235	98.3	981	80.5	518	84.9	699	85.7
Barbers, Hairdressers	BC	1	100.0			315	48.0	458	48.3
	Canada	2	33.3	237	40.4	2906	50.9	4651	46.3
<i>Service (professional):</i>									
Musicians, Music Teachers	BC	1	25.0			343	79.8	295	71.4
	Canada	69	67.0	2844	66.0	2816	66.9	1917	53.1
<i>TOTAL, Selected Occupations</i>									
	BC	45	72.6			4165	82.1	4958	81.4
	Canada	1669	65.3	42390	85.0	53750	82.7	53026	80.3
<i>TOTAL, All Occupations</i>									
	BC	68	27.4	n/a	n/a	5585	12.8	6100	11.1
	Canada	2395	19.5	n/a	n/a	68102	11.0	62636	8.1

<sup>37</sup> Managers and dealers are included with store owners in census data; this explains why the category of "Retail Store Owner" is not entirely composed of the self-employed, as store managers were wage earners.

<i>Table 2.3, Continued:</i>		1951		1961		1971	
Occupation		Self-employed		Self-employed		Self-employed	
		(n.)	(%)	(n.)	(%)	(n.)	(%)
<i>Agriculture:</i>							
Farmers	BC	644	100.0	634	93.5	585	100.0
	Canada	7519	100.0	8388	97.0	7085	99.9
<i>Manufacturing:</i>							
Dressmakers and Sewers	BC	260	22.9	284	23.5	190	23.9
	Canada	4234	32.3	2714	19.0	1100	7.0
<i>Transportation/Communication:</i>							
Chauffeurs, Taxi Drivers	BC	11	16.7	19	23.8	15	12.0
	Canada	61	29.2	79	25.2	145	18.8
<i>Trade/Finance:</i>							
Retail Store Owners	BC	1803	82.3	1925	74.7	1595	28.7
	Canada	12754	81.4	15878	79.6	13320	34.7
Real Estate Agents	BC	109	52.4	151	22.4	5	0.6
	Canada	203	49.9	493	20.3	105	2.5
<i>Service (personal):</i>							
Lodging House Keepers	BC	864	100.0	1991	96.2	910	18.8
	Canada	5429	100.0	21372	94.7	5290	24.4
Hotelkeepers	BC	919	77.4	1399	71.8		
	Canada	6272	81.2	7894	75.7		
Barbers, Hairdressers	BC	437	48.2	723	36.1	750	20.4
	Canada	4973	50.0	8565	40.2	8940	28.0
<i>Service (professional):</i>							
Musicians, Music Teachers	BC	328	70.9	423	64.5	605	45.8
	Canada	1787	43.2	2273	37.0	2980	27.3
<b>TOTAL, Selected Occupations</b>	BC	<b>5375</b>	<b>70.2</b>	<b>7549</b>	<b>63.5</b>	<b>4655</b>	<b>26.2</b>
	Canada	<b>43232</b>	<b>67.4</b>	<b>67656</b>	<b>63.8</b>	<b>38965</b>	<b>29.8</b>
<b>TOTAL, All Occupations</b>	BC	<b>6472</b>	<b>6.6</b>	<b>9854</b>	<b>6.3</b>	<b>9665</b>	<b>3.1</b>
	Canada	<b>50250</b>	<b>4.7</b>	<b>84167</b>	<b>5.2</b>	<b>73055</b>	<b>2.8</b>

While the specific occupations of wage-earning women and self-employed women were not exactly the same, they were similarly clustered within a narrow range of occupational groups as a comparison of Tables 2.2 and 2.3 demonstrates. Self-employed women were grouped in three main occupational groups that wage-earning women were also clustered in, throughout the twentieth century: Manufacturing, Trade/Finance, and Service (professional and personal). Self-employed female farmers

were also found in high proportions in the category of Agriculture, an occupational group that did not employ a high percentage of wage-earning women. And, the Clerical category had low rates of self-employment for women despite employing increasingly larger numbers of female wage earners.

For the most part, the jobs in which self-employed women were “ghettoized,” to borrow the term used by Armstrong and Armstrong, were in the same occupational groups as those in which we usually find wage-earning women. Sex segregation, the “unwritten set of rules that distinguished ‘masculine’ from ‘feminine’ pursuits, proved as salient for female entrepreneurs as for their wage-earning counterparts.”<sup>38</sup> Wendy Gamber points out that women “were not evenly distributed within the universe of entrepreneurial occupations; rather, they congregated in particular types of businesses.”<sup>39</sup> In *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930*, she argues that women safeguarded their entrepreneurial positions as milliners and dressmakers by defending the femininity of their trades.<sup>40</sup>

Women may have “chosen” to work in feminized trades although arguably the choice was constrained by the limitations and “ghettoization” of women’s work. However, concern for preserving femininity did not necessarily limit women’s business success; it could become an advantage and a source of power in consumer advertising and marketing, the business industry, and local small businesses.<sup>41</sup> Some businesses,

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<sup>38</sup> Wendy Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 204.

<sup>39</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 203-204.

<sup>40</sup> Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 2. Similarly, Glenda Riley suggests that American women who pursued “jobs, careers, and business ventures” stayed within the realm of what was considered acceptable work for women. See Glenda Riley, *The Female Frontier: A Comparative View of Women on the Prairie and the Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988), 108.

<sup>41</sup> Kathy Peiss, “‘Vital Industry’ and Women’s Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 224.

particularly in the beauty industry, opened opportunities for women “by aligning commercial enterprise with the very ideals of femininity and beauty that had long justified women’s exclusion from most lines of work.”<sup>42</sup> The sex segregation that pushed women into a limited selection of businesses became the tool for their success in those businesses.

Some entrepreneurial occupations were indisputably women’s work and the gendered division of labour, which resulted in gendered divisions of occupational groups and of specific occupations, is reinforced in a Canadian context by Gabrielle Carrière’s 1946 publication *Careers for Women in Canada: A Practical Guide*. Carrière stated that careers open to women were strongly associated with feminine abilities and attributes – because, she intimated, women’s careers involved selling goods to women, or selling women’s goods. Her book was not limited to entrepreneurship but many of the proposed careers were entrepreneurial. Chapters separate women’s options into categories that include “On the Farm,” “Feeding Folk,” and “Dressing People.” Carrière steered women toward certain types of proprietorship: “Many lines of trade are particularly suited to women.... and while some of these may be carried on by men, women are practically always engaged to serve the clientele.” She suggested “women’s lingerie, babies’ wear, women’s dresses, hats and coats, novelties and smallwares, laces, linens and knitted goods.”<sup>43</sup> Potential female entrepreneurs were coached about what kinds of businesses were suitable for women, and they were therefore prey to a similar kind of occupational sex-typing as that faced by wage-earning women. Carrière suggested that some lines of

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<sup>42</sup> Kathy Peiss, “On Beauty...and the History of Business,” Philip Scranton, ed., *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 12.

<sup>43</sup> Gabrielle Carrière, *Careers for Women in Canada: A Practical Guide* (Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Limited, 1946), 134.

trade were as well suited to women as men, such as groceries, restaurants, gift shops, book stores and flower shops, but most of the work that she recommended in 1946 was in female-typed occupations and occupational categories.<sup>44</sup>

Gamber cautions that the reason for sex-segregation among self-employed women was not necessarily that they capitalized on their domestic (and already sex-typed) skills, such as cooking, cleaning, washing and housekeeping.<sup>45</sup> However, as she points out, women entrepreneurs have long clustered in these occupations. “More than 80 percent of the women listed in the business pages of the *Boston Directory* of 1876 prepared food, made clothing, or offered lodging... This pattern was repeated again and again in cities and towns across the nation.”<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the same pattern appears in Carrière’s 1946 Canadian publication: the image of the enterprising woman was associated with domestic, feminized trades.

Some businesswomen in British Columbia, both before and after 1946, pursued the lines of trade recommended by Carrière. British Columbia business directories show women selling ladies’ and children’s wear and operating bakeries, tea rooms, and dressmaking shops. In 1918, Mrs. Butler operated the Kelowna Steam Laundry, Mrs. St. Clair ran a millinery shop in Kamloops, and Miss J. Latrass was listed as “proprietress” of the Allendale Lunch and Tea Room in Victoria.<sup>47</sup> In the 1920s, Mima Brown ran a florist’s shop in Vancouver and in 1948 Mrs. Margaret Bell, corsetiere, operated in Victoria; Mrs. Henderson owned Olive’s Beauty Salon in Victoria in 1961.<sup>48</sup> These

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<sup>44</sup> Carrière, *Careers for Women*, 134.

<sup>45</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 209. See also Gamber, *The Female Economy*, for a lengthier examination of sex-typing in the sewing trades.

<sup>46</sup> Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise,” 204.

<sup>47</sup> *Wrigley’s British Columbia Directory, 1918* (Vancouver: Wrigley Directories Ltd., 1918).

<sup>48</sup> See Chapter Three, Table 3.3: these women were all members of the Victoria and Vancouver Business and Professional Women’s Clubs.

businesswomen capitalized on traditionally feminine tasks and most of their clientele was also female.

While Carriere did not suggest it, other avenues of female entrepreneurship included operating girls' schools, nursing homes, and lying-in hospitals, private hospitals dedicated to childbirth. In Duncan, Miss Norah Denny opened Queen Margaret's School for Girls in 1921, in partnership with Miss Dorothy Geoghegan, and Miss Jessie Gordon founded Crofton House in 1901 in Vancouver.<sup>49</sup> As Jean Barman has noted, operating a girl's school was a "woman-like" occupation because it "encouraged the nurturing attributes which young women were perceived to need in order to be good wives and mothers." And for the female headmistresses, the "qualities of refinement and gentility and deference associated with being a woman" could be well utilized in running a school for girls: their success in business did not compromise their success as "proper" women.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, female owners of nursing homes, private maternity hospitals and even self-employed midwives capitalized on what had had traditionally been women's work.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> On Denny and Geoghegan, see *Who's Who in British Columbia, 1937-38-39* (Vancouver: S.M. Carter, 1939), 25-26. See also Carolyn Gossage, *A Question of Privilege: Canada's Independent Schools* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Ltd., 1977), 251-253. On Jessie Gordon, see Gossage, *A Question of Privilege*, 263-264, and Barman, "Vancouver's Forgotten Entrepreneurs," 22. Barman also discusses other female school owners in the article, and Gossage provides more detailed histories of a number of female-owned private schools in British Columbia.

<sup>50</sup> As Barman also notes, the qualities necessary for women's success as private school owners were the antithesis of the crafty business strategies associated with male entrepreneurship. Barman, "Vancouver's Forgotten Entrepreneurs," 21-22.

<sup>51</sup> Private maternity homes or hospitals were available in early twentieth-century British Columbia but had almost disappeared by 1939, according to Veronica Strong-Boag and Kathryn McPherson. Similarly, midwives persisted as alternatives to the increasingly male-dominated male spheres of medicine and childbirth in the 1920s: between 1925 and 1929, Vancouver recorded 1,743 deliveries by midwives out of a total of 19,730 births. See Veronica Strong-Boag and Kathryn McPherson, "The Confinement of Women: Childbirth and Hospitalization in Vancouver, 1919-1939," *BC Studies* 69-70 (Spring-Summer 1986): 156-158.

Perhaps the more important point to be made is that even if self-employed women capitalized on “domestic” skills (and I argue that they did) and participated in “womanly” trades such as sewing clothing or keeping house, they were in business. As David Burley discusses at length in his work on self-employment and social mobility in mid-Victorian Ontario, self-employment connoted independence *and* manliness. Seeking out independence through self-employment was valued as a “masculine” condition.<sup>52</sup>

While Burley’s book is a case study of one Ontario town in the mid-1800s, the link between self-employment and manliness did not disappear in the twentieth century. While women participated to a large degree in womanly trades and for many, operating a business meant capitalizing on “womanly” domestic skills, businessmen vastly outnumbered businesswomen in all but a few occupations, and businesswomen were working in a predominantly male work world. Gamber also observes that female proprietors “defied imperatives of gender.” That they were self-employed at all was a form of independence, something usually reserved for men.<sup>53</sup> Female entrepreneurs challenged “woman’s place,” even if they did so within the confines of a “feminine pursuit.”<sup>54</sup>

Some businesswomen challenged woman’s place doubly, by being in business at all *and* by being in types of business that men dominated. While many self-employed women worked in particularly feminine occupations, self-employed women were far more likely to work in occupations dominated by men than were wage-earning women (Tables 2.4 and 2.5). The only occupations with high female self-employment that were

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<sup>52</sup> David Burley, *A Particular Condition in Life: Self-Employment and Social Mobility in Mid-Victorian Brantford, Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994), 236. See also the introduction, which elaborates on the connection between entrepreneurship and masculinity.

<sup>53</sup> Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 6.

<sup>54</sup> Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 20.

overwhelmingly feminine in composition were seamstresses, lodging house keepers, and particular types of stores within retail trade. Many entrepreneurial women worked in male-dominated business worlds rather than female-dominated work worlds, and women such as Wendy McDonald successfully ran businesses that were not at all associated with femininity. McDonald, widowed in 1950, took over ownership of B.C. Bearings, her husband's company; she had remarried, and found herself widowed, two more times by 1967. McDonald, with 10 children from her three marriages, continued to successfully operate the bearings company until 1998 when her children took over the leadership of the company.<sup>55</sup>

### **Female Self-Employment, 1901 to 1971: Women's Work in a Man's World**

Despite exceptional female entrepreneurs who realized unusual prominence in a single occupation, such as McDonald, most businesswomen were consistently found in just six entrepreneurial occupations from 1901 to 1971 in British Columbia and Canada. While some of these jobs gained or lost prominence as entrepreneurial pursuits over the twentieth century, 60 to 80 percent of all self-employed women worked as farmers, seamstresses/dressmakers, retail store owners, musicians/music teachers, lodging house keepers, and hairdressers/barbers (Table 2.4).<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> David Mitchell and Shari Graydon, eds., *British Columbia's Business Leaders of the Century* (Vancouver: BIV Special Publications, Quebecor Printing, 1999): 96-97. Other women also took over businesses that had been begun and built up by their husbands. Wanda Ziegler's husband had opened Ziegler Chocolate Shops in 1921 in Vancouver; there were three shops when he died in 1923, and his widow continued to run the business and expanded the store to 11 chains. While selling chocolate was not a particularly 'masculine' job, the expansion and prominence of the business was unusual for a female entrepreneur. Wanda Ziegler retired in 1956 and the Ziegler Chocolate Shops closed. See Chuck Davis, ed., *The Greater Vancouver Book: An Urban Encyclopaedia* (Surrey, BC: The Linkman Press, 1997), 844.

<sup>56</sup> In 1971 the percentage of self-employed women working in one of these six occupations was slightly lower, 48 percent in British Columbia and 53 percent in Canada. In 1971 occupations were reclassified and the data is not entirely compatible with earlier decades, which is part of the reason for the difference. There were also high rates of "not stated" workers in the 1971 census data. Even considering the problems with using the data, these six prominent occupations still captured half of all self-employed women in British Columbia and Canada in 1971. The only other year/region in which less than 60 percent of self-

*Table 2.4: Self-Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations, as a Percentage of Total Female Self-Employment: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971*

Occupational Category	Occupation		1901	1921*	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971
<b>Agriculture:</b>	Farmers	BC	16.2		15.8	14.0	10.0	6.4	6.1
		Canada	28.3	31.4	26.9	21.1	15.0	10.0	9.7
<b>Manufacturing:</b>	Dressmakers, Sewers	BC	22.1		8.1	6.1	4.0	2.9	2.0
		Canada	17.6	22.8	9.5	8.7	8.4	3.2	1.5
<b>Trade/Finance:</b>	Retail Store Owners <sup>57</sup>	BC	2.9		11.4	17.0	27.9	19.5	16.5
		Canada	3.8	11.2	8	12.1	25.4	18.9	18.2
<b>Service (personal):</b>	Lodging House Keepers	BC	16.2		25.4	28.5	13.3	20.2	9.4
		Canada	4.0	9.4	25.4	30.9	10.8	25.4	7.2
	Barber, Hairdressers	BC	1.5		5.6	7.5	6.8	7.3	7.8
		Canada	0.1	.5	4.3	7.4	9.9	10.2	12.2
<b>Service (professional):</b>	Music Teachers	BC	1.5		6.1	4.8	5.1	4.3	6.3
		Canada	2.7	5.6	4.1	3.1	3.6	2.7	4.1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	BC	<b>60.3</b>		<b>72.4</b>	<b>77.9</b>	<b>67.1</b>	<b>60.6</b>	<b>48.1</b>
		Canada	<b>56.6</b>	<b>80.8</b>	<b>78.2</b>	<b>83.3</b>	<b>73.1</b>	<b>70.4</b>	<b>52.9</b>

Dressmaking and keeping a lodging house were the only entrepreneurial occupations of the six that were distinctly feminine: the proportion of women employed in these two occupations was far greater than that of men (see Table 2.5). Of the other four, the ratio of men to women in the occupation of musician/music teacher was almost even. Barbers and hairdressers were far more likely to be male than female in the first half of the twentieth century, although by 1961, over 50 percent of barbers/hairdressers were women in British Columbia and Canada.<sup>58</sup> Farming and retail enterprises were

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employed women worked in one of the six occupations listed in Table 2.4 was Canada in 1901. This is partly because I did not include milliners and they formed a reasonably large percentage of all female self-employment in the early twentieth century, in Canada more so than in British Columbia. While milliners were important in the realm of female self-employment in the early decades of the twentieth century they did not remain so. I therefore did not include them here, as they formed a small and rapidly declining proportion of all self-employed women, particularly after 1921.

<sup>57</sup> Women's prominence in retail store ownership increases steadily until 1951 when the numbers decrease again, a time period in which larger department stores were undoubtedly eclipsing smaller independent businesses; this, more than the gender of the retailers, is likely what led to the decline seen in retail store ownership for women in this table.

<sup>58</sup> Because 'barbers and hairdressers' were listed together in the census data, it is difficult to assess whether they were two occupations, both dominated by men, and then after 1961, both dominated by women, or whether the shift from a more masculine to a more feminine cast in this occupation is due to an increase in hairdressers (women cutting women's hair) and a decrease in barbers (men cutting men's hair).

dominated by men, and yet they employed significant proportions of all entrepreneurial women in British Columbia and in Canada.

*Table 2.5: Male and Female Share(Percentage) of Total Employment in Selected Occupations: British Columbia and Canada, 1921, 1941, and 1961<sup>59</sup>*

Occupation:		1921		1941		1961	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1 Farmers	BC	97.2	2.8	96.5	3.5	94.7	5.3
	Canada	97.5	2.5	97.9	2.1	97.8	2.2
2 Dressmakers, Sewers	BC	0	100.0	0	100.0	2.1	97.9
	Canada	0	100.0	0	100.0	4.4	95.6
3 Chauffeurs, Taxi Drivers	BC	100.0	0	98.5	1.5	94.4	5.6
	Canada	99.9	0.1	99.6	0.5	98.5	1.5
4 Retail Store Owners	BC	94.7	5.4	86.7	13.3	82.2	17.9
	Canada	93.7	6.3	91.5	8.5	85.2	14.9
5 Real Estate Agents	BC	97.5	2.5	90.1	9.9	85.3	14.7
	Canada	99.0	1.0	94.9	5.1	88.1	11.9
6 Lodging House Keepers	BC	41.5	58.5	21.2	78.8	10.8	89.2
	Canada	16.9	83.1	8.2	91.8	3.5	96.5
7 Hotelkeepers	BC	89.0	11.1	81.5	18.5	67.0	33.0
	Canada	89.0	11.0	86.6	13.4	75.0	25.0
8 Barbers, Hairdressers	BC	89.6	10.4	53.3	46.8	43.4	56.6
	Canada	95.2	4.8	57.9	42.1	44.8	55.2
9 Musicians, Music Teachers	BC	51.9	48.1	52.1	47.9	37.8	63.2
	Canada	41.9	58.1	48.8	51.2	39.9	60.2
10 Clothing, textile products	BC	42.7	57.3	23.1	76.9	35.2	64.9
	Canada	33.8	66.2	31.0	69.0	43.0	57.0
11 Sales clerks	BC	73.9	26.1	57.0	43.0	38.8	61.2
	Canada	67.3	32.7	59.1	40.9	42.3	57.7
12 School teachers	BC	24.7	75.3	36.1	63.9	39.9	60.1
	Canada	17.8	82.2	24.8	75.2	28.3	71.7
13 Nurses	BC	3.7	96.3	0.6	99.4	5.9	94.1
	Canada	0.8	99.2	0.6	99.4	3.5	96.5
14 Housekeepers	BC	19.4	80.6	17.0	83.0	37.6	62.4
	Canada	3.1	96.9	4.3	95.7	23.0	77.0
15 Servants	BC	27.7	72.3	11.6	88.4	14.9	85.1
	Canada	5.8	94.2	4.4	95.6	11.7	88.3

The 1961 census suggests that the increase in the proportion of female hairdressers and barbers was “due to the faster rate of increase of female hairdressers rather than the entry of females into the occupation of barber,” implying that barbers were predominantly male and hairdressers, female. Even so, the field of hair cutting, regardless of the gender of the customer, was clearly dominated by men in the first half of the century, whereas by 1961 proportionately more women than men were listed as barbers and hairdressers, combined. See: *Census of Canada, 1961, Volume 7, Part 1, Catalogue 99-522, 12.21.*

<sup>59</sup> In Table 2.5, occupations 1 through 9 feature higher-than-average rates of female self-employment; occupations 10 through 18 feature high rates of female employment, but generally employ wage earners.

16 Bookkeepers, cashiers	<b>BC</b>	n/g	n/g	46.5	53.5	31.0	69.0
	<b>Canada</b>	n/g	n/g	40.7	59.3	38.1	61.9
17 Stenographer-typists	<b>BC</b>	n/g	n/g	3.3	96.7	2.5	97.5
	<b>Canada</b>	n/g	n/g	4.2	95.8	3.3	96.7
18 Office clerks	<b>BC</b>	55.0	45.0	76.4	23.7	42.4	57.6
	<b>Canada</b>	44.6	55.4	68.3	31.7	49.3	50.7

In the occupational category of Agriculture, farming was the only avenue for female self-employment. The percentage of all female entrepreneurs who were farmers declined steadily between 1901 and 1971 (Table 2.4) but farming was the only occupation in Agriculture in which women were occupied, and Table 2.3 shows that in most of the decades under study for which data is available, 90 to 100 percent of female farmers were self-employed. Despite the fact that men have always dominated the occupation, farming employed significant numbers of female entrepreneurs both in British Columbia and in Canada from 1901 to 1971.

Much of the work performed on farms was, however, sex-typed, and a wide range of literature dealing with women's work on farms documents that women's and men's farm labour was often delineated by gender.<sup>60</sup> Many women in Canada listed in the census as unemployed were in fact farmers' wives, or other unpaid family workers in farm families. They performed work that has been sex-typed as "feminine" labour: farmers' wives cooked, cleaned house, laundered, and sometimes oversaw egg, butter

<sup>60</sup> See, for instance, Nancy Grey Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); and Mary Neth, *Preserving the Family Farm: Women, Community, and the Foundations of Agribusiness in the Midwest, 1900-1940* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995). In a Canadian context see Marjorie Griffin Cohen, *Women's Work, Markets, and Economic Development in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Mary Kinnear, "Do You Want Your Daughter to Marry a Farmer?: Women's Work on the Farm, 1922," D. H. Akenson, ed., *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, Volume VI (Gananoque, Ontario: Langdale, 1988), 137-153; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Pulling in Double Harness or Hauling a Double Load: Women, Work and Feminism on the Canadian Prairie," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 21, 3 (1986): 32-52.

and milk production, while male farmers were responsible for all other outdoor farm labour.<sup>61</sup>

Most of these women were not self-employed as farmers: those that were make up a small minority of all farmers in the census. Whether or not female farmers actually farmed is another question; many had assistance from hired help or from sons and daughters but it is difficult to know exactly which tasks may have been performed by female farm owners.<sup>62</sup> Regardless, they were independent women who asserted their independence through their self-employment, in an occupation that was notably masculine. Female farmers challenged “woman’s place” by their status as businesswomen and by the nature of their stated occupation. While women in rural areas had few options if they wanted to enter the labour force, they nonetheless chose self-employment over remarriage (which would have meant they were farmer’s wives again, rather than farmers in their own right), relocating into urban areas to find work, or moving into their children’s homes as dependents.

While farming was overwhelmingly male-dominated, women seem to have been more prominent in certain kinds of farming. In 1913, the *Colonist* newspaper complained when Miss Binnie-Clark, a well-known British promoter of female emigration, claimed that a woman with five hundred dollars could buy five acres of land near Victoria, raise fruit and vegetables, keep cows, and develop substantial capital over twenty years of farming. According to the *Colonist*, land could not be purchased for that price and a woman starting out would need additional capital to build a house and farm

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<sup>61</sup> Osterud argues that farm tasks were gender-specific, but that men and women switched roles when necessary. A sense of partnership pervades her discussion of rural family economies: see Osterud, *Bonds of Community*. See also Virginia E. McCormick, “Butter and Egg Business: Implications From the Records of a Nineteenth-Century Farm Wife,” *Ohio History* 100 (Winter/Spring 1991): 57-67.

<sup>62</sup> The link between female farmers and widowhood, and the issue of how much of their own farm labour self-employed female farmers may actually have done, is also discussed in Chapter Five.

buildings. The newspaper did not, however, deny that women could potentially farm on their own.<sup>63</sup> City directories between 1901 and 1920 illustrate women's prominence in beekeeping, poultry, and dairy farming, while female-run cattle ranches and large mixed operations seem were less prominent. Women in the Kootenay region operated fruit farms, usually after widowhood, while even farmers' wives who were not entrepreneurs were invariably responsible for tending poultry and treated the chickens as their own enterprise.<sup>64</sup>

Dressmakers and seamstresses were the only women in the Manufacturing occupation group with high rates of female self-employment (Table 2.3). Women dominated the sewing occupations of seamstress and dressmaker.<sup>65</sup> Dressmaking and most other sewing jobs were indisputably sex-typed as feminine work, whether the women were wage earners or self-employed.<sup>66</sup> But there was an important exception within the sewing occupations. While women dominated all other sewing occupations, men dominated the occupation of tailor. In most census decades under study, at least 80 percent of tailors were male. In terms of numbers of people employed, there were 90 "tailoresses" (the title used in the census for female tailors) in British Columbia, and

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<sup>63</sup> *The Colonist*, May 8, 1913.

<sup>64</sup> See *Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory, 1900-1907*; *Wrigley's British Columbia Directory, 1918, 1922*; Joan Lang, *Lost Orchards: Vanishing Fruit Farms of the West Kootenay* (Canada: Ward Creek Press, 2003), 46. See also Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 154.

<sup>65</sup> In 1921, 1951 and 1961, dressmakers and seamstresses were listed in the census together, as one occupation. In 1931, dressmakers were listed separately from sewers and seamstresses, but I combined them to make the data compatible with data in other decades. In 1941, seamstress was not listed as an occupation, but sewers and dressmakers were listed as one occupation. Thus, for the most part, these three occupations – dressmaker, seamstress, and sewer – were treated as one occupation by the census and so I have combined them in my data as well. After 1931, the census data separated factory workers from workers who were not in factories. I have used only the sewing occupations that were not in factories, as they were the only occupations with higher rates of self-employment. As would be expected, sewers in factories were overwhelmingly employees.

<sup>66</sup> I have not included female milliners in this discussion of women in the sewing trades because even though milliners had high rates of self-employment, the number of women working as milliners, compared to those working as seamstresses or dressmakers, was very low.

1479 in the rest of the country, in 1931. In the same year, female dressmakers and seamstresses numbered 854 in British Columbia and over 12 000 in the rest of Canada.

Moreover, tailoresses were far more likely to be employees than were tailors: less than 10 percent of female tailors in British Columbia were self-employed in most census decades, compared to a self-employment rate of close to 50 percent for male tailors.<sup>67</sup> The occupation of tailor was sex-typed as masculine, partly because tailors sewed men's clothes, while many other sewing occupations were considered women's work in part because they involved sewing for other women. Sewing occupations were clearly demarcated by gendered ideas of women's work and men's work.<sup>68</sup>

Self-employed women dominated the dressmaking/seamstress occupations at the beginning of the twentieth century. The relative importance of sewing occupations for women in the labour force declined, however, over the twentieth century and the entrepreneurial nature of these occupations declined as well, due to an increase in ready-made clothing, mostly manufactured elsewhere. The percentage of *all* women in the labour force in British Columbia and the rest of Canada who worked as dressmakers, seamstresses or sewers declined over the period of study which, as Table 2.4 demonstrates, had an unmistakable impact on female self-employment: 22 percent of all self-employed women in British Columbia, and 17.6 percent in the rest of the country, were self-employed in sewing occupations in 1901. By 1971, 2 percent of all self-

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<sup>67</sup> In the rest of Canada the situation was similar although the self-employment rate for male tailors was closer to 30 percent, a little lower than in British Columbia. Helena Gutteridge was a wage-earning female tailor, or "tailoress," in Vancouver in 1911 but by 1918 the trade was suffering heavy unemployment and deskilling; she had moved down in the ranks from tailor to machine-operated garment work by 1918. Her biographer notes that the sewing industry in general was suffering from deskilling and was in decline, for men and for women. See Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 136-138.

<sup>68</sup> For a more detailed gender analysis of 'work' in the sewing trades in particular, see Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy*, and Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect*.

employed women in British Columbia, and 1.5 percent in Canada, were self-employed as dressmakers or seamstresses.

In Trade and Finance, female entrepreneurs operated retail stores and, unlike farming and sewing, in which female self-employment decreased over the twentieth century, the percentage of women entrepreneurs who owned retail stores increased over the first half of the twentieth century (Table 2.4). In 1951, a greater proportion of all self-employed women worked in retail than in any other type of occupation, in British Columbia or in Canada. While the proportion of all self-employed female retailers decreased in 1961 and 1971, shopkeeping was still the second most significant occupation among female entrepreneurs in 1961, and by 1971 owning a retail store was again the most prominent occupation for female entrepreneurs in British Columbia and Canada.<sup>69</sup>

While female retailers were significant in number as a proportion of female entrepreneurs, shopkeeping was a profession dominated by male retailers, as Table 2.5 makes clear. The proportion of all retail store owners who were women did increase steadily over the twentieth century but many more men owned retail stores than women. Women shopkeepers worked in a male-dominated field, but their individual stores were in trades that were sex-typed as feminine. As David Monod points out, women operated stores in areas in which “women’s domestic role was thought to have given them a

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<sup>69</sup> Again, I would caution that there is some difficulty with comparing the 1971 census data to earlier census years as the occupational classifications changed considerably. The larger problem with comparisons, however, is more apparent in Table 2.3. The total number of women occupied in retail trade was still high in 1971 (in British Columbia and Canada) but because the 1971 census lumped wage-earning managers and supervisors together with owners under one occupational title, the rate of self-employment in the occupation appears much lower in 1971 than in earlier census years. If retail store owners had been separated from supervisors and managers, the number of women listed as employed in “retail trade” would have been lower but the rate of self-employment for that group of women would of course have been higher.

certain ‘natural’ proclivity: groceries and women’s and children’s clothing. It was the constricting influence of the normative that kept all but a few women from moving beyond their accepted sphere.”<sup>70</sup> Despite women’s increased participation in shopkeeping as the twentieth century advanced, they “remained occupationally sex-typed, accepted as, and accepting of, a presence in trades geared to relatively low-cost frivolities – hairdressing, stationary, millinery, and fancy goods – yet all but barred from such big-ticket items as furniture or such sensitive ones as drugs.”<sup>71</sup> This gender segregation is evident in British Columbia business directories of the early twentieth century; Mrs. Vigor’s “Fancy Goods” shop in 1901 Victoria, and Mrs. Clark’s crockery and glassware business in Vancouver, were typical examples of female-run businesses, while hardware stores and large retail operations were dominated by men.<sup>72</sup> Women were largely to be found running gift shops, hat shops, and women’s clothing stores.<sup>73</sup>

In 1921, the only stores in the province with more than a few female owners were women’s clothing, dry goods, grocery, confectionery (bread and pastry), and general stores. By contrast, men operated stores of more than 25 types, including drug stores, men’s clothing, hardware, jewellery, livestock, lumber, and feed stores. Even in the more female-friendly grocery, dry goods, confectionery and general stores, there were more male than female owners: the only operation with more female than male retail owners was women’s clothing stores.<sup>74</sup> In 1931, 44 percent of all female proprietors in British Columbia retail stores worked with food, most in either

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<sup>70</sup> David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 46.

<sup>71</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 46.

<sup>72</sup> *Henderson’s British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory* (Victoria and Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1901).

<sup>73</sup> See Chapter Three, Table 3.3.

<sup>74</sup> *Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 4, Table 4.*

confectionery or grocery stores. The only retail operations with more female than male proprietors in 1931 were women's clothing, millinery, children's clothing, and tea rooms.<sup>75</sup> The situation was the same elsewhere in Canada, and it was the same in 1941 in British Columbia and in the rest of the country.<sup>76</sup>

By 1961, little had changed: 90 percent of female shopkeepers sold food, women's clothing, flowers, books and jewellery. In British Columbia 38 percent of female retail proprietors owned grocery stores; 8 percent owned general stores; 27 percent owned apparel and shoe stores (most were women's clothing stores); and another 17 percent owned small shops, a category composed mainly of florists' shops, book and stationery stores, and jewellery stores. The situation in Canada was much the same although slightly more female shopkeepers owned food and grocery stores (42 percent and 11 percent, respectively) and slightly fewer owned small shops (11 percent) in Canada compared to British Columbia.<sup>77</sup>

However, women in business were enough of a rarity that even if they sold women's goods or sold goods to a chiefly female clientele, they could not help but be surrounded by businessmen. In that sense, just by choosing entrepreneurship they had already moved beyond what Monod called their "accepted sphere," or what Gamber referred to as the "female economy."<sup>78</sup> Although her clientele could be entirely female, a woman running a store of any kind in a town of any size would have been physically surrounded by other businesspeople – mostly men. Self-employed women selling "low-cost frivolities" or other items that had come to be associated with women were,

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<sup>75</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 10, Table 2A.

<sup>76</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 10, Table 5.

<sup>77</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 3.2, Catalogue 94-523, Table 9 and Catalogue 94-526, Table 9.

<sup>78</sup> See Monod, *Store Wars*, 46 and Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 4.

nonetheless, more likely to be working alongside other businesspeople than alongside wage-earning women or other self-employed women. Gender was a determining factor in what kinds of occupations were open to women who sought self-employment but self-employed women and men were not segregated by occupation in quite the same manner as were wage-earning women and men. It was impossible for businesswomen who owned retail stores to operate in an entirely feminine work culture, if only because self-employed women were a relative rarity in the Canadian labour force in the period under study.

Self-employed women were also consistently found from 1901 to 1971 in the Service category. The occupation of musician or music teacher (they were listed as one occupation in the census) was categorized as professional service. The occupation of musician/music teacher was not particularly feminine or masculine, as Table 2.5 shows. If the two jobs had been separately listed in the census a gender difference might have appeared, but it is not possible to compare the number of male to female music teachers or the number of male to female musicians because the data does not list the proportion of musicians to music teachers.

An examination of newspaper advertisements in British Columbia suggests that single women dominated the occupation of music teacher. A typical example was Miss Margaret Marshall of Vancouver, who advertised in 1912 that she was a “teacher of piano; young pupils a specialty.”<sup>79</sup> Miss Hazel Kirk offered instruction in piano and violin in the *Vancouver Sun* in 1920.<sup>80</sup> Single women placed most of the classified advertisements offering musical instruction in Vancouver and Victoria newspapers, but

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<sup>79</sup> *Vancouver Sun*, May 21, 1912, 15.

<sup>80</sup> *Vancouver Sun*, March 3, 1920, 13.

the advertisements were most plentiful between 1901 and 1920. By 1940, fewer women, single or otherwise, were seeking students through classified advertisements. Furthermore, women were less inclined to state their marital status in advertisements by the 1940s. In Victoria's *Daily Colonist* in 1945, two women, Florence Gunn and Catherine Brown, both offered music lessons in the classified columns, but neither stated their marital status.<sup>81</sup>

Some men – although not as many men as women – advertised themselves as music teachers in the classified columns but of course their marital status is impossible to ascertain. It is also possible that proportionately, more women than men placed advertisements as a way to seek out pupils and that in reality, women and men worked in roughly equal numbers as both musicians and as music teachers. The classified columns do not accurately portray the number, or gender, of musicians or music teachers in the province and the census combination of the two occupations makes this difficult to unravel. But British Columbia directories provide numerous examples of women working as music and voice teachers, and almost no examples of male music teachers; the occupation was certainly female-dominated.

The occupation of lodging house keeper, in which a high number of self-employed women could be found from 1901 to 1971, fell into the subcategory of personal service. Almost all the women running lodging and boarding houses were entrepreneurs, as Table 2.3 shows, and it was sex-typed as “feminine” work, incorporating domestic tasks such as doing laundry, cleaning, and cooking. Female lodging house keepers are a significant part of the story of female entrepreneurship: running a lodging house was the only entrepreneurial occupation dominated by women

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<sup>81</sup> *The Daily Colonist*, April 20, 1945, 12.

that continued to employ large numbers of female entrepreneurs throughout the century. It was an easy business for women to enter because it was run out of the home, and it required manual labour and extra room(s) but little financial investment. Women could also operate boarding houses while looking after children.<sup>82</sup>

The share of all self-employed women who operated lodging houses was high for most of the twentieth century, but it was especially high – between 20 and 30 percent in both British Columbia and the rest of Canada – in 1931, 1941, and 1961, as Table 2.4 demonstrates. The 1931 census notes make mention of the “marked growth” in the number of lodging house keepers in Canada between 1921 and 1931 and account for it in two ways. First, a “considerable number of...women were forced into the ranks of the gainfully employed through economic necessity, their husbands being unemployed...”<sup>83</sup> In particular, wives “whose husbands’ earnings had been greatly reduced owing to prolonged unemployment...probably were forced by household ties to take up occupations that could be carried on in the home.”<sup>84</sup> The depression led to increased female employment in certain occupations. As lodging house keepers, women continued to do the same tasks but now they were doing them for paying lodgers and boarders rather than just for family members. In times of high male unemployment, women’s unpaid work could become paid work.

The second reason for the steep increase in the number of lodging house keepers between 1921 and 1931 was a “change made in the 1931 Census in the definition of the

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<sup>82</sup> Note: lodging houses provided rooms only, while boarding houses also provided food. I combined the two in this and in subsequent discussions, since they share many characteristics and since the two terms were often used interchangeably in census data and in other sources. I rely primarily on the term boarding house keeper, although both terms do appear.

<sup>83</sup> *Census of Canada, 1931*, Volume 13, 79.

<sup>84</sup> *Census of Canada, 1931*, Volume 13, 85.

class ‘lodging and boarding house keepers’.”<sup>85</sup> In general, the manner in which lodging and boarding housekeepers were defined and counted in the census was highly variable. While the number of self-employed women who ran lodging or boarding houses was very high in most decades, the 1951 *Census of Canada* records unusually low numbers of female lodging house keepers in both British Columbia and Canada (Table 2.3). This peculiarity is also clear in Table 2.4: in 1951, self-employed lodging house keepers make up a relatively low percentage of all female entrepreneurs in British Columbia and in Canada, compared to their prominence in the arena of self-employment in 1941 and 1961.<sup>86</sup>

The difficulties with compatibility appear again in 1971, when the percentage of all female entrepreneurs who were lodging or boarding house keepers was also low. In 1971, lodging or boarding house keepers were not listed as an occupation, although managers and supervisors in “lodging accommodations” were listed, and this was the occupation that I used to describe lodging house keepers in 1971. Using the 1971 census, in which definitions and occupational classifications differed significantly for some jobs, poses some problems as this data demonstrates. However, it was also the case that boarding houses were not a popular choice of housing by 1971. Most people preferred, and had access to, more private forms of housing such as apartments in buildings constructed in the post-World War Two era.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 13, 79.

<sup>86</sup> I could not find any specific references to the changes made in how boarding or lodging house keepers were classified between 1931 and 1961 that would explain the low numbers in 1951.

<sup>87</sup> Robert Bothwell notes that in Ontario in 1941, two-thirds of Ontarians still lived in single homes but “in contrast to previous decades, apartments were gaining in favour.” He states that this is related to the fact that almost 30 percent of Ontarians moved between 1939 and 1941. See Robert Bothwell, *A Short History of Ontario* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1986), 150. For additional references to the post-war housing crisis and the subsequent construction of both suburban housing developments and high-rise apartment buildings, see Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F. J. Artibise, eds., *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban and Social*

As with musicians/music teachers, the occupations of hairdresser and barber were combined in the published census data but unlike musicians and music teachers, the occupation names described the same occupation. The different titles generally referred to the gender of the hairdresser: women were hairdressers, dressing or cutting women's hair, while men were barbers, cutting men's hair. Fewer than 3 percent of female entrepreneurs worked as hairdressers in the first three decades of the twentieth century (Table 2.4). Nevertheless, unlike most other entrepreneurial occupations, which declined in significance over the twentieth century, the job captured an increasing share of total female self-employment in British Columbia and in Canada over the twentieth century. Moreover, self-employment rates within the occupation of hairdresser remained very high for most of the period under study and the importance of self-employed hairdressers as a percentage of all self-employed women in the labour force actually rose.

The 1941 *Census of Canada* noted the phenomenal growth in the number of hairdressers (wage-earning and self-employed) between 1921 and 1941.<sup>88</sup> The percentage of the total female labour force in Canada (in this case *including* British Columbia) employed as hairdressers increased from 0.1 percent in 1921 to 1.2 percent in 1941.<sup>89</sup> A steady increase also occurred in the percentage of all self-employed women who were self-employed as hairdressers in Canada between 1901 and 1971 (Table 2.4).

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*History* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991). Essays in this collection also note the development of "City Beautiful" and urban reform movements after the First World War: reformers' concerns about filth and poor health in over-crowded urban tenements prompted housing reform and inspired new housing measures aimed at improving public health.

<sup>88</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 330.

<sup>89</sup> This is calculated from the data presented in Table 2.3. In 1901 just 0.05 percent of the female labour force worked as hairdressers in Canada including British Columbia; the percentage was 0.9 percent in 1951 and 1.3 percent in 1961.

And within the profession itself, female hairdressers' rates of self-employment did not decrease until 1961, as Table 2.3 illustrates.

As this discussion of specific occupations makes clear, female entrepreneurs in some occupations were more likely to work alongside male entrepreneurs than alongside other women. Even when they performed tasks that were sex-typed as feminine, such as shopkeepers who were sex-segregated in terms of specific types of stores and who sold goods and services to a female clientele, self-employed women were working in a man's world. In most decades, only 30 to 50 percent of female businesswomen found themselves in a female-dominated profession and almost all of these were seamstresses and lodging house keepers who were more likely to be working at home in isolation than with anyone else, male or female.<sup>90</sup> The rest – as many as 70 percent of female entrepreneurs in some years – were in “male” work cultures.<sup>91</sup>

### **Comparing Wage-Earning and Self-Employed Women**

Jobs with high rates of female self-employment such as the six just described were not the same jobs that employed most working women in the country, as a comparison of Table 2.2 with Tables 2.3 and 2.4 makes clear. A distinction must be made between predominantly wage-earning jobs and predominantly entrepreneurial jobs. Much of the extant literature on women's labour force participation, especially

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<sup>90</sup> Even self-employed seamstresses and boarding house keepers who did not work out of their homes worked alone; very few were employers. Wage-earning seamstresses worked with other women in larger settings but self-employed seamstresses usually operated out of small shops or out of their homes. Hana Murata, a self-employed Japanese dressmaker in Vancouver in the 1920s, described herself as a “woman working alone.” See Tomoko Makabe, *Picture Brides: Japanese Women in Canada*, trans. Kathleen Chisato Merken (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1995), 83.

<sup>91</sup> I have estimated the percentage of women who would have worked in a female work culture based on selected occupations, listed in Table 2.3, that featured high rates of female self-employment and in which most self-employed women were found. I isolated self-employed women that, according to the data in Table 2.5, worked in female-dominated occupations and calculated the percentage of those women out of all self-employed women, in both British Columbia and Canada, in order to gain an estimate of the share of all self-employed women who might have worked in female-dominated occupations.

that dealing with the early twentieth century, centres on the precepts that a women's work culture is identifiable and that separate female preserves of labour existed. While these precepts are clear among women in the labour force working in occupations dominated by wage-earning women, neither holds true for large numbers of female entrepreneurs.

If we consider, in addition to the six occupations already discussed, the other jobs in Table 2.5 that featured high rates of female self-employment we again see that many women entrepreneurs were not working in jobs that had been sex-typed as feminine. Female chauffeurs and taxi drivers, real estate agents, and hotelkeepers were all occupied in jobs that featured high self-employment rates for women (Table 2.3) *and* that were dominated by males. Of the first nine occupations listed in Table 2.5, all of which featured high rates of female self-employment, five were clearly identifiable as 'masculine' occupations, in the strictest sense of the word: that is, they were dominated by male workers.

This is in stark contrast to the proportion of males found in occupations notable for employing female wage earners. The last nine occupations in Table 2.5 encompassed much of the female labour force – in particular, the wage-earning female labour force. All but two, sales clerks and office clerks, employed a far greater proportion of women than men. While clerks were more likely to be male than female in 1921 and 1941, these jobs had also become "feminized" by 1961, when slightly more women than men were occupied in both.

Despite the differences noted between self-employed and wage-earning women, some similarities can be found. Self-employed women were clustered in the same small selection of occupations and occupational groups in 1901 as in 1971 – a situation akin to

that of wage-earning women. The top six entrepreneurial opportunities for women in 1901 were still the most prominent choices seventy years later, employing well over half of all self-employed women in most census decades.<sup>92</sup> Women were employed, as Carrière stated in 1946, on the farm, feeding folk, and dressing people, and countless women entrepreneurs could be so described: they were farmers, grocers, lodging house keepers and dressmakers. While women entrepreneurs very often worked among men, and while self-employment had the potential to provide some freedoms and potential rewards (financial, social and otherwise), the barriers that *all* women encountered when they entered the labour force, largely due to gender, should not be forgotten.

### **British Columbia versus the Rest of Canada: Regional Differences in Male and Female Self-Employment**

The scarcity of women in British Columbia in the first half of the twentieth century meant that the proportion of the labour force that was female was lower than in the rest of the country (see Chapter One, Figures 1.1. and 1.2). It seems plausible that with fewer women in the labour force, some men might have taken the opportunity to open businesses in fields traditionally dominated by women. However, this occurred in only one of the occupations marked by high rates of female self-employment: boarding house keeping attracted more men in the province than in Canada, despite its clear status as an occupation dominated by women (Table 2.5). In colonial British Columbia, the high numbers of working men who co-habited in the province contributed to high

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<sup>92</sup> The top six jobs employed just under half of all self-employed women in 1971, but again I must stress that 1971 data is not always compatible with earlier census years. In some specific cases I think that the 1971 figures can still be useful, especially when the job definition did not change, such as for farmers or taxi drivers, and for general comparisons of the total female labour force or the share of the female labour force that was self-employed in different census years.

numbers of male-run boarding houses.<sup>93</sup> Need for the service exceeded the number of working women available to provide it, in the province's early years.<sup>94</sup> Gender ratios had evened out by mid-century but men continued to maintain a higher presence in this essentially 'feminine' occupation in British Columbia than in Canada. Once men had created a niche for themselves in a particular type of business, even an occupation with historically low participation rates for men, the pattern held.

Many individual occupations notable for high rates of self-employment confirm what Chapter One concluded: despite the small female population in the province (until 1951), women who entered the labour force were more likely to choose self-employment in British Columbia than in Canada from 1901 to 1971 (Chapter One, Table 1.2). This is borne out in a number of specific occupations featuring high self-employment rates. Table 2.5 demonstrates that women worked in higher proportions in British Columbia than in Canada as real estate agents, farmers, chauffeurs/taxi drivers, hotelkeepers, and barbers/hairdressers (and, after 1921, as retail shopkeepers). All of these occupations

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<sup>93</sup> Adele Perry details white men's "homosocial culture" and the existence of all-male households in colonial British Columbia. An informal census of Victoria in 1871, taken by a police constable, found that over one third of households in Victoria housed only men, and furthermore, about one third of those all-male households were "group" households, probably boarding houses. This data also noted the presence of non-white, notably Chinese, all-male households. See Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 22.

<sup>94</sup> This is also a possibility among a number of wage-earning occupations normally dominated by female workers, but that attracted proportionately more men in British Columbia than in Canada: teachers, housekeepers and servants. See Table 2.5. With respect to servants and housekeepers, race and gender were entwined in a way that may partially explain the phenomenon. Non-white males worked in the province in occupations often held by white women. Hugh Johnston states that two-thirds of the domestic positions in British Columbia at the end of the nineteenth century were filled by Chinese men. That there were fewer women available to do the work may account for the high numbers of men in the occupations; alternatively, the preponderance of men filling domestic jobs may have led women to look elsewhere for employment, or to turn to self-employment. Interestingly, it was non-white men who replaced women in such occupations. This is an area that needs further study but it does help explain the high rates of men in some occupations in the province. See Hugh Johnston, "Native People, Settlers and Sojourners, 1871-1916," Johnston, ed., *The Pacific Province: A History of British Columbia* (Douglas & McIntyre, 1996), 182. The 1901 census database also records boarding houses operated by Chinese men.

were marked by high rates of male and female self-employment, but they were sex-typed as men's work; women formed a distinct minority of the total employed.<sup>95</sup>

The distinct facets of female self-employment in British Columbia are best illustrated through a closer examination of real estate agents, chauffeurs or taxi drivers (listed as one occupation in the census) and hotelkeepers. While these three occupations employed very few women compared to the other entrepreneurial occupations in Table 2.4, but particularly compared to the entire female labour force, they featured high rates of female self-employment (Table 2.3). They also employed proportionately more women in British Columbia than in the rest of Canada, and all three occupations were masculine: more than 80 percent of real estate agents, chauffeurs/taxi drivers and hotelkeepers, for much of the period under study and in British Columbia and in Canada, were male.

The occupation of real estate agent had higher than average rates of female self-employment for much of the period under study although as in most other occupations, self-employment rates declined as Table 2.3 shows. However, the proportion of all real estate agents who were female (including wage earners and the self-employed) increased between 1921 and 1961 (Table 2.5). More women entered the occupation as it became less entrepreneurial; that is, as more and more real estate agents worked as employees rather than for themselves, the job also attracted a higher share of women. It is difficult to ascertain whether the two factors are linked. Did the occupation of real estate agent lose 'status' and therefore become easier for women to enter, once it became a wage-earning job rather than an entrepreneurial one? Or did the occupation simply become

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<sup>95</sup> The exception was hairdressing, which had become a more feminine occupation by 1961.

“feminized” – associated with women to a degree that made female realtors more common and more accepted?

An article published in *The Business and Professional Woman*, entitled “Women CAN Sell Real Estate” profiled three women who opened Triangle Realty in 1957, “the only all-woman real estate firm in the city of Vancouver.”<sup>96</sup> The women felt that large real estate firms “tended to squelch the enthusiasm of the woman agent,” and so they left employment with other firms to open their own business. One of the owners, Mrs. Marianne Linnell, considered real estate “an ideal field for a woman with responsibilities, because her time is her own, and she can arrange appointments to fit in with her other responsibilities.”<sup>97</sup> The implication that a woman with a family might find a career in real estate flexible enough to suit her needs may explain the growth of the occupation among women between 1921 and 1961. In any case, women were still a minority in the occupation by 1961, either as employees or as business owners, as Table 2.5 shows.

The occupation of real estate agent attracted proportionately more women in the province than in the rest of the country, as Table 2.5 illustrates. Certainly, the percentage of all women in the labour force who worked as real estate agents was low, less than one percent in either region, yet the female share of total employment in the occupation in

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<sup>96</sup>Virginia Beirnes, “Women CAN Sell Real Estate,” *The Business and Professional Woman* XXVIII, 5 (March-April 1963), City of Vancouver Archives, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

<sup>97</sup> Beirnes, “Women CAN Sell Real Estate.” Marianne Linnell was elected a Vancouver alderman in 1961 and served five terms, to 1974. She was a Progressive Conservative party candidate in the 1972 election, was defeated, but became the party’s spokesperson for small business, municipal affairs, and “that forgotten individual, the housewife.” It could be argued that the balancing act between business life and “womanly” family life was a significant feature of her career. She advocated on behalf of women’s work in the home while continually working outside the home. For biographical information on Linnell, see Chuck Davis, ed., *The Greater Vancouver Book*, 826.

the province was roughly double that of Canada in most decades.<sup>98</sup> In 1921, there were 23 female real estate agents in British Columbia alone, and just 49 in the rest of the country: in other words, 32 percent of *all* female real estate agents in Canada (including British Columbia) worked in British Columbia. For men, 16 percent of all male agents across the country were working in British Columbia in the same year. By 1951 the number of female (and male) agents in both regions had increased, and the number of female agents was still noticeably higher in British Columbia: there were 208 female agents in the province and only 407 in the rest of the country. Of all female real estate agents in the country (again, *including* British Columbia), 34 percent were employed in British Columbia. In contrast, 23 percent of all male real estate agents across the country worked in British Columbia.<sup>99</sup> Female real estate agents were also more likely to be self-employed in the province compared to Canada, as Table 2.3 illustrates.

British Columbia also attracted proportionately more women (in a male-dominated occupation) to the occupation of taxi driver than did the rest of the country. While taxi drivers were overwhelmingly male, and there were no female drivers in 1921 in British Columbia, women made up 1.5 percent in 1941, and 5.6 percent in 1961, of all taxi drivers in the province (Table 2.5).<sup>100</sup> By contrast, in the rest of Canada, women taxi drivers only accounted for 0.5 percent of all taxi drivers in 1941, and 1.5 percent in 1961. Yet, male drivers seem to have been no more common in the province than in the rest of the country. Like real estate, the occupation of taxi driver remained male-

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<sup>98</sup> The Appendix: (2.1-2.7, data on selected occupations) demonstrates this low percentage of realtors, and the comparison of British Columbia to Canada was also calculated from the data listed in the Appendix.

<sup>99</sup> The Appendix (2.1-2.7, data on selected occupations) lists numbers of female and male real estate agents in British Columbia and Canada for the entire period of study.

<sup>100</sup> There was, however, a self-employed female taxi driver in Victoria, British Columbia, before World War One: Eleanor Johnson was the first woman taxi driver in Canada. She was not operating in 1901 or 1921; while she may have in 1911, census data for female self-employment is not available for 1911. See P.W. Luce, "At Odds With Life," *Vancouver Sun*, November 3, 1951, Magazine Section, 6.

dominated but the share of women in the occupation increased between 1921 and 1961 as Table 2.5 illustrates (when more women entered the labour force in general).

Compared to their male counterparts in British Columbia and in the rest of Canada, but also compared to their female counterparts in the rest of the country, women taxi drivers were overwhelmingly self-employed in British Columbia in 1931 and 1941. 4 out of 5 in 1931 and 7 out of 10 in 1941 were self-employed. Other than these unusually high self-employment rates, about which little can be said since they represent very few women, female taxi drivers in British Columbia were self-employed or employers to a lesser degree than were women in the rest of the country from 1951 to 1971 (see Table 2.3). Women in both regions were also self-employed to a lesser degree than were their male counterparts, from 1951 to 1971.<sup>101</sup> However, both male and female taxi drivers had high rates of self-employment up to 1971. Unlike real estate and many other occupations in which self-employment rates decreased sharply over time, taxi drivers continued to boast high self-employment rates.

Hotelkeeping was not as male-dominated as taxi driving or selling real estate; by 1961, 33 percent of hotelkeepers in British Columbia were women. Nonetheless, running a hotel, unlike running a boarding or lodging house, was a masculine pursuit as Table 2.5 demonstrates. And once again women in British Columbia were more involved in this male-dominated occupation than women in the rest of Canada. Table 2.5 shows that a greater proportion of all hotelkeepers were female in British Columbia than in Canada in 1921, 1941 and 1961.

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<sup>101</sup> See Appendix, 2.1-2.7, which provides detailed information on numbers of self-employed/employer taxi drivers in British Columbia compared to Canada, for the decades under discussion here. The exception: 1971, when occupational definitions were not entirely compatible and the numbers of taxi drivers were extremely low.

Like driving a taxi, hotelkeeping remained an occupation with high rates of self-employment despite the overall decline in self-employment over time. The percentage of hotelkeepers who were self-employed or employers hovered near or above 75 percent for both men and women, in British Columbia and Canada between 1921 and 1961.<sup>102</sup> While a larger proportion of hotelkeepers were women in British Columbia than in Canada, more of them reported that they were employees or that they worked for no pay, in British Columbia compared to Canada.<sup>103</sup>

It is important to note that hotelkeeping involved much the same work as keeping a lodging or boarding house, and yet the former was an overwhelmingly masculine-typed occupation while the latter was predominantly feminine. The difference can be explained as an issue of professionalism, as well as one of perception. Boarding houses were small operations, run mainly by women out of their own homes; many female boarding house keepers had just one or two boarders at a time, but hotels were often larger operations, serving a different need and a different clientele. While some people lived there permanently, hotels catered to temporary residents. Hotels were more likely to have employees than lodging houses, and they were not usually run out of owners' homes. They also required more capital, something not available to very many women. And by the 1920s, hotels that were large enough to obtain a liquor license could also serve alcohol: operating a bar differentiated hotels from boarding houses.<sup>104</sup> Thus hotels

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<sup>102</sup> In addition to Table 2.3, which shows these figures for women, see Appendix, which provides detailed data and source information for both men and women.

<sup>103</sup> The five percent sample of the 1901 census captured just four female hotelkeepers in British Columbia, all of whom were self-employed; the self-employment rate for female hotelkeepers in Canada was also very high, 98 percent as Table 2.3 shows. Data for British Columbia cannot be separated from data for Canada for the year 1921. Data on hotelkeepers for 1971 is incompatible with data for earlier census decades so I have not included it at all in this case.

<sup>104</sup> Robert A. Campbell, *Sit Down and Drink Your Beer: Regulating Vancouver's Beer Parlours, 1925-1954* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 33.

were larger businesses, not solely for sleeping and eating. Hotelkeeping was viewed as a profession while boarding house keeping was viewed as a way to bring in a second income or to make ends meet. In what was a fairly common experience, one female boarding house keeper in post-World War Two Vancouver explained that taking in boarders provided financial security to her family, since her husband's work in construction was low paid and intermittent.<sup>105</sup>

Many female boarding house keepers were perceived, therefore, as less businesslike. But the work should not be seen as less businesslike, or as less labour-intensive, than that of hotelkeepers, and many women operated lodging or boarding houses as a primary way of earning an income and as sole supporters of their families. The perception of boarding house keeping as an extension of domestic work, and hotelkeeping as a legitimate business endeavour, evolved out of conventional understandings of women's and men's work, even though the actual work performed for either occupation was very similar.<sup>106</sup>

While the distinctive features of women's work in British Columbia – the disproportionate labour force participation of women, and the high rates of female self-employment, even in masculine occupations – seem surprising given the scarcity of

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<sup>105</sup> Alexander Freund and Laura Quilici, "Exploring Myths in Women's Narratives: Italian and German Immigrant Women in Vancouver, 1947-1961," *BC Studies* 105-106 (Spring/Summer 1995): 172-173.

<sup>106</sup> Many women did run hotels in the early twentieth century; the 1901 British Columbia directory lists many women as proprietors of hotels, particularly in urban areas. However, ownership of the hotels is not always made clear, and the five percent sample of the 1901 census records far more female boarding house keepers than hotelkeepers. The Island Hall Hotel, a notable exception, was opened in Parkesville in 1917 by Miss Joan Foster and Miss Winifred Philpott. The two women had started up a poultry farm, followed by a confectionery business, both of which failed, before succeeding as hotel owners. That Foster and Philpott were single women, and supporting only themselves, is telling. Married women with dependents were far more likely to open boarding houses, but these women entered into business free of encumbrances; in this they were arguably more like "typical" male entrepreneurs. However, marriage ended the women's partnership, something that would not have ended a male-run enterprise. The women sold the business in 1927 when Philpott married. Interestingly, in 1946 the hotel would again be run by two women, Mary Sutherland and Eileen Allwood. See Marjorie Leffler, "The Island Hall Hotel History," *British Columbia Historical News* 27, 2 (Spring 1994): 21-22.

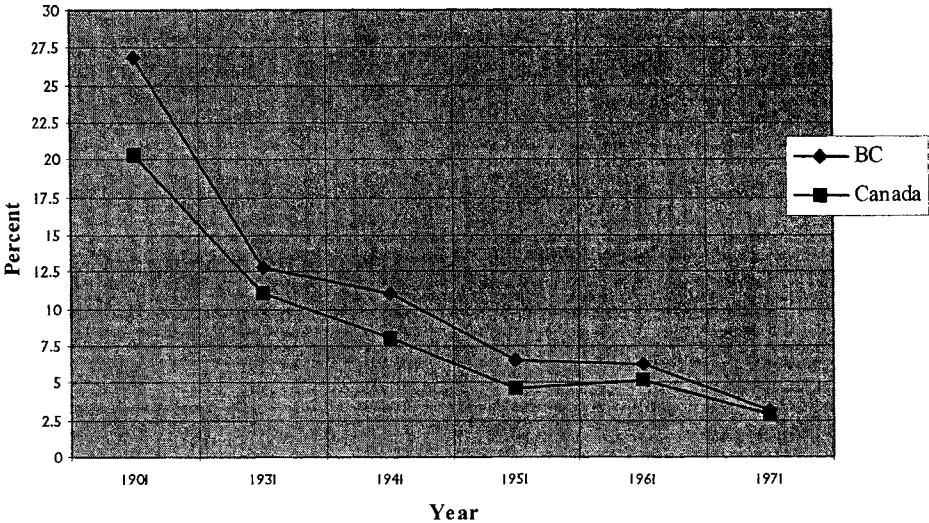
women in the province, the data is in keeping with what we know about female self-employment in British Columbia. Female entrepreneurship in British Columbia was, as Chapter One elaborated, related to the particular characteristics of the frontier environment, in which women capitalized on a set of opportunities not available elsewhere in Canada. The data presented here on specific occupations between 1901 and 1971 strengthens this more general observation, made in Chapter One. Although women's work was still clearly sex-segregated in the province, and although they were contained within a relatively small number of occupational groups and of specific occupations, women made the most of those restrained possibilities – and in some cases, even made inroads into professions that were indisputably male-dominated.

#### **Declining Self-Employment: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971**

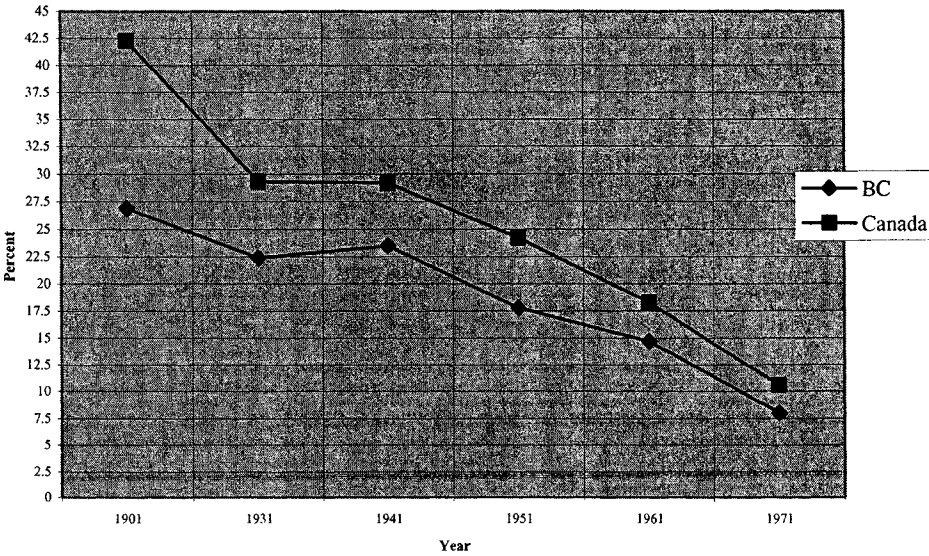
The ways in which occupations shifted over time must be considered in the context of changes from decade to decade in the occupational landscape of Canada and British Columbia. Personal service occupations continued to have high female self-employment rates through the century, while female self-employment in textile industries such as dressmaking and millinery was high in the early part of the century but had declined in importance by 1971. Some fields, such as real estate, were predominantly entrepreneurial before World War Two but were overwhelmingly wage-earning occupations for women after 1941, and others, such as hairdressing and shopkeeping, came to include more entrepreneurs in the post-war years than they had prior to the 1941 census. All of these shifts must be placed in the context of a larger trend across the period of study: the overall decline in female self-employment. While women entered the labour force in steadily increasing numbers between 1901 and 1971, the proportion of all women in the labour force who were self-employed (including

employers) declined over the period of study in both British Columbia and Canada, as Figure 2.1 demonstrates. Figure 2.2 shows the same trend for men.<sup>107</sup>

**Figure 2.1: Self-Employed Adult Women as a Percentage of all Gainfully Employed Adult Women: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971**



**Figure 2.2: Self-Employed Adult Men as a Percentage of all Gainfully Employed Adult Men: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971**



<sup>107</sup> The data and source information for Figures 2.1 and 2.2 is found in the Appendix (1.4, Table 1.4c).

A comparison of the graphs demonstrates that women in British Columbia consistently had higher self-employment rates than women in Canada, while men in British Columbia had lower rates of self-employment than men in Canada. This difference is related, in part, to the frontier characteristics that British Columbia exhibited until at least 1951. Men's extensive employment opportunities were in primary resource industries in the province, in jobs that did not employ many entrepreneurial men or, for that matter, many wage-earning women. A variety of unskilled employment was available for men in the province, in mining, building and construction, and in the sawmilling industry between 1871 and 1921.<sup>108</sup> If wage-earning jobs in British Columbia were plentiful for men, the opposite was true for women. Women were almost non-existent in labouring jobs in resource industries, with the exception of canneries, and women's employment in manufacturing was extremely limited "in contrast to eastern Canada where industries that employed women – clothing and textiles, canning and food processing, and tobacco – were more developed."<sup>109</sup> Wage-earning work could be found in nursing, teaching, or domestic service but these jobs were limited in the early decades of the twentieth century when single transient males were a more characteristic population feature than established families in need of servants and teachers. Much of the work open to women on the frontier was entrepreneurial: running hotels, lodging houses, and taking in sewing or washing. This explanation can only account for the first half of the twentieth century, when the province still exhibited frontier characteristics – but the patterns that were established

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<sup>108</sup> Allen Seager, "The Resource Economy, 1871-1921," Johnston, ed., *The Pacific Province*, 238-239.

<sup>109</sup> Hugh Johnston, "Native People, Settlers and Sojourners, 1871-1916," Johnston, ed., *The Pacific Province*, 182-183.

early in the province's history remained, vestiges of the mentality of the frontier's earlier inhabitants.

Self-employment was a much more likely choice for women and men at the beginning of the century than it was in 1971.<sup>110</sup> The decline in self-employment was thus a larger occupational trend over the period of study and it was linked in some ways to the shifts in occupations and in occupational categories. In the 1941 census, the “decline in the importance of a number of trades formerly carried on at home or in small shops on an independent basis” was attributed to “industrial development,” and a “tendency for the individual unit of business to increase in size.” This also led to an increase in “the number of wage-earners working in factories.”<sup>111</sup> But the earlier effects of economic depression in the 1930s on wage earning versus self-employment were admittedly difficult to unravel, as noted in a report by the International Labour Organization. “We have absolutely no idea whether the depression accelerates the flow of new workers to the labour market, or whether...it causes the surplus of unemployed wage-earners to change over to ‘independent’ work.”<sup>112</sup> With hindsight, it can be said that for women in the labour force the general pattern of an increase in wage-earning jobs and a decrease in self-employment continued throughout the 1930s. However, the depression did not cause a significant decrease or increase in the percentage of the female labour force that was self-employed between 1931 and 1941. While the pattern

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<sup>110</sup> The trend reverses after 1971. Since 1975, the number of self-employed women in Canada has been rising three times as fast as the number of self-employed men; small business ownership has rapidly increased in the past three decades in Canada, and it has increased most dramatically for women. This may represent a cyclical pattern deserving more study and a more direct comparison of 1901 to 2001. Some caution is warranted, however: 10 percent of employed women were self-employed in Canada in 1993, compared to 20 percent in 1901. The renaissance of female entrepreneurship has not yet matched its 1901 peak. See Chapter One for an elaboration on the post-1971 increase in self-employment.

<sup>111</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 13, 85.

<sup>112</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 13, 85.

of declining self-employment continued, it was not any more (or less) remarkable because of the depression, as Figure 2.1 shows. There was, however, a slight increase in the percentage of the male labour force that was self-employed from 1931 to 1941. With the exception of this decade, male self-employment declined over the period 1901 to 1971, just as female self-employment did.<sup>113</sup>

The most striking decline in female self-employment had already occurred by the time of the depression. Between 1901 and 1931— that is, *before* the effects of the depression would have been felt in the labour force – female self-employment declined dramatically, as is clear in Figure 2.1. This requires further explanation. One reason for the decline relates to the ways in which census data has been compiled and published. The data used here for 1901 is taken from a database, a five percent sample of the 1901 census created by the Canadian Families Project. Due to the exceptional detail of the database, I could consider for inclusion among the self-employed women who stated that they were self-employed but who listed no occupation, for example, or who listed that they were employees and employers at the same time. Even people who answered the census questions in unusual or incomplete ways could potentially be included. The database is detailed and malleable: the user can decide how to deal with individuals based on the information they did or did not provide to enumerators.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> More detailed census data from the mid-1930s might have illustrated different patterns but the issue of work and the depression is also complicated and the nuances cannot be captured by census data. Some people lost wage-earning jobs during the depression and turned to forms of entrepreneurship or at least to alternatives to wage earning, such as raising livestock or growing vegetable gardens. Others lost their businesses, and looked for wage-earning work. In some families, men lost work and women worked instead, or women's small enterprises such as selling butter and eggs or taking in boarders became the main income for families. Some kinds of work were substituted for others and some informal kinds of work, that enabled survival but did not necessarily bring in a wage, were not recorded in census data.

<sup>114</sup> Note: in totalling numbers of self-employed women in the 1901 database, I included only women whose self-employment was listed by census takers, or in a very few cases, those whose entrepreneurship was very clear, despite incomplete or incorrect data. For instance, I included women who were enumerated as employees and as self-employed/employers; in published data after 1901, such cases would

But from 1911 to 1971, users are limited to the census data that was published in aggregate form: the classification schemes used by census statisticians can potentially exclude female proprietors who incorrectly answered census questions, for instance. Women who did not state an occupation or who stated more than one occupation, or those who did not list an employment status or listed more than one employment status, may not have been included in the aggregate data when the census volumes were published. The flexibility of the database for 1901 and the access to detailed information that it allows may mean that one can “find” more women who were self-employed in the database than in the published census.<sup>115</sup>

At the same time, the database is a five percent sample and very few women were self-employed in either British Columbia or Canada in 1901. The effects of very small changes are magnified when dealing with such a small population of women. In the case of British Columbia, if one more or one less female proprietor was counted in any given occupation the proportion of female entrepreneurs in that occupation would be

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likely have been rejected from official counts. I also included two women who were farming, and who listed themselves as farmers and household heads, but for whom employment status was not listed; I included them since farming heads were almost always self-employed, in all decades under study. I did not, however, include in my totals women who seemed to be operating boarding houses or other businesses, but who were enumerated as having “no” occupation and who were not listed as self-employed. In short, even if a woman appeared to be working for herself and thus seemed to be self-employed, I was very cautious about making a decision where none had been made in 1901. This was to preserve consistency with later published data. But the census database did mean that for those few women for whom self-employment was apparent (and a likely error on the part of census-takers meant that they were not listed as such), I could make more inferences than I could make with published aggregate data from later census years. I would have liked to include many more women from the database, who seemed to have been operating as “penny capitalists,” and the potential exists to do so. But I resisted the temptation for the sake of consistency across decades. That such situations can be found in the database does suggest that due to the inability of census takers, or of the women themselves, to view their work as entrepreneurial, many enterprising women between 1901 and 1971 who were working for themselves rather than for wages were never reported as self-employed.

<sup>115</sup> In fact, I could not use the published census for 1901 because it did not include any breakdowns for gainfully employed women according to employment status (whether a worker was an employer, self-employed, or an employee), and the published information on the female labour force in general was also extremely limited in 1901. Using the five percent sample was the only way that I could examine marital status and employment status for women in the labour force in 1901.

drastically changed, as would the proportion of the female labour force that was self-employed. While the database is an important tool, providing detailed information about the 1901 census returns of individual women (and men) and detailed information about their households, incomes and occupations, the ways in which it can be used differ from the ways in which other available census data can be used. This does not mean that the database is less accurate than later census data: if anything, it permits more accuracy. The ways in which census data has been compiled and published after 1901 provide limitations that cannot be overcome because the original documents are not accessible. I must rely on decisions that were made as each census was published.

Published census data probably under-reports female self-employment. The sharp decline between the 1901 data, taken from the database, and the 1931 data (the first decade of the published census that provides any detail about rates of self-employment compared to total labour force figures) may be a result of different ways of compiling data rather than a decline of such large proportions. Yet it is the only available way to compare self-employed women in 1901 to their counterparts in later decades because the 1901 published census is woefully limited: it provides no detailed breakdown of women according to their employment status, and therefore, no information on women's self-employment.

Regardless of difficulties with comparing women across census decades, it is still the case that self-employment declined in British Columbia and in Canada across the period of study, and it is worth considering why it might have been particularly steep between 1901 and 1931. Another way to understand the decline is to look to changes within occupations. Although more and more women were entering the labour force between 1901 and 1931 they were entering wage-earning jobs, not self-employment.

Sylvia Ostry discusses occupational trends between 1901 and 1961 in a labour force study for the Dominion Bureau of Statistics published in 1967. She suggests that gains in the wage earner share of the labour force over time for both men and women reflected changes in occupational structure. As the century progressed the importance of white-collar work increased while the importance of occupations with high self-employment, such as farming, was greatly reduced.<sup>116</sup> The declining importance of entrepreneurial occupations in farming, fishing, and skilled crafts, “as well as shifts to wage earning status *within* most occupations,”<sup>117</sup> had occurred by 1961.

In the first three decades of the century women’s rates of labour force participation increased but their segregation into “the least attractive and lowest paid jobs” also increased while their rates of self-employment decreased.<sup>118</sup> Between 1911 and 1921 the number of white collar workers grew rapidly, expanding “from considerably less than one-fifth to just over one-quarter of the labour force.”<sup>119</sup> Clerical occupations, which were chiefly wage-earning occupations and which came to employ large numbers of women, proliferated. “Fewer and fewer firms” came to account for “a larger and larger share of the country’s production of goods.”<sup>120</sup> This ultimately meant fewer proprietors but more managers within large firms and within government.

Certain clerical white-collar occupations like stenographers, telegraph and telephone operators, became women’s work in part because women’s entry into the labour force coincided with the de-skilling of the work. The availability of what were becoming low-pay, low-status occupations was connected to the increase of women in

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<sup>116</sup> Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, 3.

<sup>117</sup> Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, 41.

<sup>118</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 20, 22.

<sup>119</sup> Ostry, *The Occupational Composition of the Canadian Labour Force*, 9.

<sup>120</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 20.

the labour force. Since so few women were in the labour force at all in the first few decades of the twentieth century, they formed “a vast reserve supply of labour able to fill the sudden growth in clerical openings.”<sup>121</sup> Ultimately, women’s rising participation in the labour force before World War Two was marked by entry into low paid wage-earning occupations, and this occurred at the expense of female self-employment. The improvement in women’s participation rates was not matched by a growth in the types of occupations open to women, nor did it lead to the growth of new entrepreneurial endeavours.

Another factor that explains women’s dramatic decline in self-employment in the first three decades of the twentieth century was the decrease, as the 1941 *Census of Canada* pointed out, “in the number of dressmakers, milliners, and tailoresses since 1911.”<sup>122</sup> Manufacturing occupations in sewing had provided opportunities for female employment in general and for female self-employment in particular but these occupations were becoming less lucrative. Wendy Gamber argues, in an American context, that the early twentieth century was marked by the “the triumph of mass production and large-scale retailing,” and that by 1930, the dressmaking and millinery trades “had been all but supplanted by the ladies’ garment trade,” a field of unskilled wage-earning work.<sup>123</sup> The factory “claimed an undisputed victory over the custom shop.”<sup>124</sup>

The same developments occurred in Canada and in British Columbia between 1901 and 1931. Tables 2.3 and 2.4 demonstrate the effects of this process in the case of

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<sup>121</sup> Armstrong and Armstrong, *The Double Ghetto*, 31.

<sup>122</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 329.

<sup>123</sup> Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 3.

<sup>124</sup> Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 216.

dressmaking, which had been a significant arena of female self-employment. While data from the 1921 census is lamentably incomplete, it is at least evident from Table 2.3 that the total number of women in all of Canada (including British Columbia, since the figures for the province were not provided separately in 1921) who were self-employed dressmakers dropped substantially, from over 11 000 in 1921 to 6900 in 1931: in the same decade, women's labour force participation increased, making the decline in this particular occupation even more acute. Table 2.3 shows that the total number of dressmakers continued to decrease after 1931 and that the percentage of all dressmakers who were self-employed also decreased in British Columbia and in Canada. Women's self-employment opportunities in sewing trades were being eroded as ready-to-wear garments, made in factories by an unskilled labour force, replaced custom-made garments.

While a steady decline in some manufacturing occupations helps to explain the steep decline in female self-employment between 1901 and 1931, other occupations with high female self-employment were also shifting. Table 2.6 demonstrates the percentage of the total female labour force that was self-employed in specific occupations between 1901 and 1971. It is clear from the table that most of the occupations that featured high rates of female self-employment were steadily decreasing as a percentage of the total female labour force. These were still the jobs that encompassed most self-employed women in 1961 and 1971: women were not leaving one type of entrepreneurial occupation for another, but overall, female self-employment declined and the decline is evident in the occupations listed in Table 2.6.

*Table 2.6: Self-Employed Adult Women in Selected Occupations, as a Percentage of the Total Female Labour Force: British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971<sup>125</sup>*

Occupation:		1901	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1971	
Farmers	BC	4.3		2.0	1.6	0.7	0.4	0.2	
	Canada	5.8	3.3	2.9	1.7	0.7	0.5	0.3	
Dressmakers and Sewers	BC	5.9		1.0	0.7	0.3	0.2	0.1	
	Canada	3.6	2.4	1.0	0.7	0.4	0.2	0.0	
Chauffeurs, Taxi Drivers <sup>126</sup>	BC	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	Canada	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Retail Store Owners	BC	0.8		1.5	1.9	1.8	1.2	0.5	
	Canada	0.8	1.2	0.9	1.0	1.2	1.0	0.5	
Real Estate Agents	BC	0.0		0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	
	Canada	0.0		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Lodging House Keepers	BC	4.3		3.2	3.2	0.9	1.3	0.3	
	Canada	0.8	1.0	2.8	2.5	0.5	1.3	0.2	
Hotelkeepers	BC	1.6		0.2	0.2	0.9	0.9		
	Canada	1.9	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.5		
Barbers, Hairdressers	BC	0.4		0.7	0.8	0.5	0.5	0.2	
	Canada	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.3	
Musicians, Music Teachers	BC	0.4		0.8	0.5	0.3	0.3	0.2	
	Canada	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.1	
Number of Gainfully Employed		BC	254	25513	43748	55131	97978	155862	307755
		Canada	12488	464637	622111	777709	1066343	1610470	2653455
(for 1921 only: Total, BC and Canada)				490150					

Farming declined steadily as an avenue for female self-employment in the first three decades of the century. In both British Columbia and Canada, the percentage of all working women who were self-employed farmers declined by about 50 percent between 1901 and 1931.

When lodging house keepers and hotelkeepers are combined, the percentage of women in British Columbia who were self-employed in these occupations also declined

<sup>125</sup> Note: data for 1921 is not available in all occupations listed in Table 2.6, and it is only available for all of Canada, including British Columbia. See Appendix, 2.1-2.7, for more detailed information and source information.

<sup>126</sup> While it appears in Table 2.6 as though there were no self-employed female taxi drivers in the period of study, this is a result of their relative insignificance as a percentage of the entire female labour force. When rounded to one decimal point it appears, here, as though there were none, but Table 2.3 shows their actual numbers. The Appendix also shows numbers of taxi drivers in more detail across the period of study.

by almost 50 percent between 1901 and 1931. The importance of lodging house keeping as an avenue for female self-employment in British Columbia clearly decreased between 1901 and 1931 and this affected the overall female self-employment rate. As the ratio of men to women evened out in British Columbia, the need for lodging houses to accommodate high numbers of single working men abated, resulting in a decrease in the numbers of female boarding house keepers in the province. In the rest of the country, however, there was a slight increase in the percentage of the female labour force self-employed as hotelkeepers and boarding house keepers between 1901 and 1931. Thus, the job remained an important one in Canada for female entrepreneurs. In British Columbia, the occupation remained significant for its high rates of female self-employment, but by 1931 the percentage of all working women who operated boarding houses and hotels was more in line with the percentage in the rest of the country. The unusually high demand for lodging that had been a feature of British Columbia's early economy and industry had lessened by 1931.

In some occupations, the decline in female self-employment was very noticeable between 1901 and 1931. Fewer women worked in the occupations from one decade to the next and businesswomen who worked as farmers, dressmakers, and hotel or lodging house keepers made up smaller and smaller proportions of total female employment (Table 2.6) *and* of total female self-employment (Table 2.4).

The decline among dressmakers in the Manufacturing occupational group was unmistakable because the actual numbers of self-employed women declined from year to year. However, in other occupations self-employment was more persistent. Personal and professional service occupations continued to employ a large proportion of all occupied women in 1941, and many self-employed women worked in the "Service"

occupational group. There was an increase in the number of self-employed female hairdressers/barbers in Canada and in British Columbia from 1921 to 1971, and about half of all female hairdressers were self-employed in most census years (until 1961 when the rate of self-employment in the occupation began to decline: see Table 2.3).

Self-employed female hairdressers in British Columbia and Canada captured a larger share of total female self-employment over time, as Table 2.4 demonstrates. And Table 2.6 shows that growth in the numbers of female hairdressers in British Columbia and Canada between 1921 and 1941 led to self-employed hairdressers making up a larger share of total female labour force in those years. For hairdressers, self-employment did not actually decline as it did for so many others. They had relatively high rates of self-employment, but less than one percent of the female labour force worked as self-employed hairdressers in any of the decades under study, even in the ‘peak’ year of 1941 when the census noted a “phenomenal” growth in the numbers of female hairdressers.<sup>127</sup> That small share became even smaller after 1941.

Similarly, because of the relatively small number, a continued high rate of self-employment among musicians and music teachers (see Table 2.3) did not offset the larger decline in self-employment among jobs that employed larger numbers of businesswomen. The overall effect of women’s increasing rates of participation in the labour force from 1901 to 1971 was felt most strongly in wage-earning jobs, even though there were still service occupations that reported high female self-employment and a steadily increasing number of self-employed women, at least until 1941. After 1941, all the occupations listed in Table 2.6, even those that had maintained high female

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<sup>127</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 329-330.

self-employment rates in mid-century, were in decline as avenues for women's self-employment.

The steep decline in self-employment among women that occurred between 1901 and 1931 was greater in British Columbia than in Canada: once again, British Columbia demonstrated its regional distinction. In 1901, the numbers of wage-earning jobs available for women in the province were limited. Factory jobs and positions as sales clerks, for example, were either scarce or nonexistent. The women who worked in British Columbia in 1901 would have found it easier to run businesses than to find paid work as employees. By 1931, however, a higher percentage of women in the province had entered the labour force and wage-earning occupations accounted for much of the increase. The extremely high female self-employment rate in British Columbia in 1901 was related to a demand for female-provided services. Women who had provided beds, food, and laundry services for men who were living without female companions were not as needed by 1931 and the entrepreneurial occupations that had provided such services declined steeply.

Gender clearly affected the numbers of women in the labour force and the kinds of work that women did in British Columbia and Canada between 1901 and 1971. Wage-earning *and* self-employed women were limited to a narrow range of occupational groups and occupations. Despite being hindered by similar limitations in terms of work options and despite a host of popular assumptions about what kinds of work were suitable for women, businesswomen challenged the idea of what constituted acceptable women's work simply by choosing self-employment in the first place. Women in British Columbia challenged traditional assumptions even further: they chose self-employment more often than other working women in the country did, and they entered male-

dominated entrepreneurial occupations in higher rates than other women in Canada did. Women in British Columbia and in Canada who owned businesses were a minority within the female labour force in the twentieth century (even at their strongest point, in 1901), and they formed an even tinier proportion of the entire labour force overall. Yet they did exist and they provide an opportunity to re-examine our ideas of ‘women’s work.’

Within an entrepreneurial arena, some women capitalized on preconceived ideas about women’s work and opened businesses that either catered to a female clientele or incorporated tasks long associated with women such as cleaning, cooking, and doing laundry.<sup>128</sup> Despite the gendered nature of their work, these businesswomen challenged gender stereotypes just by owning their establishments, however small the establishments and no matter what type of business they ran.<sup>129</sup> Those who operated

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<sup>128</sup> Headmistresses formed a small but important example of women’s entrepreneurship in a field recognized as feminine: education. While the total number of women running private schools in the province was small, these entrepreneurial women were often prominent public figures, recognized for their accomplishments. They were businesswomen but because their ‘business’ involved teaching girls to become decorous, polished, womanly women, their successes were not seen from a particularly entrepreneurial perspective. That is, they were lauded for their nurturing attributes, rather than for their business acumen. Prominent female-run schools in the province included: Vancouver’s Crofton House, opened in 1901 by Miss Jessie Gordon; Strathcona Lodge School on Shawnigan Lake, opened in 1927 by Minna Gildea who ran the school until her death in 1950; St. Margaret’s School in Victoria, opened by Miss Isobel Fenwick and Miss Margaret Barton in 1908; and Queen Margaret’s School in Duncan, opened by Miss Norah Denny and Miss Dorothy Geoghegan. York House was a joint venture, opened by six women in 1932, and Miss Lily Beattie opened a school for girls in Kamloops in 1893 which did not survive the Depression. There were others, including Athlone School, founded in 1940 for boys, by a widow, Violet Dryvynsyde. But as Jean Barman notes, in many cases, little is known about the women themselves. “Nothing has been collected. Even what little that exists can be misleading or inaccurate.” Barman also notes that the women’s “successes” depending on appearing to be deferential and gentle, while simultaneously aggressively seeking out funding and operating their schools. For attitudes towards school owners as “entrepreneurs” see Barman, “Vancouver’s Forgotten Entrepreneurs.” For information about the operation of the schools listed above, see Gossage, *A Question of Privilege* and Jean Barman, *Growing up British in British Columbia: Boys in Private School* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1984). The latter source only discusses female-headed schools in the footnotes. With the exception of Barman’s article, “Vancouver’s Forgotten Entrepreneurs,” these sources give little information about the lives of the women themselves, sketching only the histories of the schools.

<sup>129</sup> Some, such as Blanche Macdonald, challenged other stereotypes too: Macdonald, of First Nations ancestry and married with two children, opened a modelling agency and self-improvement school in Vancouver in 1960 and later expanded into fashion and make-up. While her field was recognizably

businesses that did not seem to fall under the category of 'women's work,' such as taxi drivers, hotelkeepers and shopkeepers, pushed the concept of women's work cultures even further: they were a minority in that they owned businesses at all but even more so in their choice of business.

Their presence, particularly noticeable in British Columbia, suggests that we need to consider the gendered nature of businesswomen's occupations differently from the ways in which we have considered the gendering of the wage-earning female labour force. Businesswomen affiliated themselves, variously, with other women who worked, with other people (men) who were in business, and with other wives and mothers. The ways in which businesswomen negotiated between private and public life and between their identities as women and their identities as businesspeople is the subject of the next two chapters.

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feminine, she was an exceptional entrepreneur: any woman in business in 1960, but especially a First Nations businesswoman, was exceptional. She went on to launch a journalism program for native students and continued to champion "native causes and feminist ideals." See Davis, *The Greater Vancouver Book*, 827.

**Chapter Three**  
**The Business and Professional Women's Clubs of British Columbia**

The Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Club  
 Is a club of good standing in the town.  
 Its women are the best you could find in any land,  
 And smart women cannot be kept down.  
 Some are holding big positions, some are holding bigger ones,  
 From the least unto the greatest they are fine,  
 They are quick, alert, clear-eyed business girls,  
 And they know how to have a good time.

*Chorus:*

You will never find them slumbering,  
 No-No-No-No;  
 Never find them grumbling, No-No-No-No.  
 For at work or play,  
 They're just the same  
 The Vancouver Business Women's Club.<sup>1</sup>

This chapter looks more closely at the relationship between gender and business for women in the labour force and for entrepreneurial women in particular by examining the first two Business and Professional Women's Clubs (BPW clubs) formed in British Columbia. I begin by examining the historical use of the term "businesswoman," how its definition has changed over time, and how the British Columbia clubs defined businesswomen. I then provide some background on the formation of the Victoria and Vancouver clubs, and on their relationship to the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs (CFBPWC). Finally, I explore the functions and activities of the Victoria and Vancouver BPW clubs. The charities that the BPW clubs supported, their political causes, their efforts in the arena of female employment conditions, and

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<sup>1</sup> "Club Songs," *The Vancouver Business Woman* 5, 6 (November 1927), City of Vancouver Archives (hereafter CVA), Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

their social activities suggest how club members in British Columbia understood their own roles in the business world.<sup>2</sup>

In her history of American businesswomen, which includes American BPW clubs, Candace Kanes discusses the ways in which businesswomen seemed to be simultaneously conservative and radical. Their identities as women in business meant a “radical” departure from traditional womanhood, but many club members were not interested in being seen as “troublemakers” and they were cautious about “appearing too feminist, too radical, or too independent of men.”<sup>3</sup> Kanes neatly summarizes how businesswomen dealt with these conflicting identities by arguing that they developed an “inside-outside mode of coping with many of the claims of womanhood: marriage, children, domesticity and appropriate modes of behavior, dress, and attitude.”<sup>4</sup> Inside their club meetings, women could and did critique the claims of womanhood, as Kanes discovered in the case of American BPW clubwomen, although outside the confines of the club rooms, the women were more likely to acknowledge the “importance of society’s views of womanhood.”<sup>5</sup> Kanes concludes that while American businesswomen “could not step outside of sex and gender dichotomies, they often disrupted the categories, paying public homage” to the claims of womanhood while “privately critiquing such expectations.”<sup>6</sup>

Much like their American predecessors, Canadian BPW clubs and club members were an odd amalgamation of progressive political action and social conservatism, and

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<sup>2</sup> The club records are a valuable source, although it must be noted that relatively few employed women, out of all women in the labour force, belonged to BPW clubs. The number of women who were members and the ways in which class and profession limited membership are discussed elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> Candace Kanes, “American Business Women, 1890-1930: Creating An Identity,” PhD Dissertation (University of New Hampshire, 1997), 332.

<sup>4</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 8.

<sup>5</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 8.

<sup>6</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 9.

they also adopted an “inside-outside” mode of coping with competing influences on their behaviour. The Canadian BPW clubwomen were conservative in many ways and publicly, much like their American counterparts, the clubs in British Columbia praised the conventional roles and societal expectations of women. The outside image of the club was largely respectable, and the Vancouver and Victoria clubs were relatively cautious in the reforms they proposed. Their public conservatism meant that their forms of public protest consisted of passing strongly worded motions or sending letters to governmental bodies. These methods of public protest were valuable, and their conservatism was not an inappropriate or ineffective tool for prompting change. However, BPW clubs did not deviate from conventional perceptions of womanhood in their public activities and the clubwomen were not on the fringes of mainstream society.

In her examination of the Victoria BPW club, Deidre Brocklehurst suggests that the club provided women with an opportunity to “assume a public life without too deeply challenging traditional gender roles.”<sup>7</sup> A 1927 article printed in the Vancouver club’s bulletin, *The Vancouver Business Woman*, asserted that “the Canadian woman has proved her ability to take her share in the public and domestic life of the Dominion, while still maintaining her original place in the home.”<sup>8</sup> While clubwomen supported equality in the work world, they were not, especially in the 1920s and 1930s, suggesting a radical overhaul of society. They supported the rights of women in numerous ways, particularly through using the franchise and supporting legislation that pertained to women in the work force. But they did not, for instance, suggest that women replace

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<sup>7</sup> Deidre Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence: The Victoria Business and Professional Women’s Club 1921-1960,” MA Thesis (University of Victoria, 2001), 3.

<sup>8</sup> “Women Invading All Walks of Life,” *The Vancouver Business Woman* 5, 6 (November 1927), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

men in the labour force – and indeed, at times during the depression era, they even argued that men should replace women in the labour force.

BPW club members in British Columbia generally supported fair treatment for the women working for, or alongside, men in the labour force, and there were some progressive aspects to the clubs and to the women who joined them. Moreover, a more detailed look at club records demonstrates that while they maintained a respectable “outside” image, some elements of “inside” club life were devoted to criticizing and overturning the more obvious signs of inequality that they dealt with in their daily working lives. BPW clubs provided an outlet for women’s frustrations with the economic arena within which they made their livings. Business and professional women were aware, and at times critical, of the gender conventions that bound their enterprises. The records of the Vancouver and Victoria BPW clubs demonstrate business and professional women’s ritual parody of male-dominated business traditions in satirical news articles, mock debates, and mock weddings. Most of these events occurred under the auspices of the club’s social activities, but they indicate that even in lighter social moments, club members were constantly aware of the gendered world that shaped – and limited – their working lives. And, while the critiques were often kept “inside” the club meetings, they could sometimes spill out into the club’s public activities: in the press, in some of their proposed reforms, and in the privacy of the club’s meetings, a more radical and less conventional side of the BPW clubs existed.

### **Defining Businesswomen**

Gender and business historian Angel Kwolek-Folland argues that women business owners were more likely to be defined as penny capitalists than as

entrepreneurs, if they were identified at all.<sup>9</sup> This definitional issue is also one of class: small businesses run by working-class men and women were more likely to be defined as forms of penny capitalism, rather than as “businesses” in the more corporate sense. Women’s businesses were very often smaller than men’s and created out of the labour that women already did on a domestic front, meaning that in the eyes of many, they barely registered as businesses. This helps explain the lack of recognition afforded to women who were technically self-employed and working as, for example, laundresses, washerwomen or prostitutes, working-class occupations that depended on the owner’s labour rather than on the buying or selling of products.

By the early twentieth century the prospect that women could be businesspeople in their own right seemed more plausible. Instead of just the masculine terminology of the “businessman,” the terms businesswoman and business girl came into use. But they did not indicate that women and men were on equal footing in terms of entrepreneurial endeavours, or even that women in various types of business were viewed in the same way. Mary Yeager states that distinctions arose between business girls, “the young single women who worked as part of the clerical force in corporations dominated by men,” and women “viewed as independent proprietors or ‘women in business.’”<sup>10</sup>

Kwolek-Folland notes the same trend, also in an American context, and suggests that the distinctions were important in understanding how business was gendered: “After the advent of female professionalism around 1900 and continuing at least to 1930, female office workers stressed the feminine qualities of the business or office girl

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<sup>9</sup> Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 57.

<sup>10</sup> Mary A. Yeager, “Will There Ever Be a Feminist Business History?” Yeager, ed., *Women in Business: Volume 1* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Elgar, 1999), 19.

and the masculine qualities of the businesswoman.”<sup>11</sup> Business “girls” were not entrepreneurs, but they were feminine. Self-employed businesswomen, however, were entrepreneurs, and therefore, “manly.” According to Kwolek-Folland, one female secretary stated, “I really feel that the business world rubs the bloom from a woman.”<sup>12</sup>

In terms of acceptable gender conventions, self-employed women were more likely to be called businesswomen after 1900 but even though the term was woman-specific, it was sometimes associated with masculine qualities. A businesswoman “has to take hold of [her] work as a man does, make the sacrifices a man does,” according to a short story written in 1915 for the *Saturday Evening Post*.<sup>13</sup> By contrast, wage-earning business girls were appropriately feminine and posed no threat to gender conventions because the work the “girls” did was associated with women’s work. Female office workers (who were often secretaries for men) did not challenge gender hierarchies. They were younger and less educated than male office workers, and subordinate to male managers, becoming “office wives” in what Kwolek-Folland has termed an ideology of “corporate domesticity.”<sup>14</sup>

A further complication arose after 1900 in the definitions of businessmen and businesswomen. The terms could include people working outside the home and usually in white-collar occupations. The term businessman would not be applied to a labourer but it could be applied to an office clerk or a bank manager, just as the term businesswoman was not used to describe domestic servants but could indicate female sales clerks or women who worked as stenographers and typists, typically white-collar

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<sup>11</sup> Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business: Men and Women in the Corporate Office, 1870-1930* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 178.

<sup>12</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*, 178.

<sup>13</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*, 178.

<sup>14</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Engendering Business*, 169.

professions. These women were conducting “business,” but they worked for someone else. This broadening of the definition occurred among men and women. Kaner notes that as companies “grew in complexity and separated ownership from management in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, ‘business’ began taking on new meanings.” Even among men, the term “businessman” was not limited to the self-employed: it included managers.<sup>15</sup> Being in “business” meant working in the world of business, whether as a wage-earner or as a business owner. In this respect, it implied much more about one’s class position than about one’s gender.

### **The Place of “Business” in the Business and Professional Women’s Clubs**

In some ways the twentieth-century use of the term “businesswoman” was too broad, encompassing a wide variety of wage-earning *and* self-employed women in the labour force, while in other ways it was extremely narrow, limited to middle and upper-class women who ran certain types of businesses, bigger and more successful than those of the penny capitalists. The BPW clubs that became prominent in the 1920s and 1930s in Canada and the U.S.A. reflect both of these difficulties. Clubs included both wage-earning and self-employed women as “businesswomen.” Because they did not always clearly distinguish between women who worked in business and women who owned businesses, membership lists for British Columbia cannot easily be broken down into entrepreneurs and employees. The Bylaws set out in 1925 for the Victoria club stated that any woman “engaged in business in the district of Victoria” was eligible for membership, and the membership included women in a variety of occupations, many of

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<sup>15</sup> Kaner, “American Business Women,” 178.

whom were employees.<sup>16</sup> The constitution and bylaws of the CFBPWC, which also applied to the Victoria club since it was a member of the Canadian Federation, were more specific. “‘Business Woman’ means any self-supporting woman in receipt of an income earned by herself, whether such income be received as salary, fee, or commission, as head or member of a firm, executive, employer, or employee.”<sup>17</sup>

I use the term “businesswoman” to refer to self-employed entrepreneurs, despite its use in the early twentieth century to encompass women in a variety of occupational situations. Where necessary I have also used more specific terms such as entrepreneur, proprietor, and the self-employed, to clearly distinguish wage-earning businesswomen from self-employed businesswomen when such a distinction is necessary.

Wage-earning women engaged in white-collar office work or other professional occupations were more prominent in BPW clubs in the province than were business owners, as Tables 3.1 and 3.2 demonstrate. This is partly a reflection of the female labour force: the self-employed made up a small proportion of all working women in British Columbia. In 1931, 12.8 percent of the female labour force was self-employed. In 1951, the closest census year to the 1948 club memberships represented in Table 3.2, 6.6 percent of the female labour force was self-employed (see Chapter One, Table 1.2). In fact, given the low rate of female self-employment in the female labour force, self-employed women were quite well represented in the Victoria BPW club, as Tables 3.1 and 3.2 illustrate. 22.1 percent of the membership in 1931, and 21.5 percent in 1948, was self-employed. Even though the club had more wage-earning than self-employed

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<sup>16</sup> Kumtuks Club Minute Book, January 19, 1925, 9, British Columbia Archives (hereafter BCA), 89-1386-3.

<sup>17</sup> “Constitution and By-Laws of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs,” BCA, 89-1387-1.

members in the two years for which complete membership lists exist, a disproportionate number of self-employed women, compared to their proportion of the female labour force, joined the club.

*Table 3.1: Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club Membership, 1931<sup>18</sup>*

	<i>Occupational Category:</i>					<i>Total, All Categories</i>
	<i>Clerical (wage earners)</i>	<i>Professional (wage earners)</i>	<i>Retail Workers (wage earners)</i>	<i>Self-Employed</i>	<i>Other (status unknown)</i>	
<i>Total (n)</i>	30	19	5	19	13	86
<i>Single (%)</i>	86.7	73.7	40.0	42.0	61.5	67.4
<i>Married (%)</i>	13.3	26.3	60.0	58.0	38.5	32.6
<i>Widowed/Divorced (%)</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Marital status n/s (%)</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>As percentage of total BPW club membership</i>	34.9	22.1	5.8	22.1	15.1	100.0

*Table 3.2: Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club Membership, 1948*

	<i>Occupational Category:</i>					<i>Total, All Categories</i>
	<i>Clerical (wage earners)</i>	<i>Professional (wage earners)</i>	<i>Retail Workers (wage earners)</i>	<i>Self-Employed</i>	<i>Other (status unknown)</i>	
<i>Total (n)</i>	38	21	11	23	14	107
<i>Single (%)</i>	42.1	61.9	27.3	21.7	42.9	40.2
<i>Married (%)</i>	52.6	28.6	63.6	73.9	50.0	53.3
<i>Widowed/Divorced (%)</i>	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
<i>Marital status n/s (%)</i>	5.3	9.5	9.1	4.4	7.1	6.5
<i>As percentage of total BPW club membership</i>	35.5	19.6	10.3	21.5	13.1	100.0

<sup>18</sup> Tables 3.1 and 3.2 were created based upon job titles listed by club members in the 1931 and 1948 membership lists. Whether members were self-employed or wage earners was not specified. To create the tables I placed members in categories according to their likely employment status and categorized them according to the type of occupation they performed. Where a woman's status was too difficult to determine from the occupational title listed, I used an "other/unknown status" category. There are weaknesses in this method; not all milliners, for instance, were self-employed but those who joined a club for professional women were more likely to be self-employed than to be wage earners. In the early to mid-twentieth century, most photographers were self-employed, just as almost all stenographers or clerks were wage earners. The more important point is that specific job descriptions exist for all BPW club members for these years and I can make inferences about their employment status that are very useful when compared to other information about businesswomen in twentieth-century British Columbia. For the complete list of individual 1931 and 1948 club members, with names and occupations, see Appendix 3.1. Source, Table 3.1: Membership List, Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club, 1931, Attendance and Registration Book, BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-3. Table 3.2: Membership List, Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club, 1948, BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-2.

As Tables 3.1 and 3.2 demonstrate, and as the bylaws regarding BPW club membership also illustrate, in the 1920s when the clubs were formed the term “businesswoman” was broadly defined as any woman who worked to support herself, but the club catered to those in professional or middle-class occupations. However, the overall aims of the clubs served the interests of all women in business and in the professions. Club projects appealed to self-employed women, who had few spaces in which to network with other women who worked outside the home and who encountered challenges in their workplaces that were related to their gender.<sup>19</sup> The BPW club records provide a representative sample of some of the issues that were pertinent to women in business for themselves or for others. All of the women worked for pay and they all encountered the peculiar ways in which their work experiences were gendered.

That the BPW club included self-employed and wage-earning women reinforces the distinct lack of networking associations available to self-employed women. Their marginality in the labour force is reflected in the fact that they entered the BPW clubs in relatively large proportions. The BPW clubs provided a place to meet with other female entrepreneurs and to consider issues specific to women’s work. BPW clubs are therefore extremely important in the study of female self-employment.

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<sup>19</sup> Other clubs did exist that catered to women in business and the professions, such as the Soroptomist International which had branches in Victoria and in the Lower Mainland. The oldest of the Vancouver clubs was established in 1926. While the Soroptomist club attracted women who might have also been interested in the BPW clubs, it was service-oriented, formed to “foster the ideals of service and improve the quality of life for all people.” Similarly, the Zonta Club, another international club for women had branches in Vancouver but was never very big; the Zonta Club catered to “professional” women and focused on women’s legal, political, economic and professional status. Like the Soroptomists, it was a more broad-ranging service club. See Chuck Davis, ed., *The Greater Vancouver Book: An Urban Encyclopaedia* (Surrey, BC: The Linkman Press, 1997), 415-416. Businesswomen would undoubtedly have found fellowship in these clubs, but the BPW club was specifically designed with women’s employment as the focus of the club’s social and political activities. While they too would perform service work, employment issues were primary for the BPW clubs and in this respect, the club provides a unique window on issues of gender and employment but also on issues of women’s self-employment, since female entrepreneurs were well-represented within its ranks.

### **The Origins of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs**

The Business and Professional Women's Clubs of Canada were modelled after similar clubs in the United States. The American model was one of local community BPW clubs tied together by a National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs. Formed in 1919, the American businesswomen's clubs joined together to lobby state and federal governments on concerns common to all women in business and the professions.<sup>20</sup> The National Federation was also interested in furthering the gains women had made during the war, and like its local clubs, focused on women and on their "innate ethical and behavioural differences from men."<sup>21</sup>

While they acknowledged their differences from men, the American and Canadian clubs were inspired by men's organizations. In the U.S.A., businessmen joined clubs in the interests of fellowship and civic improvement, and to generally 'boost' their communities. Organizations such as the Rotary Club, which began in 1905, the Kiwanis Club, formed in 1915, and the Lions Club, formed in 1917, were exclusively male.<sup>22</sup> Their refusal to admit women may have prompted the women to form similar clubs. The men's groups of the early twentieth century evolved out of ideas about the growing importance of business and the professions.

Although the clubs were modelled on men's clubs, women's groups were "less concerned with reforming the image of business or with boosting the business community...than with finding a place for women in that venue."<sup>23</sup> The National

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<sup>20</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women*, 91.

<sup>21</sup> Kanes, "American Business Women," 127, 129.

<sup>22</sup> Kanes, "American Business Women," 30-31.

<sup>23</sup> Kanes, "American Business Women," 125.

Federation in the U.S.A. provided strength in numbers, a way for business and professional women to address issues common to all club members.

The Canadian clubs looked to their American counterparts for inspiration. The goals of the American and Canadian clubs were very similar, and it is clear from the friendships between women in the Victoria club and neighbouring U.S. clubs that their American neighbours influenced the British Columbia clubs, among the first established in Canada. In May 1921, the Seattle Business and Professional Women's Club invited the newly formed Kumtuks Club (which would become the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club in 1930) to send representatives to their meeting.<sup>24</sup> In 1923 Lottie Bowron, founder of the Victoria club, clasped hands with Lulu Fairbanks of the Seattle BPW club "across an imaginary border-line at Blaine, Wash. and pledged friendship and loyalty between the Business & Professional Women of the two countries."<sup>25</sup> Bowron also attended a convention of American clubs in Portland, Oregon in 1924.<sup>26</sup> And, the Victoria club later helped to organize a BPW club in Port Angeles, Washington.<sup>27</sup>

In Canada local clubs formed first, and later helped to create a national federation. The Victoria club formed in 1921 as the Kumtuks Club and the Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Club was established in 1923.<sup>28</sup> In 1928, a committee of Victoria and Vancouver club members suggested that the two clubs work

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<sup>24</sup>Frances Paterson, "The Saga of Kumtuks," *The Business and Professional Woman* XXI, 11 (March-April 1951), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

<sup>25</sup>"History of the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club," BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

<sup>26</sup>Brocklehurst, "A Visible Presence," 43.

<sup>27</sup>"History of the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club," BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

<sup>28</sup>Josephine Dauphinee, a nurse, teacher, and supervisor of special needs education classes in Vancouver, was one of the Vancouver BPW club's founders and she was president of the Vancouver club in 1928-29. She also served as president of the Canadian Federation from 1932 to 1935. See Davis, ed., *The Greater Vancouver Book*, 817. Dauphinee's involvement with the club is also evident in the Vancouver club records. She was a professional woman, but she was not an entrepreneur.

toward forming a Canadian federation much like the American federation.<sup>29</sup> This idea was clearly a result of the close contact between the British Columbia clubs and their American neighbours, who helped the Canadian BPW clubs in their efforts. Canadian representatives attended the biennial convention of the United States Federation on Mackinac Island in July 1929. They drafted, with help from the American clubwomen, a constitution for a Canadian federation. "In between sessions they went over the draft constitution and by-laws for the proposed Canadian Federation and returned to Canada fired with enthusiasm to get a national Federation under way."<sup>30</sup>

The Vancouver club adopted and approved the clauses and constitution for the Canadian federation at their November 1929 meeting.<sup>31</sup> The first convention for the CFBPWC was held in Winnipeg in the summer of 1930 and included representatives from clubs in Montreal, Hamilton, Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Victoria.<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Madge Hall attended as the delegate for Victoria. When she returned, she informed the Kumtuks Club that if they wanted to be included in the CFBPWC, then they had to bear the name "Business and Professional Women's Club."<sup>33</sup> The Kumtuks Club consequently changed their name to the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club in September 1930.

In its early years, the CFBPWC thrived and additional clubs quickly sprang up across the country. At the time of the third annual convention of the CFBPWC, held in Vancouver and Victoria in 1932, there were 19 BPW clubs in Canada. Delegates

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<sup>29</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Record Book, 1923-1929, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>30</sup> Excerpt from a club publication by Elizabeth Forbes, "With Enthusiasm and Faith: History of the Canadian Federation of B. and P.W. Clubs, 1930-1972," CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3. The booklet was published by the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women in 1974.

<sup>31</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Records, CVA, Add Mss 799, 608-A-1, file 4.

<sup>32</sup> Brocklehurst, "A Visible Presence," 43.

<sup>33</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3.

attended from six British Columbian clubs: New Westminster, Vernon, Kamloops, Nanaimo, Victoria and Vancouver.<sup>34</sup> British Columbia's clubs made up a significant proportion of all the clubs in the country in 1932 and their prominence at the national level is evident in their involvement with the national federation's executive and even with the publications put out by the CFBPWC.<sup>35</sup>

That British Columbia club members were an important force in terms of the total number of clubs in the national federation at its inception seems fitting, since women in the province were very active in the labour force and they were proportionately more likely to be self-employed than women elsewhere in the country. Their involvement in entrepreneurship in the province was noticeable in historical census data, as Chapters One and Two demonstrated, but the qualitative records also demonstrate this. The prominence of the Vancouver and Victoria clubs in the early years of the Canadian federation may reflect the distinct attributes of the female labour force in the province. It is therefore worth examining the formation of these two clubs in more detail.

**“You will never find them slumbering”: Aims and Objectives of the Victoria and Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Clubs, 1920s-1970s**

Miss Lottie Bowron was the founder (and first president) of the Kumtuks Club of Victoria. At the time of formation, she was in her forties and working as a public stenographer but she had worked for Premier Richard McBride for many years, and would return to a government-appointed post in 1928. When she formed the club, she

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<sup>34</sup> BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 3.

<sup>35</sup> Elizabeth Forbes, author of the historical booklet “With Enthusiasm and Faith,” was a Victoria BPW club member and newspaper editor.

had just returned to Canada from England and may have found herself somewhat isolated, bereft of her old occupation and associations.<sup>36</sup> She later reflected that:

As founder of the Club, I feel I may be allowed to express, unmistakably [sic], what was the chief reason for its being, - to educate us in public affairs, so that we, as intelligent women with the vote, might know how to properly play our part in the life of Canada... An organ of our own was a necessity, where we could express our views, learn to speak, to give and take, enlarge our public activities – a place of preparation for our larger work of community service.”<sup>37</sup>

Bowron’s concept was thus of a serious club with a political purpose, and she clearly believed that an “organ of our own,” a club solely for women, was much needed. But she also remembered that she had envisioned a place where businesswomen could, “like the Rotarians,” meet for lunch. That is, she was very interested in “what women could do, what the future of our sex must be, what its responsibilities and priveleges [sic] would entail, and the great need of preparation for this future,” but she also wanted a club where women could meet for social reasons.<sup>38</sup>

Bowron began what was the first business and professional women’s club in western Canada, with a luncheon on 17 January 1921 in Victoria.<sup>39</sup> There were 24 founding members: nine were married, and 15 were single. Another 42 members joined

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<sup>36</sup> Lottie Bowron was the daughter of John Bowron, one of the original settlers of Barkerville, British Columbia, during the 1860s Cariboo gold rush. She was clerk and stenographer for Premier Richard McBride from 1904 until 1915. After McBride stepped down in 1915, Bowron went to England; she returned to Victoria in 1918 and formed the Kumtuks Club two years later. J.D. Wilson suggests she was “upset and disappointed” that, after working in the civil service for Premier McBride for many years, the Liberal government denied her a full time job in 1918; Bowron ended up working as a public stenographer until 1928 when she was appointed Rural Teachers’ Welfare Officer under a new Conservative government, an appointment that lasted until another government turnover; Pattullo’s Liberal government dismissed her in 1934. Unwillingly retired “at age fifty-four, Bowron lived on for another thirty years,” living at the Strathcona Hotel in Victoria. See J.Donald Wilson, “‘I am ready to be of assistance when I can’: Lottie Bowron and Rural Women Teachers in British Columbia,” in Alison Prentice and Marjorie R. Theobald, eds., *Women Who Taught: Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 204-205, 221. Although Bowron does not say so, I suspect that her return from England, combined with the loss of her civil service work and associations, may have led her to form the club.

<sup>37</sup> Lottie Bowron, “Club History, 1921-28” BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>38</sup> Lottie Bowron, “Club History 1921-28,” BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>39</sup> “History of the Victoria Business and Professional Women’s Club,” BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

throughout 1921, 11 of whom were married.<sup>40</sup> Bowron's vision encapsulated the many functions of the BPW clubs that would later form across Canada: the clubs would be serious and political and chiefly concerned with using women's franchise. An informal history of the Kumtuks Club stressed that the "exercise of the franchise" was "one of the essential qualifications of membership."<sup>41</sup> Women were encouraged to vote, to vote for women whenever possible, and even to run for public office. But the clubs were also intended to be social networks. A member of the Winnipeg BPW club recollected in 1946 that the main object of their club had been "to have a Club where we tired business and professional women might relax and get away from all the worries of our every-day life."<sup>42</sup>

The Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Club formed two years after the Kumtuks Club. A group of women proposed organizing a club at a luncheon in November 1922, and the women elected their first executive on 19 January 1923. The first official club luncheon, held on 20 February 1923, attracted 82 women and newly elected President Mabel Ingram told the women that the club "must have been formed at the [right] psychological moment, as so many women had responded ...." Ingram continued, "There are women in all branches of business and the professions today, we are shut out of nothing, and the men are recognizing more and more that we are in the business world to stay and to shoulder our share of the big things of the world."<sup>43</sup>

The "Aims and Objects" of the Vancouver club included, according to Article Three of their constitution:

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<sup>40</sup> "Kumtuks Club History, 1921-28," BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>41</sup> "History of the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club," BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

<sup>42</sup> "Canadian Federation News," BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

<sup>43</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Minute Book, CVA, Add Mss 799, 608-A-1.

To promote the interests of business and professional women, to stimulate social intercourse and further the educational development of its members. To elevate the standards for women in business and professional life, and to take such action on social and economic questions and such other matters as the club may deem advisable.<sup>44</sup>

Much like the Kumtuks Club, the ideals of the Vancouver BPW club were more ambitious than simply providing a place to socialize, although the success of their many luncheons indicates that socializing and networking were key aspects of the club. More importantly, the women who formed BPW clubs in British Columbia in the early 1920s were aware that if they wanted to achieve parity with men in the “business world,” they needed their own space and, as Bowron put it, an “organ of our own.” The formation of the clubs was a response to the gendered world in which the women worked. Had women perceived their work worlds as ‘gender-neutral,’ they would have had no need for a separate social space. Moreover, they needed more than a social space, as the minutes of the Victoria and Vancouver clubs indicate: the clubs helped women to embrace the franchise and to learn how to use it to better their own and other women’s working lives.

Like the American BPW clubs, those in British Columbia imitated men’s clubs to some degree. It is clear that Bowron had the Rotarians in mind as a model when she formed the Kumtuks Club, particularly in the area of community service.<sup>45</sup> But it is important to note that women’s business clubs also sought specific recognition for women in the working world and they sought to, as Kaner argues, “create a community

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<sup>44</sup> *The Vancouver Business Woman* 2, 2 (July 1, 1924), cover page, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

<sup>45</sup> Lottie Bowron commented, as quoted earlier in this chapter, that women needed a club “like the Rotarians.” As well, Brocklehurst argues that Bowron envisioned a club whose primary aim was to provide service to the community and that Bowron used the Rotarians as the model for this element of the Kumtuks Club. See Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence,” 23.

of women who could support and encourage one another in ventures into uncharted territory.”<sup>46</sup> This is a key difference between businessmen’s clubs, that provided an organizational model, and businesswomen’s clubs. Men in business were not at a threshold: they were not starting into a new field or into uncharted territory, even though their twentieth-century business clubs may have been a new form of expression for businessmen. BPW clubs were an important marker of a changing world for women in the labour force, and it is significant that the women saw a need to create a club space that was solely for them. Even if that space was in some ways modelled after the clubs started by men, the issues women would deal with in their clubs would differ from those of men, precisely because of gender.

The BPW clubs took their community work seriously, beginning with small acts of generosity directed toward other women in their community, as the early minutes books for the Kumtuks Club demonstrate. In 1923, club members donated money to a young girl “needing artificial teeth,” and they provided mugs and oranges to the children of an orphanage. Club member Miss Bay Wigley became a member of the Board of the Children’s Aid, an appointment that pleased the Kumtuks members who were keen to keep up liaison work with other service organizations in Victoria.<sup>47</sup>

While the minute books for the Victoria BPW club in the early 1930s recorded many social activities and continued service-oriented activities, the club also took on a variety of issues that highlighted women’s inequality in the labour force. Brocklehurst argues that the club began with a commitment to community service and philanthropic work, but over time, made women’s work-related issues its primary focus. Club

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<sup>46</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 32.

<sup>47</sup> Kumtuks Club Minute Book, February 1923, BCA, 89-1386-3.

members defended women's rights to work, and between 1920 and 1961, became more outspoken on employment issues such as wage equity, the rights of married women to work, the vulnerability of older women workers and the status of domestic workers.<sup>48</sup>

These issues became more important with the onset of the depression. The Vancouver BPW club addressed the rising unemployment in the city and its effect on women by contributing to the "Women's Committee for Unemployment Relief" in 1931, giving "the use of their club rooms daily as a sewing room for unemployed women."<sup>49</sup> Following Vancouver's lead, the Victoria club opened a similar room in 1932: women on the "work roll" worked four hours a day and were paid 20 cents per hour to remodel clothes. Bay Wigley reported that it was "a source of great pleasure to Victoria to know how much good that room has done in the way of helping these women who otherwise must have applied for relief and in that way have lowered their own morale."<sup>50</sup> While Wigley suggested that these women did not have to apply for relief, their work in the sewing room was not billed as full employment but as relief work. This project did not create permanent jobs for women.

In January 1934, Miss Nettie Foxall, owner of a photographic studio, moved the following resolution:

Be it resolved that this Victoria B and P W Club...strongly deprecates any tendency on the part of employers, in any class of employment, to exploit women and girls who, in many cases, are driven almost to desperation by [their] need to accept wages which are incompatible with decent standards of living.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Brocklehurst, "A Visible Presence," 14-15.

<sup>49</sup> "Canadian Federation News," March 1931, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

<sup>50</sup> Victoria BPW Club Minute Book, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 3.

<sup>51</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3. Ironically, the club congratulated itself for providing low-wage relief work, but here deprecated attempts by others to "exploit" girls.

The motion, which passed, was clearly motivated by depression-era working conditions. But it was not until May 1936 that the club appointed a committee to look at the unemployment situation for women in Victoria.<sup>52</sup>

In 1935, an insightful editorial published in *The Business and Professional Woman*, the national federation's newsletter, addressed the unemployment issues faced by women. Entitled "A Momentous Time," the author pointed out that:

the girl of today, standing on the threshold of the business world, views a very different prospect to the girl of ten years ago. 'How can I get a job?' is the question on her lips; not, as it was ten years ago, 'what career should I choose?'<sup>53</sup>

The editorial urged businesswomen of Canada to face the "slump" and "the immediate future with clear eyes..., to be prepared to ask for, and fight for, reasonable treatment in every channel of business and the professions, and to adapt themselves to changing conditions." Business and professional women recognized that they would need to fight for "reasonable treatment," given that the depression led to layoffs.

The onset of World War Two brought new issues. An article in the May 1941 issue of *The Business and Professional Woman* noted that there was a "danger of becoming so immersed in the routine of war work...that we lose sight of the real issues involved and the part educated business and professional women can play..."<sup>54</sup> Despite the warning, the Canadian Federation focused on "War Interests" during the July 1941 convention, and British Columbia clubs focused on wartime aid, rather than on larger political questions, during the 1940s. An article in the November 1940 issue of *The Business and Professional Woman* entitled, "All Clubs Put Emphasis on War Work,"

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<sup>52</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>53</sup> *The Business and Professional Woman* (June 1935), 4, BCA, 89-1387-1, file 2.

<sup>54</sup> *The Business and Professional Woman* (May 1941), BCA, 89-1387-1, file 2.

reported that in British Columbia, the New Westminster club “adopted” two soldiers. The Victoria Club had a Red Cross Group and imposed a monthly levy on their members that was put into a war emergency fund, and the Fanoba (Vancouver) club was knitting and collecting funds.<sup>55</sup>

While political and social justice issues may have been placed on hold during the war, the BPW clubs returned to them as the war came to a close. In 1944, Mrs. Lillian Smith of Victoria spoke at a regional conference in the Vancouver BPW club rooms, on “Full Employment” and on the role business and professional women could expect to play in the post-war world. Smith repeated the same goals for clubwomen in 1944 that Lottie Bowron had stressed in her explanation of what the Kumtuks Club sought to do more than twenty years earlier. She drew attention to issues such as the equality of men and women and the “right of married women to work.” She also proposed that women in business should “employ women wherever possible,” and vote for women and specifically for business or professional women.<sup>56</sup> Hiring, and voting for, women were two tangible steps that club members were urged to take. These were serious political and economic messages for women in business and professional life.

The right of married women to work was a persistent issue for BPW clubs during the depression and post-war years. In 1930, the Victoria Chamber of Commerce advised the Victoria BPW club that they had “appointed a committee to consider and make a special study of the unemployment question....” It planned to urge employers to “employ unmarried women who are obliged to earn their own living or work in support of others in the place of married women who are now employed and whose husbands are

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<sup>55</sup> *The Business and Professional Woman* (November 1940), 9, BCA, 89-1387-1, file 2.

<sup>56</sup> Scrapbook (clippings), Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 74-A-436.

also working.”<sup>57</sup> The Chamber of Commerce clearly saw this as a strategy to deal with mounting unemployment but, interestingly, sought support from a club composed of both married and single women, all of whom worked.

Unfortunately, the BPW response was not noted in the minutes. In the 1930s, married women did not work in large numbers and self-employed women were more likely to be married than were wage-earning women. However, married self-employed women were not in danger of losing their jobs with such a policy in place, which may be one of the reasons why married women chose self-employment over wage-earning work. Married women found it harder to obtain wage-earning work than did single women, but they may also have had trouble keeping their jobs if, whenever the economy was in decline, they were at risk of being replaced by men or by single women. Self-employment, while it contained many other financial perils, put them in a position where they could not lose their source of income due solely to their marital status.

The issue may not have aroused much debate in 1930 because the Victoria club had relatively few married members who worked as wage earners. But it is also possible that the membership agreed with a policy that barred married women from working during times of massive unemployment. Brocklehurst found evidence that the Victoria club felt that the employment of married women was only justified when the family depended on that income for survival. This was a limited endorsement of the rights of married women to work, and Brocklehurst notes that even though the CFBPWC maintained throughout the depression that it “officially supported the right of married women to work,” the Victoria BPW club’s support wavered.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>58</sup> Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence,” 58.

Very few full membership lists exist for the Victoria or the Vancouver club and not all of them list club members' occupations. However, Table 3.3 lists the self-employed members mentioned in either the Vancouver or Victoria club records, between 1921 and 1963.<sup>59</sup> This list is obviously not comprehensive, and it covers a vast time period but more than half of the self-employed BPW club members listed in Table 3.3 were married. The table reinforces the link, noted in earlier chapters, between marriage and self-employment among women.

*Table 3.3: Self-Employed Women in the Victoria and Vancouver Business and Professional Women's Club, 1921-1963*<sup>60</sup>

Last name	First name	Marital Status	Year entry	Year mentioned	Occupation	City
Adams		S	1924	1924	chiropractor	Victoria
Arsens	Lydia	M		1961	store owner	Victoria
Badgley	Helen		1923	1923	arts teacher	Vancouver
Baker	Elizabeth	S	1927	1927	book store	Vancouver
Ballantyne	R.	M	1952	1952	florist	Victoria
Bartholomew	M.	M		1930s?	antiques dealer	Victoria
Barton	Phyllis		1923	1923	dressmaker	Vancouver
Beckwith	Winnifred	S	1927	1927, 1931	milliner	Victoria
Bell	Heather	M	1921	1921	violin teacher	Victoria
Bell	Margaret	M	1948	1948	corsetiere	Victoria
Bengston	Viva	S	1955	1955	guest house prop/ nurse	Victoria
Beveridge	Minnie	S		1941, 1948	milliner	Victoria

<sup>59</sup> This list is not comprehensive and does not include *all* BPW club members who were self-employed between 1921 and 1963: it only includes those who were specifically noted in club records. In addition, that they were self-employed is not specifically stated: I have included women who were very likely self-employed, based on their occupational title, or women who were specifically referred to in the Vancouver or Victoria BPW club minutes and records as entrepreneurs. The point I want to make with this table is that in occupations that were, or were likely to be, entrepreneurial, the rate of marriage was high: marriage was a far more likely state among self-employed women than among wage-earning women, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century. Source for these tables: Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA and Vancouver BPW Club Records, CVA.

<sup>60</sup> Table 3.3 also speaks to the difficulty of 'finding' self-employed women in qualitative records. I went through the records of the Victoria and Vancouver BPW clubs in detail and wrote down every mention of self-employed women just to get a sense of these women across time. Unless one picks through club records or other qualitative sources in great detail, it is often difficult to even get a sense of who the self-employed women in the province were. Quantitative data provides one access point but fleshing out individual people and their occupations can be more difficult.

Bidwell	Norah	S	1946	1946	glass engraver	Victoria
Blythe	Muriel	S		1931	milliner	Victoria
Brown	Mima	M	1921	1921	florist	Vancouver
Carr	Emily	S	1926	1926	artist	Victoria
Carroll	Irene	M	1942	1942, 1948	corsetiere	Victoria
Conacher	Isabella	S	1927	1927, 1931	photographer	Victoria
Cooper	Rozella	M	1947	1947, 1948	restaurant owner	Victoria
Costar	Winnifred	M	1946	1946, 1948	dressmaker	Victoria
Darling	Dollie	M		1931, 1948, 1949	beauty shop	Victoria
Dodds	Pamela	M	1948	1948	music teacher	Victoria
Donagh	Dora	S	1921	1922, 1931	artist	Victoria
Drake		M		1935	bakery owner	Victoria
Foxall	Nettie	S		1925, 1931, 1935	photographer	Victoria
Greaves		M		1931	photographer	Victoria
Griffin	Beatrice	S	1926	1926, 1931	music teacher/musician	Victoria
Hall	Jane	S	1948	1948	dressmaker	Victoria
Harradine	Norah		1924	1924	owner, commercial school	Vancouver
Hastings	Alice			1932	Star Steam Laundry	Vancouver
Heath	Winnifred	M	1961	1961	Green Lantern gift shop	Victoria
Heeny	Dorothy	M	1948	1948	milliner	Victoria
Henderson	Olive	M		1962	beauty salon owner	Victoria
Herd	Minnie	S		1931	milliner	Victoria
Kitto		S	1921	1921	artist	Victoria
Langworthy		M	1927	1927	florist	Vancouver
Le Lacheur	Ruth	S	1961	1961	Partner, Green Lantern	Victoria
Livingstone		S		1941	Crown Millinery	Victoria
Lund		M	1922	1922	dance teacher	Victoria
Lythgoe	Leyda	Dr/ M	1955	1955	psychiatrist	Victoria
Macdonald	Norma	M	1948	1948, 1957	hotel prop.	Victoria
Macdonald		M	1927	1927	owner, oriental store	Vancouver
Mallek	Alice	M		1941, 1948	furrier/clothes	Victoria
Maynard	Ethel	M	1926	1926, 1931, 1941	jeweller	Victoria
Maynard	Ida	M		1932	shoe store	Victoria
McCrea		M	1924	1924, 1931	photographer	Victoria
McGregor	Kate	S	1924	1924	music teacher	Victoria
McLenaghan		S		1932	Blue Bird Hat shop	Vancouver
McMartin		M		1931; 1941	leather goods store	Victoria
Moggey	Vivian	S	1927	1927	music teacher	Victoria
Monk	Phyllis		1926	1926	merchant, lingerie	Vancouver
Moody	Bessie	M	1923	1923	tea room	Vancouver
More		M	1948	1948	milliner	Victoria
Morgan		M	1924	1924	authoress	Victoria

Morgan	Mary C.	M	1946	1946	dressmaker	Victoria
Morrison	Cecilia	M	1948	1948	dressmaker	Victoria
Neiman	Adele	M	1946	1946	army supply store	Victoria
Pearce	Winnifred	M	1948	1948	café owner	Victoria
Pearson		M	1923	1923	owner, tea room	Vancouver
Raine	Olive	S		1931	milliner	Victoria
Rose	Sonia	M	1948	1948	jeweller	Victoria
Salter		S	1926	1926	owner, hostel	Victoria
Schramli		M		1931	merchant	Victoria
Shanks	Loretta	M	1947	1947	lingerie shop owner	Victoria
Sherratt	Hazel	M	1951	1951	masseur	Victoria
Sparks	Edith		1948	1948	milliner	Victoria
Sprott	Anna	M		1927	owner, business college	Vancouver
Steel	Anne	Dr	1951	1957	doctor	Victoria
Stewart	Margaret	M		1931	musician	Victoria
Strathern	Ada	S		1931	music teacher	Victoria
Sweeney		M	1921	1921	artist	Victoria
Talbot	Mabel	M	1959	1959	milliner	Victoria
Taylor	Juanetta	M	1951	1951	restaurant owner	Victoria
Van Beeker	E.	S		1931	masseuse	Victoria
Vautrin	Erma	M	1948	1948	hotel prop.	Victoria
Wade	Vera	M		1961, 1963	dress shop owner	Victoria
Westall		M		1951	wigs (hairdresser)	Vancouver
Westcott	May	S	1930s?		Academy of useful arts	Vancouver
Wilkes		M		1931	furrier	Victoria
Willis		M	1923	1923	artist	Victoria
Wilson	Nellie			1932	hosiery, lingerie shop	Vancouver
Wingate	Brownie	S	1939	1939	commercial artist	Victoria
Woodward	Barbara	M	1946	1946, 1948	artist/author	Victoria
Woollatt		M	1924	1924	antiques dealer	Victoria
Wright	Jean	M	1951	1951	masseur	Victoria
York	Elizabeth	S		1941, 1948	Holley's Café	Victoria

Self-employed members would not have been affected by policies such as that proposed by the Victoria Chamber of Commerce. In 1931, 20 percent of the club's clerical and professional wage-earning members were married,<sup>61</sup> and 58 percent of self-

<sup>61</sup> See Table 3.1 but also Appendix 3.1, which lists all the members of the Victoria BPW in 1931. I only included the professional and clerical wage-earning women here, as they comprised the bulk of the wage-earning membership.

employed club members were married. These percentages are compiled from the 1931 membership list and the proportions of married and single women in the club in 1930, when the Victoria Chamber of Commerce's appeal appeared in the minutes, would have been very similar. Since most wage earners in the club were single in 1930 and 1931, the Chamber's strategy would have affected very few of the BPW club members.

In later years, the Victoria club clarified its position and defended the rights of married women in the labour force. During World War Two many married women had gone to work; after the war, they were encouraged to return to the home.<sup>62</sup> In 1947, the federal government announced that it planned to terminate the employment of married women in the civil service to provide jobs for, primarily, male war veterans. In response, on 18 February 1947 the Victoria BPW club sent the following telegram to the House of Commons: "The Business and Professional Women's Club of Victoria is deeply perturbed at the action taken by the Dominion Government in dismissing all married women in its employ as of March 31<sup>st</sup> 1947. On behalf of all employed women of Greater Victoria we would ask you to protest this policy with utmost vigour."<sup>63</sup>

That the Victoria club was becoming more active on behalf of married workers after the war is not surprising: in 1931, just 32.6 percent of the entire club membership was married, while in 1948, the only other year for which a complete membership list is available, 53.3 percent of the entire membership was married (Tables 3.1, 3.2). And the percentage of clerical and professional wage-earning members who were married had

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<sup>62</sup> Not all women responded to the propaganda encouraging them to leave the labour force, however; see Chapter One for a discussion of women's labour force participation rates during and after the war, and the limited effect of post-war propaganda that urged women to leave their jobs.

<sup>63</sup> Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-2.

more than doubled, from 20 percent in 1931 to 41 percent in 1948.<sup>64</sup> Policies that affected married workers had a more significant impact on members of the Victoria BPW club in 1947 and 1948 than in 1931.

The issue of married government employees' rights to work became a province-wide issue (and also a national issue) in the late 1940s. In 1948, although individual clubs continued to meet, a larger provincial body was formed in British Columbia.<sup>65</sup> The provincial club system was meant to provide small clubs with stronger representation at the national level and to tackle issues of interest to club members across the province. At a meeting of provincial delegates in September 1949, one of the issues on the agenda was married women in civil service. Delegates were angered that married female employees had been asked to keep an open resignation on file, "until the times comes when they can be replaced [by men]," according to Hilda Cryderman. British Columbia's Civil Service Commission had asked married women in the civil service to hand in "advance resignations" when they were hired, so that in the case of a depression (or presumably, for any other reason), married women workers could be replaced.<sup>66</sup> An official of the Civil Service Commission stated, "We don't want them (married women who are civil servants) to get the idea that they are firmly implanted in their jobs."<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> See Table 3.2 but also the Appendix, which lists all the members of the Victoria BPW club in 1948. Again, I only included the professional and clerical wage-earning women because they still made up more than half of the membership of the club.

<sup>65</sup> Minute Book, BPW Clubs of BC and the Yukon: Volume 1, 1948-1964, BCA, 91-3433-516. Local clubs elected a provincial president to represent them at the level of the CFBPWC, and delegates from clubs across the province met as members of the new provincial club. Of the 19 BPW clubs in British Columbia in 1948, 12 were represented at the first meeting of the new provincial BPW club.

<sup>66</sup> Scrapbook (clippings), Victoria BPW Club, BCA, 89-1386-1. This scrapbook contained articles from three provincial newspapers, dated 8 August 1949, about the issue.

<sup>67</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, August 8, 1949, 3.

Headed by its first provincial president Minnie Beveridge, owner of a millinery shop in Victoria, the provincial organization responded by sending a telegram to Premier Byron Johnson:

Representatives of 650 members of the British Columbia Business and Professional Women's Clubs in conference strongly protest discrimination against married women by British Columbia Civil Service Commission as reported in daily press of August and urge immediate reconsideration of this policy.<sup>68</sup>

In 1952, the Victoria BPW club again raised the issue of the employment of married women, noting that one of the tenets of the Canadian Federation was "the right of all women to be gainfully employed regardless of race, colour, creed or marital status." Club members supported the tenet, and accordingly they congratulated Saanich Council on their decision to make further appointments of women on merit only.<sup>69</sup>

While the Victoria club seemed to endorse the rights of married women to work, that support would again waver. In 1960, at a time of mounting unemployment statistics, club members conceded that every woman should have the right to work, whether married or single, "but a married woman with young children should not work unless she is the breadwinner of a family."<sup>70</sup> In this case, clubwomen may have been more concerned about the welfare of children than about the right to work of married women. But they still ultimately proposed that in some cases, married women ought to stay in the home, something that was never advocated for married men or for fathers. The Victoria club seemed in 1960 to be returning to the same policy as that proposed by the Chamber of Commerce in 1930, and this was a more conservative stance than that endorsed at the

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<sup>68</sup> Minute Book, BPW Clubs of BC and the Yukon, BCA, 91-3433-516. The telegram was also reprinted in *The Business and Professional Woman* XX, 3 (Nov-Dec. 1949), 9, BCA, 89-1387-1, file 2.

<sup>69</sup> Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-2.

<sup>70</sup> Scrapbook (clippings), Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 74-A-436.

federal level by the CFBPWC. This conservatism may also have been influenced by the white, middle-class membership of the club. Women who did not need to work for financial reasons, and who had high-earning spouses, perhaps promoted the ideal of the stay-at-home mother. But many mothers worked because their families needed their income, even if they were not the family's main "breadwinner."

In other areas, the Victoria club's stance on women's equality in the workplace was forward-thinking. In 1951, members held a round table discussion on how to acquire "equal standing with men in the business and professional world." Two main strategies were discussed: the group agreed that women should "use their vote," and that women had a "responsibility in backing up women in authority and at all times cooperating with other women..."<sup>71</sup>

The club took these strategies to heart: in 1951 and 1952, the Victoria BPW club's programs included "Business Women at Work," talks by various members about their professions, and a study of the issue of "Equal Pay for Equal Work." These topics indicate that the club was aware of, and working toward, improving the status of women in the workplace, while also acknowledging that they did not have equity with men at work. Gender still mattered for business and professional women, and the club records indicate women's responses to gender inequities.

Another function of the Victoria club was to prepare young women for their professional working lives, and to this end, it held a series of "Career Previews," beginning in 1961. The preview programs proposed to "acquaint students with the wide fields of opportunity for women today."<sup>72</sup> Mrs. Vera Wade, owner of Lyle's Dress Shop,

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<sup>71</sup> Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-2.

<sup>72</sup> Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

gave a talk on “Selling” and Mrs. Olive Henderson, owner of Olive’s Beauty Salon, gave a similar talk on beauty parlour work. Other career topics included “Working as a Waitress,” presented by Mrs. Lydia Arsens, proprietor of a health food shop and the Majorette coffee shop. Elizabeth Forbes, editor of the women’s pages for the *Victoria Daily Times*, spoke on “Working For a Newspaper.” Miss Ruth Adams, president of the Victoria BPW club in 1962, gave a talk entitled “Why a Career?”<sup>73</sup>

The previews focused on careers traditionally chosen by women, despite the club’s desire to show a variety of careers and broaden the horizons of girls and women. That the choices portrayed at career workshops stayed within the realm of acceptable (and arguably, limited) fields of women’s work further indicates that despite the many activities of the BPW clubs, in terms of pushing for working women’s equality, they still maintained a fairly conventional position. Brocklehurst makes this point clearly: the fact that club members were generally “white, and by occupation, respectably white collar” and moreover, that they were middle-class and Anglo-Celtic as well, influenced their interpretation of the issues and legislation that pertained to working women in the province, just as it influenced the sorts of career previews put on by the club.<sup>74</sup> Despite a conservatism that went hand in hand with the membership’s class and race biases, the club still challenged entrenched beliefs regarding the social position of women and even if their challenges were sometimes limited to helping working women decide between work as a hairdresser or a waitress, they nonetheless defended women’s rights to work and demanded wage and employment equity for working women.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Victoria BPW Club –conference programs, loose pamphlets, BCA, 89-1387-3.

<sup>74</sup> Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence,” 44.

<sup>75</sup> For a more detailed examination of the many issues that the Victoria BPW club in particular tackled, and the issues they advanced, see Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence.” Her study outlines in detail the

Still, existing membership lists show overwhelmingly middle-class women in white-collar occupations, and class and race biases are evident in club records. From 1921 to 1929, the Victoria club bylaws specifically excluded “persons of Asiatic birth or extraction” from membership. In January 1925, Lottie Bowron presented a motion to remove the part of the bylaw that excluded Asian women from joining the club. Her motion failed, and while she continued to reintroduce similar motions, it did not carry until January 1929.<sup>76</sup>

That this bylaw was difficult to change makes evident that membership was not open to all working women. Brocklehurst notes that processes were in place “to ensure that only ‘desirable’ candidates were admitted to the club.” Prospective members needed the support of two club members in good standing, and certain levels of “conduct” were expected of club members: if a member’s behaviour was “detrimental to the interests of the club,” she could be expelled.<sup>77</sup>

In September 1930, the Victoria club heard that the Victoria Chamber of Commerce “had appointed a committee to consider...the unemployment question.” The Chamber asked all citizens to “employ white labour wherever possible in the place of oriental labour,” a request that did not appear to offend any of the BPW club members present.<sup>78</sup> Two months later, in November 1930, a member of the Maple Leaf association was the guest speaker at the Victoria club meeting. Mr. Carey “explained that the principal aim of his association, was to eliminate the oriental, or at least stop immigration of more orientals to Canada.” He concluded by asking the BPW club for

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various bills and legislation pertaining to women that the club supported, between 1920 and 1961, as well as other issues related to work and women that the club addressed.

<sup>76</sup> Kumtuks Club Record Book, 1920s, BCA, 89-1386-3. That the motion passed at all could be interpreted as a remarkably liberal gesture given the tenor of the times and the “whiteness” of the club membership.

<sup>77</sup> Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence,” 31-32.

<sup>78</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, September 19, 1930, BCA, 89-1386-3.

support. "Miss Clay, on behalf of the club, thanked Mr. Carey...adding that she was sure we all realize that this is a problem which requires our most careful attention."<sup>79</sup>

In 1948, the question of the nationality of club members came up during the meeting of the provincial association of BPW clubs. While the national constitution for the CFBPWC stated that clubwomen "must be British subjects," provincial delegates agreed that women of other nationalities could be "associate members" of BPW clubs, but they should "be urged to take immediate steps to become Canadian citizens before being accepted into full membership into our clubs."<sup>80</sup>

That the clubs were "closely associated with the Christian religion" was emphatically stated in a 1951 motion at a provincial BPW meeting, in which a Penticton club member asked the organization to plan meetings "so that members may attend a church service on Sundays."<sup>81</sup>

That most club members were middle-class undoubtedly influenced their ideas about what constituted "respectable" women's work, and hampered their progressiveness on some issues. It is possible to critique the clubs' policies on the basis that they only illuminated the experiences of a select group of mostly white-collar (and white) professional Christian women. Given these limitations, it is difficult to view the club in a completely progressive light: while they worked on behalf of working women, they did not let many working-class women into their club, and they did not appear to support the rights of non-white working women at all, at least up until the 1940s.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, November 3, 1930, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>80</sup> Minute Book, BPW Clubs of BC and the Yukon: Volume 1, 1948-1964, BCA, 91-3433-516.

<sup>81</sup> Minute Book, BPW Clubs of BC and the Yukon: Volume 1, 1948-1964, BCA, 91-3433-516.

<sup>82</sup> Brocklehurst suggests that the club's racial biases had "disappeared" by the late 1940s but she also notes there is no evidence that the club membership was more integrated. Even if examples of overt racism from club members were rare by 1950, most of the members were still white. See Brocklehurst, "A Visible Presence," 88-89.

However, it must still be stated that the projects they took on, as well as their responses to the business worlds in which they worked, are important in developing a better understanding of women's workplaces in British Columbia.

At the provincial level, delegates continued to discuss women's work. In 1963, delegates from the BPW Clubs of British Columbia and the Yukon attended a conference at Pinewoods Lodge, Manning Park. They discussed ongoing concerns, such as: implementation of equal pay laws; employment problems for single and married women; job opportunities; status of women in private law; pension plans; and career previews for high school girls.<sup>83</sup> The clubs continually sought out ways to increase women's equality in the labour force.

Political equity also became increasingly important. The president of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women spoke to Canadian Federation delegates at the 1966 convention banquet in Victoria. Lady Littlewood asked her audience to consider whether women in Canada were using their political rights: "Have you in Canada...got enough women in public office nationally, provincially and locally?" She stressed "the importance of girls completing their work training prior to marriage," and she urged Canadian women to continue to strive for equality with men.<sup>84</sup> The CFBPWC agreed, passing resolutions at the convention to "work toward the improvement of economic, employment and social conditions for women." Delegates also decided to ask the federal government to appoint a Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, to look into "such matters as educational opportunities, home and

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<sup>83</sup> 1963 Conference Program, BPW Clubs of British Columbia and the Yukon, BCA, 89-1387-1, file 2.

<sup>84</sup> *The Business and Professional Woman* XXX, 8(October 1966), 4, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 6.

community services, employment in Federal and Provincial Governments, labor standards and the legal treatment of women....”<sup>85</sup>

Partly in response to their urging, the Commission was appointed, and at their 1972 convention the Canadian Federation of BPW clubs applauded the commission’s publication on the Status of Women in Canada.<sup>86</sup> CFBPWC president Charlotte Van Dine stated that the “basic and foremost objective” of the BPW clubs was to “improve the status of women everywhere.”<sup>87</sup>

While this study covers the period up to 1971, a few things must be noted about the BPW clubs after 1971. First, despite the increasing presence of feminism in Canadian society in the 1970s, the clubs maintained what Brocklehurst refers to as a “backdrop of social conservatism.”<sup>88</sup> They continued to support equal rights for women and worked to improve women’s economic, employment, and political status, and they were in agreement with the aims of feminism to some extent. But in 1974 at the CFBPWC convention at the Hotel Vancouver, convention co-ordinator Shirley Briggs told the *Vancouver Weekly* that: “We don’t believe in burning our bras....We take action in a business-like manner.” Briggs implied that ‘bra-burners,’ feminists, were not business-like, while BPW club members were. The CFBPWC did not want to be seen as a radical feminist organization. With strong ties to community and business leaders, it remained relatively conservative, despite the fact that, as Briggs also stated, the

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<sup>85</sup> *The Business and Professional Woman* XXX, 8(October 1966), 8, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 6.

<sup>86</sup> Many other women’s groups pushed for the commission’s establishment and provided briefs and comments to the commissioners. Elsie Gregory MacGill, a past president of the CFBPWC, was a member of the Royal Commission. See Alison Prentice et. al., *Canadian Women: A History*, Second Edition (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1996), 417-418.

<sup>87</sup> CFBPWC Programs, BCA, 89-1387-2.

<sup>88</sup> Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence,” 1.

Federation had “been fighting since 1930 for the economic status of women.”<sup>89</sup> The BPW clubs fought for women’s rights, but they were cautious not to align themselves with certain elements of second-wave feminism, although it could be argued that the club’s early formation was a direct result of first-wave feminism. First-wave feminists opened the door for women’s political and legal equity, but they did not “burn” their undergarments to make their point.

It could be argued that the BPW clubs’ political action to secure women’s political and employment equity in earlier decades set the stage for the emerging feminist movement of the late 1960s. Yet, the clubs felt challenged by second-wave feminists. In her 1972 Annual Report, Provincial President Lorraine McLarty mentioned the BPW club’s declining membership and appeared to blame feminism. She exhorted members not to “take a back seat to any other organization. We were a pioneer womens [sic] group, concerned with all matters affecting women.”<sup>90</sup> She reminded members that “Over the past few years we seem to have let the new feminist groups drive us underground. It is time we were back in the forefront – living and working within the aims of our Federation.”<sup>91</sup>

The comments of McLarty and Briggs indicate some tension in the club over the rise of feminism. McLarty reminded members of the aims of the Federation – to develop and train women in business, to work to improve economic, employment, and social conditions for women, and to work for high standards of service in business, the professions, industry and public life. While some of these goals could easily be those of

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<sup>89</sup> “Women’s Clubs Hold Convention,” *Vancouver Weekly*, July 18, 1974, BPW Scrapbook, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

<sup>90</sup> Report of the Provincial President, BPWC of BC and the Yukon, 1974, BCA, 89-1387-1.

<sup>91</sup> Report of the Provincial President, BPWC of BC and the Yukon, 1974, BCA, 89-1387-1.

feminist organizations, the BPW clubs did not want to be thought of as feminist, at least not in their understanding of second-wave feminism: they did not see a place for their club's aims in feminist organizations of the 1960s and 1970s.

However, membership was waning by the mid-1970s. The Victoria BPW club, like all BPW clubs, suffered declining membership between the 1930s and 1970s. The club had jumped from 24 members when it began as the Kumtuks Club in 1921, to 76 members in 1930 when the CFBPWC was formed. They recorded 96 members in 1933, but more than twenty years later in 1955, they had just 80 members and in 1972 the Victoria club recorded just 62 members. The Vancouver club's membership also declined, from 167 members in 1930 to just 89 members in 1965.

The reasons for the declining membership were numerous, and the clubs wrestled with the issue during their meetings. The Vancouver club had a special meeting in March 1965 to discuss the "grave situation facing the Club, indicated by falling membership, lack of new members, poor attendance at meetings, inability to acquire a full board."<sup>92</sup> Mrs. Galloway acknowledged that all BPW clubs were in a slump, but she also stated that other types of clubs were also experiencing a "slump" in membership.

While the Vancouver members speculated that the decline could be due to a "multiplicity of organizations," or to overly high membership fees, clubs were also forced to consider the impact of feminism on their membership. At the CFBPWC national convention in Vancouver in 1974, some members suggested that a way to deal with declining membership was to allow housewives into the club. The rationale listed in the convention notes was that "Members of the so-called new Women's Lib groups;

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<sup>92</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Records, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-1.

including Status of Women Action Groups, are mainly young married women with young children.” If they wanted to “compete” with feminist organizations, the BPW clubs needed to think about how to increase their membership. In addition to boosting membership, the purpose of this motion may have been to connect with what more radical groups, and individuals, were doing and possibly to incorporate new ideas into what was a fairly staid organization. The motion to include housewives carried but was held off, ultimately, for future discussion.<sup>93</sup>

Another motion under discussion at the 1974 convention was the idea of admitting men into the clubs, which would seem to defeat one of the original purposes: to establish a place where women could meet, network, and socialize with other women. While the issue led to a very “productive” discussion, the matter was not resolved.<sup>94</sup> This, too, was a motion addressing the declining membership and worries about the lack of relevance of the BPW clubs to business and professional women in the 1970s.

In 1975, the Victoria club co-sponsored, with the Women’s Economic Rights branch of the provincial government, a workshop entitled “Operating Your Own Business.” This event almost seemed a direct response to McLarty’s urgings from the previous year. The goal was to help women open businesses and indirectly, to improve employment conditions for women. Program Chairperson Jean Mohart reported that turnout was good (102 people registered) and that the day was very successful. The morning’s panel discussion of businesswomen included a manager of a construction business, an owner of a plant shop, and a manager of a Mac’s Convenience franchise store. Greta MacKay, a club member and self-employed caterer, “produced a lunch that

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<sup>93</sup> CFBPWC Programs, BCA, 89-1387-2.

<sup>94</sup> CFBPWC Programs, BCA, 89-1387-2.

drew praise,” and lunch time entertainment “was provided by the Pumpkin Puppeteers, two young women who compose and present their own work, which has feminist overtones.” Representatives from various branches of the provincial government, all related to economic and business development, spoke to the women in the afternoon session on “all aspects of planning, operating and surviving in business.”<sup>95</sup>

Mohart’s report indicates that despite declining membership, the BPW club was still providing a useful service to women (and perhaps men – there is nothing to indicate that this workshop was limited to women) interested in opening businesses. In addition to its relevance specifically for would-be entrepreneurs, the Victoria club was making some effort to respond to the undercurrents of feminism that were affecting women’s groups across Canada in the 1970s. Despite concerns at the provincial and federal level that “feminism” might undermine the businesslike ideals of the clubs, these minutes indicated that the Victoria club was prepared to incorporate change. They invited feminist puppeteers to an event focused on small business start-up; the setting seems unusual, but perhaps Victoria club members recognized the value of the emerging second-wave feminist movement in the fight for women’s equality in the workplace.

Nevertheless, clubs also admitted defeat in some areas. Outgoing president Mable Dean noted that the 1975-76 program of the Victoria BPW club had been kicked off with a “panel of four women who’d established themselves in business, revealing to us the difficulties still existing in obtaining credit, and gaining acceptance in the business world.” And in March 1976 the club had invited over 1000 businessmen to hear speaker James E. Bennett “describe the short-selling of women in the business world, and what a shocking waste there is of talent, energy and ability. We didn’t get the

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<sup>95</sup> Jean Mohart, Workshop Report, Victoria BPW Club Records, Loose files, BCA, 89-1387-2.

support we'd hoped for, but we have some satisfaction in knowing that our club can be recognized for aiming at the real target." The minutes do not indicate how many of the 1000 invitations actually were accepted, although we can assume that the turnout was disappointing.<sup>96</sup>

Ultimately, despite all the efforts of the BPW clubs between 1921 and Dean's 1976 report, business and professional women were forced to admit that women were still not achieving full recognition as equal partners in business and the professions. The clubs saw some success in raising key issues for women's rights in society, and individual clubs actively helped many women at the local level by providing opportunities to network, advertise in newsletters, aid women in need, and aid young women in the form of scholarships and bursaries, support charities, and offer career previews. But the clubs had become less relevant to business and professional women by the 1970s and membership declined substantially. The energy and enthusiasm witnessed in the first few decades of the Vancouver and Victoria clubs was not present by the time of Dean's report in 1976.

**“They are quick, alert, clear-eyed business girls, and they know how to have a good time”: The Social Side of BPW Club Life**

BPW clubs served a few different functions in the province. Their varied political, civic and social causes were well-documented in the records of the Victoria and Vancouver clubs. Exercising one's right to vote was essential to membership in all BPW clubs, and club activities focused on women's rights, stemming from the right to vote but extending into other arenas as demonstrated. But in addition, clubs provided an

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<sup>96</sup> President's Report, 1975-76, Victoria BPW Club Records, Loose files, BCA, 89-1387-2. Note: Mable Dean's name is spelled "Mable" in the records.

outlet for women to socialize, free of the traditions of the male-dominated business world, and many club meetings and events served a purely social purpose.

Members enjoyed the social activities and friendships that the clubs provided. Furthermore, they needed the company of other women because in their work lives, they saw few other businesswomen. This was particularly true of self-employed women but even wage-earning professionals, who often worked in offices with other women, worked for male bosses; there were far fewer women than men in the labour force, for all decades under study here.<sup>97</sup> Thus, the social elements of the club were a valuable way for women to network and socialize. Club members pointed out that simply having a space for women to speak about issues was noteworthy. Pearl Eaton, president of the Vancouver club in 1936 and 1937, noted that the clubs “have done much to develop initiative in our own members, and taught them not to fear the sound of their own voice. In our own Club meetings many a once timid business girl has found her feet and her ability to speak.”<sup>98</sup> This alone is enough reason to laud the efforts of the club. If the clubs did not always achieve all of their more political objectives, which some members suggested were probably too many and too varied, they did provide a space for women to socialize.

The social aspects of the Victoria BPW club were very well recorded in the first decade of its existence. The minutes refer to numerous picnics and parties. Miss Stead and Miss Thornley, who lived together, hosted numerous gatherings, including a “delightful supper served in the gardens of Miss Stead’s home on Cook Street,” in

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<sup>97</sup> While some female entrepreneurs, such as hairdressers, saw female clients in their jobs, they were a minority among all businesspeople. The club was a good place to meet like-minded women in business, rather than customers.

<sup>98</sup> Pearl Steen Fonds, CVA, Add Mss 272, 517-C-4. Steen’s surname was Eaton when she was president of the club.

August 1930.<sup>99</sup> Club activities included, at various points, a glee club and orchestra, a drama group, and a reading club.<sup>100</sup>

In Vancouver, as early as September 1923, President Mabel Ingram expressed concern that their club's social events were better attended than business meetings.<sup>101</sup> Indeed, many members joined for recreational reasons rather than for promoting economic and political reform. That the BPW clubs served more than one purpose continued to be recognized and even debated by club members. In 1932 at the Canadian Federation's third annual convention, club members held a round table on club purposes. It is clear from the comments made that the women were not sure where best to place their energies. Miss Hazel Taylor, a Montreal member, had analysed the constitutions of 16 of the 19 BPW clubs in Canada. She felt that many of the clubs had not clearly stated the aim that she felt was most important, that of "developing a closer relationship and sorority."<sup>102</sup> She also established an additional 13 aims and objectives that most of the clubs outlined in their constitutions, including: promoting the interests of business and professional women, education, involvement in civic affairs, elevation of the standards of women, community service, and the encouragement of female leadership.

These were a great many functions for one club, and Miss Murray of Vancouver said that she thought clubwomen "should consider very carefully the point that they (the women of the club) were disseminating their energies in too many directions..." Rather than doing social service work she felt that women should have club rooms where they could "think and talk over the problems of the day as the men of our generation are

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<sup>99</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-37, August 21, 1930, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>100</sup> "History of the Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club," BCA, 89-1387-3, file 5.

<sup>101</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Minutes, CVA, Add Mss 799, 608-A-1.

<sup>102</sup> CFBPWC Convention Minutes, 1932, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 3. This box included a variety of loose pamphlets and convention programs, including provincial and federal pamphlets, probably included in the records by Victoria's conference delegates.

doing, and not waste our energies in these minor activities.” Miss Murray believed that businesswomen’s sole purpose should be to “open every field of progress” for the better businesswoman and for the better business world. “She felt that until business women achieved a greater measure of economic independence, they would never arrive at a point where they would have the leisure to think of or to solve the vital problems which were affecting the progress of women.”<sup>103</sup>

Murray clearly identified the club’s functions as a place to fight for women’s equality. Madge Hall of Victoria agreed, and suggested that any club would “justify its existence...even if it only produced one woman who was capable of taking her stand in world affairs on an equality with men.” Others disagreed: Miss Burroughs of Vancouver said that “a great many of the members really looked to the Club for recreation...mental recreation as well as physical.”<sup>104</sup> With up to 13 different purposes stated in many BPW club constitutions, and the membership’s various visions of what ought to be the clubs’ purposes, the risk that Murray identified of sending out their energy in too many directions was a very real one. These early concerns arguably foreshadowed some of the reasons for the club’s eventual demise. By attempting to provide recreation, as well as undertaking community service and philanthropic work, and addressing issues pertaining to women in the work place, the clubs were overextended even when they were at their most vibrant. By the 1970s, it became increasingly difficult for clubs to do everything and many people simply stopped attending.

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<sup>103</sup> CFBPWC Convention Minutes, 1932, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 3.

<sup>104</sup> CFBPWC Convention Minutes, 1932, BCA, 89-1387-3, file 3.

The issue of balancing the various purposes of the club was prominent in 1932. Victoria BPW club president Margaret Clay mentioned the difficulty in the same year. She noted that the

two most important objects of our club are “to promote social intercourse and the educational development of our members.”...The social side of our club life has not received the emphasis that, in the minds of some, it should have....For our sins of omission we beg your pardon but...we are all extremely busy women.<sup>105</sup>

It seems that some clubs could not live up to the many expectations laid out in their constitutions: trying to be social *and* political was sometimes too much. Moreover, that the women were “extremely busy” in 1932 was not something that would lessen: the declining attendance evident in club minutes over the next thirty years, and specific meetings about declining membership in 1965, indicate this.

Other factors influenced the timing of the decline of BPW clubs in British Columbia and in Canada. The BPW clubs’ advocacy on behalf of married women’s rights to work was no longer as necessary since married women were fairly established in the workplace by 1970, and women with children were also working in much greater numbers by the 1970s. This also meant that the club’s main source of membership – single professional women – was in decline. As well, the club’s efforts to provide social spaces for working women to meet were somewhat outdated by 1970, when women were much more likely to encounter other women in their workplaces.

In addition, the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in 1970, and the subsequent formation of Status of Women committees and “women’s liberation” organizations, affected the health of older organizations like the

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<sup>105</sup> Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3.

BPW clubs.<sup>106</sup> The public affairs representative for the BPW Clubs of British Columbia and the Yukon, Elizabeth Smith, noted in 1972 that many clubs were “making a study” of the Report on the Status of Women; the Penticton, Williams Lake, and Victoria BPW clubs all hosted seminars on the report.<sup>107</sup> Victoria’s seminar “resulted in a continuing Action group being organized,” the Status of Women’s Action Group (S.W.A.G.).<sup>108</sup> The prominence of the BPW clubs declined in the 1970s, as organizations linked to second-wave feminism began to appear. The relevance of a club that had stronger ties to first-wave than to second-wave feminism waned. Women’s rights to even be in the workplace, or to vote, had already been established, and were not the primary concerns of emergent feminist organizations in the 1960s and 1970s. The BPW clubs had laid the groundwork, but the feminist movement was pushing women’s organizations in new directions: this was the case in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada.

**“You can tell the business woman, But you cannot tell her much:” BPW Parodies of the Status Quo**

While the Vancouver and Victoria BPW clubs clearly pushed for change and demonstrated a commitment to women’s equality over the years, it may be argued that they were quite conventional. Their membership was mainstream, their public image was respectable and they were not prone to extremism: rather, they were committed to change through official channels. But there were also occasions when BPW club members brought a more critical and even satirical eye to the issues of their day. Some of the articles, editorials, and social functions of business and professional women in

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<sup>106</sup> See Alison Prentice et. al., *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988) on the chronology of second-wave feminism.

<sup>107</sup> “Report on Public Affairs, 1971-1972,” 1972 Annual Conference, BPW Clubs of British Columbia and Yukon, May 1972, New Westminster, BCA, 89-1387-1.

<sup>108</sup> “Report on Public Affairs, 1971-1972,” 1972 Annual Conference, BPW Clubs of British Columbia and Yukon, May 1972, New Westminster, BCA, 89-1387-1.

British Columbia and Canada suggest that even in their lighter moments the women were aware of larger social and political issues. Even in jest, they made comments that reflected a deeper awareness of women's unequal position in society. Some of these critiques were made publicly, but the majority of them were made within the confines of club walls or in the internal minutes and records of the club.

The president of the Vancouver club in 1927, Mrs. Anna Sprott, invited members of the club to an evening party at her home, "adding that any husbands...were also welcome as there would be plenty of room for them in the basement with her own husband; from which the members were encouraged to believe that married business and professional women at least are at last beginning to enjoy some rights."<sup>109</sup> Wry comments such as Sprott's pepper the records of the Victoria and Vancouver BPW clubs. While clubwomen sometimes appeared extremely conventional and portrayed a conservative and serious image as they fought to improve the status of women through appropriate public channels, they also expressed the need for change through satire and parody.

Obviously frustrated with the accommodation provided to men in business, and the lack of recognition afforded to women in business, Miss Hilda Hesson of Winnipeg wrote a humorous but pointed article titled "T.B.W." that was printed in 1951 in *The*

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<sup>109</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Records, CVA, Add Mss 799, 608-A-1, file 3. Anna Sprott would become, eventually, an entrepreneur and a Vancouver city alderman. As a young widow, she attended the Sprott-Shaw business school and married its founder Robert Sprott in 1918. In 1927, when she was the Vancouver BPW club president, she was more socialite and clubwoman than entrepreneur, although in her old age she would reflect that she had really run the business alongside her husband. Upon his death in 1943, she took over the Sprott-Shaw schools along with CKMO, a radio station started by her husband. In 1949 when she ran for Vancouver City Council, a large newspaper advertisement announced that "Anna Sprott is a successful business woman." Sprott won, and served on city council for ten years, longer than any woman in Vancouver's history. In 1951, she also became the first woman to serve as acting mayor of Vancouver. She was still president of Sprott-Shaw at the time of her death, at the age of 82, in 1961. See Jean Barman, "Vancouver's Forgotten Entrepreneurs: Women Who Ran Their Own Schools," *British Columbia Historical News* 31, 4 (Fall 1998): 27, and Davis, *The Greater Vancouver Book*, 838.

*Business and Professional Woman*, the national newsletter for members of the CFBPWC. As Hesson lamented,

For years we have heard of the TIRED BUSINESS MAN. .... The TIRED BUSINESS MAN – tired of what? Of sitting in offices...furnished with mahogany desks, ...tired of pressing buttons that are answered by smart, efficient, well-dressed secretaries....? Of business meetings on the golf course....? ....The TIRED BUSINESS MAN – He has become a national institution and a national menace. But, has anyone ever heard of or catered to the TIRED BUSINESS WOMAN?...She who wearily and with tongue in cheek plans the entertainment for the T.B.M. The TIRED BUSINESS WOMAN – after hours, do sketchily clad males cavort for her delight?... Far from it – the average T.B.W. goes home to, at least, supervise, more probably to get, the evening meal – to plan next morning’s breakfast, to straighten up her house or flat or room....<sup>110</sup>

The article is significant for its sardonic portrayal of the self-satisfied businessman, and many women likely recognized their own employers or managers in this image. While her tone and choice of words may have provoked a knowing chuckle from many, Hesson also pinpointed some of the ways in which women’s work was different from men’s work. She articulated the struggles that “tired business women” encountered in the work place as well as the work they encountered when they got home. In fact, she suggested that women were the unrecognized helpmeets to men in the office but while she clearly believed that women deserved recognition for their hard work, she stopped short of suggesting that it should be women sitting behind the mahogany desks. She intimated that women should be recognized for the work they do as assistants to businessmen, rather than suggesting an overhaul of the system in which men became assistants while women ran the office.

Other satirical discussions among business and professional women pushed the point more forcefully. During meetings for the 1954 biennial convention of the

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<sup>110</sup>Hilda Hesson, “T.B.W.,” *The Business and Professional Woman* XXII, 2 (Sept.-Oct. 1951), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

CFBPWC, a panel of women “considered such questions as whether a man can successfully combine marriage and a career, and whether a man is really a person.”<sup>111</sup>

The tone of the discussion was clearly satirical and the panel took the opportunity to reverse stereotypes, taking statements that were commonly directed toward many working women, and re-addressing them to men. More importantly, the debate points out through mockery the very real stereotypes affecting women. The fact that this panel was a source of amusement demonstrates that in reality, women faced serious barriers to advancement in the labour force. Moreover, the BPW clubs were aware of the problems experienced by many working women, from issues such as pressure to dress a certain way, to the pressures on married women to stay home. The *Globe and Mail's* report on the panel's debate demonstrates that the “joke” was a serious reflection on women's roles in the workplace:

On the question of whether men should be allowed to enter public life, the women conclude that men are “too emotional to take an active part in public life,” as their “feelings are too easily hurt.” As for careers, the women decided that while a working father “seemed in many ways a degradation of fatherhood,” some men did “surprisingly well in certain types of work – even in work which seems to be particularly a woman's field.” The panel also considered “the problem of what is man's most important asset for success. Personality was ruled out as being too dangerous.... This left appearance and influence to be evaluated. Since all the men who travel transcontinental airlines appear to be snappy dressers, it was the considered opinion of the panel that all a man really needs to advance is natty appearance.” On the topic of higher education for men, the panel's disapproval “hinged around the fact that studying the problems of nuclear fission would undoubtedly completely unfit him for the more pressing problems of fitting a new washer on the kitchen sink....women were warned to exercise extreme caution before so daring a project as higher education for men was undertaken.” On the question of whether women preferred beauty or brains in a man: “It was generally conceded that a certain amount of brain power was almost a necessity, but when it exceeded certain limits, it was felt that a man would be very wise to decently hide it.” But when asked, “should a man dress to please his wife?” panel members

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<sup>111</sup> “Women's Club Debates, Is Man Really a Person?” *Globe and Mail*, July 29, 1954, 10.

found it “debatable whether men dress to please women or to annoy other men.”<sup>112</sup>

BPW club members were aware of gender issues that at times impeded their careers. The panel, set up to judge men in the same way that women were judged, attempted to point out the idiocy of certain conventional opinions about what women were capable of doing. This is a very different approach from the conventional approach that club members more often took. Most clubs *did* concern themselves with businesswomen’s appearance and with appropriate dress codes, as Chapter Four demonstrates. They held fashion shows and incorporated the importance of hair, dress, and general appearance into their various public events. However, the debate makes it clear that women were aware of stereotypes and they were not altogether satisfied with the status quo. Gender affected the ways that they were evaluated in their work places and even though they continued to dress and behave appropriately in their jobs, the club convention provided a place to critique established rules that distinguished workers by the perceived limits of their gender. The debate allowed the women to have a little fun at the expense of men.

Equally important was the fact that the mock debate occurred at what was supposedly the height of post-war construction of an ideal domesticity. Valerie Korinek discusses this issue in an examination of *Chatelaine* magazine’s yearly contest, begun in 1960, to find the ideal representative of the Canadian housewife and crown her “Mrs. Chatelaine.” Korinek suggests that the contest illustrates underlying discontent about the ideology of domesticity in postwar Canada.<sup>113</sup> Some readers of the magazine actively

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<sup>112</sup> “Women’s Club Debates, Is Man Really a Person?” *Globe and Mail*, July 29, 1954, 10.

<sup>113</sup> Valerie Korinek, “‘Mrs. Chatelaine’ vs. ‘Mrs. Slob’: Contestants, Correspondents and the *Chatelaine* Community in Action, 1961-1969,” *Journal of the CHA* 7 (1996): 274. See also Valerie J. Korinek,

criticized the magazine's portraits of apparently conventional, ideal middle-class women and they "derived pleasure from parodying, subverting or criticising the contest."<sup>114</sup> In letters to the editor, critics of *Chatelaine's* contest mocked the post-war ideal of a stay-at-home wife. These responses to the contest demonstrated that postwar society was not so homogenous after all. The "emphasis on home, family and established gender roles" that mainstream Canadian society presented in the 1950s "masked considerable discontent" on the part of some women.<sup>115</sup>

Despite broad currents in post-war Canadian society that championed stay-at-home wives and mothers and advocated images of smartly dressed business girls who kept quiet and knew their place, there were undercurrents of dissatisfaction. Business and professional clubwomen found themselves the target of similar post-war conservatism and consequently, voiced their disapproval. Doing it in jest, through a mock debate, allowed them to state their opinions without raising the ire of other members of society. Much like Hesson's T.B.W. letter, the mock discussion did not actually propose that women ought to take over from men: presenting their opinions as a joke allowed club members the freedom to express that maybe women really *were* equal to men, or that women could combine marriage and a career, for instance.

Other questions tackled by the panel included, "Should boys be encouraged to train for both marriage and a career?" and "Should men receive as much money as women for the same job?" The panel was even asked if there was room for "male glamor in business," and while the women professed to "hate men who exhibit their

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*Roughing It in the Suburbs: Reading Chatelaine Magazine in the Fifties and Sixties* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

<sup>114</sup> Korinek, "'Mrs. Chatelaine' vs. 'Mrs. Slob,'" 275.

<sup>115</sup> Korinek, "'Mrs. Chatelaine' vs. 'Mrs. Slob,'" 253.

muscles and calves too much,” they agreed that “a certain amount of window dressing...will help the man who has gone to pot.”<sup>116</sup> The panel’s tackling of such issues in jest revealed a thinly concealed resentment at women’s treatment in the workplace. In this case, an “inside” critique of the status quo, expressed during a members’ convention, illustrated another side to the BPW clubs but it also became part of their outside image when it was reprinted in a national newspaper.

Another form of mockery was BPW club pageants, “weddings,” and parties in which some of the women dressed as men. Photographs of a Kumtuks Club party held in September 1925 show women dressed as men, on bended knee and kissing the hands of women. All the “men” and women are costumed as though acting out a medieval story. The party is not mentioned in any written records, but the set-up of the photographs seems to be a purposeful parody of women receiving marriage proposals.<sup>117</sup>

A series of photographs from the Vancouver club depicts a mock wedding. The photographs, entitled “The Wedding at the Clubroom, 736 Granville,” are not dated but they are in a scrapbook of Vancouver club member Pearl (Eaton) Steen’s clippings and photographs and adjacent clippings in the scrapbook are from the early 1940s.<sup>118</sup> It is evident that the women are enjoying themselves and the visual gag (see Figure 3.1), but no written records accompany the images that explain this event.

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<sup>116</sup> “Women’s Club Debates, Is Man Really a Person?” *Globe and Mail*, July 29, 1954, 10. An undated newspaper article, titled “Shoe is on the Other Foot When Tables Turned on Men” covers the same debate: see scrapbook (clippings), Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 74-A-436.

<sup>117</sup> Kumtuks Club scrapbook, BCA, 89-1386-1. The photographs were loosely placed in the inside cover of one of many scrapbooks in this box and the only information listed was the date, September 1925 and the title, “Fete Galante, Gonzales.”

<sup>118</sup> Pearl Steen Fonds, CVA, Add Mss 272, 517-C-4, file 3.

*Figure 3.1: The Wedding at the Clubroom, 736 Granville<sup>119</sup>*



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<sup>119</sup> Photo courtesy of City of Vancouver Archives, Add Mss 272, 517-C-4, file 3, Photograph #2.

The photographs show a “groom,” a woman in top hat and tuxedo, and a bride who towers over her groom by close to a foot.<sup>120</sup> One of the “best men,” also a woman, wears a fake beard and mustache, as the photograph in Figure 3.1 illustrates.

Other authors have found evidence of ritualistic events such as mock weddings being acted out by all-women “casts.” Lisa Fine found business and professional women acting out similar rituals in Chicago.<sup>121</sup> It is important to note, however, that unlike the Chicago girls who resided together and were primarily young single wage earners, the Vancouver women did not necessarily live together; they were from all walks of life and were not necessarily young and single, although they were united by their club affiliations. Fine found three main rituals acted out by the Chicago women: mock weddings, funerals, and parties called kid, old maid, or spinster parties. In old maid and spinster parties, the young women dressed as old women, while in kid parties they dressed as children and babies. These events often marked ritualistic occasions such as wedding showers, holidays or birthdays. Sometimes the parties involved women dressing as men – as widowers or bachelors. But it was in descriptions of mock weddings that Fine typically found women dressing as men and representing “stereotypical images of manhood.”<sup>122</sup>

Fine suggests that the parties were a form of ritualistic behaviour that marked the particular place of young women in the business world of the early twentieth century.

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<sup>120</sup> The height difference is evident in a number of the photographs but not in the one shown in Figure 3.1.

<sup>121</sup> The article “Between Two Worlds: Business Women in a Chicago Boarding House 1900-1930,” details the lives of young independent white-collar women who, as Fine reports, called themselves “business women.” They lived in residential clubs or boarding houses, specifically designed to house young single women who came to work in the city in the early decades of the twentieth century. Lisa M. Fine, “Between Two Worlds: Business Women in a Chicago Boarding House 1900-1930,” *Journal of Social History* 19 (Spring 1986): 511. For a broader look at working women in Chicago, see also Lisa M. Fine, *The Souls of the Skyscraper: Female Clerical Workers in Chicago, 1870-1930* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).

<sup>122</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 513.

The women recognized that they were important transitional figures between a traditional world – in which many women had stayed home and worked in the home – and a changing world in which women had more freedoms and more opportunities in the labour force.<sup>123</sup> Her descriptions of women cross-dressing in Chicago in the context of a party seem similar to the images of the Vancouver clubwomen’s mock wedding. Female residences provided women with the “social space in which to enact these rituals” and the Chicago boarding houses, which “allowed women to live relatively fulfilling, independent lives,” motivated the activity.<sup>124</sup> This may also have been the case for Vancouver BPW clubwomen, who had relative freedom within their club rooms to socialize with other women and even, if they chose, to privately mock the strictures of public gender conventions.

Mock weddings indicate the women’s ambivalence about marriage, acting it out as though marrying was akin to committing a crime. While most businesswomen may have considered marriage a happy occasion, they may also have viewed it as a loss of independence: the Chicago women “described marriage and success in a career as mutually exclusive.”<sup>125</sup>

Finally, Fine argues that the rituals played out by women in residences in Chicago “suggest how women saw themselves historically as women.” They mocked “old-fashioned” women, and mocked traditional values such as marriage.<sup>126</sup> The rituals were a source of amusement but they also helped the women to “negotiate between the world of work and marriage, and to make sense of the changing role of women in

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<sup>123</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 511.

<sup>124</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 514.

<sup>125</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 515.

<sup>126</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 516.

society. Even if these women ultimately abandoned work and an independent life for marriage, we now know that they did not do so unthinkingly.”<sup>127</sup>

What seems most critical about the gender reversals in the wedding photographs of clubwomen in Vancouver is that, regardless of the frivolity of the events, the women’s actions demonstrate that they too were aware of how they were perceived. They were aware, as were the Chicago girls twenty years earlier, that they were mocking tradition. The choice to have a tall woman play the bride next to a very short woman in drag seems calculated to mock the traditional wedding as much as possible. Like the young women in residence together in Chicago, the women of the Vancouver BPW club were twisting conventional societal rituals: their actions were not “unthinking.” But this was a mockery, and a critique of sorts, that was carried out inside the club: it was not a part of their outside image as an organization of respectable, womanly, middle-class businesswomen.

Joy Parr found evidence of mock weddings taking place in the knitting mills in Paris, Ontario in the 1920s and 1930s. She suggests that the rituals “ridiculed conventions of patriarchal hierarchy within marriage.”<sup>128</sup> While the Chicago and Vancouver “weddings” involved only women, in Paris, women and men who worked in the factories together also took part in the weddings together. Sex and age roles were reversed, “the bride being a senior male skilled worker or foreman, the clergyman a young girl, the groom an older married woman....” She argues that the weddings were “raucous parodies of domestic life.”<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 517.

<sup>128</sup> Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 30.

<sup>129</sup> Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 30.

In the knitting mills where men and women worked alongside each other, and where sometimes, women did “men’s work” and men did women’s work, Parr proposes that the “inversion of the mock wedding played upon the suppleness of gender boundaries.”<sup>130</sup> The degree to which gender boundaries were supple is an important aspect of rituals that involved women dressed as men. That there were in fact gender boundaries, and that women were pushing the edges of those boundaries in certain types of occupations, is laughingly addressed by the ritualistic role reversals in the business and professional women’s club records. In their workplaces, business and professional women were encroaching upon what had long been recognized as male space. Clubwomen were aware of the importance of gender in all aspects of society, and in their social activities they parodied the conventional roles of men and women through costume parties such as the mock wedding or the medieval pageant.

Women who participated in mock weddings may also have been mocking traditional sexual roles more directly and as some authors have argued, “imitations of marriage” may represent romantic lesbian relationships.<sup>131</sup> Martha Vicinus deals with single women’s erotic friendships in all-female communities and argues that relationships between women could and often did emulate heterosexual relationships. Many women referred to their relationships with other women as “marriages” and their diaries and letters indicate “sexual passion, if not physical sexuality.”<sup>132</sup> In the late nineteenth century, the term “boston marriage,” according to Lillian Faderman, referred

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<sup>130</sup> Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners*, 32.

<sup>131</sup> See, for instance, Anne Herrmann, “Imitations of Marriage: Cross Dressed Couples in Lesbian Fiction,” Martha Vicinus, ed., *Lesbian Subjects: A Feminist Studies Reader* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996). The introduction by Vicinus also raises the issue that the “not-said” and the “not-seen” are important analytical tools for in lesbian studies: lesbians can, she argues, be everywhere and yet unmentioned.

<sup>132</sup> Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 158-159.

to long-term monogamous relationships between two “otherwise unmarried women.”<sup>133</sup> Whether these relationships included sex is not known, but women spent their lives with other women and formed ties that were akin to marriage. Moreover, that there was a language to describe them indicates that the relationships were not unusual. Faderman also notes that women in such partnerships were usually financially “independent of men, either through inheritance or because of a career.”<sup>134</sup>

Whether the clubwomen’s friendships – and marriage rituals – represent romantic or sexual relationships cannot be ascertained from photographs. Many women shared accommodations for economic reasons. However, it is worth recognizing that women who lived, worked, or socialized together may also have chosen to be in romantic and/or sexual partnerships and that these “boston marriages” were relatively acceptable partnerships, particularly between middle-class professional women. We “must be prepared to assert that certain women were involved in relationships which have some relationship to lesbianism, even though in any historical period before the 1920s we are likely to have difficulty locating women who would be recognizably” defined as lesbians.<sup>135</sup>

This is the case in the BPW club records in British Columbia. There is evidence that some clubwomen resided together, but the nature of their relationships, while suggestive, is not obvious. A scrapbook belonging to Lottie Bowron notes that Bowron “went into residence” with two other women, Miss Paul and Miss Mason in the 1920s

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<sup>133</sup> Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendships and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1981), 190.

<sup>134</sup> Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men*, 190. She also notes that they were often “New Women,” feminists, and pioneers in a profession - as were many of the clubwomen discussed in my work, although Faderman is documenting an earlier period.

<sup>135</sup> Sheila Jeffreys, “Does It Matter If They Did It?”, Lesbian History Group, *Not A Passing Phase: Reclaiming Lesbians in History 1840-1985* (London: The Women’s Press, 1989), 23.

but no other information about the arrangement is provided.<sup>136</sup> Miss Stead and Miss Thornley, members of the Victoria club, also resided together and their home is described, variously, as their home and as the home of Miss Stead. They may have been roommates or they may have been romantic partners but references to their home cannot entirely illuminate the nature of their relationship.<sup>137</sup>

That there is, in the records of BPW clubwomen even after 1920, no explicit discussion of same-sex partnerships is no reason to assume that such relationships did not exist. If the concept of boston marriages had been articulated and lived by women in the late 1800s, it is entirely possible that clubwomen in British Columbia in the early 1900s had no need to specifically explain the nature of such relationships. And while the presence of photographs of mock weddings or references to living arrangements cannot be taken alone as a statement of the presence of same-sex desire, they urge us to consider the prospect. Moreover, even female friendships that were not explicitly sexual may have been unions that resembled marriages in most other ways.

Dress-up parties tackled political issues as well as targeting ritual events such as weddings. The 1952 minutes for the Victoria BPW club mention that club members performed “The Challenge,” a historical pageant about women’s suffrage, and once again, photographs demonstrate that women dressed as men for the performance.<sup>138</sup> Club members had always been strongly urged to exercise their voting rights and the pageant

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<sup>136</sup> Scrapbook, Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-1. The scrapbook contains clippings, photographs and miscellaneous notes about the Kumtuks Club’s activity in the 1920s and Bowron’s name is listed on the cover as the owner of the book.

<sup>137</sup> Thornley and Stead hosted BPW club parties and are frequently mentioned in the Victoria club notes. In July 1931, the women cancelled a party “promised in their garden during that month” because they were on holiday. This description does suggest a relationship that at least went beyond a boarding arrangement. Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-37, July 17, 1931, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>138</sup> The pageant is mentioned in the Victoria BPW Club Minutes, 1951-1952, BCA, 89-1386-2. Photographs of the pageant appeared in a separate box of Victoria BPW club records, in an album of photographs of various club activities from the 1930s to the 1960s. BCA, 89-1386-1.

presented the history of an important political issue – but in this case, the message was “performed” as a social event. The women approached the subject in a lighthearted way, acting out the history of suffrage for their own and other’s amusement.<sup>139</sup>

Rather than incorporate men into the drama, women once again dressed up and took on the male parts in the pageant. Whether in jest or to prove a larger point, the BPW club members performed the pageant without the help of male actors. If a woman who assumes male dress in performance is playing with ideas about gender, whether or not she does so consciously,<sup>140</sup> then the many examples in the BPW club records of women in male dress are not just a frivolous example of social activities: they represent more fundamental questions of gender for businesswomen.

Cross-dressing also has a different significance for women than for men.<sup>141</sup> Women do not gain power by portraying women, for instance, but women potentially access greater power by assuming a male identity, something that BPW club members were aware of when they dressed as men – just as they were aware of the same issue when they entered the male world of business. Women in drag “can call into question the social conventions of gender roles, and...as a result, the very category of gender.”<sup>142</sup> Women in male-dominated business worlds were also calling into question the social conventions of gender. And, while the BPW clubs on the whole tried to stress that despite everything else, businesswomen were appropriately conventional, cross-dressing

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<sup>139</sup> Fine mentioned a similar party in a Chicago women’s residence that took place in 1916: the women staged a suffrage meeting and all the participants dressed as different “types” of suffragettes. Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 513.

<sup>140</sup> Sara Maitland, cited in Lesley Ferris, *Acting Women: Images of Women in Theatre* (New York: New York University Press, 1989), 147.

<sup>141</sup>“Precisely because ‘man’ is the presumed universal...drag changes meaning depending on who’s wearing it.” Alisa Solomon, “It’s Never Too Late To Switch,” Lesley Ferris, ed., *Crossing the Stage: Controversies on Cross-Dressing*, (London: Routledge, 1993), 145.

<sup>142</sup> Solomon, “It’s Never Too Late,” 146.

pageants and games indicate an understanding, even in play, that gender norms were upset by the entry of women into some categories of business and the professions.

All of the photographs demonstrate the independence and freedom of their subjects: costumed affairs in which women cross-dressed demonstrated that on some level, women wanted to assert that they were truly independent. They could vote, they could go out to work and support themselves financially without men, and lastly, they could “marry” and hold weddings without men. While some fun was being had at the expense of men, the symbolic power of the BPW clubwomen dressing as men, which they did in more than one context, is important. They were deliberately assessing their position as independent women in society and in the labour force. Such rituals depicted businesswomen’s “perceived life choices” and “reflected their view of the world.”<sup>143</sup>

While some articles and discussions demonstrate a light-hearted mockery of what business and professional women knew to be real injustices in their work worlds and in their personal lives, the women also dealt with these injustices more seriously and more publicly. Despite their social conservatism and the biases inherent in their membership’s position of relative privilege in society, the Vancouver and Victoria BPW clubs were headquarters of sorts for women’s political action and clubwomen fought the very real discrimination that they, along with all other working women, faced from the 1920s into the 1970s. When necessary, in order to maintain a respectable public profile, they operated with what Kaner has termed an “inside-outside” approach. Outwardly, they maintained a fairly conservative profile, even when pushing for equal treatment of all women in the work force and for better treatment of businesswomen in the business

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<sup>143</sup> Fine, “Between Two Worlds,” 517.

community. Inwardly, however, they occasionally poked fun at, or critiqued in a more serious manner, the injustices that they faced as working women in a “man’s world.”

For self-employed women, the clubs were a welcoming place in which these issues could be addressed.<sup>144</sup> As Chapters One and Two demonstrated, female entrepreneurs formed a relatively small proportion of all women in the labour force. Club membership was a corrective to the male-dominated business worlds that self-employed women (and also many wage-earning professional women) worked in. The BPW clubs were arguably all the more important for entrepreneurs who were isolated within the business world and sought out a place to meet like-minded women. The social and political activities of the clubs in British Columbia demonstrate that they were an important marker of the ways in which gender shaped the work of *all* women. Club records demonstrate business and professional women’s responses to the pressures of their society, through social gatherings, through ritual parodying of normative traditions in their work and home lives, and through political action.

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<sup>144</sup> Other organizations existed for women to network, such as church and hospital auxiliaries, the IODE, press clubs and the Canadian Club, and the Soroptomists. But the BPW club was specifically for, and about, women’s labour force experiences and more particularly, their experiences as professional wage earners and as entrepreneurs. Other clubs performed a variety of functions, but no others were so specifically concerned with women at work.

**Chapter Four**  
**“You have to think like a man and act like a lady:”<sup>1</sup> Gender and the Businesswoman**

The ways in which businesswomen were recognized (or in many cases, were not recognized) and the types of businesses that they operated expose the fault lines of gender in British Columbia and Canada. Gender conventions affected how men, women, and businesspeople viewed and described businesswomen.

For the most part, women entrepreneurs were not defined in the same manner as men. Furthermore, the businesses they operated and the size of their businesses influenced how they were portrayed. Some do not seem to have been defined as entrepreneurs at all: women doing laundry, sewing, or cooking for pay were not straying far from the housework they already did for no pay and in many cases they were not recognized as entrepreneurs despite the fact that they worked for themselves. When women operated businesses traditionally run by men they were defined as businesswomen, but they were often described as “exceptional” because they did not fit the normative gender conventions of time and place.

In all cases, however, the language used to codify female proprietors asserted the essential womanliness of women in business. Those who were exceptional were still described in terms of their feminine attributes, arguably because people were more comfortable with women working in men’s fields if it was clear that these women were still conventional in other ways. Gender was therefore extremely important in describing, codifying and accepting women in business. British Columbians (and indeed, Canadians) needed reassurance that women who worked in male-dominated

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<sup>1</sup> “Think Like Man, Act Like a Lady,” *The Business and Professional Woman* (May-June 1967), City of Vancouver Archives (hereafter CVA), Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

business worlds were still feminine, at least in mannerism and appearance if not in choice of occupation. This was the case for much of the twentieth century. Work, as one female author argued in 1979, was a masculine word and this was particularly evident in the world of female entrepreneurship where media representations of businesswomen, and often the women themselves, emphasized their femininity as if to minimize their “masculine” work.<sup>2</sup>

Businesswomen, as well as male observers, relied on images of femininity as a way to place themselves within the world of entrepreneurship. David Monod notes this with respect to early twentieth-century Canadian female shopkeepers: “The only way for women to avoid the stigma that followed their entry into the male professional space was for them to continually reassert their femininity.”<sup>3</sup> Women, he suggests, “were not simply marginalized by men; they propagandized their own distinctiveness.”<sup>4</sup> Entrepreneurial women, as well as outside observers, relied on conventional understandings of appropriate gendered behaviour as a way of legitimizing their place in the business world.

This chapter relies on the records of the Victoria and Vancouver Business and Professional Women’s Clubs but it also makes use of numerous newspaper columns from British Columbia and the rest of the country. While the focus is British Columbia, the Business and Professional Women’s Clubs (BPW clubs) collected newspaper clippings from across Canada that pertained to businesswomen. The records also demonstrate that businesswomen in British Columbia and in the rest of Canada wanted

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<sup>2</sup> Margaret Hewett Robertson, “Work is a Masculine Word,” *The Business and Professional Woman* (October-November 1979), 6-8, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

<sup>3</sup> David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 88.

<sup>4</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 74.

to be seen as respectable and as womanly, despite the fact that many of them operated in a male-dominated business realm. Whether the women believed that they were in fact conventional, respectable, and feminine or whether they only described themselves as such to appease potential critics is impossible to untangle. They were cogently aware of the need to emphasize their femininity and actively participated in the construction of an appropriately feminine public identity, although as Chapter Three argued, behind closed doors many businesswomen mocked the conventions that they were expected to uphold.

### **The Incapacity of Businesswomen**

In 1889, American Marion Harland wrote an article for the *North American Review* entitled “The Incapacity of Business Women.” She began, “it will be taken for granted that men conduct all branches of what is known as business...more systematically and successfully than women.”<sup>5</sup> She provided examples of the “feminine peculiarities of levity, wandering eyes and thoughts,...and the quality we term in colts and kittens ‘skittishness’,” all of which rendered women unsuitable for the business world.<sup>6</sup> While a man “grasps his business with both hands,” a woman works only as “the means to an end.” Men, she asserted, have ambitions, while women have only hopes.<sup>7</sup> After cataloguing women’s many weaknesses in the pursuit of business, Harland counselled working women to make labour “an impersonal matter, and relegate feeling to the sacred domain of the inner life, if she would command success. The moment she takes advantage of the accident of her sex and appeals to sentimentality, instead of justice, she begs the question, and sinks toward pauperism.”<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Marion Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” *North American Review* 149 (July 1889): 707.

<sup>6</sup> Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” 707-708.

<sup>7</sup> Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” 709.

<sup>8</sup> Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” 711.

It is very possible that Marion Harland wrote this article with her tongue firmly ensconced in her cheek. As a writer herself, she would seem to have stepped out of the “high and holy sphere” that she reverently assigned as woman’s rightful place in the world and she may have intended this as a satirical commentary on men’s understanding of women’s capabilities. If not actually mocking those who claimed women’s unfitness for business, she was at least suggesting that women needed to remedy this state of affairs (that is, their actual or imagined incapacities) if they wished to become “a class of business women who will dignify their sex and quell the clamor of the prisoners of poverty.”<sup>9</sup> Harland suggested that despite their incapacity for business, women ought to be better educated in the ways of the business world. She did provide advice for women wishing to become more capable in business and she was aware of how businesswomen were perceived by their customers and in many cases, by businessmen in the late 1900s. Men could be businessmen; women could not be businessmen because, quite simply, they were not men.

Harland argued that the “steadfast industry, the discipline of speech and conduct, the concentration of thought and energy” that were essential to prosperity in business were also “the best conceivable preparation for the high and holy sphere of wife, housekeeper, and mother.”<sup>10</sup> In short, women’s interests in business were useful insofar as they related to their roles as mothers and wives, something altogether different from what men sought from the business world. Women should learn the rules of business in order to be prepared for the “business” of being wives and mothers and successful housekeepers. Many other observers, as this chapter demonstrates, made a distinction

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<sup>9</sup> Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” 711.

<sup>10</sup> Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” 712.

between men and women in the business world: while men's businesses could be tied to self-interest, pursuit of wealth, or ideals of respect and independence in the community, women's "business" was to be successful wives and mothers.

Some capable businesswomen in the late nineteenth century proved Harland wrong by entering the world of business and performing competently; this would continue throughout the twentieth century. Despite their presence, however, the lingering suspicion that business was not something that women were meant to undertake is demonstrated in the terminology women and men used to describe female entrepreneurs. In the mid-nineteenth century, a young American woman explained to her family's lawyer that she was acting as her widowed mother's "Man of business."<sup>11</sup> Women engaged in business pursuits lacked the language with which to label themselves because they could not conceive of most business pursuits as "womanly" pursuits. Business was a masculine endeavour, while women's endeavours, in contrast, were "hedged in by beliefs about appropriate avenues for women's and men's business efforts."<sup>12</sup>

### **Businesswomen Making Good in "a man-made world"**

Despite the idea that early twentieth century self-employed businesswomen had entered a male arena (and thus found themselves categorized differently than the more feminine business girls), self-employed businesswomen tried very hard to distinguish themselves from the masculine attributes of business ownership. It is evident from the records of the Victoria and Vancouver BPW clubs that in the first few decades of the

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<sup>11</sup> Lisa Wilson Waciega, "A 'Man of Business': The Widow of Means in Southeastern Pennsylvania, 1750-1850," *William and Mary Quarterly* 44 (1987): 59-60.

<sup>12</sup> Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 56.

twentieth century, businesswomen were awkwardly poised between two worlds. They seemed aware that by becoming entrepreneurs they had entered a masculine work world; yet they did not wish to be seen as men and they stressed their feminine qualities as though to assert that despite their occupational choices they were not “manly.”<sup>13</sup> In the 1920s and 1930s, the first two decades of existence for the BPW clubs in British Columbia and in Canada, businesswomen in British Columbia recognized and commented specifically on the fact that in the world of business they were not equal to men. They wrestled between seeking equality with businessmen while also stressing their differences from businessmen and this tension is clear in the BPW club records.

In 1923 at the fourth club luncheon held by the Vancouver BPW club, Mrs. Ethel Rease Burns “of the School of Expression, Alberta College, Edmonton,” spoke on “Motherhood and Business.” She asked her audience, “What’s the matter with the business world that it would contaminate women who go out into it? It is a man-made world; what’s wrong with it? In business all too often a man leaves his ideals at home.” After establishing that the world of business was masculine, Burns suggested that there was a place in the business world for women. “Women must go into the business world and take her ideals with her, and her highest ideal is true motherhood.”<sup>14</sup>

Burns suggested that men’s ideals and women’s ideals were different and that the way for a woman to succeed was to embrace her uniquely female attributes – in this case, the ability to be a mother – and to take those attributes into business. This set businesswomen in contrast to men who, in her estimation, left their ideals at home.

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<sup>13</sup> Note: BPW clubwomen were not all self-employed, as Chapter Three noted. Wage-earning and self-employed club members alike encountered these gendered tensions.

<sup>14</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Minute Book, CVA, Add Mss 799, 608-A-1.

Mrs. Burns' speech outlined a few common themes that would be espoused by many BPW clubwomen over the next 50 years. First, she acknowledged that the business world was masculine and that some people did not see a place for women in it. The second theme Burns stressed was that women could succeed in business: a general optimism regarding women's potential was a key part of the rapid formation of BPW clubs in the 1920s.

But – and this is the third theme that threads through much of the literature on businesswomen – the woman who did so should take her ideals with her, and these ideals were not the same as those of men. In this case, Burns specifically identified the “gift of motherhood” as a quality that only women could bring to the business world. While not all women were mothers, Burns highlighted motherhood as a marker of womanhood. BPW club members emphasized the womanliness of female entrepreneurs to set them apart from (and perhaps to remove them from direct comparison to, or competition with) businessmen. Businesswomen gained acceptance from their uniquely female attributes and not from behaving exactly like men. What was important for women's success was that they not be viewed as men. Candace Kanés also found this attitude in an American context: American BPW club leaders suggested that women were “good for business” *because* they were different from men.<sup>15</sup> For *some* businesswomen, motherhood marked this difference.

The Vancouver BPW club began to publish *The Vancouver Business Woman* in 1923. It reported the activities of local businesswomen and announced club news but it was also an important vehicle for businesswomen to network with each other, to

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<sup>15</sup> Candace Kanés, “American Business Women, 1890-1930: Creating An Identity,” PhD Dissertation (University of New Hampshire, 1997), 127.

advertise their products, and to consider what they deemed to be important issues. In 1927, the newsletter reprinted an article by Miss Emma Dot Partridge, then secretary of the Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs of America. Miss Partridge stated that women "take business as a challenge to make good in a man-made world and still struggle with a feeling of insecurity."<sup>16</sup> Her comments illustrated a belief that the world of business was masculine. Partridge argued that women were too serious and too courteous in the world of business: "busy men are gruff, why not busy women?...The world is used to expecting the woman to act the hostess and, if she is anything less than gracious, comment is made." Women, she argued, have "not yet achieved the frankness and open-ness that the impersonality of business demands." In short, she suggested women should behave more like men if they wanted to succeed.

Despite her advice, most businesswomen in British Columbia continued to be courteous and conscientious. In many respects, businesswomen acknowledged the gruff masculinity of the business world but strove to maintain their femininity in the work world. However, Partridge's comments did demonstrate that whether or not women ought to change, they were different from men, in business and otherwise, and this is a common theme throughout the BPW club records.

Another article in *The Vancouver Business Woman* in 1934 stated chummily that although "we women are known as the chatty sex,...we find it harder to get acquainted with one another than our brothers of the sterner sex." The article referred specifically to women and men's conduct in the business world (although not necessarily only in the world of business ownership). It suggested that women were not like men; moreover,

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<sup>16</sup> Emma Dot Partridge, "On Taking One's Work Too Seriously," *The Vancouver Business Woman* 4, 8 (January 1927), 7-8, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

men had set the standards of conduct and women needed to find new ways to accommodate themselves to the old order of things. The article continued, “We find it difficult to ‘whang’ each other on the shoulder, or playfully knock each other’s hats off, which...seems an unfailing way of breaking up the ice with men.”<sup>17</sup>

Business and professional women found many ways to ensure that they would not be viewed as “manly” if they worked in the business world, even if they worked in particularly masculine areas of business. Ethel Burns pointed to motherhood as one attribute that distinguished women from men, even in the world of business. Another obvious point of departure for businesswomen was to emphasize personal appearance and particularly a feminine appearance as a sign that women could be “in business” while still being womanly. As Kaner argues with respect to American businesswomen, serious businesswomen were “admonished to dress tastefully. They could look neither like business men, nor like women operating on sex appeal.”<sup>18</sup>

The pages of *The Vancouver Business Woman* repeatedly emphasized the value of a woman’s appearance. A 1925 advertisement for a beauty shop stated: “As a businesswoman, your personal appearance is an important thing.”<sup>19</sup> Businesswomen were themselves cognizant of the need to maintain a professional, neat, and even feminine appearance, in part to avoid being considered “masculine” in the business world. Thus, the advertisements stressed what women already knew.

This was further stressed at the third convention of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women (CFBPWC) in Vancouver in the summer of 1932. Mrs. Irene Green, a member of the Vancouver School Board, opened a round table

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<sup>17</sup> *The Vancouver Business Woman* 9, 51 (September 1934), 2, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

<sup>18</sup> Kaner, “American Business Women,” 302.

<sup>19</sup> *The Vancouver Business Woman* 3, 7 (December 1925), 8, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

discussion on “The Psychology of Dress,” which the convention report noted was “a topic of eternal interest to women, no matter what their age, business or profession.”<sup>20</sup>

Green told the audience that it was not enough for a businesswoman to be efficient, “without any regard to her personal appearance. Because woman is established in the business world today she does not have to dress mannish to command respect, and the woman who becomes tailor-made clothes should avoid being masculine in her effect.”<sup>21</sup>

Interestingly, Green’s speech suggests that prior to women’s establishment in the business world (which she does not specifically date but which she has obviously determined to be pre-1932), women actually did have to appear masculine in order to prove their worth in business. This perhaps corroborates Kwolek-Folland’s suggestion that while business girls were deemed feminine in the early 1900s, self-employed businesswomen were seen as masculine.<sup>22</sup> However, Green clearly believed that women could assert their femininity and still command respect in the business world.<sup>23</sup> In the United States, Kaner posits that even in the early 1920s, the “mannish look” for businesswomen was denigrated.<sup>24</sup>

It is also possible that businesswomen did not want to appear “mannish” for fear of being seen as lesbians. A masculine appearance, as other authors have noted with respect to “independent women” in the United States in the nineteenth and early

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<sup>20</sup> “Report of the 3rd Convention of Canadian Federation of Business & Professional Women’s Clubs, Held in Vancouver, B.C. July 13th to 16th 1932 at Hotel Vancouver,” Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, British Columbia Archives (hereafter BCA), 89-1386-3.

<sup>21</sup> “Minutes of a Preliminary Session of the Third Annual Convention, CFBPWC,” BCA, 89-1387-3, file 3.

<sup>22</sup> See Chapter Three for a discussion of definitions of business girls versus businesswomen that includes Kwolek-Folland’s comments.

<sup>23</sup> Note that Green was almost certainly talking about wage-earning professional women as well as self-employed women, in this context.

<sup>24</sup> One businesswoman, described as a “womanly woman,” was praised in a newspaper article in 1921 for not wearing “tailored suits, collars and cuffs, mannish shoes, or a portentous frown.” Kaner, “American Business Women,” 302.

twentieth centuries, could signify that they were “somehow ‘other’ than women,” that they were “Amazonians” who had “unsexed” themselves, that they were the third sex, or that they were, like men, sexually interested in women.<sup>25</sup> Businesswomen may not have wanted to be too masculine in appearance because it represented sexual “deviance,” ranging from being completely sexless to being dangerously oversexed, and including an implication of same-sex desire.

Mrs. Green segregated women into three “types:” the ingénue, the athletic and the dramatic. She suggested while athletic types were easiest to dress, “it was best to avoid the over masculine modes.” The dramatic was the “most dangerous type,” presumably because a tendency toward flamboyance was not suitable in the conservative business world. Green suggested that dramatic women should dress to express their personality while also conforming to “the dictates of good taste and suitability of occasion.”<sup>26</sup>

The importance of this seemingly inconsequential discussion cannot be overstated: it is a clear example of the attention and importance that BPW club members gave to appearance. The discussion led by Green emphasizes that businesswomen in the 1930s wanted to be considered feminine and that their appearance was almost as important as the work they did. Green even argued that for a woman to “plan and build a wardrobe which resulted in her being well and suitable [sic] dressed on all occasions required *as much* brains and executive ability as organizing and running the business

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<sup>25</sup> See Lee Virginia Chambers-Schiller, *Liberty, A Better Husband: Single Women in America, The Generations of 1780-1840* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 176-177, 198-199. See also Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 15, 32.

<sup>26</sup> “Report of the 3rd Convention...” Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3.

itself.”<sup>27</sup> While there is no clear evidence that BPW club members agreed with her assessment of the importance of appearing feminine, two separate references to the discussion exist in the Victoria BPW club notes. Furthermore, *The Victoria Daily Times* used the round table discussion as its feature item in a story about the Canadian Federation’s convention, titling the entire article “Dressing Well Good Business.”<sup>28</sup>

Business dress was examined in minute detail in the 1920s and 1930s, among both men and women. *Etiquette For Men* was first published in 1929 and author G.R.M. Devereux devoted a chapter to the “Well Dressed Man.” He outlined appropriate clothing for men for business dress, weddings, dances, and evening wear. Like Green’s comments to businesswomen, Devereux’s advice also stressed the importance of appearing well groomed. “If you have a nice crease in your trousers, are careful to see that your suit is well brushed, and that your linen is clean, you will always have a well-groomed, smart appearance.”<sup>29</sup>

Businessmen were undoubtedly also concerned with appearance, but style commentators emphasized neatness and professionalism, rather than masculinity. Devereux suggested that “neat, quiet, and suitable” were the three words that best described the clothing of a well-dressed man.<sup>30</sup> If a man was “so clad as to be conspicuous, it is evident that his taste has run a little off the rails.”<sup>31</sup> Devereux did not intimate that men needed to appear “masculine” because such emphasis would have been unnecessary. Men’s business dress was the standard to which women had to adapt.

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<sup>27</sup> “Report of the 3rd Convention...,” Kumtuks/Victoria Club Minute Book, 1930-1937, BCA, 89-1386-3 (emphasis added).

<sup>28</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, July 14, 1932, 8.

<sup>29</sup> G.R.M. Devereux, *Etiquette for Men: A Book of Modern Manners and Customs* (London: Chancellor Press, 2002), 92. First published, London: C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd, 1929.

<sup>30</sup> Devereux, *Etiquette for Men*, 87.

<sup>31</sup> Devereux, *Etiquette for Men*, 87.

If business dress was masculine, it was because only men had ever worn it. With the introduction of women to the business world, clothing became specifically important to women because they needed to find a way to be both womanly and businesslike. Simply wearing the neat and suitable trousers, vests, and ties that men wore was not an option as it made women appear too much like men.

The importance that businesswomen attached to appearance continued in subsequent decades. In 1937, Vancouver BPW club president Pearl Eaton stated that businesswomen “need no further reminder of the value of being well groomed.”<sup>32</sup> In 1951, the Victoria BPW club hosted an event called “The Business and Professional Woman As an Individual.” The primary focus of this event seems to have been appearance: the scheduled topics were care of the hair, the use of cosmetics and accessories, and clothes to wear to work.<sup>33</sup> In 1961, the Victoria club presented a career preview for young women: “Make-up and Clothes for a Working Day” formed one of the day’s sessions. Mrs. Noel Morgan, “Beauty Counsellor and Model,” discussed hair, skin, personal hygiene, and clothes.<sup>34</sup>

Businesswomen who sold women’s clothing advertised their goods to other women based upon the shared understanding that attire was a critical aspect of any enterprising woman’s success. Mary Constance Dress Shop advertised “Fabulous Fashions For a Business Woman’s Social Life,” such as after-five cocktail and short formal dresses, while Raymar Fashions appealed to “Business Women of Victoria...Look Smart in the Office! Choose from our complete selection of business-

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<sup>32</sup> Pearl Eaton, “Secretarial Work” (Speech given at 1937 CFBPWC convention), Pearl Steen Fonds, CVA, Add Mss 272, 517-C-5. Note: Steen’s surname was Eaton at the time she gave the speech.

<sup>33</sup> Victoria BPW Club Records, BCA, 89-1386-2.

<sup>34</sup> 1961 Programme, BPW Club Career Preview, BCA, 89-1387-3.

like dresses in the newest style trends and colors to please the most discriminating woman.”<sup>35</sup>

Figure 4.1 shows three advertisements, typical of the “Business Women’s Week” special spread and of businesswomen’s advertisements more generally. Victoria BPW Club member Minnie Beveridge’s advertisements (here and elsewhere) stressed the femininity of her millinery business, which she opened in 1938, and the importance of hats as part of businesswomen’s fashionable attire. Miss Livingstone, owner of the Crown Dress and Hat Shop, was a member of the Business and Professional Women’s Club in 1941 and she was still operating her shop, 21 years later: her advertisement refers to businesswomen’s elegance. Alice Mallek operated Mallek’s on her own after her husband’s death; she was also a BPW club member. Her advertisement was catered to “career women in every field” but also stressed the importance of “Fashion,” in the text and in the accompanying illustration (Figure 4.1).

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<sup>35</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, October 13, 1962, 23.

Figure 4.1: Advertisements for Business Women's Week: Victoria, 1962<sup>36</sup>



**Wardrobe Elegance  
for Victoria's  
Business Women**


Our selection of good clothes at reasonable prices are worth your time and money. Come in and see them. See how they fit in with your busy life.

- SUITS
- DRESSES
- COATS

Millinery - Accessories

*Crown Dress & Hat Shop*  
611 VIEW STREET PHONE EV 3-7914

**A SALUTE TO THE  
BUSINESS WOMEN  
OF CANADA**



Down through the years we have been proud to serve career women in every field with the latest in quality and Fashion.

*Mallek's*  
1696 Douglas EV 2-8151

**A Minnie Beveridge  
HAT  
Is Your Best  
Fashion  
Accessory**



Soft Velours, silks and many other fabrics. Try the flattery of a soft velvet shawl, confection, high, wide and handsome attached black velvet... choose your hat from original styling.

\$9.95 to \$21.00

See Our Budget-Price  
**HAT BAR**

That wide extra hat with no little. Be ready when in the store.

\$6.95 to \$8.95

Expert Reparatons and Alterations  
Member Fashion and Fitted Women's Club

*Minnie Beveridge*  
MILLINERY  
764 Fort Street Open All Day  
Weekdays EV 3-3453

<sup>36</sup> Victoria Daily Times, October 13, 1962, 22-23.

Proving that they were feminine despite their business acumen was a way for women to carve out a role for themselves. BPW club members repeatedly reassured businessmen, other men, and other women that they were not going to become manly by entering into business: thus, they stressed other characteristics besides appearance that demonstrated their femininity.

In 1952, the president of the International Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Dame Caroline Haslett, told the annual convention of the CFBPWC that women "don't need to copy men. They should keep courtesy alive as much as possible and should aim for an equality that does not eliminate graciousness."<sup>37</sup> Haslett emphasized that women were different from men: businesswomen and other working women sought equality but they posed no threat to gender conventions already in place.

This is what the newspaper article about Haslett, prominently titled "Business Women Have No Intention To Become 'Carbon Copy' Of Men,"<sup>38</sup> suggested. While Haslett probably did state that BPW club members could be gracious, feminine and still businesswomen, the media highlighted these aspects of her talk to reassure readers that businesswomen were not threatening the normal order of the business world. The write-up of Dame Haslett's visit in the Canadian Federation's national newsletter, *The Business and Professional Woman*, stressed the same points. Haslett "proves conclusively that a woman may reach the top in a recognized man's field and still not lose her endearing qualities. One is immediately struck...with her femininity, her charm

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<sup>37</sup> 1952 newspaper clipping (paper unknown), Vancouver BPW Club Scrapbooks and Miscellany, 1920s-1980s, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

<sup>38</sup> 1952 newspaper clipping (paper unknown), Vancouver BPW Club Scrapbooks and Miscellany, 1920s-1980s, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

of manner....”<sup>39</sup> BPW club members were also quick to emphasize that women in business were still feminine and were not threatening the place of men, nor were women at risk of becoming manly in mannerism or appearance if they chose to enter into business.

Efforts to stress businesswomen’s feminine qualities in the 1920s and 1930s had not dissipated after World War Two, as Haslett’s visit confirms. Businesswomen in the 1950s and 1960s continued to represent themselves as different from, but as capable as, businessmen. In 1963, Elsie Gregory MacGill, then president of the CFBPWC, spoke in Vancouver to British Columbia BPW clubs. MacGill spoke of what she called a “caste system” that held women back in the labour force and she stated that social attitudes impeded women’s progress. There were, she asserted, “two kinds of work – men’s work and women’s work – and they are not interchangeable.”<sup>40</sup> *Vancouver Sun* reporter Kathy Hassard pointed out that MacGill had, however, “outfoxed the Canadian caste system” by working as an aeronautical engineer.

Elsie MacGill was not self-employed although she was doing what she and Hassard felt had long been considered “men’s work.”<sup>41</sup> But even here, in a piece written by one working woman about another working woman who headed a national organization and who was a success in her chosen profession, the need to stress MacGill’s womanly attributes was evident: “Why did this slight, very feminine little woman embark on such a career?” Hassard asked. It is doubtful that Hassard would have

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<sup>39</sup> “Convention Chatter,” *The Business and Professional Woman* XXIII, 1 (July-August 1952), 7, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

<sup>40</sup> *Vancouver Sun*, May 22, 1963.

<sup>41</sup> In fact, it had been men’s work: MacGill was the world’s first female aeronautical engineer. See Chuck Davis, ed., *The Greater Vancouver Book: An Urban Encyclopaedia* (Surrey, BC: The Linkman Press, 1997), 827-828. Biographical information on MacGill’s famous mother Helen Gregory MacGill, who also achieved a number of “firsts” for women, is included here as well.

seen a need to describe a male aeronautical engineer as large or masculine, should the situation have been reversed.

Even as business and professional women made inroads into less orthodox professions, they were different from men and this was something that the media, the businesswomen themselves, and other observers clearly articulated. Beginning in the early 1950s, BPW clubs across Canada annually celebrated 'Business Women's Week' to "focus attention on the achievements of women in business, trades and the professions and on the part many of these women are playing in the economic, cultural and public life of Canada."<sup>42</sup> Articles about the event in the Victoria and Vancouver press focused on women's achievements, but the highlight of the news coverage was fashion shots of local businesswomen.

While the 1960 theme "Widening Horizons for the Business Woman" was chosen to emphasize women's abilities and to stress the "ever-broadening fields in which women are making a place for themselves," the *Victoria Daily Colonist* published a series of large photographs of Victoria BPW club members.<sup>43</sup> Mrs. Margaret Harvey, a Victoria BPW club member "in the field of real estate," was shown in a leopard-print hat with matching purse, fur-trimmed jacket and white gloves (Figure 4.2).

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<sup>42</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, October 14, 1961, 21.

<sup>43</sup> *Daily Colonist*, October 16, 1960, 19.

*Figure 4.2: Vancouver BPW club member Mrs. Bertha Bell (top) and Victoria BPW club member Mrs. Margaret Harvey (bottom)<sup>44</sup>*



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<sup>44</sup>Image of Mrs. Bertha Bell is from an undated, untitled newspaper clipping, Vancouver BPW Club Records, Scrapbooks and Miscellany, 1920s-1980s, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5. Image of Mrs. Margaret Harvey is from the *Daily Colonist*, October 16, 1960, 19.

Another article featuring Vancouver BPW club members recognized Business Women's Week as an important milestone, but the accompanying photographs highlighted the "type of versatile dresses and costumes that would span any day during next week's [business women's week] activities, or for that matter, any busy week in the life of busy women everywhere."<sup>45</sup>

The focus was in response to the request of Mrs. Virginia Beirnes, convener of Business Women's Week in Vancouver, that the newspaper focus on fashionable styles for women "with a mature figure." Thus, while the importance of "Business Women's Week" was stated in the article's text, the photographs pictured Vancouver club member Mrs. Bertha Bell wearing "a charming and versatile jacketed dress in hazelnut brown antelope crepe" (Figure 4.2) and "busy club woman Miss Barbara Macfarlane," featuring "one of the new flattering cuffed shallow necklines." (Figure 4.3).

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<sup>45</sup>Vancouver BPW Club Records, Scrapbooks and Miscellany, 1920s-1980s, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5. Note: this newspaper clipping is not dated and the newspaper is unknown but it is with a collection of clippings from the 1960s.

*Figure 4.3: Vancouver BPW club member Miss Barbara Macfarlane<sup>46</sup>*



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<sup>46</sup> Image is from an undated, untitled newspaper clipping, Vancouver BPW Club Records, Scrapbooks and Miscellany, 1920s-1980s, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

British Columbia Premier W.A.C. Bennett congratulated businesswomen and provided his “enthusiastic support to the nation-wide recognition of Business Women’s Week” in 1961. More importantly, his message to businesswomen, sandwiched between more photographs of well-dressed BPW club members convening in Victoria to celebrate the week’s events, stressed what many others had also stressed.

Businesswomen were women, mothers, and wives first, and businesswomen second: “It is characteristic of our business and professional women that they regard their careers not separately and selfishly but as adjuncts in support of the family and the community, the foundation stone of our Western civilization.”<sup>47</sup> Women had entered the world of business but like many other observers – including businesswomen – Bennett chose to emphasize women’s familial commitments. The message was forceful: women could be businesswomen and they could even be successful but they had to appear ladylike, gracious and feminine, as the photographs depicted. In short, businesswomen were not to be like businessmen.

In 1979, Toronto freelance writer Margaret Hewett Robertson wrote an article for *The Business and Professional Woman* entitled “Work is a Masculine Word.” She quoted a co-worker who told her she was “an attractive feminine woman. Women like you don’t belong in the working world.”<sup>48</sup> Robertson argued that traditionally “to be feminine is to be passive. Masculine is active and both society and the dictionary define ‘job,’ ‘work,’ and ‘career’ – most particularly the latter – in terms of the active.” As she pointed out, society’s concept of what it meant to be feminine was not compatible with what it meant to have a career.

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<sup>47</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, October 14, 1961, 21.

<sup>48</sup> Margaret Hewett Robertson, “Work is a Masculine Word,” *The Business and Professional Woman* (October-November 1979), 6-8, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

This helps to explain why businesswomen struggled throughout the first half of the twentieth century to downplay the ways in which they might, to their detriment, be considered masculine or manly, and instead accentuated their feminine attributes. If as Robertson said in 1979, femininity conjured up images of passivity, tenderness, and delicacy while masculinity suggested active, strong, aggressive traits, and if the work world was perceived to be more about the latter, it is little wonder that women felt they did not belong in the work world. But if women entered the work world regardless of its perceived masculinity, then one of their best survival tactics may have been to exaggerate their feminine qualities.

Some women managed to do this but also demonstrated that rather than just surviving in a “masculine” work world, they were very successful at running businesses. The manliness of the businesswoman was both identified and refuted in portrayals of some successful female entrepreneurs.

While an exaggerated emphasis on femininity was most typical in descriptions of businesswomen, manliness was a titillating and irrefutable aspect of one businesswoman’s life. Miss Eleanor Johnson, profiled by P.W. Luce in the *Vancouver Sun* after her 1951 death, ran her own cab in Victoria before the First World War, and later became a real estate and financial agent. She owned and operated a cement company and got the contract to build the first sewers in Burnaby. Johnson also worked after World War One as the marine and financial editor of the *Sun*.<sup>49</sup> Her “manliness” was notable and unusual; Luce proclaimed that she was “born a woman but for more

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<sup>49</sup> P. W. Luce, “At Odds With Life,” *Vancouver Sun*, November 3, 1951, Magazine Section, 6. See also Marjory Lang and Linda Hale, “Women of the *World* and Other Dailies: The Lives and Times of Vancouver Newspaperwomen in the First Quarter of the Twentieth Century,” *BC Studies* 85 (Spring 1990): 17-18.

than seventy years she longed for the impossible: She yearned to be a man!” Known as “Billy,” she “invaded this strictly masculine field” of newspaper reporting, along with other “masculine” fields of entrepreneurship.

Eleanor Johnson, unlike most entrepreneurial women, made no attempt to be womanly: her appearance and her choice of businesses were distinctly masculine. While her manly appearance was the main topic of the profile, Luce did, however, attempt to stress the ways in which “Billy” was respectable: “A big, wholesome-looking woman, with a complexion that was the envy of her more feminine confreres, she was always immaculately groomed.”<sup>50</sup>

Descriptions of businesswomen who operated businesses normally associated with men more typically emphasized the entrepreneur’s femininity. The *Victoria Daily Times* printed a story about a Montreal businesswoman in 1962, titled “ ‘Boss’ Holds Man’s Job – And ‘He’ Is a Woman.”<sup>51</sup> Mrs. Laurette Grayel was the owner-director of a Montreal delivery company. In this instance, the work itself was identified as a man’s work, but Grayel was portrayed (and likely portrayed herself) as womanly. The reporter physically described Grayel as an “attractive, 46-year-old blonde,” as if to pointedly demonstrate to readers that she was feminine in appearance if not in occupation. A photograph of Mrs. Grayel in heels and a dress and handing a package to one of her deliverymen accompanied the article. And the title pointed out that “he” (the boss) was in fact a woman.

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<sup>50</sup> Luce, “At Odds With Life,” 6. Later in the article he again noted that she was a “massive woman,” who “always wore mannish clothes.” The final years of Johnson’s wife were a mystery: she left Vancouver in 1941 and did not resurface until September 1951 when her dead body was found in a hotel in Arizona. Luce tragically opined that Johnson “died as she had lived, a woman who trod a solitary path.”

<sup>51</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, October 13, 1962, 23.

Grayel stated that her work was “no business for a woman,” and that there were “times when you must forget you are a woman.” She implied that the kind of work she did was not meant to be done by women and therefore, she took on manly characteristics to get the job done. Yet, the article managed to stress her femininity and her success at the same time as it proclaimed that her business was a “man’s job.” The only way that a woman such as Grayel could successfully do a man’s work was by occasionally “forgetting” that she was a woman, but also by maintaining an attractive appearance and making sure that her outward femininity was not in question. She recognized this, but so did the reporter who focused on her appearance and behaviour.

In a 1967 article entitled “Think Like Man, Act Like a Lady,” Mrs. Hyman Kessler was described as “one of the most attractive scrap metal dealers in the business.”<sup>52</sup> The author reinforced the importance of appearance, describing Kessler as “Blonde, vital, and looking about 15 years younger than her age of 52.” Kessler, a widow in Hamilton, Ontario, “always wears skirts when she goes out on the job, and never smokes, although she is a heavy smoker at home.” She stated that in this business, “You have to think like a man and act like a lady.” Kessler operated a type of business usually run by men (and took over a business that had been run by her father and her husband) and the message was patently obvious. Kessler, just like Laurette Grayel, thought “like a man” in order to run the business, but by wearing skirts and acting like a lady, she retained her femininity. This was one way that successful female entrepreneurs could and did balance their success with their gender in a masculine work world.

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<sup>52</sup> “Think Like Man, Act Like a Lady,” *The Business and Professional Woman* (May-June 1967), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

In Burnaby, British Columbia, Wendy McDonald assumed ownership of BC Bearing Engineers, an industrial products and bearings company, after her first husband's death in 1950. That McDonald worked as a model in her 20s was emphasized in two profiles about her, both published in 1999.<sup>53</sup> *Chatelaine* magazine described her as a "woman of her time and ahead of it," also noting that she "peels off a chunky clip-on earring at the start of phone calls."<sup>54</sup> The emphasis on McDonald's fashion accessories and past modelling career seem like conspicuous sign-posts set out to proclaim her femininity *despite* her business type. McDonald is heralded as a woman who "juggled a career and raised 10 children in an era when women were barely cleaning boardrooms, much less presiding over them."<sup>55</sup> While her successes are celebrated, that she was exceptional for operating in a male domain is the focal point in profiles written as her career was drawing to a close. At the same time, her femininity is carefully, if indirectly, reinforced.

Emphasizing womanliness prevented outright condemnation of entrepreneurial women: if businesswomen proved that they could be as successful as men while still being appropriately feminine and by being wives or mothers, then their existence did not threaten the gender conventions which equated businesslike behaviour with masculine

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<sup>53</sup>See David Mitchell and Shari Graydon, eds., *British Columbia's Business Leaders of the Century* (Vancouver: BIV Special Publications, Quebecor Printing, 1999), 96-97; see also "100 Top Women Entrepreneurs," *Chatelaine* (November 1999): 77.

<sup>54</sup>"100 Top Women Entrepreneurs," 77.

<sup>55</sup>"100 Top Women Entrepreneurs," 77. The profile in *British Columbia's Business Leaders* also notes that when McDonald's first husband went to war and left her with power of attorney, "she didn't even know what the term meant." And in the 1960s, she "confessed" that it took years for her to really know what she was doing. While these confessions may be true, the emphasis on her lack of knowledge, her marriages and many children, and her early modelling career all serve to reinforce her femininity: profiles of businessmen rarely focus on domestic issues, or on a businessman's relative ignorance of his line of work. See Mitchell and Graydon, eds., *British Columbia's Business Leaders*, 96-97.

behaviour. Women operating businesses that had long been associated with men did not want to *be* men: women wanted to do men's work but remain womanly.<sup>56</sup>

Businesswomen in "male" fields recognized the interaction that occurred between their gendered identities and their business identities, and their use of language demonstrates an awareness of their particular place in the business world. This was clear in shopkeeping, an industry typically dominated by male businessmen. David Monod argues that mid-twentieth century Canadian female shopkeepers justified and presented their entrepreneurship differently from men. While they were actually defined as shopkeepers (and therefore to some degree, they were recognized as entrepreneurs) their choice of words in describing their businesses and their manner of representing their actions differed from those of men, perhaps because they were "crossing into a male sphere."<sup>57</sup> "Where men promoted their actions with reference to tests...or entrepreneurial initiative..., women often referred back to their empathetic relationship with their customers."<sup>58</sup>

Male and female store owners had a "fundamental difference of perspective,"<sup>59</sup> which demonstrated the gendered divisions within the world of shopkeeping in particular. Men and women accepted that owning a retail store was about "independence, the notion of service, the importance of community, the pride in ownership," but they also acknowledged, according to Monod, that it was a male world. "In order to be retailers, women therefore had to...reassert their own femininity" and relate their involvement in business to dominant ideals of womanhood and

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<sup>56</sup> See Kanés, "American Business Women," 68. She makes a similar point in an American context.

<sup>57</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 73-74.

<sup>58</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 74.

<sup>59</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 74.

domesticity.<sup>60</sup> He found many examples of businesswomen referring to their homes, husbands, and children, and justifying their business involvement as a way to meet other domestic and familial responsibilities. In contrast, “few men made mention of their wives’ contributions or even of their familial responsibilities....”<sup>61</sup>

Most businesswomen tended to represent themselves (and were represented by others) as feminine despite their chosen profession, but the type of business that a self-employed woman chose to operate made a difference in how she might be portrayed or in how she might portray herself. While some exceptional women ran businesses that were in the realm of men’s work, such as Miss Johnson’s cement company, Mrs. Kessler’s scrap metal business, or Mrs. McDonald’s bearings company, others ran businesses in more womanly fields. As Wendy Gamber states, the business world was “rigidly sex-segregated.... Hampered by limited capital and constrained by social convention, most female entrepreneurs clustered in occupations that mirrored traditional conceptions of women’s work.”<sup>62</sup> The issue of how women’s enterprises were feminized, with women selling women’s goods, is an important aspect of how they were viewed.

Stana Nenadic points out that in the late nineteenth century, women in the garment trades in England may have purposefully cultivated strategies that obscured their involvement in business.<sup>63</sup> Entrepreneurial dressmakers behaved in “a manner that often appeared ‘unbusinesslike.’”<sup>64</sup> Individualized competitive behaviour, which

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<sup>60</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 75.

<sup>61</sup> Monod, *Store Wars*, 75.

<sup>62</sup> Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 27.

<sup>63</sup> Stana Nenadic, “The Social Shaping of Business Behaviour in the Nineteenth-Century Women’s Garment Trades,” *Journal of Social History* 31, 3 (Spring 1998): 626.

<sup>64</sup> Nenadic, “Business Behaviour,” 627.

Nenadic calls a “key characteristic of the classic entrepreneur,” was not part of the agenda shaping women’s businesses in the sewing trades. Women who were self-employed in garment work encountered a rhetoric of “overt femininity and domesticity” that served to guide their behaviour.<sup>65</sup> Indeed, the association of women entrepreneurs with images of “nurturing,” moral propriety, and family and community was something that actively dissociated them from the sorts of images that Nenadic identifies as both manly and business-like: “Male-owned businesses and their business behaviour were shaped according to an heroic, individualistic and nationalistic agenda.”<sup>66</sup> Women had no place in this agenda; business success for women (in garment trades in particular) meant pretending that they were not actually successful *and* that they were not actually in business.

The idea that women who operated businesses in overtly domestic or feminine trades were in some ways unbusinesslike to the point of being “invisible” in the business world can be applied to other industries and in other locations. Kwolek-Folland points out that many American women throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ran neighbourhood businesses in domestic services that required little capital investment, such as in-home sewing trades and boarding houses.<sup>67</sup> A combination of factors – the feminized niche that women operated in, the small size of their businesses, and the fact that businesses such as boarding houses operated out of the home – meant that these women, much like Nenadic’s garment workers, were hardly recognized as entrepreneurs in their own right.

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<sup>65</sup> Nenadic, “Business Behaviour,” 639.

<sup>66</sup> Nenadic, “Business Behaviour,” 639.

<sup>67</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women*, 28.

### **Class, Status, and Business Size: When is a Woman in “Business”?**

Many scholars who examine small businesses have overlooked laundresses, boarding house keepers, and others whose businesses “lay at the murky boundaries of public and private, profit-seeking and philanthropic, wage labor and entrepreneurship, legitimate and illegitimate enterprise.”<sup>68</sup> Whether one was defined as a businesswoman – or man – was a statement of class more than a statement of entrepreneurship, particularly in the first half of the twentieth century.

Women who owned small businesses in “typically feminized areas”<sup>69</sup> were rarely recognized as entrepreneurs, as is evident in twentieth-century British Columbia. Women operating small businesses in feminized trades did not attract much notice or, correspondingly, much disapproval, and this was especially true of home-based businesses. As Claudia Goldin has suggested, when the place of work was the home, women with pre-adolescent children could participate in the labour force because of the “convenience” of working at home.<sup>70</sup> Women in British Columbia who ran home-based businesses such as boarding houses or sewing businesses were rarely mentioned in the context of being in the business world, perhaps because the work they did was so closely related to women’s domestic work. These businesses were still, in a sense, seen as “home” work rather than work for profit.

Most female-owned businesses fit John Benson’s definition of working-class penny capitalists. Benson describes late nineteenth and early twentieth century penny capitalists as working men or women who entered into business on a small scale,

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<sup>68</sup> Wendy Gamber, “A Gendered Enterprise: Placing Nineteenth-Century Businesswomen in History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 193.

<sup>69</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women*, 125.

<sup>70</sup> Claudia Goldin, “The Economic Status of Women in the Early Republic: Quantitative Evidence,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* XVI, 3 (Winter 1986): 393.

survived on small enterprises, but rarely made large profits.<sup>71</sup> He links penny capitalism directly to the working class. Very small enterprises cushioned the poor and provided disadvantaged working-class people – such as widowed or abandoned women – with ways to adapt and survive. These businesses were working-class responses to economic crisis, not the kinds of businesses mentioned in the BPW club records.

Membership in the BPW clubs was not overtly restrictive: in Vancouver, as in other clubs in the province, an active member could be any woman who was “gainfully employed in business, a profession or industry at the time of acceptance” into the club.<sup>72</sup> Boarding house keeping, however, does not seem to have been viewed as a profession or as a business. This form of entrepreneurship, an extension of women’s domestic work, was “penny capitalism” rather than entrepreneurship. Female penny capitalists such as boarding house keepers or washerwomen were rarely members of the province’s BPW clubs, even though they met the requirements for membership.

Even so, there is evidence that some boarding house keepers joined. Victoria BPW club member Miss A. J. Salter operated Devonshire House, described in an advertisement in *The Vancouver Business Woman* as “a Ladies’ Hostel and Residential Club.”<sup>73</sup> Salter did not represent the typical boarding house keeper, however: a married woman heading her own household, possibly with children living in the home, who was the sole supporter of her family was far more typical. Emily Carr joined the Victoria BPW club in 1926 with her occupation listed as artist, although Carr was, in addition to

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<sup>71</sup> John Benson, *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth-Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 6.

<sup>72</sup> Vancouver BPW Club Records – minutes and correspondence, CVA, Add Mss 799, 608-A-1, file 6.

<sup>73</sup> *The Vancouver Business Woman* 4, 3 (August 1, 1926), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

being a prolific and well-known artist, a boarding house keeper in Victoria.<sup>74</sup> She did not consider boarding house keeping to be her occupation, however, and as a single woman with no children she was, like Salter, an atypical boarding house keeper.

The occupations of Victoria club members ranged from professional wage-earning jobs, such as clerks, nurses, saleswomen, secretaries and bookkeepers to self-employed women including hairdressers, café owners, milliners and photographers. These were “business” or “professional” women. But the surviving membership lists did not include any boarding house keepers, or any of the other small home-based self-employed women who might more appropriately be categorized as penny capitalists.<sup>75</sup> It is possible that penny capitalists chose not to join the clubs but it is also possible that they did not feel welcome. Whether they were actively discouraged by business and professional women, who were, or who were aspiring to be, middle and upper class, is not important: the important point is that penny capitalists did not join because they knew it was not a club for working-class businesswomen. Even if club members did not overtly discourage penny capitalists from joining, they did not encourage them, either.

In addition to possible perceptions of what the club was about, practical considerations such as the membership fees prevented lower class women from joining. In her Master’s thesis, which examines the Victoria BPW club from 1921 to 1960, Deidre Brocklehurst suggests that the application fees, annual membership dues, time

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<sup>74</sup> Kumtuks Club Book, 1921-1929, BCA, 89-1386-3. “Miss Emily Carr, Artist” is noted as a new member in 1926. Carr began her career as a landlady in 1913 operating an apartment building but by 1916 she had converted the upstairs apartments into rooms for boarders. At various points, the house was a boarding house, lodging house, and apartment building. She ended her career as a landlady, which she “loathed,” in 1935. See Maria Tippett, *Emily Carr: A Biography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979), 115-120, 233.

<sup>75</sup> Membership List, Victoria Business and Professional Women’s Club, 1931, Attendance and Registration Book, BCA, 89-1386-3; Membership List, Victoria Business and Professional Women’s Club, 1948, BCA, 89-1386-2. See Appendix 3.1 for a list of all the BPW clubwomen recorded as members in 1931 and 1948.

commitments and volunteer work expected of members probably deterred “poorer women, women on intermittent/seasonal incomes, and/or women with dependants.”<sup>76</sup>

These considerations would have excluded many small business owners who typically struggled to make ends meet and had little free time to take part in club activities due to the nature of their work and their familial situations. They were also, by nature of their self-employment, less likely to have a steady income and they suffered the vagaries of the market as a result.

Class is thus an important component in determining what makes a “businesswoman.” While self-employment was a marker of a businesswoman it was not the only marker, making it difficult to discuss entrepreneurial businesswomen separately from wage-earning business and professional women. In addition, being self-employed was no guarantee that a woman (or, for that matter, a man) would be defined as businessperson: subsistence self-employment existed on the fringes of what it meant in the early twentieth century to be a man or woman of business.

The employed women who were not members of BPW clubs in the province are perhaps more significant than the list of those who were. In addition to a lack of boarding house keepers, there were no laundresses, factory workers, servants, housekeepers, or cleaning women – all occupations that fit the membership requirements of the club and that a significant number of self-supporting women might have worked at, whether as wage earners or as entrepreneurs.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Deidre Brocklehurst, “A Visible Presence: The Victoria Business and Professional Women’s Club 1921-1960,” MA Thesis (University of Victoria, 2001), 31. I found nothing in the BPW Club records indicating what the membership fees were, either in Vancouver or Victoria. Brocklehurst also makes no specific mention of fees charged to Victoria club members.

<sup>77</sup> I did not find any mention of members with these occupational titles, either in the two surviving membership lists or in the many passing references to members and their occupations, made in the club minutes. This was the case for all of the Vancouver and Victoria club records. The only references to

BPW club members who may not have been from the middle or upper class were at least expected to be upwardly mobile in their thoughts and actions. In 1931, the Victoria club's outgoing president, Miss Margaret Clay, outlined the "aims and ideals" of the BPW clubs:

The first requirement of the individual member is that she develop the technique of her own specific job to the greatest possible degree of efficiency, also that she study the sociological problems of the country and the world;...and that she makes of living a gracious art which was only possible when due consideration was given to the things of the mind and spirit.<sup>78</sup>

Doubtless, very few boarding house keepers and other marginal businesswomen who took in laundry or sewing were concerned about making of living a "gracious art," nor were they studying the sociological problems of the country. Class divisions limited membership in the Business and Professional Women's Clubs.<sup>79</sup> However, there was no evidence that occupation hindered status within the club. Within the leadership of the BPW clubs in British Columbia, there did not seem to be any hierarchy based upon specific occupation or on whether a woman was self-employed or a wage earner. The presidents and members of the executive of the Victoria and Vancouver BPW clubs were from all walks of life: a small business owner, a newspaper editor, a stenographer, and a librarian all acted as presidents for the British Columbia clubs and some of these women also went on to head the national federation. While the membership was primarily white, middle to upper-class women, those that joined did not fall into any ranking within the club, based upon occupation or employment status.

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working-class women are in relation to the philanthropic work that the BPW clubs undertook, on their behalf.

<sup>78</sup> *Victoria Daily Times*, January 30, 1934, 6.

<sup>79</sup> Deidre Brocklehurst comes to a similar conclusion: see Brocklehurst, "A Visible Presence," 31-32.

Candace Kanes notes that class distinctions were implicit in the American BPW clubs. The clubs represented women “who had either moved up available occupational ladders or intended to.”<sup>80</sup> One businesswomen’s club president stated in 1926 that “only women who measure up to the highest standard should be considered eligible for membership. ‘Underpar’ women have no place....”<sup>81</sup> Class and status lines were being clearly drawn. Some clubs accepted industrial workers and factory or laundry girls as members; others wanted to limit membership of these workers to one quarter of total membership, and others did not want them to be considered for membership at all.<sup>82</sup>

Kanes’ study of the membership lists of BPW clubs in Buffalo and Portland in the 1920s makes no mention of boarding house keepers. The largest share of club members in the two American cities she studied worked in clerical occupations, followed by professional trades (nursing, teaching) and white-collar professionals such as office or social workers. This closely fits the occupational breakdown of club members in Victoria in 1931 and 1948 (see Chapter Three, Tables 3.1 and 3.2). American club members “had to meet expectations that they were among the top women in their communities.”<sup>83</sup>

Women who ran hotels were acknowledged as businesswomen.<sup>84</sup> However, hotelkeepers like Mrs. Norma MacDonald, who owned the Oak Bay Beach Hotel in

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<sup>80</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 181.

<sup>81</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 181-182. At the founding convention in 1916 of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women’s Clubs in the United States, members struggled with how to define the typical business or professional woman. Delegates questioned, for instance, whether girls who worked in the laundry or in industrial occupations should be considered professional women eligible for membership. See Kanes, “American Business Women,” 186.

<sup>82</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 186-187.

<sup>83</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 195. Club members “rarely held the types of jobs that many working women did: domestic service, lower-level service and factory.” Kanes, “American Business Women,” 197.

<sup>84</sup> The Armstrong Hotel was, for instance, notable for its “strong women proprietors.” Mrs. Florence Drage began an 11-year tenure as owner in 1930. In 1950, James and Jean Phillips owned the hotel and

Victoria, were running larger and more commercially profitable businesses than were boarding house keepers. Hotelkeeping had a place in the more public business arena and hotels were usually separate from the home, making them a different kind of enterprise than boarding houses. Some of these women, perhaps because they were of a higher status than boarding house keepers, did belong to the BPW clubs. There were two hotel proprietors in the 1948 Victoria BPW club membership list: Mrs. Erma Vautrin, and MacDonald, who in 1957 was still an active businessperson and a member of the Victoria Chamber of Commerce.<sup>85</sup>

That the work of boarding house keepers and other home workers was viewed as an extension of women's domestic tasks did mean that there was less need to emphasize their womanly qualities. Women who operated less domestic or feminized businesses were in the spotlight and they were depicted as unconventional in their choice of work, but conventional in their femininity. In the case of women running boarding houses or doing other domestic tasks in an enterprising way, femininity was not in question – but they do not seem to have been fully recognized as entrepreneurs.

### **Feminine Enterprises: Women Selling to Women**

Some entrepreneurial women worked outside the home but in “feminized” trades: they were womanly women, selling women's goods.<sup>86</sup> They were, like the more

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Jean managed it. She was “criticized in some quarters for running the establishment, especially as it contained a bar, and women were still expected to keep a low profile.” Phillips did apparently take part in what the author termed “more womanly things.” She went to church and sang in the choir and one acquaintance recalled that there was “no mistaking she was a lady, but she was a strong woman, too. People didn't really hold managing that business against her.” See Devon L. Muhlert, “Armstrong Hotel Fits A Dowager's Role,” *Okanagan History: The Sixty-First Report of the Okanagan Historical Society*, 61 (1997): 84-89.

<sup>85</sup> Annual Report and Business Directory (1957), Victoria Chamber of Commerce, City of Victoria Archives, 33 G 1, file 2. See also Appendix 3.1.

<sup>86</sup> Goldin, “The Economic Status of Women,” 402. As Gamber has argued, these entrepreneurs “challenged ‘women's place,’ but they did so within the confines of a ‘feminine pursuit.’” See Gamber, *The Female Economy*, 20.

domestic home-based businesswomen, at times barely acknowledged as self-employed entrepreneurs. In 1935, *Fortune* magazine published a series of articles on “Women in Business,” one of which distinguished between “women engaged in the business exploitation of femininity,” and the “vital industries” dominated by men. The point, as Kathy Peiss elaborates, was that men’s ventures were “vital,” a word that connoted indispensable and fundamental enterprises, while women’s ventures were neither vital nor indispensable and therefore, they were considered unbusinesslike. The *Fortune* piece further stated that women’s success with businesses that exploited femininity proved only that “women are by nature feminine.”<sup>87</sup> In other words, being feminine was the antithesis of being businesslike, even for women who went out into the world of business and operated businesses that were recognizably entrepreneurial.

However, many women managed to turn the “cultural basis of their exclusion from the general pursuit of business – their femininity – into a resource for entrepreneurship, ownership, and profit.”<sup>88</sup> These women operated businesses in feminized niches, in industries such as women’s clothing, food, or beauty products. But they went a step further than the businesswomen who operated domestic enterprises out of their homes: they operated outside of their homes, and they used the ideology of femininity that had excluded them from the business world as a way to justify their entry into certain types of business. Some women entered the beauty industry and made a niche for themselves by finding “alternative paths into the marketplace.”<sup>89</sup> Women capitalized on female friendships, built networks through already existing social

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<sup>87</sup> “Women in Business: III,” *Fortune* 12 (July-December 1935): 81, cited in Kathy Peiss, “‘Vital Industry’ and Women’s Ventures: Conceptualizing Gender in Twentieth Century Business History,” *Business History Review* 72, 2 (Summer 1998): 219.

<sup>88</sup> Peiss, “Vital Industry,” 230.

<sup>89</sup> Peiss, “Vital Industry,” 231.

relationships, and appealed to traditional gendered precepts to sell products to other women.<sup>90</sup>

Women in British Columbia were no exception.<sup>91</sup> Many opened businesses providing services to other women, and their womanliness was made clear in their comments about their businesses and in how they advertised their enterprises. Minnie Beveridge opened her millinery shop in Victoria in 1938. In 1954 in the *Daily Colonist*, Beveridge described her millinery work as a “hobby” that developed into her living. Reporter Dee Lavoie wrote that Beveridge took into account a woman’s personality and her clothing when she created a hat for her; there was “a hat for every person.”<sup>92</sup> The article focused on the designs, fabric, and shapes of Beveridge’s hats rather than her business acumen. Lavoie portrayed her as a fashion expert, a recognized “authority on hats and how to wear them,” but not as a business expert despite her years of successful entrepreneurship.

Minnie Beveridge advertised directly to the community of businesswomen to which she belonged, and noted her membership in the BPW club. She also appealed to her customers’ sense of fashion: “The shape that flatters is yours this fall,” her advertisements announced in 1960, with “Lovely, Lofty” hats from Minnie Beveridge Millinery.<sup>93</sup>

Observers’ comments about businesswomen also focused on particular attributes when they described the women or their enterprises. Alice Mallek and her husband

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<sup>90</sup> Peiss, “Vital Industry,” 235, 237.

<sup>91</sup> See Chapter Three, Table 3.3, which shows a number of self-employed women in feminine industries, whose clients were other women. Beauty salon owners, corsetieres, and milliners were well-represented in the club membership.

<sup>92</sup> Dee Lavoie, “Expert Readies New Hats for Legislature Opening,” *The Daily Colonist*, February 14, 1954, 18.

<sup>93</sup> *The Daily Colonist*, October 16, 1960, 6.

opened a women's wear shop in Victoria in 1913 and after she was widowed in the 1940s, she continued to operate the business on her own. G. E. Mortimer's profile of Mallek in the *Daily Colonist* in the mid-1950s stated, "Mrs. Mallek loves furs, like most women, and on her racks can be found some of the loveliest creations."<sup>94</sup> Many articles highlighting the businesswomen of British Columbia stressed either the femininity of the proprietors or the femininity of their goods: this profile stressed both. Mortimer described Alice Mallek as a kindly woman of "lively ideas and mischievous good humor." Mallek's carpeted salon was described as a "smart downtown dress shop," while Mallek herself was described as respectable, womanly, and as dignified and elegant as her store. Mortimer physically described this "proprietress" as a "silver-haired widow."<sup>95</sup> Physical descriptions that focused on women's dignity or their femininity were a common feature of profiles such as this one.

A retiring president of the Vancouver BPW club told the *Vancouver Daily Province* in the 1950s, "[t]hough I'm known in business circles as Mrs. Theresa Galloway (she once owned a beauty parlor), I'm very happily married, and to a man who believes a wife should also be an individual."<sup>96</sup> Mrs. Galloway had operated a business that clearly appealed to traditional gendered precepts, in that it was catered to a female clientele. Winifred Lee, who wrote the article, stressed that Galloway was respectable and womanly but also ambitious, hard-working, and community-minded. Galloway had "constantly agitated for better conditions and hours of work" for working women, but she was also a "friendly hospitable person" who would tackle anything from sewing lace

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<sup>94</sup> G.E. Mortimer, Profile of Alice Mallek in "The Islander," an insert in *The Daily Colonist*, January 13, 1957, 3. One of Mallek's advertisements is shown in Figure 4.1, this chapter.

<sup>95</sup> Mortimer, "The Islander," *The Daily Colonist*, January 13, 1957, 3.

<sup>96</sup> *Vancouver Daily Province*. The article, clipped for the BPW club scrapbook, is undated but appears with clippings from the mid-1950s. Vancouver BPW Club Scrapbook, 1950-1958, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

on lingerie to cooking a meal to leading a women's committee. Theresa Galloway embodied the ideal businesswoman: respectable, friendly, womanly, and business-like.

While Lee wrote of Galloway's work on behalf of other women and of her extensive committee work, the article's subtitles included, "A Gay Person," "Happily Married," and "No Cigarettes For Her!" "I'm very sentimental," Mrs. Galloway apparently claimed: "I just can't bear to part with my daughter's baby things." Galloway also commented on the importance of appearance: "sloppy clothing for young people arouses her disdain," and she "draws the line at smoking and drinking for women...." If women only knew how ugly they look with a cigarette dangling from their lips, I'm sure they'd stop."

Female proprietors of businesses that catered to a female clientele were not working in particularly "masculine" industries but they were, just by being in business, in a more masculine arena than they would have been had they worked as wage earners. In the mid-twentieth century, women like Alice Mallek and Theresa Galloway, despite their apparent successes and their respectable community positions, were in the minority just by being self-employed women. References to them emphasized their respectable and feminine attributes to offset the ways in which, as entrepreneurs, they challenged orthodoxy. The authors who wrote about the women illustrated this but sometimes comments from the women themselves accomplished the same feat, such as Galloway's assertions that she was happily married, domestically inclined, and sentimental.

Women also used "a discourse of community, domesticity, neighborliness and service" to gain a place in the world of residential real estate.<sup>97</sup> Traditional gendered ideas about women's roles and the association of women with family and with "home"

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<sup>97</sup> Peiss, "Vital Industry," 239.

provided a way for women to enter into the industry. An article in *The Business and Professional Woman* in 1963, "Women CAN Sell Real Estate," profiled the Vancouver all-woman real estate firm of Triangle Realty. "Can womanly qualities of charm, grace, enthusiasm and attention to detail form the basis of a successful business?" asked author Virginia Beirnes.<sup>98</sup> Beirnes physically described the three women who operated the business: "Mrs. Woodsworth, is a charming silver blonde; Mrs. Linnell and Mrs. Ashdown, vivacious red-heads, and all are mature women with families." This physical description purposely accentuated that successful businesswomen could also be wives and mothers. Moreover, their "womanly" qualities made them successful at some types of business. Beirnes concluded that "know-how, combined with charm, grace and enthusiasm, spell success in the real estate business for women."<sup>99</sup>

Despite the success stories, it was difficult to be recognized as a woman *and* an entrepreneur.<sup>100</sup> Women who operated overtly domestic or feminine enterprises out of their home were not really recognized as being in business: they were penny capitalists warding off complete poverty in many cases, and their businesses required little capital and fell under the broad category of 'women's work' without being clearly designated as avenues of self-employment. Women who moved out of the house and into a capitalist marketplace but who opened businesses in fields deemed suitable to women were sometimes so successful at avoiding being condemned as too "masculine" that they were not recognized as being in business, either. *Fortune* magazine's 1935 series on

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<sup>98</sup> Virginia Beirnes, "Women CAN Sell Real Estate," *The Business and Professional Woman* XXVIII, 5 (March-April 1963), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

<sup>99</sup> Beirnes, "Women CAN Sell Real Estate," 5. Interestingly, Beirnes does not mention Marianne Linnell's political career (see Chapter Two) in this profile of "success."

<sup>100</sup> Indeed, for Eleanor "Billy" Johnson, profiled earlier in this chapter, it was easier to be recognized as a man. Unlike most female entrepreneurs, she seems to have made no effort to appear feminine: Johnson's career and appearance aptly demonstrate that business was a "man's" world, a world that she embraced more than most businesswomen did.

businesswomen noted the presence of women entrepreneurs but as Mary Yeager argued, “cut them down to size, arguing that ‘success in style designing or in the sale of cosmetics or in the publicizing of women’s wear implies little or nothing as to those activities in which womanhood is not a natural advantage.’” *Fortune* argued that the “proof of feminine success in industry is feminine success in those industries historically dominated by men.”<sup>101</sup>

And yet, those women who opened businesses in industries dominated by men were still portrayed as different from businessmen. What is most interesting about women who proved their “success” in industries historically dominated by men is the extent to which the media and other observers stressed that their femininity had not been compromised by their successes in masculine fields.

The types of businesses that women operated represented a meeting point between societal pressures upon women and their need to make economic decisions. Businesswomen made gendered choices overlaid with capitalist choices. Women in British Columbia made decisions to run certain businesses based on economic need and on some expectation of income, but from a gendered perspective. Many operated businesses that they felt would be successful, choosing their business type based on their own knowledge base, but also on their perceived customer base.

Yeager suggests that we need to “think more about how women’s decisions regarding marriage and families facilitated or obstructed their business careers and/or

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<sup>101</sup> “Women in Business: III,” *Fortune* (September 1935), cited in Mary A. Yeager, “Will There Ever Be a Feminist Business History?” Yeager, ed., *Women in Business: Volume 1* (Cheltenham, UK and Northampton, USA: Elgar, 1999), 23.

those of their partners and husbands.”<sup>102</sup> She also articulates that we need a “culturally and socially conditioned view of economic activity that incorporates the gendered identities of business people as they move in and out of families, firms, markets and states.”<sup>103</sup> The interaction between gender and business is a critical part of the story of women’s enterprises because women chose particular enterprises based on their expectations of business success – in essence, capitalist considerations – but also based on societal expectations of appropriate avenues for entrepreneurial women. It behooved women to pay attention to the latter and open businesses in enterprises long associated with women in order to succeed economically.

That what other members of society thought was suitable work for women affected their economic choices was clear in a 1950 article in the *Veteran’s Advocate*. The article reported on a meeting of the Toronto BPW club at which male guests were invited to take part in a panel discussion. At the end of the discussion, panelists advised businesswomen to become “more emotionally stable” and to follow professions in which women were successful.<sup>104</sup> Women’s entrepreneurial choices were guided by gender expectations and by societal assumptions about their supposed emotional instability, something the panel clearly believed would hinder them in their businesses.

While many women opened businesses in areas deemed suitable for feminine temperaments, the British Columbia BPW club records noted and sometimes praised exceptional women who ran enterprises that were not guided by gendered expectations. An article published in *The Vancouver Business Woman* in 1925 was particularly

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<sup>102</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” Yeager, ed., *Women in Business: Volume 1*, xxi. Note: I address the relationship between business and family in Chapter Five.

<sup>103</sup> Yeager, “Introduction,” xxi.

<sup>104</sup> *The Veteran’s Advocate*, February 1, 1950, Vancouver BPW Club Scrapbook (1950-58), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5.

illustrative in this regard. Author and BPW club member M.E. Dunn recognized that women were heavily segregated in their employment options, and then went on to celebrate a “plucky” female holly farmer who chose a less conventional path. As Dunn lamented, “looking down the lists of women workers, one sometimes feels a little sad and weary at the constant repetition of stenographer, saleswoman, milliner, beauty specialist. Therefore it is refreshing to see a woman strike out on a new line of work, and it is a source of pride to have such a woman in our Club.”<sup>105</sup>

Dunn’s profile of Miss Shaffer, a teacher and aspiring holly farmer, lauds Shaffer’s “pioneer spirit,” her “backbreaking work” clearing the land, and her “strength of mind.” Dunn makes it clear that the eventual financial success of the holly farm is one of the reasons why “Madam Farmer” ought to be congratulated: she “is beginning to reap the reward of her labours,” and the money that Shaffer hoped to make from her farm is exuberantly detailed in the article. Just as many businessmen were celebrated for their capitalist successes, so too was Miss Shaffer praised. But the tone of the profile also makes clear that Shaffer’s accomplishments were twofold: she was ambitious, hard working, and profit-driven, *and* she was entering a less predictable line of work for a woman. Even women who did not operate enterprises in womanly trades encountered the entwining of their gendered identities with their identities as businesswomen.

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<sup>105</sup> *The Vancouver Business Woman* 3, 7 (December 1925), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3. Farming was not an entirely “new line of work” for women, particularly horticulture operations. Miss Estella Hartt, for instance, moved to Arrow Lakes in 1928 and became a herb grower, selling ginseng and golden-seal. See Rosemarie Parent, “The Story of Estella Hartt,” *British Columbia Historical News* 32, 2 (Spring 1999): 30. But single women beginning their own farms, such as Hartt and Shaffer, were not typical. Joan Lang cites examples of women running orchards in the Kootenays, but the women she found were widowed and they farmed, as many other women did (see Chapter Five) out of necessity rather than desire. See Joan Lang, *Lost Orchards: Vanishing Fruit Farms of the West Kootenay* (Canada: Ward Creek Press, 2003), 46-47.

## Separate But Equal

Candace Kanes argues that self-defined businesswomen between 1890 and 1930 did not “reject” womanhood, but they adapted ideas of gender to be compatible with business.<sup>106</sup> Businesswomen redefined “both what it meant to be a woman, and what it meant to succeed in business.”<sup>107</sup> They identified themselves as women, “with interests linked to those of other women, but also sought to gain access to the possibilities open to men, and thereby erase some of the lines of gender.”<sup>108</sup> Kanes also suggests that businesswomen in the United States adapted the mostly male “rags-to-riches” stories to fit women’s stories, pushing for more images of women successfully advancing, being promoted, or achieving economic goals. Even though success is gendered and women’s ideas of success were not always the same as men’s, there is still a sense that professional businesswomen in American BPW clubs were trying to gain wealth and to prove themselves to be as good as men while maintaining their identity as women. “For women, success meant achievement, advancement, economic independence, ethical behavior, cooperation among women, and perseverance or career orientation.”<sup>109</sup> But even this list presented businesswomen’s goals as a combination of their identities as women with a series of businesslike ideals that had long been associated with men and with an economic marketplace that had never before been recognized as a gendered space.

In 1923 at the first club luncheon held by the Vancouver BPW club, president Mrs. Mabel Ingram pointed out that “there are women in all branches of business and

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<sup>106</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 39.

<sup>107</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 40.

<sup>108</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 209.

<sup>109</sup> Kanes, “American Business Women,” 224.

the professions today, we are shut out of nothing, and the men are recognizing more and more that we are in the business world to stay and to shoulder our share of the big things of the world.”<sup>110</sup> Club members repeatedly asserted this conviction, and the 1925 tale of the plucky holly farmer is one such example. However, the BPW clubs, dedicated to promoting the interests of business and professional women, furthering their educational development, elevating standards for women and also stimulating “social intercourse,”<sup>111</sup> were not always entirely optimistic. The President of the Canadian Federation of Business and Professional Women, Katharine Campbell, stated in her 1932 presidential address that women had “only one foot on the threshold of business as the equal of man.”<sup>112</sup>

BPW club members recognized that not everyone supported their equality with men in the world of business. In 1935, Victoria BPW club president Mrs. Madge Hall urged club members to “do all in their power to combat the propaganda being waged in certain quarters against women in the business world.”<sup>113</sup> While women may have found themselves at a disadvantage in the business world in all decades, during the Depression there was additional pressure to hire men with families over married women and even, over single women, during the depression. Thus Hall’s comments may have been further motivated by the fact that women were, in many cases, fired or laid off during the depression years because they were viewed as superfluous rather than essential workers.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Club luncheon, February 1923, Vancouver BPW Club Minute Book, 1922-1926, CVA, 608-A-1, file 2.

<sup>111</sup> Article Three of the club constitution states all of these aims and objectives. See *The Vancouver Business Woman* 2, 2 (July 1, 1924), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-3.

<sup>112</sup> “Presidential Address,” August 1932, Pearl Steen Fonds, CVA, Add Mss 272, 517-C-5.

<sup>113</sup> Victoria BPW Club Scrapbook, 1935-1936, BCA, 89-1386-3.

<sup>114</sup> The effects of the economic hardship of the 1930s on working women are dealt with in more detail in Chapter Three.

The BPW clubwomen continued, from the 1920s to the 1970s, to argue that they deserved to be in business, as professional wage earners but also as entrepreneurs. Businesswomen wanted to be considered equal to men in terms of their roles in the business world, as Chapter Three demonstrated, but the records reflect women's desire to prove that they did not need to be just like men in order to succeed as businesspeople. Businesswomen stressed their femininity by emphasizing their roles as mothers or wives, by heeding their personal appearance, by acting "ladylike," and by consciously stressing the ways in which they were softer, more feminine, and thus different from, their male counterparts in business. The women stressed these attributes themselves but so did the commentators who reported on club events and interviewed BPW clubwomen.

What we see in the province of British Columbia is not an outright condemnation of women who operated businesses. Instead, we see a concerted effort on the part of the women themselves and through outside observation and media representations of businesswomen to assert the essential womanliness of women in business. Businesswomen were described and bounded by their feminine qualities, something that is clear in the advertisements for female-owned business and in newspaper articles or archival club records that mention female proprietors. This was even more pronounced in articles, presentations and discussions about women who operated businesses in what were usually "masculine" fields.

The womanliness of female entrepreneurs was stressed to such a degree that it seemed calculated to negate the very fact of their self-employment. If they could be portrayed as good wives and mothers, as attractive or youthful, small or feminine, then their encroachment into the male-dominated business world was less threatening. After all, if women were still different from men and if they still acted like "ladies" then they

were not such a threat to an established order in which men, not women, were independent, self-reliant, and the owners of firms and businesses. As long as women resisted acting like men in the world of business (refraining from 'whanging' each other on the shoulder, wearing masculine clothes, or smoking on the job) and continued to take care of their appearance and present themselves in a feminine manner, the fact that they happened to be business owners could be tolerated and even faintly celebrated. Moreover, female entrepreneurs were even more likely to be accepted if their endeavours were undertaken in support of their families, as Chapter Five demonstrates.

## Chapter Five The Business of Family

In *The Tale of Benjamin Bunny*, one of many children's tales written by Beatrix Potter in the early twentieth century, we are introduced to Old Mrs. Rabbit, a widow who "earned her living by knitting rabbit-wool mittens" and by selling herbs, tea, and "rabbit-tobacco."<sup>1</sup> This widow was also the mother of Flopsy, Mopsy, Cotton-tail and Peter. Potter's story, first published in 1904, depicts a widowed mother, working in a home-based business, in support of family. While Potter's widowed rabbit is a fanciful character in children's fiction, the historical reality is that entrepreneurship was an important source of income for older women with children. Self-employed women in British Columbia and in Canada between 1901 and 1971 were, on average, more likely to be married or once-married than were wage-earning women, and they were also older than their wage-earning counterparts.<sup>2</sup> These facets of female self-employment elucidate the need to consider family in women's decisions to enter, or re-enter, the labour force. The claims of family had particular importance for self-employed women, who were in a different stage of the life cycle than most wage-earning women. The ages and marital patterns of self-employed women made it far more likely that they would have dependents than would wage earners, most of whom were young and single in the first half of the twentieth century. The history of self-employment is closely tied to the history of the family, as the image of Old Mrs. Rabbit, a mother and a widow, confirms.

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<sup>1</sup> Beatrix Potter, *The Tale of Benjamin Bunny* (London: Frederick Warne & Co., 1993), n.p. Original text and illustrations copyright, Frederick Warne & Co., 1904.

<sup>2</sup> In this chapter, as in all previous chapters, data for Canada excludes British Columbia. The province is being compared to the rest of the country: any exceptions to this are noted. Note: young women with children could also become entrepreneurs, but census data demonstrates that young women were a minority among the self-employed.

It is important to note that while self-employed women were more likely to be married than were wage-earning women, their spouses did not necessarily support them, nor did they always live with their spouses. Many self-employed women were married but they worked, like their widowed and divorced counterparts, because they were not *fully supported* by a man. Their husbands were infirm or otherwise unable to work. In this sense, they were like single women who worked because they were not economically cared for by a male breadwinner. If self-employed women were widowed or divorced and had children to support they often became the economic providers for their households, but many married women were also essentially husbandless, and they too were heading households and supporting families. As historian Lisa Wilson notes, when families “suffered the loss of a father and husband, the woman left behind, then as now, had to juggle financial and family responsibilities.”<sup>3</sup>

This chapter examines the importance of families in the lives of entrepreneurial women. The ages and marital patterns of self-employed women were markedly different from those of wage-earning women in British Columbia and Canada, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, and I suggest that the life cycles of some women motivated them to work in particular kinds of employment, likely to be entrepreneurial in nature. The businesses that many self-employed women operated were, as has been established in earlier chapters, feminine in that they catered to a female clientele or relied on skill sets that had long been sex-typed as feminine. But even women who operated “manly” businesses were carefully constructed as feminine in their mannerisms and appearance by outside observers and they were careful to portray themselves as

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<sup>3</sup> Lisa Wilson, *Life After Death: Widows in Pennsylvania 1750-1850* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 1.

feminine in spite of their occupations. In addition, women in “masculine” enterprises could deflect criticism if they were working to provide for family. Thus, the need to support family members motivated some women’s entry into entrepreneurship and in some cases also allowed them to work in enterprises that were dominated by men.

In the latter half of the chapter, the importance of age, marital status, and family to understanding female self-employment is examined in more detail through a study of two common forms of female self-employment in British Columbia and in the rest of Canada from 1901 to 1971: boarding house keeping and farming. Keeping a boarding house was an occupation sex-typed as feminine and it was also a business that women often operated out of their homes, making it a popular form of income earning for married, widowed and divorced women with families to support. Farming was sex-typed as a masculine occupation between 1901 and 1971. Women who operated farms were, however, also motivated by the need to provide for themselves and their families, and they escaped censure as entrepreneurs in a male-dominated enterprise for this reason.

### **“The Family Claim”**

The family’s claims upon women influenced their decisions to enter the labour force. According to the prominent American reformer Jane Addams, founder of Hull House, women placed the family’s needs before other considerations: in 1902, she called this demand “the family claim.”<sup>4</sup> Historian Angel Kwolek-Folland also uses the term, and she suggests that “women’s involvement in business usually occurred in the context of their families’ needs rather than for personal autonomy or individual satisfaction

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<sup>4</sup> Jane Addams, *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1916). Note: first published in 1902.

(although those things may have followed).”<sup>5</sup> While many women, regardless of their status as wage earners or as entrepreneurs, entered the labour force out of necessity, the majority of self-employed women were in a different stage of their life cycles than their wage-earning counterparts and the idea that the claims of family (particularly dependent children) led some women to enter the labour force is a useful concept for thinking about women who were self-employed. Of course, not all married women had children, but the chances were considerably greater that an older, married or once-married woman would have children, compared to young single wage-earning women. Thus the concept of the family claim is much more pertinent to self-employed women, who were older and more likely to be married, widowed or divorced than their wage-earning counterparts. Family motivated women’s employment and it seems to have been key to women’s self-employment.<sup>6</sup>

As Julie Matthaei has suggested, “jobs incompatible with active homemaking were almost exclusively reserved for single women” in the early twentieth century, while occupations that could be viewed as an extension of homemaking, such as taking in sewing, laundry, or boarders, or operating small enterprises out of the home, were undertaken by married or widowed women.<sup>7</sup> Lucy Eldersveld Murphy noted that in the

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<sup>5</sup> Angel Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women: A History of Women and Business in the United States* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1998), 45. Kwolek-Folland is in this case referring to early nineteenth-century women but the point remains valid into the twentieth century.

<sup>6</sup> Census data demonstrates that self-employed women, who were often married, were far more likely to support their children than other family members, although single women also supported families, and some women supported parents rather than children. Canadian writer Constance Lindsay Skinner, an only child, financially supported her mother after the death of her father in the early 1900s. See Jean Barman, *Constance Lindsay Skinner: Writing on the Frontier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 63-64. Barman also writes that single women, such as Jessie and Annie McQueen, carried “daughterhood’s obligations.” While both were still single, they supported their parents on their income as schoolteachers in late nineteenth-century British Columbia. See Jean Barman, *Sojourning Sisters: The Lives and Letters of Jessie and Annie McQueen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 9, 11.

<sup>7</sup> Julie A. Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women in America: Women’s Work, the Sexual Division of Labor, and the Development of Capitalism* (New York: Schocken Books, 1982), 224.

American mid-west, motherhood may have increased the desire for additional income and “promoted the choice of self-employment over other types of work because a proprietor could set her own hours and, when necessary, locate the work most advantageously relative to her children.”<sup>8</sup> Women had to coordinate “enterprise with family responsibilities” in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Murphy argues, but I suggest that this did not change drastically for twentieth-century women. Mary Walker from Grand Forks, British Columbia exemplified this pattern: according to the 1901 census, her husband was a wage earner but she was a self-employed dressmaker, an occupation easily done in the home. This made it easier for her to care for her two-year-old son, while still earning an income.<sup>9</sup>

Men also worked to support families, as wage earners or as entrepreneurs, but they did not exit the labour force upon marrying or having children while for much of the twentieth century, women specifically exited the labour force due to pregnancy, childrearing, or marriage (although the latter reason became less of an obstacle for women after World War Two). The critical difference between working men and women with families was not that women supported families when necessary by entering the labour force, since men also did this, but rather, that the needs of their families shaped the kinds of work they undertook and dictated when and how they entered the labour force. Women’s business interests were irrevocably tied to their familial interests. They went out to work or opened businesses when it was necessary for the survival of family, but their employment also had to be worked around the tasks

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<sup>8</sup> Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, “Business Ladies: Midwestern Women and Enterprise, 1850-1880,” *Journal of Women’s History* 3, 1 (Spring 1991): 71.

<sup>9</sup>This 1901 example and all other individual examples of women in 1901 used in this chapter are from the Canadian Families Project’s database, which consists of a five percent sample of the 1901 census.

that they performed in the home. In contrast, men might be businessmen and also husbands and fathers but the roles were not necessarily entwined, nor did the demands of caring for their families specifically dictate whether they opened businesses or worked as wage earners. Matthaei suggests that men entered the labour force to establish themselves as successful men and household heads, while women sought money to aid the family.<sup>10</sup>

Family was often the justification for women leaving the labour force, and staying out of it: looking after homes and families became a full-time occupation. But sometimes, looking after families entailed economically providing for them. The way we define female entrepreneurs must take into account those “who act not as individuals but...for family prosperity and survival.”<sup>11</sup> While much more could be said regarding the sexual division of labour and the role of capitalism in enforcing gender roles, what is important in this context is that in the first half of the twentieth century, most married women did not work outside the home, and homemaking and childrearing were publicly lauded (but unpaid) feminized vocations. In turn, their decisions to enter or return to the labour force were often in support of that primary interest, identified as women’s interest, in the early to mid-twentieth century: family. More importantly in the context of this study is that women who were in the stages of their life cycles in which they were more likely to have children, and who were married or had been married, were much more likely to choose self-employment than were their younger single counterparts. Examining the marital patterns and ages of wage-earning versus self-employed women demonstrates more clearly the links between the “family claim” and self-employment.

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<sup>10</sup> Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women*, 214.

<sup>11</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women*, 8.

### **Marital Status and Occupation**

The percentage of the adult female labour force that was married, single, widowed and divorced changed between 1901 and 1971, and change was particularly evident after World War Two, as Chapter One demonstrated. Married or once-married women did not go out to work in large numbers until after 1951. But the marital patterns of self-employed women, who made up a minority of all working women in all the decades under study, are not indicated by Canadian census data that deals with the entire female labour force.

In British Columbia, the proportions of self-employed women who were married, widowed and divorced, and single over the period 1901 to 1971 were distinct from those of wage-earning women. Before World War Two, wage-earning women were very likely to be single, less likely to be married, and even less likely to be widowed or divorced. Self-employed women, however, were more likely to be married, widowed or divorced than single (see Chapter One, Tables 1.3 and 1.4). By 1971, more than half of all wage-earning women and of all self-employed women in the province were married. However, wage-earning women were still more likely to be single than were self-employed women. And widowed and divorced women formed a much larger proportion of all self-employed women than they did of all wage-earning women.

While the proportions were not the same in the rest of Canada, the patterns were similar and also reflected key differences between the marital patterns of wage-earning women compared to self-employed women. In Canada, as in British Columbia, higher proportions of self-employed women were widowed or divorced compared to wage-earning women in both 1901 and 1971 and self-employed women were more likely to be married than were wage-earning women, again in 1901 and in 1971 (Chapter One, Table

1.4). Wage-earning women were also more likely to be single than were self-employed women although the strong correlation between being a wage earner and being single had lessened in Canada by 1971, just as it had in British Columbia.

What was different, however, between the province and the rest of the country was that women married in higher proportions in British Columbia (Chapter One, Table 1.1). Women also continued to work after they married, and after they were widowed or divorced, in higher rates than in the rest of the country.<sup>12</sup> And women in the province, especially those who were married or once-married, had a higher rate of self-employment than did their counterparts in the rest of the country between 1901 and 1971 (Chapter One, Table 1.2). However, the fact that age, marital status, and employment choices were tied to the “family claim” was not unique to women in British Columbia: self-employed women across the country were more likely to be older and more likely to be “not-single” than their wage-earning counterparts. Their ages and marital situations also made the presence of children plausible.

As Susan Householder Van Horn suggests, in 1900 married women faced “formidable barriers to participation in the work force.”<sup>13</sup> Married or once-married women faced societal barriers such as bars that prohibited the hiring of married women in some wage-earning occupations.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, housekeeping and childrearing kept

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<sup>12</sup> This information was calculated from the published *Census of Canada*. Data on marital status and female labour force participation rates was compiled from: Volume 2, 1921, Table 24; Volume 1, 1931, Table 17B; Volume 7, 1931, Tables 25-29 and Table 55; Volume 1, 1941, Tables 20, 63; Volume 3, 1941, Table 7; Volume 7, 1941, Table 5. Data for 1901 is from the Canadian Families Project five percent national sample of the 1901 census. See Chapter One for a more detailed discussion of women in British Columbia compared to the rest of Canada.

<sup>13</sup> Susan Householder Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility, 1900-1986* (New York: New York University Press, 1988), 29.

<sup>14</sup> On the issue of marriage bars and their possible effect on self-employment rates for women, see Chapter One. See also Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: An Economic History of American Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), Chapter Six.

many married women at home. Those who chose to work “always had to find accommodation with the demands of marriage and family.”<sup>15</sup>

If these women were to enter the labour force, society “praised” those who took in boarders or sold chickens to supplement family income.<sup>16</sup> The kind of work that married women did was often home-based and it could be supplemental, as Van Horn points out. But it was also often entrepreneurial. Married women taking in boarders were not working for wages: they were self-employed, even though they may not have considered themselves as such. There are many examples in the Canadian Families Project’s database of the 1901 census of women who were clearly working as boarding house keepers, or in their husbands’ businesses, but who were not listed as gainfully employed. David McCannell lived in Vancouver with his wife Elisabeth and their four daughters, one son-in-law, and one granddaughter. While Elisabeth was not listed as having an occupation, and David’s only listed occupation was as a wage-earning blacksmith, the family also had 16 boarders living in their household. Elisabeth McCannell was most certainly occupied, and in fact we could make the case that she was a self-employed boarding house keeper, despite the census record.<sup>17</sup>

Many married women in British Columbia in 1901 lived with their husbands and had boarders in the house, but were not listed as boarding house keepers by the census takers. Similarly, vast numbers of “farmer’s wives” were not listed as employed but

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<sup>15</sup> Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility*, 8.

<sup>16</sup> Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility*, 29.

<sup>17</sup> I did not categorize McCannell, or other women who appeared to be self-employed but who did not list their status as “self-employed” and did not list any occupation, as entrepreneurs. I think the case could be made for considering such women as entrepreneurs, but the difficulty lies in whether a woman who did not identify herself as self-employed ought to be categorized as such, by historians. In addition, there is no way to know if McCannell, or the census enumerator, decided that she was not an entrepreneur; she may have explained her occupation to the census taker, who then determined that she was not self-employed for the purposes of the census. But how she perceived of her own occupational status cannot be known.

undoubtedly worked alongside their husbands on family farms. When women were married and their husbands were present and employed, there seems to have been reluctance on the part of census takers – and arguably on the part of society more broadly – to recognize the wives as employed. This is noticeable in the case of occupations that might normally be seen as entrepreneurial. Women’s work, particularly when they were secondary earners in the household and when their work took place in the home, was not well documented. The way in which the census recorded these women reflects a societal understanding that husbands were financially responsible for wives.

McCannell was living with her spouse, but many married working women were not, according to 1901 census data. In British Columbia, 53.8 percent of married self-employed women were heading their households and did not live with their husbands; in the rest of the country, 19 percent of married self-employed women headed their households and lived without a spouse.<sup>18</sup>

I do not have access to such specific data for the census decades after 1901: while I have access to the sex and marital status of household heads, breakdowns based on employment status are not available. It is the case, however, that while women who headed their households were very likely to be widowed or divorced, some were married, meaning in most cases their husbands did not live with them. In British Columbia, 26 percent of all female household heads in 1921 were still legally married (this was a much lower 16.5 percent in Canada). As was the case in 1901, it would

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<sup>18</sup>These numbers, and all others listed from the 1901 *Census of Canada*, are taken from the Canadian Families Project’s database. All data from 1901 is therefore based on a five percent sample of the population (of British Columbia and of Canada). The Canadian figures used in this chapter from the 1901 database do not include British Columbia.

appear that the province had a relatively high number of women who stated that they were married, but were in fact living as though they were single; that is, they were heading their households and possibly providing for children as well, in the absence of a male income earner. While the percentage of married women who stated that they were also household heads lessened between 1901 and 1921, it was still higher in British Columbia than in the rest of the country. By 1961, the disproportionately high incidence of married women who were also household heads in the province had lessened. In British Columbia, 64.8 percent of all women who headed their households were widowed or divorced, while 17.2 percent were married. In the rest of Canada, 63.3 percent were widowed or divorced and 15.1 percent were married.<sup>19</sup>

Being legally married but having no spouse in the household was in many ways virtually the same as being single. We need to be careful not to make too many inferences about the reasons why married women entered the labour force. Older arguments that have been made with respect to married women working for “pin money” may not be justified if married women did not live with their husbands and thus had no income besides their own. It seems clear that self-employed housekeeper Maggie Yates of Rossland, British Columbia, who was married but did not live with her spouse, was working to support herself and her eight-year-old daughter in 1901. Marriage was not providing her with any economic security. Self-employed washerwoman Minnie Mcleod of Slocan was in the same position and she was raising two children, ages five and seven.

Living with a husband did not guarantee economic security. That the presence of

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<sup>19</sup>In contrast, men who headed their households were overwhelmingly married (91.5 percent in British Columbia, and 93.1 percent in Canada). *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 2.1, Catalogue 93-512, Tables 27 and 31.

a married woman working outside of the home in the U.S. in 1900 provided a “clear and inescapable signal that her husband had failed to provide for his family” undoubtedly also applied in British Columbia at the turn of the century.<sup>20</sup> Even in the 1970s when married women worked in much higher numbers, a married woman’s market labour continued to represent a husband’s “failure” to provide.<sup>21</sup> Not all married men were good providers, and therefore some married women provided the main income, even when they did live with their husbands. Van Horn makes the point that the “pin-money” designation did not fit these women either, and “represented a humiliating degradation of both the value of their work and the importance of the money they brought home to their families.”<sup>22</sup>

Many married businesswomen whose husbands were poorly or intermittently employed were not in business because they “liked it” but because their wages were needed, according to an American study.<sup>23</sup> Mary Walker, the self-employed married dressmaker living in Grand Forks in 1901, may have worked to supplement her husband’s income. And Marth Frenneth, a 43-year-old self-employed restaurant keeper living in Rossland, British Columbia in 1901, was raising ten children with her husband, who did not run the restaurant with his wife: he was a wage earner. In this family, Otto Frenneth may even have been a good provider, but the family’s size probably necessitated two incomes.

We can infer that the presence of children significantly affected why and where women worked. In this respect, marital status is a critical link between family and

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<sup>20</sup> Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap*, 133.

<sup>21</sup> Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap*, 134.

<sup>22</sup> Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility*, 64.

<sup>23</sup> Wendy Gamber, *The Female Economy: The Millinery and Dressmaking Trades, 1860-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 46.

entrepreneurship, because self-employed married women were more likely to be supporting, partially or fully, dependent children. Deana Pike, a self-employed hotelkeeper in Cumberland, British Columbia in 1901, had four children living at home, ranging in age from 8 to 18 and she also housed 13 lodgers. While she was married, she headed her household and her husband was absent. Minnie McLeod, Marth Frenneth, Mary Walker, and Maggie Yates were also recorded in the 1901 census as married, self-employed mothers. Murphy suggests, moreover, that for married women with children, self-employment allowed a “flexibility of schedule” that could accommodate childrearing to a certain extent.<sup>24</sup>

The link between widowhood/divorce and entrepreneurship was particularly strong in the first half of the twentieth century. This discussion focuses on widowhood in particular, because the percentage of the female population that was divorced was negligible for much of the period under study. Widows were like single women, in that they did not depend on a male breadwinner’s wages for their survival, but they were not linked to wage earning to the same degree that single women were. Like married women, widows’ rates of self-employment were much higher than the rates of self-employment among single women.

Widowed dressmaker Maria Forester of Vancouver was 50 years old and supporting her eight-year-old son, Hector, in 1901, while another Vancouver widow recorded in the 1901 census, Alice Berry, supported her three sons, ages six, eight, and nine, by working as a self-employed music teacher. These women were not atypical. Widows were also mothers and many supported their children through self-

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<sup>24</sup> Murphy, “Business Ladies,” 70-71.

employment.<sup>25</sup> However, it is also the case that many mothers could not support their children with the proceeds of their enterprises. Single mothers were an economically vulnerable group and their financial success was not guaranteed, particularly because their businesses were usually very small and their income was irregular. Poverty and family break-up were common. Not all widows succeeded at supporting their families through self-employment – but the same was true of wage-earning women who struggled to provide for family members.<sup>26</sup>

As Chapter One elaborated, for financially vulnerable widows economic survival through remarriage was less likely than survival through a variety of income-generating strategies. Other widows were financially secure enough that they may have been able to attract a new spouse, but did not need or want one. This may have been the case for 46-year-old widowed newspaper publisher Rena Whitney. According to the 1901 census her 22-year-old son, who lived at home in Vancouver with Whitney, was a printer and in all likelihood was employed at his mother's newspaper.<sup>27</sup> Widows such as Whitney often inherited the businesses that they had helped their husbands to run, even if their roles had not been acknowledged while their partners were alive. As widows, they

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<sup>25</sup> While Alice Berry was “typical” in 1901 as a young widow (age 32) supporting children through self-employment as a music teacher, her entrepreneurial life would soon become quite prominent and atypical, in terms of the level of success she would achieve. Berry founded World Printing and Publishing in 1905 and purchased, with her father's help, the Vancouver *World* newspaper in 1911 (from Sara McLagan, another prominent female entrepreneur). She was the first woman to be managing director of a Canadian daily newspaper. She married Louis D. Taylor in 1916; Taylor, a sometime newspaper publisher and one-time business partner of Berry's, also served as mayor of Vancouver seven times between 1910 and 1934. Berry died in 1919, just three years after marrying Taylor; he lasted until 1946. See Chuck Davis, *The Greater Vancouver Book: An Urban Encyclopaedia* (Surrey, BC: The Linkman Press, 1997), 240, 811; see also E.O.J. Scholefield and F. W. Howay, *British Columbia From Earliest Times to the Present*, Volume 4 (Vancouver: S. J. Clarke, 1914), 928-932.

<sup>26</sup> Bettina Bradbury deals with family economies, poverty, and the financial vulnerability of widows in particular, in nineteenth-century Montreal. See Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

<sup>27</sup> Whitney was listed in the British Columbia directory as “Mrs. Rena Whitney, wid. Mayo., editor, *Mt. Pleasant Advocate*.” She lived in Vancouver. See: *Henderson's British Columbia Gazetteer and Directory and Mining Companies with which is Consolidated the Williams' British Columbia Directory for 1900-1901* (Victoria and Vancouver: Henderson Publishing Company, 1901).

became the proprietors of their husband's businesses. For many, this was a better option than re-marriage.

Women may have had to fall back on self-employment because they could not find wage-earning work. They, like married women, were at a disadvantage in a wage economy that favoured the hiring of young single women (if women were to be hired at all), something that was less of an obstacle by 1971. Moreover, as Goldin points out, part-time work or occupations with flexible schedules were not common prior to 1950. Full-time hours, long workdays, and inflexible schedules limited older, married workers and mothers from entering wage-earning occupations until after 1950 when an "increase in part-time work made it possible for women with household responsibilities to enter and remain in the labour force."<sup>28</sup>

With limitations on married or once-married women's labour force participation in effect until the mid-twentieth century in the form of general hostility, marriage bars, and a lack of flexibility in scheduling or in the number of hours worked, some pursued self-employment instead. If they did not inherit a husband's business, did not wish to remarry or could not find a new spouse, and if they could not find wage-earning work, they set up small businesses to provide an income.

Some of the barriers, real and perceived, to wage-earning for married or once-married women lessened after World War Two. In general, the labour force participation rates of widowed and divorced women in British Columbia and in Canada did not decline but they were much less likely to pursue entrepreneurship within the labour force by 1971 (see Chapter One, Tables 1.10 and 1.11). This was also true for married women, and self-employment rates declined for all women and men between

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<sup>28</sup> Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap*, 181.

1901 and 1971 (in British Columbia and Canada), but the decline was particularly noticeable among widows. The post-war demand for labour, the increased availability of part-time work, and demographic changes that “reduced the supply of young female employees” while also increasing the supply of older married or widowed workers,<sup>29</sup> meant that wage-earning became an option for once-married women. The post-war opening up of the labour force to women other than young single workers provided wage-earning alternatives to self-employment for married, widowed and divorced women.

### **Age and Occupation**

Age and marital status are linked, in that young working women were more likely to be single (although they may have married eventually), while older working women were more likely to be married or widowed, something that census data from 1901 to 1971 demonstrates. The contemporary and historical commentary on “working girls” makes little distinction between wage earners and the self-employed, although a distinction can and should be made, particularly regarding age. The census tables outlining occupational data provide the average age of all gainfully employed adults only in 1961 and 1971.<sup>30</sup> For other census years, data on age was not listed with labour force information. Consequently, this discussion will rely on information about age from the published census but it will not be entirely represented in tabular form and it will not be comprehensive for every census year.

The 1921 census provided a fairly detailed commentary on the age of female workers in Canada. Certain occupations were almost entirely composed of wage

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<sup>29</sup> Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap*, 184.

<sup>30</sup> See Appendix 2.6, 2.7.

earners, such as servants, telephone operators, and waitresses, while farmers, boarding house keepers, retail merchants and quite often dressmakers and seamstresses were more likely to be self-employed. Table 5.1 strikingly demonstrates the age differences between female workers in a selected group of predominantly wage-earning jobs compared to those more likely to be self-employed.

*Table 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Female Workers in Selected Occupations, According to Age: Canada, 1921<sup>31</sup>*

Occupation:	Total	10-17	18-19	20-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65 +
Boarding house keepers	100.0	/	/	1.1	11.0	<b>37.5</b>	37.3	13.2
Dressmakers	100.0	/	5.3	14.8	25.5	<b>33.2</b>	17.4	3.8
Farmers and stock-raisers	100.0	0.1	0.1	1.0	5.8	29.2	<b>43.2</b>	20.6
Merchants and dealers, retail	100.0	0.1	0.6	6.2	20.0	<b>41.4</b>	24.3	7.4
Milliners	100.0	/	12.4	32.5	<b>35.7</b>	15.9	3.3	0.2
Saleswomen	100.0	15.5	16.0	<b>30.4</b>	23.9	11.8	2.1	0.2
Servants	100.0	22.3	14.4	<b>22.6</b>	17.9	13.5	7.1	2.3
Telephone operators	100.0	17.2	22.6	<b>37.2</b>	18.8	3.7	0.5	0.1
Textile factory workers	100.0	<b>30.0</b>	17.6	25.4	14.8	8.8	2.7	0.7
Waitresses	100.0	15.2	17.1	<b>29.4</b>	25.0	11.2	1.8	0.3

The first five occupations listed had higher than average rates of self-employment through much of the twentieth century.<sup>32</sup> Over 70 percent of female boarding house keepers were 35 years of age and older, and 13 percent of them were over the age of 65, while among female farmers the percentage of women who were over the age of 50 is striking and those over 65 was a particularly high 21 percent. These two occupations, which had very high rates of female self-employment in the first half of the century, primarily included women who were at later stages of their life cycle.

<sup>31</sup> Data is compiled from the *Census of Canada, 1921*, Volume 4, Table XXIX, xli. In this table, Canadian data includes data for British Columbia. Numbers in Bold = age periods with the highest proportion of women in a given occupation. The age periods, which are not uniform, are reproduced here as they appeared in the published census.

<sup>32</sup> Note: the Appendix demonstrates the female self-employment rate for each year under study (except 1911; data is unavailable) and lists occupations that, like those in Table 5.1, had higher rates of female self-employment than the average rate for all employed women.

The last five occupations in the table were almost entirely composed of wage earners. In these occupations in 1921, the distribution by age period demonstrates a much younger work force than among the occupations with high self-employment: over 60 percent of saleswomen were under age 25, while over three quarters of telephone operators were under age 25. 30 percent of textile factory workers were between ages 10 and 17.

Young women worked as wage earners before they married. Many moved on to become wives and mothers, and much of the literature on the topic of women and work has endeavoured to demonstrate that prior to the 1950s, when women married they often left their jobs.<sup>33</sup> After marriage, women in British Columbia in the 1920s and 1930s “were not expected to work in the labour market, and if they did, low wages were justified in terms of married women’s dependence on their husbands.”<sup>34</sup> However, women who ceased work upon marriage could and did return later in the life cycle to gainful employment. Sometimes they returned because they were widowed and needed to support their families, or they returned out of economic necessity, such as when male unemployment rose in the 1930s.

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<sup>33</sup> See Van Horn, *Women, Work, and Fertility*, and Matthaiei, *An Economic History of Women*. Both authors make the point that prior to the mid-twentieth century, women’s work was not considered compatible with marriage and children. Mary Kinnear noted in her study of women’s work in Manitoba that motherhood “was regarded as a disqualification for paid work, certainly until the second World War and even afterwards by some.” See Mary Kinnear, *A Female Economy: Women’s Work in a Prairie Province 1870-1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1998), 42.

<sup>34</sup> Gillian Creese, “The Politics of Dependence: Women, Work and Unemployment in the Vancouver Labour Movement Before World War II,” Gillian Creese and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds., *British Columbia Reconsidered: Essays on Women* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1992), 369. Creese also notes that the issue of married women working for wages in the 1920s in Vancouver was “never clear-cut” since it was recognized that unemployed women, or those with absent husbands, needed work. However, the labour movement’s strategy to address this was to increase male employment and wages, which was intended to reduce the need for married women to work. Moreover, employers continued to hire young single women over experienced, older, and often not-single women. See Creese, “The Politics of Dependence,” 376-377.

The notes on age in the 1921 census mention that the presence of women in older age brackets “is considerably influenced by such classes as farmers, boarding and lodging-house keepers...which include a large number of married women or widows.”<sup>35</sup> The age of female workers, it is intimated, was related to their marital status and to their specific occupations. The 1931 census points out that employment “is at its best for males around the age of 40, and for females, at a definite earlier age.”<sup>36</sup> But again the high percentage of wage-earning women among all gainfully employed women and the propensity for wage-earning women to be both young and single influenced the relationship between age and occupation. If most gainfully employed women were wage earners, then an “average age” of all gainfully employed women would primarily reflect the wage earners.<sup>37</sup>

In 1931, of all employed women in British Columbia, the age bracket with the largest proportion of women was 20 to 24 years, followed closely by women aged 25 to 34: overall, women from 20 to 34 years of age made up over half of the female work force.<sup>38</sup> But, similar to the 1921 data on Canada, the occupations with significant rates of female self-employment reflected an older work force. 31 percent of female farmers and stockraisers in British Columbia in 1931 were between 45 and 54 years of age and an additional 26 percent were 55 to 64. Only 1.2 percent of farmers and stockraisers were ages 20 to 24. As a point of comparison, almost half of all female telephone

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<sup>35</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1921, Volume 4, xli.

<sup>36</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 1, 194.

<sup>37</sup> That most gainfully employed women were wage earners is reflected in the breakdown of the gainfully employed by class of worker, found in the Appendix.

<sup>38</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 7, Table 40. Note: the age groups used in the aggregate data were not uniform. The group 20 to 24 years, a four-year age group, was followed by nine-year age groups: 25-34, 35-44, etc., up to age 65, when another four-year age group was used for ages 65-69. The last age group used was for 70 years of age and over.

operators in British Columbia, who were wage earners, were aged 20 to 24 and just 1.2 percent were 45 to 54 years of age.<sup>39</sup>

The pattern of age distribution persisted in the rest of Canada and it persisted in later years as well. In 1951 in British Columbia, 20 percent of all gainfully employed women were aged 20 to 24 and 25 percent were 25 to 34 years of age.<sup>40</sup> Just 6.7 percent of all gainfully employed women were 55 to 64 years of age. In the “Proprietary and Managerial” occupational group in which 70 percent of the women were self-employed, with or without paid help, just 2.9 percent of the women were 20 to 24 years of age, 17 percent were ages 25 to 34 and 15.3 percent were ages 55 to 64. And, finally in farming, an occupation in which all women were self-employed (with or without paid help), only 9 percent were 25 to 34 years of age and 26 percent were ages 55 to 64. The data for women elsewhere in Canada in 1951 illustrated similar trends: women in jobs with high self-employment fell into older age brackets, on average, than women in all occupations (and more than 90 percent of all working women were wage earners in 1951, suggesting that the data for all gainfully employed women reflected the situation of wage earners).

The data on “average age” for women in selected occupations for 1961 also reflected higher average ages in occupations with high self-employment for women. In British Columbia the average age listed for gainfully employed women in all occupations was 38 in 1961. For farmers, boarding house keepers, and dressmakers, the average ages were 48, 51, and 46, respectively. For Canada in 1961, the average age for women in all occupations was 36: for female farmers, the average age was 49, for

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<sup>39</sup> *Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 7, Table 40.*

<sup>40</sup> *Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 4, Table 11.*

boarding house keepers, 46 and for dressmakers, 46.<sup>41</sup> Thus jobs with high rates of self-employment for women continued to employ women who were older than the average female worker. Unlike marital status, which ceased to be as significant in differentiating between wage-earning women and self-employed women, data on age demonstrates that women who were self-employed were still older on average than wage-earning women in the later decades of the period under study.

The ages and marital patterns of self-employed women demonstrate that they were in a different stage of the life cycle than wage-earning women, and their decisions about work reflected the needs of their families. Matthaei maintains, and Householder Van Horn concurs in her study of twentieth-century women, that women worked because of their responsibilities to their families.<sup>42</sup> Debra Michals argues, also in an American context, that this was still the case in the 1940s: women's business ownership in the post-war U.S.A was fused to their familial roles.<sup>43</sup>

**“Can the ‘Two-Job Woman’ Succeed at Home and in Business?”<sup>44</sup>**

Susan Ingalls Lewis created a database of hundreds of nineteenth-century Albany businesswomen and she notes that many were married or widowed and raising children while running their businesses.<sup>45</sup> This was easier to do if the business was home-based. Matthaei suggests that married women turned their home-making skills into income-earning jobs or, in many cases, they turned their homes into businesses.<sup>46</sup> This, too, was

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<sup>41</sup>For the data on average age, figures for Canada given here include British Columbia.

<sup>42</sup> Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women*, 34.

<sup>43</sup> Debra Michals, “Toward a New History of the Postwar Economy: Prosperity Preparedness, and Women's Small Business Ownership,” *Business and Economic History* 26, 1 (Fall 1997): 50-51.

<sup>44</sup> Justine Mansfield, “Can the ‘Two-Job Woman’ Succeed at Home and in Business?,” *The Business Woman* 3, 1 (January 1928), CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-4.

<sup>45</sup> Susan Ingalls Lewis, “Female Entrepreneurs in Albany 1840-1885,” *Business and Economic History* 2<sup>nd</sup> Series 21 (1992): 67.

<sup>46</sup> Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women*, 51-53.

still common in the 1940s in the U.S.A. Women were “enticed to commercialize domestic skills as their entrée to private enterprise,” and by linking enterprise to domesticity, women could be “both in the economy and in the home at the same time. As such, women’s businesses...occupied a liminal space, simultaneously within the broader economy and outside it in a separate feminized realm.”<sup>47</sup>

Similarly, a picture emerges in British Columbia of married mothers who entered the labour force in the early twentieth century to provide for their families – either to supplement family income and thus contribute to the family economy, or to become the primary earners in families that had lost the male breadwinner due to divorce, widowhood, or abandonment. Some earned incomes as entrepreneurs working in small home-based businesses that revolved around domestic skills that the women already used as wives and mothers. In a sense, self-employed women often turned their “two jobs” into one, combining home and business by opening home-based businesses and reconciling the often-separate worlds of public and private life.

These women were still doing “two jobs,” working to earn an income and also to maintain homes and raise their children. The issue of whether they did so successfully is more difficult to ascertain. A 1928 article by Justine Mansfield, published in the Toronto-based publication *The Business Woman*, asked whether two-job women (women who had paid jobs and who also had the “job” of maintaining a home and a husband too!) could succeed in two worlds. Mansfield primarily addressed wage-earning women in white-collar jobs. Moreover, she did not address childrearing except to suggest that “nowadays,” women had “few babies to take care of.”<sup>48</sup> It was therefore not

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<sup>47</sup> Michals, “Toward a New History,” 48.

<sup>48</sup> Mansfield, “Can the ‘Two-Job Woman’ Succeed at Home and in Business?,” 30.

too difficult for her to conclude that working women brought a “greater efficiency into her home through her broad business interests,” and that the “business girl” was “more systematic in her housekeeping tasks....and therefore a capable, strong, modern girl can quite easily run both these jobs and run them well at the same time.”<sup>49</sup>

While she referred primarily to wage earners, Mansfield suggested that married women worked out of a sense of freedom and choice, and worked because they wanted to, and not because they had to. Certainly, some women sought opportunity and independence in self-employment and for them the decision to open a business was more freely made: it was, perhaps, a choice rather than a necessity. Some sought a particular kind of independence and wealth in entrepreneurship, prized themselves on their business acumen and ‘succeeded’ as entrepreneurs to a degree that many other women never achieved.

In British Columbia, some of these more “exceptional” entrepreneurial women were breaking new ground, in various ways. Between 1889 when she arrived in Vancouver and her death in 1955 in Kelowna, Alice Elizabeth Jowett was at various times a bakery owner, hotelkeeper, and prospector. She left England for Vancouver as a widowed mother of four children and while her later endeavours were riskier and perhaps ultimately more financially ambitious, she operated a bakery in Vancouver for seven years while her children were young.<sup>50</sup> Rosemary Neering, author of a popular history of “wild” women of British Columbia, suggests the business did not hold the “adventure she was seeking,” and Jowett moved to Trout Lake City, a mining town,

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<sup>49</sup> Mansfield, “Can the ‘Two-Job Woman’ Succeed at Home and in Business?”, 9.

<sup>50</sup> Rosemary Neering, *Wild West Women: Travellers, Adventurers and Rebels* (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 2000), 26-30. See also Jan Gould, *Women of British Columbia* (Saanichton: Hancock House Publishers Ltd., 1975). She also provides similar biographical information about Jowett.

where she operated two hotels between 1896 and 1945. Jowett was also an avid prospector in the region.

Significantly, Jowett's more adventurous enterprises in the province occurred after her children's needs were met. Indeed, most of the stories that have survived of adventurous female entrepreneurs document women who did not have families to consider. Moreover, their exceptional stories were just that, exceptions to the more ordinary kinds of work that most entrepreneurial women in the province undertook. Neering's profiles of female travellers, adventurers and rebels, many of whom were self-employed, are fascinating and they demonstrate the wide variety of businesses that were operated by women in the province. But they represent a very small minority of entrepreneurial women in terms of their occupational choices and their family situations.

Neering notes that many of the women she profiles were single, widowed, divorced, or of "uncertain status."<sup>51</sup> Some of the enterprising miners, writers, hotelkeepers and farmers she uncovered never married, or else they were widows without children: others married but never had children. One of Neering's adventurers, female miner Nellie Cashman, arrived in Victoria in 1875. She prospected on the west coast of the United States and Canada, and died in Victoria in 1925. She remained single and childless, however. She was free to move when and where she liked, and her other enterprises, running boarding houses and restaurants, supported her love of prospecting but they were not necessary as a means of familial support.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, Ella

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<sup>51</sup> Neering, *Wild West Women*, 15.

<sup>52</sup> See Neering, *Wild West Women*, 19-26. For more on Cashman's life, see Harriet Rochlin, "The Amazing Adventures of a Good Woman," *Journal of the West* 12 (April, 1973), 281-295. Rochlin notes that Cashman operated a variety of businesses in the U.S.A and in British Columbia, including hotels, boarding houses, restaurants and grocery stores, and in the process achieved an unusual degree of freedom. According to Rochlin, she did take charge of five nieces and nephews upon the death of her sister in 1883, but no further mention of the children is made in any of the stories of her adventures.

Frye, who ran her own trapline in the North Thompson Valley in British Columbia from 1933 to 1975, had no children and did not marry until she was in her 70s.<sup>53</sup> Artist Emily Carr, another “exceptional” woman, supported herself through painting and running a boarding house, but never married and never had children, and “shocked” the staid citizens of Victoria and Vancouver with her atypical lifestyle.<sup>54</sup>

These women were not typical, as Neering herself points out.<sup>55</sup> And while such women existed, the great majority of female proprietors in British Columbia were not risk-takers to quite the same degree. They were exceptional on some level simply in their decision to run their own businesses, and that they were self-employed at all demonstrates a level of independence and competence that should not be forgotten. But most female business owners were not self-employed because they were rebellious: they needed to work, they had families to consider, and even if married, their spouses were often absent, dead, or did not earn a breadwinner wage. Economic necessity, rather than individual ambition, led them to self-employment.

It is dangerous to assume that women who ran small businesses in support of family, and who did not become entrepreneurial “successes” of the type modelled by successful male entrepreneurs who acquired wealth and property, for instance, were somehow less entrepreneurial or less successful. Susan Ingalls Lewis notes it may be necessary to “problematize the concept of...entrepreneurial ‘success’ based on male models.”<sup>56</sup> She proposes that we look “beyond gendered assumptions about what constitutes a successful business, to discover the ways in which women used businesses

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<sup>53</sup> Neering, *Wild West Women*, 166-169.

<sup>54</sup> Neering, *Wild West Women*, 107-110. See also Maria Tippett, *Emily Carr, A Biography* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1979).

<sup>55</sup> Neering, *Wild West Women*, 12-13.

<sup>56</sup> Susan Ingalls Lewis, “Beyond Horatia Alger: Breaking through Gendered Assumptions about Business ‘Success’ in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America,” *Business and Economic History* 24, 1 (Fall 1995): 98.

within the scope of their particular needs and life cycles.”<sup>57</sup> Businesses provided women with a form of survival and security and a way to support their children. If they managed to do so, that can be considered a form of business success. Their accomplishments were small by conventional standards of financial success or individual ambition, but they succeeded at the two jobs of “home” and “business” if they managed to keep the former afloat with the latter, no matter how small the enterprise.

### **BPW Clubs and the Family Claim**

That many female entrepreneurs in British Columbia between 1901 and 1971 opened their businesses as a way of supporting family is evident, as I will demonstrate with respect to farmers and boarding house keepers. But business and professional clubwomen also concerned themselves with family matters throughout the period. Earlier commentators also made the link between businesswomen and the family claim. American Marion Harland argued in 1889 that for men, business was a lifetime occupation and preoccupation, while for women, work was simply work, and a woman’s lifetime occupation was her marriage and her children.<sup>58</sup> What Harland did not say was that a preoccupation with marriage and children could be the reason for women to return to the business world. When marriages end, the children remain. Over one hundred years after Harland’s article was published, Kwolek-Folland argued that what remained constant for businesswomen was “the link between their participation in the economy and their role in the family.”<sup>59</sup>

The Vancouver and Victoria BPW clubs, like most in Canada and the U.S., were

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<sup>57</sup> Ingalls Lewis, “Beyond Horatia Alger,” 99.

<sup>58</sup> See Marion Harland, “The Incapacity of Business Women,” *North American Review* 149 (July 1889): 707-712. Harland’s comments are discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

<sup>59</sup> Kwolek-Folland, *Incorporating Women*, ix.

chiefly concerned with issues related to women's employment and their membership was made up of women who worked outside the home. Nevertheless, they also acknowledged the importance of women's "home" work in support of families. They recognized that many people regarded the home as the site of women's primary responsibilities: both men and women regarded women's labour force participation as a necessary evil. Therefore, the clubs were careful to praise women who worked in the home while simultaneously promoting the interests of women working outside the home for pay.

Pearl Steen, Vancouver BPW club president in 1936 and 1937, spoke to the Council of Women some years after her presidency of the club ended and stated that the "highest role for women is still that of wife and mother – no higher calling, secondly – women in business and the professions, the aunts, sisters and daughters, many of whom help to support families and parents."<sup>60</sup> Steen was careful to praise wives and mothers who did unpaid work in the home but who did not work outside the home (and who therefore were not even eligible for membership in BPW clubs). But even her reference to working women referred to their support of their families.

The BPW club records for Victoria and Vancouver frequently noted that women's most important role was as a worker within the family, doing the unpaid work of wife and mother. This may have been in part because many BPW club members had families as well as paid jobs, a situation that would increase steadily after World War Two: some BPW clubwomen juggled paid and unpaid labour. But the clubs also supported the rights of "housewives" in many of their appeals for legislative change. In

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<sup>60</sup> Pearl Steen, Speech to the Council of Women, Pearl Steen Fonds, CVA, Add Mss 272, 517-C-5, file 3. Note: the speech is not dated but it appears with clippings and files from the 1950s.

1944 at a one-day regional conference in Vancouver, British Columbia club members stressed, albeit somewhat vaguely, their support for all “laws and legislation affecting women and children.”<sup>61</sup> And in 1951, the British Columbia clubs recommended sending a petition asking the Federal Government “to permit the sale of colored margarine in Canada.” Their reasoning was that the “pale and insipid color” of margarine was unappetizing and adding colour to it entailed “unnecessary work for the house-wife.”<sup>62</sup> This seems to be a minor issue, particularly for a club devoted to employment issues, but it demonstrates that BPW club members attempted to address the concerns of women who were involved in that “higher calling,” staying home and caring for family.

The president of the Kingscrest branch of the Vancouver BPW club, Mrs. Olivia Rose Fry, wrote to the *Vancouver Sun* in the 1950s in response to an earlier column written by *Sun* columnist Jack Scott, who had criticized married women’s entry into the labour force.<sup>63</sup> While Fry was defending women’s rights to work, the title given to her letter – probably by the newspaper – was “Homemaking a Career,” and Fry herself was careful to laud the roles of women in the home even as she defended married women’s employment. As she stated,

Those clubs which are working to promote women’s status and exercise their franchise, which want equal pay for equal work, have no intention of ever encouraging women to leave their homes and turning the “diapers over to daddy” while they are proving themselves a better man than he is, as Mr. Scott put it.... It is not our aim to bring women out of their secure home life

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<sup>61</sup> Program from One Day Regional BPW Club Conference, British Columbia, February 1944. Victoria BPW Club Scrapbook (1930s and 1940s), BCA, 74-A-436. They did not list specific laws in this declaration although they specifically stated their support for nursery schools and recreational centres.

<sup>62</sup> BPW Clubs of British Columbia and the Yukon, Minute Book, Volume 1, 1948-1964, BCA, 91-3433-516.

<sup>63</sup> Scott’s original column, and Fry’s response, are not listed in the BC Newspaper Index and the letter by Fry, clipped out of the newspaper and entered into a BPW scrapbook, was not dated. I have not been able to find the original article and letter in the *Sun*. However, the subject matter and tone of Scott’s column is clear from Fry’s response.

into a business or professional field...We are aware that to be a good wife, a good mother and home-maker is an art, a career by itself, therefore these women deserve acknowledgement and full partnership as well as business or professional women. When a woman, either married or single, finds it necessary to work and proves her equality on the job, she most certainly deserves equal pay for equal work and also equal opportunities for promotion. I am glad I live in an age where we are considered as advanced, progressive, intelligent, thinking women and not in the age where a woman danced to the crack of a whip of her master.<sup>64</sup>

Fry was perhaps optimistic in her assessment of the 1950s as an “age” in which women were considered equal to men, but she was clearly making a point about what women ought reasonably to expect and how they deserved to be treated, and about the foolishness of opinions such as those held by the less progressive Mr. Scott. But Fry was quick to praise women who stayed in the home and careful to point out that advocating equal rights was not the same as pushing women into the labour force. Fry also maintained that women only worked when it was “necessary.” Moreover, she reassured Mr. Scott (and probably others) that supporting women’s rights did not mean abandoning children to the care of their fathers.

In this she was prescient: even as more women turned to full-time work from the 1950s onward, and increasingly looked to daycare options for their children, it was mainly other women who provided that care. And it was still the case at the end of the twentieth century that when both parents worked full-time, women did more housework, childcare and other unpaid work in the home than their spouses did. Women workers carry a “significant double burden” as Paul Phillips and Erin Phillips note in *Women and Work: Inequality in the Canadian Labour Market*. They point to studies of housework indicating that “most men do not significantly increase their household work to

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<sup>64</sup> Vancouver BPW Club, Scrapbook and Miscellany, 1920s–1980s, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-A-5. This letter, clipped from the *Vancouver Sun*, is not dated but it appears with a series of clippings from the mid-1950s.

compensate for their wives' participation in the labour market."<sup>65</sup> Statistics Canada's 1998 figures show that adult men in Canada worked, on average, 8 hours per day at paid work and 3.2 hours per day at unpaid work while women averaged 7.9 hours per day on paid work and 4.6 hours per day on unpaid work.<sup>66</sup> Over a week, on average, women therefore worked 32.2 hours in unpaid labour, compared to 22.4 hours for men. Forty years after Fry's reassurances that men would not be forced to do women's work, women who entered the labour force apparently *were* still diapering the children and looking after their homes: they had not entirely abandoned care of the home and children, although men's unpaid work in the home had slowly increased.

BPW clubs continued to pay attention to the rights of homemakers as the twentieth century wore on. In 1976 at a provincial conference in Cranbrook, representatives from British Columbia BPW clubs considered a resolution titled "Partnership in Marriage" that was sponsored by the Victoria club. The resolution stated, in part, that marriage "should be a partnership of shared responsibilities with the roles of economic provider and of homemaker of equal value. Legislation to acknowledge husband and wife as full economic partners...is long overdue."<sup>67</sup>

Despite progressive requests and resolutions at BPW club meetings, and continued assurances that both housewives and career wives were important, competent, economically independent and yet still focused on family, in the 1970s a societal perception still existed that women might not be able to juggle entrepreneurship and

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<sup>65</sup> Paul Phillips and Erin Phillips, *Women and Work: Inequality in the Canadian Labour Market* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1993), 42.

<sup>66</sup> "Average Time Spent on Activities, by Sex," (Canada – Total Population), Statistics Canada, [www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/famil36a.htm](http://www.statcan.ca/english/Pgdb/famil36a.htm), 20 February 2003.

<sup>67</sup> Provincial Conference Resolutions, BPW Club Records and Conference Programs, BCA, 89-1387-1, file 3.

families.<sup>68</sup> Even as the BPW clubs and many other women's organizations petitioned for changes in government and society that would recognize women's rights to have families and careers, as men had long managed to do, the full recognition of women's successes as career women and as married mothers would be very long in coming.

Studies on the topic of women's entrepreneurship in the 1970s and early 1980s continued to stress the ways in which the claims of family were connected to female entrepreneurship, and the women themselves made some of these connections. In 1985 in British Columbia, 1000 female business owners answered a government survey on women in business. Their answers were used to compile a report that identified the range of businesses run by women, the contributions they made, and the types of assistance that they needed. As the report pointed out, women business owners in the province, "as a group of working individuals, have not been investigated before."<sup>69</sup>

The businesswomen's reasons for becoming entrepreneurs included "freedom to make my own decisions," and "I wanted to prove to myself that I could be successful." Many respondents identified independence, challenge, freedom and extra income as reasons why they started their businesses. But many also pointed to the claims of family: "I wanted to stay at home to raise my family, but separated, I needed a full-time income to support us." Another woman stated that she wanted to "earn a living where I could still maintain the primary role model for my daughter and provide a healthy home

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<sup>68</sup> In fact, this attitude was perpetuated in a 1985 article in the *Vancouver Sun* about a woman who began her business in 1979. The article, entitled "Marie Tomko Created Own Opportunity," profiled the Marie Tomko Career College of Business and outlined that Tomko "did get married, but she never had a family. Instead, she stuck to her career." The opinion seemingly expressed here, that Tomko could either have had a career or a family but not both, is not isolated but in this case it illustrates the slow pace of change. *Vancouver Sun*, 1985. Specific date unknown; clipping found in Vancouver BPW Club scrapbook, 1982-1986, CVA, Add Mss 799, 588-B-1.

<sup>69</sup> "Survey of Women Business Owners in British Columbia: Major Findings and Policy Implications," (Province of British Columbia, BC Women's Programs: April 1986), 3. The study was undertaken in 1985 and published in 1986.

environment.” Flexible hours that allowed the women to meet family demands were also listed as reasons for self-employment.<sup>70</sup>

However, the barriers that self-employed women said they faced in the mid-1980s, and that the study identified as unique to female self-employment, were also sometimes related to family: “As the children were very young, trying to arrange a schedule that would mean they did not suffer,” was one woman’s comment on the difficulties of being self-employed, while another stated that finding good child care “on a part-time irregular hour basis” was a barrier to female self-employment.<sup>71</sup>

These were issues for women in 1901 and they were still issues for women as the twentieth century was coming to a close. A 1991 study published by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women pointed out that many self-employed women in Canada were married with children and had some difficulty juggling their business, household and family demands.<sup>72</sup> The authors’ survey of 200 female business owners suggested that Canadian women were not relieved of their family responsibilities when they started up their businesses and in fact their business and family responsibilities often conflicted.<sup>73</sup> A second report compiled in British Columbia, also in 1991, from a survey sent to female business owners recorded the same thing: “Besides putting in a full day...in their own business, women often put in a second shift at home to ensure that their family is properly cared for.”<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> Appendix C: Reasons Why Women Become Business Owners, “Survey of Women Business Owners,” 22.

<sup>71</sup> Appendix D: Barriers Unique to Women as Business Owners, “Survey of Women Business Owners,” 23.

<sup>72</sup> Monica Belcourt, Ronald J. Burke, and Helene Lee-Gosselin, *The Glass Box: Women Business Owners in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1991), 1.

<sup>73</sup> Belcourt et. al., *The Glass Box*, 39, 44.

<sup>74</sup> “Women in Business: Profile of Women Business Owners in British Columbia” (Province of British Columbia: Businesswomen’s Advocate, 1991), 6.

### **Combining Business, Home and Family: Female Boarding House Keepers and Female Farmers**

A case study of two occupations dominated almost entirely by self-employed workers demonstrates in more detail the claims of family and the appeal that self-employment held for women who worked and also had family responsibilities. Both occupations specifically demonstrate the link, already shown on a larger scale, between age, marital status, and entrepreneurship. There are a number of reasons to profile these two particular occupations, beyond the fact that they were almost entirely entrepreneurial (for both men and women).

Julie Matthaei suggests that when women became heads of families, one of the entrepreneurial strategies they followed was to become “businessmen” in the public arena. If a woman “tried to do men’s work for her own self-advancement, she would be shamed and ostracized; but if she undertook the work of men because her family’s needs dictated it, her actions were...praised.”<sup>75</sup> Farming provides an example of a predominantly male-dominated, entrepreneurial occupation in which women in British Columbia could be found. Furthermore, 41 to 50 percent of British Columbia’s female population was rural between 1901 and 1941,<sup>76</sup> and since the population was almost evenly divided between rural and urban locations in the first half of the twentieth century, I wanted to compare a prominent rural occupation to a prominent urban one.<sup>77</sup> Farming was virtually the only entrepreneurial occupation available in rural areas and it was almost as important an entrepreneurial ‘choice’ for women in British Columbia as

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<sup>75</sup> Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women*, 65.

<sup>76</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 1.1: Population, Catalogue 92-536, Volume 1, Part 1, Table 12.

<sup>77</sup> Rural does not necessarily mean agricultural in the context of British Columbia and in fact, many “rural” areas of British Columbia are not at all suitable for agricultural development. But it is the case that agriculture is not an urban enterprise and in that sense, farming is a rural occupation.

was boarding house keeping, making it a useful comparative occupation.

In the rest of the country farming was also an important source of female entrepreneurship and for most decades under study, the proportion of the female population that was living in rural areas was the same or higher in Canada than in British Columbia. In both British Columbia and the rest of the country, the proportion of the population that was rural did decline steadily, particularly after 1941: between 1941 and 1971, the proportion of the female population that was rural declined from 43 percent, in both British Columbia and Canada, to 23 percent, again in both regions. However, farming remained a relatively prominent source of female entrepreneurship and despite its decline, it remained one of the only forms of self-employment in rural areas.

The second income-generating strategy outlined by Matthaei was for women to capitalize on their “feminine” abilities, turning their skills as homemakers into income by taking in sewing or laundry and running boarding houses, restaurants and taverns. They turned their homes, and their gender-specific tasks within the home, into income.<sup>78</sup> In British Columbia, boarding house keeping was one of the most common forms of self-employment for women between 1901 and 1971.

In a province with a high ratio of men to women for the first few decades of the century, running a boarding house was a particularly good business venture. Young single males working in primary industries in the province needed a place to stay, as did young business and professional men. Women could open their homes to boarders if they needed to earn an income, and a great many of them did so. Running a boarding house was a prominent entrepreneurial option for women in British Columbia, particularly in urban areas. Boarding house keeping was also a significant occupation

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<sup>78</sup> Matthaei, *An Economic History of Women*, 51-53.

for self-employed women in the rest of the country, although it was much more prominent amongst self-employed women in British Columbia than in the rest of Canada between 1901 and 1921. By 1931, however, 25 percent of all self-employed women in British Columbia, and the same share in the rest of Canada, were self-employed as boarding house keepers (see Chapter Two, Table 2.4).

These two occupations represent two distinct facets of female entrepreneurship. In addition, one third of all self-employed women in the province of British Columbia – 32.4 percent – were either farmers or boarding house keepers in 1901 and that had risen to 42.4 percent by 1941. This was also the case in the rest of the country: 32.3 percent of all self-employed women in Canada in 1901, and a very high 52 percent in 1941, were farmers or boarding house keepers. By 1971, the prominence of these two occupations had declined: only 15.5 percent of all self-employed women in British Columbia, and 16.9 percent in Canada, worked as farmers or in lodging and related occupations.<sup>79</sup>

Even so, while their proportion of the total self-employed female labour force had dropped, there were not many occupations that employed more entrepreneurial women in 1971. In British Columbia, more self-employed women worked in sales occupations (which included ownership of retail stores) than in any other form of self-employment. Lodging occupations employed the next highest number of self-employed women in the province, followed by hairdressing, and then farming. Occupations in

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<sup>79</sup> Lodging house keeping was not listed as a separate occupation in the 1971 census; it was listed along with other ‘accommodations’ occupations such as hotel and motel workers. Moreover, proprietors were not listed separately from employee-managers or supervisors of such establishments. In order to compare the 1971 data to earlier decades, I included women who were listed as either supervisors or managers in lodging and related accommodations occupations, as these were the only two occupational titles in which owners of hotels, motels, or boarding houses could be found in the 1971 data. These occupational titles included self-employed proprietors as well as supervisors/managers who were employees, and I only included women listed under the supervisory and managerial occupational titles who *also* stated that they were self-employed. Farmers were listed as an individual occupation and were, as might be expected, self-employed.

sales, again including shop owners, also contained the largest number of self-employed women in the rest of Canada. Hairdressing was second, followed by farming and then lodging and other accommodations occupations. Thus, while small pockets of female self-employment could be found across many occupations, self-employment in lodging and related occupations and in farming remained among the top four avenues of self-employment for women in British Columbia and in the rest of Canada in 1971.

By examining two different occupations the patterns of female self-employment that remain constant across different occupations become clearer, as do some of the differences between self-employed women in different occupations. In some cases, there were also differences between self-employed women in these occupations in the province compared to the rest of the country. While my primary interest is British Columbia, women worked in these two occupations across the country. If female farmers and boarding house keepers illuminate the importance of age, marriage, and family in understanding self-employed women, they also illuminate some of the ways in which entrepreneurial women in British Columbia were different from their counterparts in the rest of the country. I have argued this on a general level throughout my work but it is articulated here in a specific way through a study of two occupations.

Employment options were extremely limited for rural women in British Columbia. In 1941, according to that year's census, "Apart from marriage and such occupations as teaching and nursing there are few openings for females in rural areas.... The majority of females born in rural areas but not marrying there have little alternative but to migrate to urban localities."<sup>80</sup> For those who remained in rural areas, marriage *was* essentially an occupation. Rates of marriage were higher for women in rural than in

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<sup>80</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1941, Volume 1, 149.

urban areas, for all age groups, and many women were listed as “housewives” or as “farmer’s wives” in the census and were not included among the ranks of the employed, despite the work they did in the home and on the farm. Of all women in British Columbia who did not report any occupation in 1901, just over 15 percent were the wives of farmers. For the rest of Canada, the percentage of all women who did not list an occupation, and who reported themselves as the wives of farmers, was an extremely high 40 percent.<sup>81</sup>

We can surmise that many of these women worked as farmers, sharing the workload with their farmer husbands. Furthermore, some “farmer’s wives” were involved in what has been called “the butter and egg business.” These women were self-employed, in a sense, selling butter, eggs, and other farm produce that they churned, bred, or cultivated themselves. The question historian Virginia McCormick has asked is whether the money made from women’s home-based rural enterprises was “supplemental or essential family income? Did the butter and egg business of farm wives have significant impact on the local and national economy or was it simply ‘pin money’ which did not merit inclusion in income statistics?”<sup>82</sup> Even if we wanted to include these women as entrepreneurs, the census did not; enumerators may be accused of ignoring or leaving out an entire sub-class of rural producers and businesswomen. They, too, have appeared as farmer’s wives. The 1921 census instructions explicitly stated that: “farmers’ daughters and farmers’ wives are not ordinarily considered as

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<sup>81</sup> Data is from the Canadian Families Project’s five percent sample of the 1901 census. Note: more women were “wives of farmers” elsewhere in Canada because farming, overall, was more prominent in the rest of the country than in British Columbia.

<sup>82</sup> Virginia E. McCormick, “Butter and Egg Business: Implications From the Records of a Nineteenth-Century Farm Wife,” *Ohio History* 100 (Winter/Spring 1991): 58.

gainfully employed.’’<sup>83</sup>

Some rural women were, however, farmers in their own right. In 1901, about 1 percent of all farmers in the province were women. In 1921, there were 22 500 male farmers in British Columbia and just 652 female farmers, and just 3.5 percent of all farmers in the province were female in 1931 and 1941.<sup>84</sup> By 1971, a relatively high 8 percent of the province’s farmers were female (Table 5.2). Even so, farming would never become a predominantly feminine pursuit. The percentage of all farmers who were female in the rest of Canada was even lower than in British Columbia: in Canada in 1941, female farmers comprised just 2.1 percent of all farmers and by 1971, only 3.1 percent of all farmers in Canada were female, (Table 5.2).

*Table 5.2: Female Farmers, 1901, 1941, and 1971*<sup>85</sup>

<b>As a percentage of total female labour force:</b>			
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC</b>	4.3	1.6	0.2
<b>Canada</b>	5.8	1.7	0.3
<b>As a percentage of total female self-employment:</b>			
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC</b>	16.2	14.0	6.1
<b>Canada</b>	28.3	21.1	9.7
<b>As a percentage of all farmers, male &amp; female, in the labour force:</b>			
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC</b>	2.8	3.5	8.0
<b>Canada</b>	2.5	2.1	3.1

Despite the obviously small numbers of female farmers compared to male farmers in both British Columbia and Canada, farming was a significant form of self-

<sup>83</sup> *Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 4, xxxi.* This changed in 1951, when farmer’s wives could be recorded as farmers.

<sup>84</sup> *Census of Canada, 1921, Volume 4, Table 4, and 1951, Volume 4, Table 2.*

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix for specific source information for this table; data for 1901 is taken from the Canadian Families Project’s database.

employment for women in rural areas. Its importance can only be understood by taking into account the relatively small percentage of women in the labour force compared to men, and the even smaller share of female self-employment within the labour force. If we examine female farmers in the context of the female labour force and then in the context of self-employed women, their importance becomes clearer. Table 5.2 illustrates that in British Columbia in 1901, of all women in the labour force who reported that they were self-employed, 16.2 percent were self-employed as farmers. By 1941, more women were entering the paid labour force – 18 percent of the labour force was female, compared to 12 percent in 1901 – but the female rate of self-employment had declined. The decline in self-employment overall was reflected in the decline in the percentage of female farmers: in 1941, 1.6 percent of all women in the labour force were farmers, a drop from 4.3 percent in 1901. Within the self-employed population, however, farming was still an important entrepreneurial option: 14 percent of all self-employed women were farmers in 1941 (Table 5.2).

By 1971, only 6.1 percent of all self-employed women were farmers in British Columbia. The importance of farming had lessened, due to the shift from rural to urban living in the province and across Canada. Even at mid-century, census statisticians had noted the “magnitude of the change in Canada from a largely rural-farm economy in 1901 to a well-developed industrialised economy.”<sup>86</sup> The 1951 census indicated the “steady decline in the relative importance of agricultural occupations in the total labour force,” something that continued from 1951 to 1971.<sup>87</sup> While 61 percent of women in Canada lived in a rural area in 1901, by 1971 just 23 percent of all Canadian women

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<sup>86</sup> *Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 10, 253.*

<sup>87</sup> *Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 10, 253.*

lived in a rural area.<sup>88</sup>

The overall decline in the rural population and the related decline of agriculture help to explain the lowered significance of farming for self-employed women by 1971. The trend is also notable among male farmers in the province. In 1941, for instance, 38.8 percent of all self-employed men in the province of British Columbia were farmers: farming was a key entrepreneurial avenue for men, much more so than for women in the same year. By 1971, just 13.9 percent of all self-employed men in the province were farming.

In British Columbia, farming was an important avenue of entrepreneurship. While very few women farmed compared to men, within the context of female self-employment farm ownership was significant; it was even more significant for women elsewhere in Canada. In 1901, 28.3 percent of all self-employed women in Canada were farmers. By 1941, female farmers comprised 21.1 percent of total female self-employment in Canada. In 1971, 9.6 percent of all self-employed women in the country were self-employed as farmers. While the trend was the same as that in British Columbia in terms of an overall decline in the importance of agricultural occupations from 1901 to 1971, a higher proportion of all self-employed women worked as farmers in Canada. The same was true of men.

While a smaller proportion of self-employed women (and men) were farmers in British Columbia compared to Canada, this is not a reflection of entrepreneurial interest but of geography. British Columbia has never been known for agriculture. In 1918, the Canadian Commission for Conservation concluded that less than five percent of the

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<sup>88</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1961, Volume 1, Part 1, Series 1.1, Catalogue 92-536 and 1971, Volume 1, Part 1, Catalogue 92-709.

province was arable, and that “the forest industry, not agricultural settlement, was the leading motor of economic growth in the province.”<sup>89</sup>

Many women had already been farming for most of their adult lives as farmer’s wives, but those that were self-employed as farmers provide a salient example of the importance of examining the marital patterns of self-employed women. Women who stated that they were farmers in the census between 1901 and 1971 were very likely to be widowed, as Table 5.3 demonstrates.

*Table 5.3: Marital Status of Male and Female Farmers: British Columbia and Canada*<sup>90</sup>

<b>Marital Status, Female Farmers: 1901, 1941, and 1971:</b>			
	Single (percent)	Married (percent)	Wid/Div. (percent)
1901 BC	0	30.8	69.2
Canada	29.2	36.3	34.4
1941 BC	14.1	14.6	71.4
Canada	11.2	11.5	77.3
1971 BC	12.1	64.7	23.3
Canada	13.0	49.6	37.4
<b>Marital Status, Male Farmers: 1901, 1941, and 1971:</b>			
	Single (percent)	Married (percent)	Wid/Div. (percent)
1901 BC	37.3	56.0	6.6
Canada	16.8	77.8	5.3
1941 BC	18.5	75.1	6.4
Canada	16.4	78.7	4.9
1971 BC	11.0	85.6	3.4
Canada	14.9	82.6	2.5

In the first fifty years of the twentieth century, widowhood was the most common marital pattern among female farmers. After 1951, however, marriage was their most likely marital status (as it had always been for men). Prior to 1951, women married to farmers were not listed as farmers in their own right but as farmer’s wives (or

<sup>89</sup> Cited in Cole Harris, *The Resettlement of British Columbia: Essays on Colonialism and Geographical Change* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 245.

<sup>90</sup> See Appendix for specific source information for this table; data for 1901 is taken from the Canadian Families Project’s database.

unpaid family workers) which helps to explain the low percentage of married female farmers in the first half of the century. Despite their marital status in the census, married women who declared themselves farmers before 1951 were likely living without their husbands and heading their own households since, if they lived with their spouses, census enumerators were specifically instructed to report them as unpaid farmers' wives. But beginning in 1951 married women who worked on farms and who had previously been classified as unpaid workers were included in the labour force.<sup>91</sup> While this led to many of them being classified as farm labourers rather than as self-employed farmers, the census was beginning to acknowledge farm wives as gainfully occupied. By 1971 more married farm women were being acknowledged, not just as labourers, but as co-owners of farms and this led to an increase in the number of married self-employed female farmers reported in the census by 1971.

Even though married female farmers were more likely to report that they were self-employed after 1951, male farmers were still much more likely to be married, in British Columbia and in Canada, and rates of widowhood and divorce were also higher among women than men. For male farmers, being married (probably to a woman who was classed as an unpaid family worker, a farmer's wife, or a wage-earning farm labourer) was the most likely marital status for every decade between 1901 and 1971. For Canadian women, farming in the first half of the twentieth century was a recognized form of self-employment only after they became heads of their households, through a spouse's death, desertion or some other form of separation. This in turn legitimized their roles as farmers.

Alberta widow Clara Houston was, according to a description circa 1910, "a

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<sup>91</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1951, Volume 10, 246. See also Volume 10, Table 63.

familiar figure riding the plow in her field and driving four horses” after her husband’s death, but as historian Sheila McManus noted, that Houston worked her farm in order to support her children “and while wearing her widow’s clothes was interpreted by her neighbours as remaining within acceptable gender boundaries.”<sup>92</sup> Houston could have moved to town, but she chose to support her children by continuing to run the farm.

Some British Columbia farm women were widowed when their husbands went to war. Mrs. Kemball, widowed in 1917 when her husband was killed in action in World War One, operated their Kootenay fruit ranch with her two daughters and “whatever casual help might be available” until she sold it in 1927.<sup>93</sup> Edith Attree became a widowed farmer after her husband died in 1918 and she successfully managed her Kootenay ranch and orchards with the help of her sons.<sup>94</sup>

The prominence of widows in farming in British Columbia is particularly significant early in the century. In 1901, 24 percent of all widowed and divorced women in the labour force were farmers. By 1931, of all widowed and divorced women in the labour force, half as many - 12 percent - were self-employed farmers. Even so, in 1931 farming occupied more widows and divorcées in the province than did any other occupation. By 1941, just 8 percent of all widowed and divorced women in the labour force were self-employed farmers.<sup>95</sup> Between 1901 and 1971, the rural population declined in all of Canada, as did female self-employment. “The jobs which opened up in

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<sup>92</sup> Sheila McManus, “Gender(ed) Tensions in the Work and Politics of Alberta Farm Women, 1905-29,” Catherine A. Cavanaugh and Randi R. Warne, eds., *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women’s History* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000), 128.

<sup>93</sup> Joan Lang, *Lost Orchards: Vanishing Fruit Farms of the West Kootenay* (Canada: Ward Creek Press, 2003), 35, 46.

<sup>94</sup> Lang, *Lost Orchards*, 46. Other women, while not widowed, might as well have been: the wife of one veteran who returned from the First World War a “very sick man suffering from a form of creeping paralysis” operated their forty-acre fruit ranch herself until it was sold in 1935.

<sup>95</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 7, Tables 50, 54; 1941, Volume 7, Table 5. 1901 Data is from the Canadian Families Project’s database.

number for women were concentrated in urban centres while employment opportunities remained limited on the farms or in small villages in rural non-farm areas.”<sup>96</sup> However, of the women who were still farming in 1941 in British Columbia, 71.4 percent were widowed or divorced (Table 5.3). Only the occupation of boarding house keeper employed more widows and divorcées, and only because there were numerically more boarding house keepers than farmers in the female labour force in 1941. For women in rural British Columbia, farming remained the most significant – and the only significant – avenue for entrepreneurship.<sup>97</sup>

Widowed female farmers such as Mrs. Kemball and Mrs. Attree maintained their families and households by running the farms themselves rather than re-marrying. They were “farmers,” according to the census. While widowed and divorced farmers were still present in 1971, the new census definitions allowing married women who operated farms with their husbands to be classified as self-employed inflated the percentage of married, self-employed female farmers in the 1971 census. While comparatively fewer female farmers were widowed or divorced by 1971, they remained significant, especially compared to the rates of widowhood/divorce among male farmers: 23.3 percent of all

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<sup>96</sup> Sylvia Ostry, *The Female Worker in Canada* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1968), 12.

<sup>97</sup> While some women, such as Mrs. O’Keefe (mentioned later in this chapter) operated large mixed farms or ranching operations, in general when they had a choice, women chose certain types of farming, notably poultry and horticulture. In the Kootenays women ran fruit farms and orchards: Attree and Kemball are examples, but they did not start their farms as “women alone,” but as farmer’s wives. I found references in British Columbia directories between 1900 and 1920 to women operating poultry and dairy farms, and to female beekeepers, as well as references to women “farmers” with no specific information about the types of farms they operated. Miss Shaffer ran a holly farm in British Columbia (see Chapter Four) and Helena Gutteridge started a poultry farm in 1921 outside Vancouver. Estella Hartt became a herb farmer in 1928 in Arrow Lakes, growing golden-seal and ginseng. See Irene Howard, *The Struggle for Social Justice in British Columbia: Helena Gutteridge, the Unknown Reformer* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992), 141 and Rosemarie Parent, “The Story of Estella Hartt,” *British Columbia Historical News* 32, 2 (Spring 1999): 30. From scattered and admittedly incomplete evidence and references to female farmers, it seems that when women began their own farms, they were more likely to choose small mixed farms or dairy, poultry and horticulture operations. Another example is the two women farmers pictured in this chapter (Figure 5.1). However, when widowed, women had little choice but to continue to run family farms, of all types and sizes.

female farmers in British Columbia, and 37.4 percent in the rest of Canada, were widowed and divorced in 1971, while the percentage of male farmers who were widowed or divorced was less than 7 percent in all decades under study.

Singlehood, as Table 5.3 demonstrates, was never a very common marital status among male or female farmers.<sup>98</sup> Unmarried female farmers definitely attracted attention: author Hilda Howard photographed two “lady” farmers in the 1920s near Terrace, British Columbia (Figure 5.1). Howard marveled at the “farm belonging to and run entirely by two ladies who had been music mistresses in the Old Country....They have developed the place from virtually nothing and do every scrap of the work themselves, except the plowing – and even take a hand in that when labour is short.”<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> For example, Table 5.3 shows no single farmers in British Columbia in 1901. Three single female farmers in British Columbia in 1901 were captured by the Canadian Families Project’s five percent sample but I could not include them as so little other information about them was listed. They were native women, listed as “daughters” in their households, and as farmer/hunter/fishers but the enumerator did not list whether they were self-employed or employees. It is clear that they were not properly enumerated given the paucity of information in the census entries. In addition, the actual number of British Columbian female farmers captured by the five percent sample was very low – 23, of which just 15 were clearly self-employed – so it is not surprising that in such a small population of female farmers, the even-smaller number that may have been single were not included in the database. The high rate of “singlehood” among female farmers in the rest of the country in 1901 is, however, surprising and unexpected.

<sup>99</sup>H. Glynn-Ward, *The Glamour of British Columbia* (New York: The Century Co., 1926), 88.

*Figure 5.1: Farm Women in Terrace, British Columbia, c.1920s*<sup>100</sup>



<sup>100</sup> Photograph by Hilda Howard, published in H. Glynn-Ward, *The Glamour of British Columbia*. H. Glynn-Ward was Hilda Howard's pseudonym; see Patricia E. Roy, "Introduction," Hilda Glynn-Ward, *The Writing on the Wall* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), xxiv.

Notwithstanding exceptional cases of single female farmers, most farmers (male and female) in British Columbia were likely to be supporting families. Elizabeth Milne was a youthful 39-year-old widow living near Vernon in 1901 with her two children, ages eight and six. She reported in the 1901 census that she was self-employed as a rancher. Other than her children, who were too young to help run a ranch, nobody else lived in her household, although it is likely that she hired labourers or farmer's hands to help with some of the work. A more typical case of a female farmer living in British Columbia in 1901 was Ann Smith of Comox. A 60-year-old widow, she listed herself as the head of her household and as a farmer in the census. Ann had three sons living with her, aged 20, 23, and 28. While the sons listed no occupations, we can infer that they worked as farmers. Just as Ann had probably worked as a farmer during her marriage, without being recognized as such, now the tables were turned: her sons were not recognized as farmers, while she had become the farmer and the head of the household. Kate Hoffman, a 48-year-old widowed rancher in the Kootenays, had five children living at home. In her case, her 24-year-old son was also listed as a rancher; her other children, ranging from 10 to 20 years of age, did not report occupations although they likely aided in the work of the ranch.

Many female farmers retained positions as head of their households and as the primary owners-operators of their farms, even when their sons and daughters farmed alongside them. These women did not remarry or give up ownership of their farms. Many who appeared to be figureheads for family operations, and who benefited from the labour of their children, still maintained control and independence over their

operations.<sup>101</sup> Elizabeth O’Keefe was widowed in 1919 and her daily journals and correspondence indicate her active role in running the family ranch in Vernon, British Columbia. Bank records indicate that she was still operating the ranch in 1929. Mrs. O’Keefe clearly had help on the farm; her son was 12 years old and in school when his father died but by 1924 her diaries mentioned him frequently in connection to farm chores. Judging from her many references to employees and to the ranch foreman, Elizabeth O’Keefe was not doing all of the labour of the ranch, but she controlled its daily operations. Her diaries noted when she hired cooks or ranch hands, and her detailed accounting of expenditures indicated that she controlled the farm finances; she also kept track of land and property that she had rented out. She provided “pocket money” to her son, clothing and tobacco to her foreman, and collected rent from tenants on her property; in her 1924 diary, she listed all the bulls, cows and calves that had died throughout the previous year.<sup>102</sup>

O’Keefe, a widowed farmer, played an active role in operating a large ranching operation and correspondence addressed to her demonstrates that no matter how much help she had, she was in charge. Women like O’Keefe could only maintain their status as “farmers” if they did not remarry; those who did remarry would no longer have been listed as “farmers” in the census and they would have reverted to being the “farmer’s wives” of their new spouses.

Obviously, age is a connected factor in understanding the profiles of female farmers. Table 5.1 indicated that almost half of all female farmers in Canada in 1921

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<sup>101</sup> It is certainly possible that some widows were limited by the terms of their husbands’ wills: men’s wills commonly specified that their wives retained control over their farms only until their sons were old enough to take over the property, at which point the wives were no longer farm owners. This does not, however, negate the reality of their entrepreneurial status.

<sup>102</sup> O’Keefe Family Records, BCA, MS 1890, m/f A01254, A01255.

(including British Columbia, in this case) were ages 50 to 64. In 1961, the average age of female farmers in Canada was 49, while the average age of women in the labour force in any occupation was just 36. In British Columbia, the same pattern appeared: the average age of a female farmer in the province was 48, compared to 38 for the average female worker in any occupation in 1961. Data for 1971 showed the same pattern.

It is not possible to obtain detailed information on the household composition of women in individual occupations from the published census data. While I can determine the ages and marital patterns of female farmers, I can only make inferences about their likely status as mothers and as heads of households. It is certainly true, however, that female household heads in both British Columbia and Canada were, like female farmers, very likely to be widowed or divorced, while the majority of male household heads were, like male farmers, married. Women who were widowed or divorced, or married women who no longer lived with their spouses, became heads of their households and they were listed as such in the census. This was a less likely condition among young single women, who lived with family members or as boarders or lodgers in other homes. It was not at all likely that married women living with their spouses would be listed as heads of their households: that position was reserved for the male spouse. Thus we could reasonably presume that many female farmers were also heading their households by virtue of their marital and their employment status. While some widowed farm women lived with their grown children, if they were listed as the sole operators of farms then they were likely heading the households as well.

While the occupational data allows only for educated speculation regarding the family situations of female farmers, particularly with respect to the presence or absence of children in their households, the Canadian Families Project's database of the 1901

census at least allows for a more detailed examination of the families of female farmers. As might be expected, a majority of the female farmers in British Columbia who reported that they were self-employed were also heading their households. 77 percent of the self-declared female farmers in the five percent sample of census data from British Columbia headed their own households.

Just over half of the female farmers in the province also had children living with them – but here, the limits of using census data from a single year are magnified. Some women, such as 72-year-old farmer Eliza Skinner, did not have children living at home but this is not an indication that the “family claim” had not influenced her proprietorship. Skinner, a widow, may have taken over the farm after the death of her husband in order to provide for her children, but census data only provides her relationship to the people living in her household at the time the census was taken. Skinner lived alone and thus the census does not identify whether she was a mother. She may have become a self-employed farmer and widow after her children had already moved away but it is also possible that she was widowed many years earlier and had used the farm’s income to provide for her children – if she had children.<sup>103</sup> Of the female farmers in British Columbia in 1901 captured by the five percent sample, one third were over the age of 60 and if they had been mothers, they were less likely to still have their children living with them.

That some women over the age of 60 were still heading their own farms and

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<sup>103</sup> According to the BC Archives Vital Events online index, Eliza Skinner died in Silverdale in 1902. Examinations of death certificates in the online index revealed just one possible male who might have been her husband: David Skinner died in 1889 at the age of 69. If he was her husband (no marriage certificate is listed in the Vital Events index), then Eliza Skinner may have been farming as a widow for 13 years. Had I been able to locate one, an obituary for Skinner might have provided more information. For people who had them, wills can also provide information on female farmers if their spouses left them the property.

living alone, rather than giving up control of their operations to their children, is significant, however; it suggests that some elderly widowed farm women continued to operate their own farms rather than passing on the property to their children.

The other possibility is that some widowed farm women were sole owners on paper only, and that grown children living with them actually ran the farms. Their control over their property was sometimes a short-term formality following the death of their spouses, and their children would ultimately become the owners of these farms. This was undoubtedly the case for a number of the female farmers captured by the Canadian Families Project's database. They were over 60 and living with grown children in their households, suggesting that they were not truly operating their farms. Nevertheless, that these women were clearly declaring their status as self-employed owners of their enterprises is an important part of their sense of control over their family's interests, material or otherwise.

Some married and widowed farm women *were* providing for family by continuing to farm and they were active in the operations of their farms. Women such as 39-year-old Elizabeth Milne, mentioned above, or 50-year-old Annie Struthers, a widowed mother of three teenage children according to the 1901 census, were active farm women who supported their children through their self-employment. Thelma Mercer farmed with her husband near Quesnel, British Columbia in the 1930s. Widowed while pregnant with her seventh child, she decided not to remarry because "I didn't want any other man bossing them [her children] around." Mercer ran the farm on her own for 14 years while raising her children.<sup>104</sup> While she eventually remarried and farmed for another 19 years with her new husband, like many other widowed farmers in

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<sup>104</sup> Neering, *Wild West Women*, 164-165.

the province she operated her own farm to support her family.

In the rest of Canada, 39 percent of female farmers were heads of their households in 1901, a much lower percentage than in the province of British Columbia. One reason for the difference is that in Canada, 31 percent of the female farmers in the five percent sample of the 1901 census listed their marital status as wife. If they were married and living with their spouse, the 1901 census would not have listed them as farmers. Only if they were living without their husbands should they have been listed as heads of their households. In any case, that one third of all farming women in the 1901 data declared that they were not household heads but rather, wives of household heads, affects this data.

However, the link between being a female farmer and being head of the household was still strong in Canada. Of all women who stated they headed their households in Canada in 1901, 15.8 percent were farmers: no other occupation recorded a higher percentage of female household heads. Moreover, the proportion of farm women in Canada who also had children living in their households was very similar to that of the women in British Columbia. About 60 percent of female farmers in Canada, whether or not they headed their households, had children living with them.

Unlike farming, which employed far more men than women, Table 5.4 shows that 65 to 79 percent of all boarding house keepers in British Columbia were female between 1901 and 1941.<sup>105</sup> An even higher 89 percent of all boarding house keepers were women in 1961 in the province. Proportions were higher still in the rest of Canada:

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<sup>105</sup> This is the case among boarding house keepers but not among hotelkeepers; in 1901 in British Columbia, for example, just 35 percent of boarding house keepers were men, but 91 percent of hotelkeepers were men. In 1921, 41 percent of boarding house keepers were male, while 89 percent of hotel and restaurant keepers were male (see Canadian Families Project five percent sample, 1901 census, and *Census of Canada, 1921*, Volume 4, Table 4).

Table 5.4 illustrates the preponderance of women in the occupation, at least until 1971.<sup>106</sup> In 1931, 92 percent and in 1961, a very high 97 percent, of all boarding house keepers in Canada were women.

*Table 5.4: Female Boarding House Keepers, 1901, 1941, and 1971*

<b>As a percentage of total female labour force:</b>			
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC</b>	4.3	3.2	0.3
<b>Canada</b>	0.8	2.5	0.2
<b>As a percentage of total female self-employment:</b>			
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC</b>	16.2	28.5	9.4
<b>Canada</b>	4.0	30.9	7.2
<b>As a percentage of all boarding house keepers, male &amp; female, in the labour force:</b>			
	<b>1901</b>	<b>1941</b>	<b>1971</b>
<b>BC</b>	65.0	78.8	47.8
<b>Canada</b>	83.1	91.8	48.8

Boarding house keeping was also a more urban occupation than farming.

Although some boarding houses were in rural areas, and others operated in small semi-rural towns, the majority of them were in urban centres in 1901.<sup>107</sup> City directories for British Columbia from 1910 to 1920 continued to show high numbers of boarding houses operating in towns and cities.

In British Columbia in 1901, boarding house keepers comprised the same share of the total female force as female farmers did: each occupation made up 4.3 percent of

<sup>106</sup> In 1971, the only occupations at all comparable to the earlier occupation of boarding house keeper are “managers” and “supervisors” in accommodation. Since this included all kinds of hotels, motels and other accommodations more wide-ranging than boarding houses, it is not very compatible. The female share of these occupations of managers and supervisors in accommodation (and only including those who were self-employed) was much lower in 1971 than it had been in earlier decades, in part because the 1971 data combined hotels with boarding houses and hotels were much more likely to be operated by men than boarding houses were. See Table 5.4. See also footnote 70, this chapter.

<sup>107</sup> This is the case when boarding houses, but not hotels, are considered; in British Columbia, 76 percent of all boarding houses in the 5 percent sample were urban. But, just 44 percent of hotels were in urban locations. 54 percent of all hotels and boarding houses, considered together, were in urban areas of British Columbia.

the total female labour force, and neither encompassed a huge share of the total number of women at work. Moreover, as self-employment declined steadily between 1901 and 1971, so did the percentage of female farmers and boarding house keepers in the female labour force (see Tables 5.2 and 5.4). Even so, boarding house keeping was an important occupation among self-employed women in British Columbia. 16.2 percent of all self-employed women in the province in 1901 and 28.5 percent in 1941 were self-employed as boarding house keepers. When combined with female farmers, one third to one half of all women in British Columbia who claimed in the census that they were working for themselves were either farmers or boarding house keepers in the first four decades of the twentieth century. After 1941, boarding house keeping remained one of the more prominent entrepreneurial occupations for women in the province, even though by 1971 the importance of the occupation was clouded by the overall decline in self-employment rates and by the incompatibility of 1971 data with earlier census data.

While farming was a more significant form of self-employment for women in the rest of the country than in British Columbia, the opposite was true for female-run boarding houses. A smaller proportion of the total female labour force operated boarding houses in Canada compared to British Columbia, between 1901 and 1971 (Table 5.4). This was particularly evident in 1901 when just 4 percent of all self-employed women were operating boarding houses in Canada compared to 16.2 percent in British Columbia. By 1941, operating a boarding house had become a significant form of self-employment in both Canada and British Columbia, and a slightly higher proportion of all self-employed women were running boarding houses in the country than in the province.

The early dominance of boarding house keeping in British Columbia was related to the high numbers of transient male workers in the province at the beginning of the century.<sup>108</sup> While women capitalized on the need for lodging, so did enterprising men: 35 percent of boarding houses were run by men in the province in 1901, a surprise given the high proportions of women, generally, in the occupation. By 1931, women in British Columbia and Canada were entering the occupation in increasing numbers. The 1931 Census noted the increase in the number of women boarding house keepers, and suggested that they were “forced into the ranks of the gainfully occupied through economic necessity, their husbands being unemployed and showing lengthy periods of unemployment...over the year immediately preceding the date of the census.”<sup>109</sup>

This was still the case in 1941: some women who had opened boarding houses during the 1930s to stave off the effects of the depression were still operating them, which helps to explain their continued strong presence. Moreover, in British Columbia, men and women arrived in greater Vancouver and Victoria to work in war-related industries, beginning in 1941, which caused a housing shortage. Those that did not find housing turned to boarding or lodging houses. They were therefore still a prominent form of self-employment for women in 1941, as Table 5.4 shows.<sup>110</sup>

Since boarding house keeping rivaled farming as one of the most prominent forms of female entrepreneurship, we might expect to see a similar pattern in the marital status of female farmers and boarding house keepers. One similarity is that neither occupation employed very many single women. However, while female farmers had

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<sup>108</sup> Chapter One discusses in more detail the frontier conditions of British Columbia at the beginning of the twentieth century, including the large population of single men.

<sup>109</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 13, 79.

<sup>110</sup> Boarding house keeping was also particularly dominated by women in 1941, and this too may have been a result of the war: more women worked, in all occupations, to fill the jobs left by men who went to war.

very high rates of widowhood, high rates of marriage were remarkable among boarding house keepers (Table 5.5).

*Table 5.5: Marital Status of Male and Female Boarding House Keepers: British Columbia and Canada*

<b>Marital Status, Female Boarding House Keepers: 1901, 1941, and 1971:</b>			
	Single (percent)	Married (percent)	Wid/Div. (percent)
1901 BC	18.8	43.8	37.5
Canada	14.0	24.0	62.0
1941 BC	10.5	52.7	36.8
Canada	10.2	57.9	31.9
1971 BC	6.5	77.1	16.4
Canada	11.1	71.1	17.8
<b>Marital Status, Male Boarding House Keepers: 1901, 1941, and 1971:</b>			
	Single (percent)	Married (percent)	Wid/Div. (percent)
1901 BC	46.7	48.8	4.5
Canada	9.1	88.4	2.5
1941 BC	10.7	78.6	10.7
Canada	15.3	72.9	11.8
1971 BC	7.9	87.9	4.2
Canada	9.6	87.1	3.2

In 1901, 11.5 percent of *all* married women in the labour force in British Columbia listed their occupation as boarding house keeper. In 1931 and 1941, an even higher 15 percent of all married women in the labour force were boarding house keepers; more married women in the province ran boarding houses than worked in any other occupation.<sup>111</sup> Marriage was still the most likely marital status of women working in occupations related to lodging and boarding in 1971.<sup>112</sup>

The only exception to the prominence of marriage was in Canada in 1901, when

<sup>111</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1931, Volume 7, Tables 50, 54; 1941, Volume 7, Table 5. 1901 Data is from the Canadian Families Project's database.

<sup>112</sup> It must be noted, however, that data on marital status for 1971 is only listed for all women (and men) working in managerial or supervisory capacities in lodging and related accommodations; the data does not provide the marital status of self-employed workers separately from that of wage earners. In Table 5.5, therefore, the data on marital status in 1971, for men and women, is comprised of wage earners and self-employed workers in lodging and related accommodations.

they were, like female farmers, more likely to be widowed or divorced than to be married. Otherwise, female boarding house keepers between 1901 and 1971 in all regions were very likely to be married and by 1971 they were even more likely to be married, and less likely to be widowed or divorced. The percentage of widowed/divorced boarding house keepers declined as the percentage of married steadily increased.

The high rates of marriage are also clear among men, as Table 5.5 illustrates. However, much like male farmers, men who operated boarding houses had much lower rates of widowhood and divorce than their female counterparts, and very high rates of marriage. British Columbia in 1901 was the exception: due to an excess of single males in the population generally, there was a correspondingly high percentage of single, and a lowered percentage of married, male boarding house keepers in the province in that year.

Married women were almost as common among boarding house keepers as widowed and divorced women were among farmers. But although they may have been married, they were not all living with their spouses; they were therefore similar to farmers in that both groups featured a high number of female-headed households. Almost half of all boarding house keepers reported that they were married in 1901, but none of the married boarding house keepers in the five percent sample of the British Columbia census data lived with their spouses. In other words, all of the married boarding house keepers in the sample were heading their households and in turn, living without a spouse.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> Data is from the Canadian Families Project's five percent sample of the 1901 census. Note: as with female farmers, it must be noted that the number of female boarding house keepers in British Columbia that were captured in the database is low: there were 12 female boarding house keepers, and four female hotelkeepers.

In households in British Columbia containing many lodgers in which the head of the household was male, the wife listed no occupation.<sup>114</sup> Sometimes, the husband was listed as a boarding house keeper or hotelkeeper, and sometimes, he had a different occupation. In the former case, we can guess that, much like farmer's wives, the wives of male boarding house keepers were working, even if their work was not reported in the census. In the latter case, we can even more reasonably assume that wives looked after the boarders and lodgers. But, just as many farmer's wives who sold butter and eggs were not recognized as working or as working for themselves, women who did the cooking, cleaning and laundry work associated with housing boarding or lodgers, in households where their husbands were also present, were not recognized by the census as having any occupation.

The high rates of married women who worked as boarding house keepers and also apparently lived without their husbands in 1901 was especially prominent in British Columbia. Just 10 percent of female boarding house keepers in Canada reported that they were married and headed their own households. In the female labour force in general, the same pattern is evident. Almost one third (28.7 percent) of women in the labour force in British Columbia were married but also heading their households, compared to just 11.8 percent in the rest of the country, while among just self-employed women, 53.8 percent in British Columbia, and 19 percent in Canada, were married and heading their households.

Working women in British Columbia demonstrated differences from women in the rest of Canada in terms of their avenues of employment and, among the employed, their marital patterns. This is particularly evident in the case of boarding house keepers.

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<sup>114</sup> This was true for all of the households represented in the five percent sample.

Self-employed women in the province were much more likely to work as boarding house keepers than their counterparts in the rest of the country, and women in the province who operated boarding houses were more likely to be married than women in the rest of Canada in 1901 (Table 5.5). However, these married women were also much more likely to be living without their spouses in British Columbia compared to Canada.<sup>115</sup> The data on the rates of married female household heads suggests a higher rate of marriage dissolution in the province compared to Canada at the beginning of the century, in an era before legal separation and divorce were readily available.<sup>116</sup>

Katie Wilson of Nanaimo, British Columbia, a 31-year-old boarding house keeper with two young children, lived without a spouse but reported herself as divorced in the 1901 census, an uncommon marital status at the beginning of the century. Her father, a coal miner, lived with her and they likely pooled their resources to keep the family afloat. 48-year-old Elizabeth Clarke of Nelson reported that she was married but, as with all married boarding house keepers in British Columbia captured by the sample

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<sup>115</sup>Farming was an exception in 1901: unlike boarding house keeping, female farmers were more prominent in Canada than in British Columbia and there were proportionately more female farmers in the country who were married and heading their households (23.2 percent in Canada, compared to 15.4 percent in British Columbia). It should, however, be stressed that there were very few female farmers in British Columbia in general in 1901 and the five percent sample of the 1901 census therefore captures an extremely small number; 23 females listed their occupation as “farmer” in the five percent sample. However, 13 of these did not state whether they were employees, employers or self-employed. Despite this, the information provided on these individual women gives a better sense of whether we can reasonably include them as self-employed. That is, it is easier to determine whether a female farmer can be considered as self-employed, even if she did not specifically state it to enumerators, by looking at other information such as whether she headed her household, and who else lived with her. 10 of the 13 who did not state that they were self-employed were native women: they were listed as farmers/hunters/fishermen, and very little information was recorded by the enumerator. I did not include them in my data on farmers because it seems clear that the enumerator misunderstood, or did not try to understand, the situations of these women –that they were listed as hunters/farmers/fishers, combined, indicates some confusion, and the other fields on the census form were not properly filled out for most of these women. I did include the other women who did not specifically state their employment status, because their marital statuses, ages, and other census information was provided. Ultimately 15 female farmers were included in the British Columbia data presented here. Of these, just two reported that they were married *and* that they headed their households.

<sup>116</sup>On the rarity of divorce in the early twentieth century, see James G. Snell, *In The Shadow of the Law: Divorce in Canada, 1900-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991).

of the 1901 census, her husband was not present. Besides her two daughters, Clarke had 11 lodgers and four servants living in her household; her operation was quite large compared to the many female-run boarding houses in British Columbia that contained just a few lodgers. 53-year-old Elizabeth Elliott, also of Nelson, ran a boarding house in 1901 that contained two lodgers and she too reported that she was married and head of the household; she was also a mother.

Both Katie Wilson and Elizabeth Elliott reported that they worked for themselves and that they headed their households. As with many farm families, the absence of a spouse meant that the responsibility for running the household became that of the wife or widow, even though in many cases family members – adult children, or parents – contributed to the family economy in important ways, with wages or with labour. Women who became entrepreneurs worked to support families, but their families also sometimes worked to support them.

For women in British Columbia and in the rest of Canada, rural and urban occupations with high rates of female self-employment also had high numbers of widowed, married and divorced women. And in female-headed families with children, the heads were extremely likely to be married, widowed or divorced. The marital status of boarding house keepers is therefore not coincidental; it is linked to their family status as mothers and as heads of households. In the case of a marriage ending in death, divorce, separation or abandonment, female boarding house keepers, like farmers, could continue to provide for dependent family members.

However, not all businesswomen had children living with them. A surprising number of boarding house keepers in the province – 66 percent – did not report any children in their household. As with farmers, this does not mean they did not have

children. Half of the female boarding house keepers were aged 45 or over in 1901 and it is conceivable that their children lived elsewhere. A 75-year-old widow ran one of the boarding houses in British Columbia in 1901 and at her age, any children she had would no longer have been dependent on her. She may have been partially dependent on them, but running her own business may have allowed her to retain some independence. That there were no children in a household is not an indication that a woman was not also a mother, although it reminds us that self-employed women were older, in many cases, than wage earners.

Boarding house keeping, like farming, clearly attracted women who were at later stages of their life cycle, although they were slightly younger than farmers. In 1921, boarding house keepers across Canada were most likely to be in the age bracket 35-49 while the most common age bracket for female farmers was 50 to 64. This makes sense; widows represented an older population and they were most common in farming, while boarding house keepers were often married, placing them in a slightly different stage in their life cycle, although in general, boarding house keepers were not young married women. A still considerable 13 percent of them were over age 65 and only one percent was 24 or younger. That farmers and boarding house keepers should be on average older than wage earners is not surprising. The 1921 census makes the link explicitly: "The fact that most boarding and lodging-house keepers are married or widowed accounts for the greater number in the older ages." In addition, the percentage of women reflected in older age periods "is considerably influenced by such classes as farmers, ...which

include a large number of married women or widows.”<sup>117</sup> The age of female workers was related to their marital status and their specific occupations.

This was still the case in later census years. In 1961, the average age listed in the census for employed women was 38 in British Columbia, and 36 in the rest of Canada; for female boarding house keepers the average age was 51 in British Columbia and 46 in Canada. This had hardly changed by 1971; the average age for women in the labour force was 36 in British Columbia and in Canada, while the average age of boarding house keepers were 49 in British Columbia, and 48 in Canada.<sup>118</sup>

The ages and marital patterns of female farmers and boarding house keepers reflect the general patterns of self-employed women noted in Chapter One. They also suggest that entrepreneurial occupations were attractive to women with families. However, determining whether these women chose self-employment *because* they were supporting family members is sometimes difficult. Entrepreneurs conceivably gravitated toward running their own businesses due to pull factors and push factors. Pull factors for female farmers and boarding house keepers could include being able to work from home because they had children to care for, or taking on already established family enterprises, such as farms, after the death of a spouse. In these cases, self-employment may have seemed a more attractive option than wage earning. Business ownership was also a way to maintain independence for women who did not wish to re-marry.

Other factors pushed some women toward business ownership: the lack of wage-earning opportunities for older women and for married women, and the death or desertion of a spouse, pushed women into entrepreneurship, particularly if they were the

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<sup>117</sup> *Census of Canada*, 1921, Volume 4, xl-xli.

<sup>118</sup> See Appendix 2.6 and 2.7 for information on average age in other occupations with high rates of self-employment, and for specific source information.

sole supporters of their families. For Deana Pike, the 40-year-old hotelkeeper in Cumberland, working in the home was a better option than waged work outside the home for someone who was without a male breadwinner but who had family members to support. Consequently, she ran a home-based hotel, according to the 1901 census. For farm women, other employment options in rural areas were extremely limited; running the family farm was one of the only alternatives after a spouse's death.<sup>119</sup>

Self-employment was an important occupational choice for women who were or who had been married, and it provided certain freedoms that were not available to them as employees. But it was not something that many women undertook *in place of* marriage or family, nor was it a form of employment to enter only *before* marrying. Female proprietors did not fit the prescribed pattern of the female labour force, that of young single women who worked before marriage. Female entrepreneurship was more closely tied to the family claim than wage-earning work was, and it is not readily apparent that the majority of female-owned businesses were closely tied to notions of personal autonomy. Self-employment should not be viewed as an opportunity to break out of feminine typed occupations, or even to pursue a larger financial gain. Rather, it provided women, who in many cases worked out of necessity, with the opportunity to work in the home, set their own hours of work, and manage children and households simultaneously. The familial situations of these women form an important part of the story of women's work in British Columbia. Their ages, families, and marriages are integral to understanding their employment options and their affinity for self-employment.

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<sup>119</sup> Even so, female farmers did, I suggest, choose self-employment over the few other options that existed: moving to an urban area to seek wage-earning work, or remarrying, for instance.

## Conclusion Reflections on the Business of Women

In 1994, Robin Fisher argued that historical writing about British Columbia, like the province itself, “still has a sense of the frontier about it.”<sup>1</sup> In the course of laying out the limitations of British Columbia historians, Fisher advised emergent students of the province’s history to move beyond piling up “new information about the past” and learn to “grapple vigorously with ideas.”<sup>2</sup> This thesis does not address all of Fisher’s suggestions.<sup>3</sup> But it is hoped that the study of female self-employment contributes more than just another layer on the pile of information that we have compiled about British Columbia – although arguably, uncovering the information remains a worthwhile endeavour when so much information is still unknown. The history of this province is still in many respects a frontier: it is not entirely understood and it is open to further exploration.<sup>4</sup> No one else has researched self-employed women in the province across a lengthy time period, for instance. It is still necessary to uncover aspects of British

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<sup>1</sup> Robin Fisher, “Matters for Reflection: *BC Studies* and British Columbia History,” *BC Studies* 100 (Winter 1993-1994): 64.

<sup>2</sup> Fisher, “Matters for Reflection,” 64.

<sup>3</sup> They are numerous. According to Fisher we should consider the impact of the environment on British Columbia’s history in more detail; we also should interrogate class, race, and gender in more detail. Fisher also points out that regions outside of metropolitan centres need far more academic attention. Some historians are beginning to do what he asks for although in other areas, perhaps his list is still worthy of consideration. His list is also just that – one historian’s opinion about what is worthy of study in the province, but he does provide “matters for reflection,” as the title of the article indicates. See Fisher, “Matters for Reflection.”

<sup>4</sup> I acknowledge that the concept of the “frontier” as an undiscovered wilderness is only really applicable to white settlement; first nations people had been living in, “discovering,” and understanding the land that we now call British Columbia for centuries and their presence here is not always acknowledged in discussions of the frontier which assume that white colonizers were the first to “discover” this region. I speak here of frontier as a metaphorical open space, or, as Jean Barman has articulated, as a site of encounter where “persons willing to take a chance on the unknown had a greater possibility to achieve their goals.” See Jean Barman, *Constance Lindsay Skinner: Writing on the Frontier* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 10. The idea of the frontier as unknown or open space can be aptly used to describe how little we know about the history of this place. Despite the potential in such metaphors it must also be stated that “frontier” connotes boundaries and occupation, as the effect of white settlement on first nations people has historically indicated.

Columbia's history and furthermore, to compare what we uncover to what is known about other regions of the country.

As Fisher notes, British Columbia historians should be thinking about getting into the twentieth century,<sup>5</sup> and this thesis is distinctively and quite literally "post-colonial." It is important to get beyond the province's formative years and address twentieth-century British Columbia, without discounting the influences of colonial demographics on the province's evolution. Fisher also complained that we have avoided taking a "broad view" of the province by examining "tiny fragments of the past through a microscope. The narrower the focus, of course, the bigger the gaps that remain."<sup>6</sup> While he was not advocating more data collection, he wants us to spend more time thinking about the general issues raised by the province's history.<sup>7</sup> This thesis demonstrates general trends by looking at long-term patterns in women's self-employment from 1901 to 1971.

One of the more general "issues" considered here is how the province's frontier history has continued to influence white women's participation in the labour force generally and in self-employment particularly. Vestiges of the province's early demographics such as a high ratio of white men to white women (and in turn, women's specific opportunities to commercialize on traditional sex roles in early British Columbia) continued to affect the nature of female self-employment long after the ratios evened out. Remnants of British Columbia's frontier-like beginnings have undoubtedly influenced other developments, and more studies that examine patterns over a broad

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<sup>5</sup> Fisher, "Matters for Reflection," 63.

<sup>6</sup> Fisher, "Matters for Reflection," 76.

<sup>7</sup> Rather, he stated that we need to "devote less energy to dry details and empirical compilation." Fisher, "Matters for Reflection," 77.

period of time might help to fill other “gaps” in our perspective on British Columbia’s history.

Finally, Fisher avers that British Columbia is “not simply a replica of other places: it is unique and special. And it is that uniqueness that British Columbia’s historians should be concerned to define.”<sup>8</sup> This thesis grapples specifically and extensively with women’s labour force and marital patterns, principally in the arena of self-employment, in the province. Proportionately more women were married, *and* more women were self-employed, in British Columbia than in the rest of Canada. The female population’s involvement in self-employment was significant and deserves specific study because it uncovers another aspect of women’s distinctive experiences in the province. John Douglas Belshaw, in his appeal for more demographic histories of British Columbia, suggests that women’s experiences “as entrepreneurs, as land-owners, and as political players was greater than non-demographically-minded histories have suggested.”<sup>9</sup> Belshaw notes a “proportionately smaller female population exercised a variety of options in tailoring their British Columbian life-course.”<sup>10</sup> My work demonstrates that the female population did exercise options that were not exercised in quite the same way in the rest of the country.

Historians of women and work have looked at waged and non-waged women's work, but entrepreneurs have rarely been singled out for attention. Scholars need to differentiate between types of work and ought to consider female self-employment more carefully. Self-employed women’s participation in the labour force has been hidden

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<sup>8</sup> Fisher, “Matters for Reflection,” 76.

<sup>9</sup> John Douglas Belshaw, “The West We Have Lost: British Columbia’s Demographic Past and an Agenda for Population History,” *Western Historical Quarterly* 29 (Spring 1988): 41.

<sup>10</sup> Belshaw, “The West We Have Lost,” 42.

historically because there were relatively few entrepreneurial women in the labour force. This does not make them less worthy of study. That there were real and perceived barriers to female employment in general and self-employment in particular makes the small number who became businesswomen all the more interesting. As Chad Gaffield has noted about the discipline of history, we can learn something about whole societies “by looking at an admittedly partial experience. Such work illustrates the value of examining in detail the unusual rather than dismissing it as marginal, as statistical noise.”<sup>11</sup>

Moreover, self-employed women were different: gender alone cannot unify all working women’s experiences, and self-employed women were not the same as their wage-earning counterparts. Making extensive use of census data, this study formulates important connections between women’s marital patterns, ages, families, and the labour force options open to them as a result of these variables. Self-employed women in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada were older, more likely to have children, and more likely to be married or once-married than were wage-earning women.

Scholars in labour, business, or women’s history have not adequately explored these differences. Business historians have focused on male-dominated corporations or individual businessmen without addressing women’s role in business ownership. Labour historians have focused on wage earners or on women as contributors to the family economy. That the latter can be considered as self-employed, and further, that self-employed women deserve particular attention is not something that labour – and family – historians have fully explored. Understanding women who operated small

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<sup>11</sup> Chad Gaffield, “Historical Thinking, C.P. Snow’s Two Cultures, and a Hope for the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of the CHA*, New Series 12 (2001): 20-21.

home-based businesses, selling eggs at their back doors or taking in boarders, as entrepreneurs allows for a reconceptualization of the nature of women's work, and of the nature of gender and business. Differentiating between types of work that women did in the home and recognizing entrepreneurship, even on a small scale, is an important new direction for labour *and* women's history; women's historians have also focused on the female labour force without separating self-employed from wage-earning women.

While this study illuminates differences between self-employed and wage-earning women, it also acknowledges that much like women's wage-earning opportunities, their self-employment in British Columbia and elsewhere was limited to a small number of occupational groups. Female entrepreneurs have not been examined separately from employees in part because the types of work open to them were similar: they often found themselves in feminine-typed occupations such as cooking, cleaning, and sewing. Women operating boarding houses, hair salons, restaurants, and retail operations involving laundry or women's and children's clothing, for instance, were perceived to be doing "women's work."

Just by working for themselves, entrepreneurial women entered a world highly gendered as male: the language of success, of capitalism, and of business was masculine. Even those who were not remarkable or exceptional in terms of the type of business they operated followed a path that was not considered, suggested, or encouraged, for women. They were unconventional in terms of their minority status, but that has also meant they have remained hidden. When their work was home-based, feminine, and family-oriented, they were even harder to "see" as businesspeople. That they operated their own businesses but were not often referred to as entrepreneurs indicates that our definitions

of businesses and businesspeople, commonly expressed as male success stories, need widening.

Businesswomen were literally surrounded by men. This was true of self-employed women operating feminine businesses who, despite their female clients, were vastly outnumbered as entrepreneurs in a general sense, by self-employed men. But women who ran businesses in male-dominated fields were an even more pronounced minority. This is another distinctive aspect of female self-employment: despite a still-strong association with feminine industries, entrepreneurial women were more likely to work in male-dominated occupations than were wage-earning women. Therefore some businesswomen challenged woman's place doubly, by being in business at all *and* by running businesses that were normally run by men.

Even these women were often hidden from view: rarely were they overtly described as self-made women and captains of industry. The ways in which businesswomen were defined by others, and defined themselves, provide some explanation of how their businesses were catalogued and understood in what were male-dominated work worlds. While census data helps to pull them into view and can highlight similarities and differences between self-employed women and other working men and women, it cannot illustrate how they made sense of their entrepreneurial status. The records of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs of British Columbia demonstrate more fulsomely how businesswomen described their entrepreneurship and how they compared themselves to other women and men in the labour force. Women relied on feminine imagery and ideas about what constituted feminine work to explain their presence in the business world. They did this in five ways: by working in 'feminine' industries; by emphasizing the trappings of femininity such as appearance

and respectability, particularly when they were not operating feminine enterprises; by invoking the language of family responsibility to justify their endeavours; by working out of the home; and by continuing the businesses of their fathers or husbands. These elements of female self-employment are not expressed in census data, but they are better understood through an examination of the clubwomen's experiences in the province.

In 1997, Katherine Gay noted that women's aspirations in the labour force generally "are still constrained by a limited range of job opportunities," that their "obligation to family frequently interrupts and compromises careers," and that many women "can't or won't" separate their business lives from their personal lives.<sup>12</sup> Rather than see these constraints as limitations to entrepreneurial success, Gay proclaimed that

in entrepreneurialism, they [women] have found a place in the world where, baby, it just doesn't get better than this. After all, their alternative is to work in a hierarchy determined by men and supported by women, with less freedom and authority and a smaller chance of reward....An entrepreneurial career is a harbour from many of the external storms of being female. It offers the purest form of pay-for-performance possible, without the filters of bureaucracy and bias.<sup>13</sup>

This, of course, was not the whole story for women at the end of the twentieth century, nor was self-employment this liberating in 1901. Gay also admits that female self-employment is a "new and unfamiliar road, darkened by family obligations, absent business networks, a society reluctant to give its full endorsement, good old fashioned fear, and few visible examples to follow."<sup>14</sup>

Some of the possibilities *and* limitations inherent in female self-employment in 1901 were still present at the end of the century, as Gay's commentary indicates. Yet,

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<sup>12</sup> Katherine Gay, *In The Company of Women: Canadian Women Talk About What It Takes To Start and Manage A Successful Business* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1997), 14.

<sup>13</sup> Gay, *In The Company of Women*, 15.

<sup>14</sup> Gay, *In The Company of Women*, 15.

like other more contemporary observers, she mistakenly assumes that female self-employment is relatively recent, a “new and unfamiliar” road for women. Although recent Canadian statistics indicate that female entrepreneurship has increased rapidly since 1971, it was more prominent in 1901 than in 1971. Despite recent growth, female entrepreneurship is not new. And while it may be viewed in some respects as a “harbour” from the male-dominated pressures of the rest of the labour force, many women have only taken refuge there because they had no other choice at the time. Moreover, the harbour was still male-dominated. Women have always been a minority within the arena of entrepreneurship. The ways in which women’s labour force aspirations were “constrained” in the 1990s (and are still constrained in 2003) were also present in 1901, for self-employed *and* wage-earning women.

While self-employment did not necessarily provide a safe harbour between 1901 and 1971, female entrepreneurs coped with a limited range of employment possibilities by opening businesses in areas that capitalized on their feminine attributes. If they operated more masculine businesses, which some also did, they stressed the ways in which they remained feminine to escape censure. In addition, economic need often dictated women’s entrepreneurial decisions: rather than actively choosing self-employment because they sought personal and financial success, many entered self-employment because they needed to feed their families and could not find wage-earning work, due to their location, age, or marital status. Sometimes continuing to operate a family farm or taking in boarders was the best choice out of a not-very-promising set of options. “My husband left and it’s what I know how to do,” a British Columbia cattle rancher explained in a 1991 survey, a comment that could as easily have been made in

1901. But she added, “as well, I love it.”<sup>15</sup> Economic need did not mean that women did not also have other reasons for running businesses, and this was the case at the beginning of the century as well as at the end of it.

Family considerations and limited access to a wider range of employment possibilities help to explain why women turned to self-employment between 1901 and 1971, just as they help to explain women’s business decisions in the 1990s. But the interconnected factors of marital status, age, and the family claim also clarify the nature of female self-employment. The study of these variables in one province demonstrates the importance of differentiating between different groups of women in the labour force and the importance of comparative studies.

Further study is surely required to tease out how much difference regionalism makes to female entrepreneurship in other parts of Canada, just as further study of individual entrepreneurial women in British Columbia is a logical next step. The ways in which British Columbia differs from the rest of Canada can only be understood if researchers situate the province within broader contexts, just as the ways in which entrepreneurial women are distinctive can only be illuminated through comparison with other working men and women. I hope that other scholars can use this study as a beginning point for additional forays into female self-employment, to flesh out the histories of individual enterprising women or to better understand female self-employment in other regions of the country. The ways in which self-employed women understood their roles within the gendered world of “business” may also provide further insight into other aspects of female *and* male entrepreneurship in twentieth-century Canadian history.

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<sup>15</sup> “Women in Business: Profile of Women Business Owners in British Columbia” (Province of British Columbia: Businesswomen’s Advocate, 1991), 10.

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APPENDICES

Appendix to Chapter One

(note: data is provided for Males and Females, British Columbia and Canada, 1901-1971)

1.1: Marital Status, Adults and Gainfully Employed Adults	351
1.2: Labour Force Population	354
1.3: Employment Status	355
1.4: Gainfully Employed and Self-Employed Adults, by Sex	356
1.5: Employment Status by Marital Status: 1901 and 1971	358

Appendix to Chapter Two

(note: 1911 is not included here because a detailed breakdown of data according to employment status was not available in the published census of 1911)

2.1: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1901	359
2.2: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1921	363
2.3: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1931	367
2.4: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1941	371
2.5: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1951	375
2.6: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1961	379
2.7: Employment Status and Marital Status: Selected Occupations, British Columbia and Canada, Males and Females: 1971	384

Appendix to Chapter Three

3.1: 1931 and 1948 Membership Lists, Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club	388
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Marital Status, Adults and Gainfully Employed Adults, By Sex: Number and Percent, British Columbia, 1901-1971.														
BRITISH COLUMBIA:		MARITAL STATUS: Number						MARITAL STATUS: Percent						
	1901	Total/All Status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid/Div.	Not Stated	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid/Div.	Not Stated
Male: Total Adults (10 & over)	4361		2491	1764	98	8	106	0	57.1	40.5	2.3	0.2	2.4	0
Male: Gainfully Employed (10 & over)	3540		1942	1527	64	7	71	0	54.9	43.1	1.8	0.2	2	0
Female: Total Adults (10 & over)	2107		714	1249	139	5	144	0	33.9	59.3	6.6	0.2	6.8	0
Female: Gainfully Employed(10 & over)	248		149	61	34	4	38	0	60.1	24.6	13.7	1.6	15.3	0
<b>1921</b>														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	218272		84492	125656	7118	547	7665	459	38.7	57.6	3.3	0.3	3.5	0.2
Male: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	n/a													
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	156986		40014	103431	12846	483	13329	212	25.5	65.9	8.2	0.3	8.5	0.1
Female: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	25408		19612	2891			2899	6	77.2	11.4			11.4	0
<b>1931</b>														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	297450		118125	163620	10604	921	11525	4180	39.7	55.0	3.6	0.3	3.9	1.4
Male: Gainfully Employed (10 & over)	262515		96565	154395			8315	3240	36.8	58.8			3.2	1.2
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	224352		64322	139575	19686	731	20417	38	28.7	62.2	8.8	0.3	9.1	0
Female: Gainfully Employed(10 & over)	43748		33486	5938			4316	8	76.5	13.6			9.9	0
<b>1941</b>														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	346364		126538	200027	13979	5760	19739	60	36.5	57.8	4	1.7	5.7	0
Male: Gainfully Employed (14 & over)	258723		80096	166569	7658	4375	12033	25	31	64.4	3	1.7	4.7	0
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	296364		78598	181932	29235	6596	35831	3	26.5	61.4	9.9	2.2	12.1	0
Female: Gainfully Employed(14 & over)	55131		41298	6221	4691	2921	7612	0	74.9	11.3	8.5	5.3	13.8	0
<b>1951</b>														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	441951		123748	297452	17502	3249	20751	0	28	67.3	4	0.7	4.7	0
Male: Gainfully Employed (14 & over)	346374		87446	250267	5993	2668	8661	0	25.3	72.3	1.7	0.8	2.5	0
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	418872		80533	289321	44637	4381	49018	0	19.2	69.1	10.7	1.1	11.7	0
Female: Gainfully Employed(14 & over)	97978		48797	38519	7660	3002	10662	0	49.8	39.3	7.8	3.1	10.9	0
<b>1961</b>														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	569041		153212	390024	20690	5115	25805	0	26.9	68.5	3.6	0.9	4.5	0
Male: Gainfully Employed (15 & over)	421786		91659	321220	5223	3684	8907	0	21.7	76.2	1.2	0.9	2.1	0
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	550898		97757	384937	61761	6443	68204	0	17.8	69.9	11.2	1.2	12.4	0
Female: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	155862		49627	89723	12036	4476	16512	0	31.8	57.6	7.7	2.9	10.6	0
<b>1971</b>														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	789070		229650	523045	20620	15755	36375	0	29.1	66.3	2.6	2	4.6	0
Male: Gainfully Employed (15 & over)	602335		147005	435850			19475	0	24.4	72.4			3.2	0
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	785575		163810	519475	82855	19430	102285	0	20.9	66.1	10.6	2.5	13	0
Female: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	307755		86820	189835			31100	0	28.2	61.7			10.1	0

Marital Status, Adults and Gainfully Employed Adults, By Sex: Number and Percent, Canada, 1901-1971.														
CANADA														
	MARITAL STATUS: Number							MARITAL STATUS: Percent						
1901	Total/All Status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid/Div.	Not stated	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid/Div.	Not stated	
Male: Total Adults (10 & over)	99777	51973	44306	3463	35	3498	0	52.1	44.4	3.5	0	3.5	0	
Male: Gainfully Employed (10 & over)	57919	20815	35096	1985	23	2008	0	35.9	60.6	3.4	0	3.5	0	
Female: Total Adults (10 & over)	96400	45421	43618	7509	32	7541	0	47.1	45.3	7.8	0	7.8	0	
Female: Gainfully Employed(10 & over)	12261	9621	1143	1481	16	1497	0	78.5	9.3	12.1	0.1	12.2	0	
1921														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	2788204	1090793	1572739	112590	3123	115713	8959	39.1	56.4	4	0.1	4.2	0.3	
Male: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	n/a													
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	2605461	842779	1528290	223676	3248	226924	7468	32.4	58.7	8.6	0.1	8.7	0.3	
Female: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	459732	378271	32311			49057	93	82.3	7			10.7	0	
1931														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	3415771	1401719	1869071	138247	3127	141374	3607	41	54.7	4.1	0.1	4.1	0.1	
Male: Gainfully Employed (10 & over)	2998856	1140174	1761791			93548	3343	38	58.8			3.1	0.1	
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	3154227	1084655	1797883	268844	2661	271505	184	34.4	57	8.5	0.1	8.6	0	
Female: Gainfully Employed(10 & over)	622111	504171	60860			57019	61	81	9.8			9.2	0	
1941														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	4281237	1703528	2363528	170743	42770	213513	668	39.8	55.2	4	1	5	0	
Male: Gainfully Employed (14 & over)	3104388	1081952	1900668	91807	30460	121547	221	34.9	61.2	3	1	3.9	0	
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	4026867	1328489	2292478	354378	51399	405777	123	33	56.9	8.8	1.3	10.1	0	
Female: Gainfully Employed(14 & over)	777709	624325	79412	52273	21661	73934	38	80.3	10.2	6.7	2.8	9.5	0	
1951														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	4478864	1455603	2844302	169093	9866	178959	0	32.5	63.5	3.8	0.2	4	0	
Male: Gainfully Employed (14 & over)	3775458	1116852	2573890	76287	8429	84716	0	29.6	68.2	2	0.2	2.2	0	
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	4419025	1161904	2830503	412116	14502	426618	0	26.3	64.1	9.3	0.3	9.7	0	
Female: Gainfully Employed(14 & over)	1066343	674636	310442	71012	10253	81265	0	63.3	29.1	6.7	1	7.6	0	
1961														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	5483761	1658261	3629701	178817	16982	195799	0	30.2	66.2	3.3	0.3	3.6	0	
Male: Gainfully Employed (15 & over)	4283732	1040006	3166121	63965	13640	77605	0	24.3	73.9	1.5	0.3	1.8	0	
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	5442625	1281976	3619642	516955	24052	541007	0	23.6	66.5	9.5	0.4	9.9	0	
Female: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	1610470	697640	789418	105556	17856	123412	0	43.3	49	6.6	1.1	7.7	0	
1971														
Male: Total Adults(15 & over)	6742820	2147995	4365715	170505	58600	229105	0	31.9	64.8	2.5	0.9	3.4	0	
Male: Gainfully Employed (15 & over)	5063380	1292250	3662240			108900	0	25.5	72.3			2.2	0	
Female: Total Adults (15 & over)	6869950	1749215	4369370	670040	81330	751370	0	25.5	63.6	9.8	1.2	10.9	0	
Female: Gainfully Employed(15 & over)	2653445	871965	1585970			195525	0	32.9	59.8			7.4	0	

**Appendix 1.1, Notes:**

in some of the published census data the marital category of "not stated" is included as a separate category; in other years the "not stated" are either not included or they are spread out evenly across other marital categories. When the published data does not list "N/S" I have entered a "0".

Where possible, widowed and divorced persons have been listed separately.

In 1901 persons who described themselves as "Separated" were listed with the "Married."

In 1921 and 1941 the legally separated were listed separately in some tables but in other cases they were listed with the Divorced as they have been in this table

In 1931, 1941, 1961 and 1971, the "Legally Separated" were listed with the "Married" in all published census data. Thus the data for the "Divorced" in 1921 and 1941 may appear higher than in other years, while the figures for "Married" in 1921 and 1941 may seem slightly lower than in other years.

The definition of an "adult" population shifted over the years, as the table demonstrates, from ages 10 and over to ages 15 and over.

**Appendix 1.1, Source information:**

1901: Canadian Families Project, 5 percent public use sample of the 1901 *Census of Canada*

1911: Data was unavailable

1921: *Census of Canada*, Volume 1, 1931, Table 17B; Volume 2, 1921, Table 24; Volume 7, 1931, Tables 26 and 27

1931: *Census of Canada*, Volume 7, 1931, Tables 25-29 and Table 55; Volume 1, 1931, Table 17B

1941: *Census of Canada*, Volume 1, 1941, Tables 20 and 63; Volume 7, 1941, Table 5; Volume 3, 1941, Table 7

1951: *Census of Canada*, Volume 2, 1951, Tables 1 and 2; Volume 4, 1951, Table 11

1961: *Census of Canada*, Labour Force Series 3.1, 1961, Catalogue 94-509; 94-512 (Table 17); Catalogue 94-514 (Table 20)

British Columbia see: Series SL, Catalogue 94-551 (Table 1). See also Volume 7, 1961, Part 1, General Review: Catalogue 99-515 (Table 3)

1971: *Census of Canada*, Volume 3, Part 2, 1971, Catalogue 94-723 (Table 8) and Catalogue 94-726 (Table 8); Volume 1, Part 4, 1971, Catalogue 92-730 (Tables 1 and 2)

Number and Percent of Adult Population, According to Sex, in Gainful Occupations: British Columbia and Canada: 1901-1971						
	1901			1941		
	Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed		Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed	
British Columbia:	n.	n.	%	British Columbia:	n.	%
Male	4354	3621	83.2	Male	352534	258723 73.4
Female	2111	254	12	Female	302406	55131 18.2
Canada:				Canada:		
Male	99424	73980	74.4	Male	4032299	3104388 77
Female	96434	13959	14.5	Female	3827638	777709 20.3
	1911			1951		
	Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed		Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed	
British Columbia:	n.	n.	%	British Columbia:	n.	%
Male	220801	189482	85.8	Male	449209	346374 77.1
Female	110743	16627	15	Female	425950	97978 23
Canada:				Canada:		
Male	2815689	2169331	77	Male	4567121	3775458 82.7
Female	2508664	348194	13.9	Female	4507457	1066343 23.7
	1921			1961		
	Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed		Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed	
British Columbia:	n.	n.	%	British Columbia:	n.	%
Male	241063	194214	80.6	Male	569041	421786 74.1
Female	179488	25513	14.2	Female	550898	155862 28.3
Canada:				Canada:		
Male	3220175	2488805	77.3	Male	5483761	4283732 78.1
Female	3030510	464637	15.3	Female	5442625	1610470 29.6
	1931			1971		
	Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed		Total Adult Pop.	Gainfully Employed	
British Columbia:	n.	n.	%	British Columbia:	n.	%
Male	328983	262515	79.8	Male	789070	602335 76.3
Female	254152	43748	17.2	Female	785575	307755 39.2
Canada:				Canada:		
Male	3923554	2998856	76.4	Male	6742820	5063380 75.1
Female	3652370	622111	17	Female	6869950	2653455 38.6
<b>Appendix 1.2, Notes:</b>						
Adult Population is defined as ages 10 and over, 1901-1931; 14 and over in 1941 and 1951; 15 and over in 1961 and 1971.						
In the data for 1901, the gainfully employed figures include all adults who stated that they were employed, even if they did not state their relationship to the means of production (i.e. whether they were employers, self-employed or wage-earners).						
Canada totals do not include the figures for British Columbia.						
Figures for the "Gainfully Employed" in 1941 exclude those on Active Service.						
Figures for 1961 and 1971 include the Yukon and Northwest Territories.						
<b>Appendix 1.2, Source information:</b>						
1901: Data is from the Canadian Families Project 5 percent national public use sample, 1901 <i>Census of Canada</i>						
1911: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 3, 1941, Table 1 and Volume 4, 1951, Table 1. Due to inconsistent data the adult population is an addition of ages 10-14 with ages 14 and over, from two different census tables. This data is not presented in the published 1911 census but is found in later comparative "historical statistics" in 1941 and 1951						
1921: <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1931, Volume 7, Table 1						
1931: <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1931, Volume 1, Table 82 and Volume 7, Table 40						
1941: <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1941, Volume 1, Table 58						
1951: <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1951, Volume 4, Table 1						
1961: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Series 3.1, Catalogue 94-514, Table 20 and Volume 7, Part 1, Catalogue 99-522, Table XXIV						
1971: <i>Census of Canada, 1971</i> , Volume 1, Part 4, Catalogue 92-730, Tables 1 and 2						

Number and Percent of Gainfully Employed Adults by Sex and Employment Status: British Columbia, 1901, 1931-1971											
		Total Employed:		Employer:		Own Account:		Wage Earner:		No Pay:	
British Columbia		n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
1901	Male	3540	100.0	184	5.2	769	21.7	2587	73.1	n/a	n/a
	Female	248	100.0	9	3.6	59	23.8	180	72.6	n/a	n/a
1931	Male	262515	100.0	15629	6.0	43140	16.4	198448	75.6	5298	2
	Female	43748	100.0	882	2.0	4703	10.8	36618	83.7	1545	3.5
1941	Male	258723	100.0	9054	3.5	51624	20.0	192917	74.6	5128	2
	Female	55131	100.0	654	1.2	5446	9.9	46223	83.8	2808	5.1
1951	Male	346374	100.0	16579	4.8	45124	13	283300	81.8	1371	0.4
	Female	97978	100.0	1150	1.2	5322	5.4	90031	91.9	1475	1.5
1961	Male	421786	100.0	see notes		61807	14.7	358424	85.0	1555	0.4
	Female	155862	100.0	see notes		9854	6.3	141632	90.9	4376	2.8
1971	Male	602335	100.0	see notes		48010	8.0	549920	91.3	4405	0.7
	Female	307755	100.0	see notes		9660	3.1	278835	90.6	19260	6.3
Number and Percent of Gainfully Employed Adults by Sex and Employment Status: Canada, 1901, 1931-1971											
		Total Employed:		Employer:		Own Account:		Wage Earner:		No Pay:	
Canada		n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
1901	Male	57919	100.0	5518	9.5	18094	31.2	34307	59.2	n/a	n/a
	Female	12261	100.0	405	3.3	1990	16.2	9866	80.5	n/a	n/a
1931	Male	2998856	100.0	372257	12.4	506581	16.9	1823812	60.8	296206	9.9
	Female	622111	100.0	18024	2.9	50078	8.1	511219	82.2	42790	6.9
1941	Male	3104388	100.0	228121	7.4	678671	21.9	1924440	62	273156	8.8
	Female	777709	100.0	8910	1.2	53726	6.9	653218	84	61855	8
1951	Male	3775458	100.0	202507	5.4	710077	18.8	2728022	72.3	134852	3.6
	Female	1066343	100.0	9402	0.9	40848	3.8	983798	92.3	32295	3
1961	Male	4283732	100.0	see notes		784660	18.3	3423096	79.9	75976	1.8
	Female	1610470	100.0	see notes		84167	5.2	1443825	89.7	82478	5.1
1971	Male	5063380	100.0	see notes		538120	10.6	4455465	88	69800	1.4
	Female	2653445	100.0	see notes		73050	2.8	2390305	90.1	190090	7.2
<b>Appendix 1.3, Notes:</b>											
The term 'own account' means 'self-employed.' It was used in the published census in the early decades											
of the twentieth century but by 1961 the term "self-employed" was more commonly used.											
Data on employment status is not available for 1911 and 1921 in the published census.											
"Adult" is defined as 10 years and older in 1901 and 1931; 14 years and older, 1941 and 1951; 15 years and older,											
1961 and 1971.											
In 1961 and 1971, "Employer and "Own Account" workers were not listed separately; on these tables, the Employers											
in 1961 and 1971 are therefore listed with the "Own Account" workers.											
In 1961 and 1971, the total figures for "Canada" include the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. In all cases, the data											
for "Canada" excludes the British Columbia figures											
<b>Appendix 1.3, Source information:</b>											
1901: Canadian Families Project 5 percent national sample of the 1901 <i>Census of Canada</i> . Note: In these tables the											
"Total Employed" for 1901 includes only adults who declared that they were either Employers, on Own Account, or											
Wage Earners. It does not include those who said they were employed but who did not report their employment status.											
This differs from Appendix 1.2 in which all who stated they were 'employed' were included in the total											
gainfully employed.											
1931: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 7, 1931, Table 21											
1941: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 7, 1941, Table 5											
1951: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 4, 1951, Table 11											
1961: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Catalogue 94-514, Series 3.1: Labour Force, Table 20											
1971: <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 3, Part 2, 1971, Catalogue 94-723, Table 8 and Catalogue 94-726, Table 8											



**Appendix 1.4, Notes:**

In all cases, BC Figures have been removed from Canada Totals

\* Excluding Active Service

Adult =ages 10 & over, 1901-1931; ages 14 & over, 1941-1951; ages 15 & over, 1961-71.

(x): Data is from the Canadian Families Project National 5 percent sample of the 1901 census.

\*\* Where marked, data for 1921 is estimated based on occupations that have high self-employment.

\*\*\*Self-employed includes both self-employed and employers in this data, i.e., those with and without paid help.

**Appendix 1.4, Source information:**

1901: Data is from the Canadian Families Project 5 percent public use sample of the 1901 *Census of Canada*

Data from 1911-1971 is from the same sources as those used in Appendix 1.2 and 1.3.

Gainfully Employed Adults, by Employment Status and Marital Status, by Sex: British Columbia and Canada, Number and Percent: 1901 and 1971															
BC:		Marital Status: Number							Marital Status: Percent						
1901	Females	Total All Status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid./Div.	Separated	Total All Status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid./Div.	Separated
	Total Gainfully Employed	248	149	61	34	4	38	0	100.0	60.1	24.6	13.7	1.6	15.3	0.0
	Self-Employed	68	18	27	20	3	23	0	100.0	26.5	39.7	29.4	4.4	33.8	0.0
1971	Wage Earners	180	131	34	14	1	15	0	100.0	72.8	18.9	7.8	0.6	8.3	0.0
	Total Gainfully Employed	3896	1029	2318	231	148	379	170	100.0	26.4	59.5	5.9	3.8	9.7	4.4
	Self-Employed	27	8	15	1	2	3	1	100.0	29.6	55.6	3.7	7.4	11.1	3.7
	Wage Earners	3636	993	2103	227	145	372	168	100.0	27.3	57.8	6.2	4.0	10.2	4.6
Canada:	Unpaid Fam. Worker	233	28	200	3	1	4	1	100.0	12.0	85.8	1.3	0.4	1.7	0.4
1901	Females														
	Total Gainfully Employed	12261	9621	1143	1481	16	1497	0	100.0	78.5	9.3	12.1	0.1	12.2	0.0
	Self-Employed	2395	929	590	873	3	876	0	100.0	38.8	24.6	36.5	0.1	36.6	0.0
1971	Wage Earners	9866	8692	553	608	13	621	0	100.0	88.1	5.6	6.2	0.1	6.3	0.0
	Total Gainfully Employed	33205	10445	19167	1748	679	2427	1166	100.0	31.5	57.7	5.3	2.0	7.3	3.5
	Self-Employed	243	33	142	44	11	55	13	100.0	13.6	58.4	18.1	4.5	22.6	5.4
	Wage Earners	30358	9955	16924	1676	665	2341	1138	100.0	32.8	55.8	5.5	2.2	7.7	3.8
	Unpaid Fam. Worker	2604	457	2101	28	3	31	15	100.0	17.6	80.7	1.1	0.1	1.2	0.6
BC:			Marital Status: Number						Marital Status: Percent						
1901	Males	Total All Status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid./Div.	Separated	Total All Status	Single	Married	Widowed	Divorced	Wid./Div.	Separated
	Total Gainfully Employed	3540	1942	1527	64	7	71	0	100.0	54.9	43.1	1.8	0.2	2.0	0.0
	Self-Employed	953	418	500	30	5	35	0	100.0	43.9	52.5	3.2	0.5	3.7	0.0
1971	Wage Earners	2587	1524	1027	34	2	36	0	100.0	58.9	39.7	1.3	0.1	1.4	0.0
	Total Gainfully Employed	6468	1675	4393	81	120	201	199	100.0	25.9	67.9	1.3	1.9	3.1	3.1
	Self-Employed	189	14	164	4	2	6	5	100.0	7.4	86.8	2.1	1.1	3.2	2.7
	Wage Earners	6230	1613	4229	77	118	188	193	100.0	25.9	67.9	1.2	1.9	3.1	3.1
Canada:	Unpaid Fam. Worker	49	48	0	0	0	0	1	100.0	98.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.0
1901	Males														
	Total Gainfully Employed	57919	20815	35096	1985	23	2008	0	100.0	35.9	60.6	3.4	0.0	3.5	0.0
	Self-Employed	23612	4091	18469	1043	9	1052	0	100.0	17.3	78.2	4.4	0.0	4.5	0.0
1971	Wage Earners	34307	16724	16627	942	14	956	0	100.0	48.8	48.5	2.8	0.0	2.8	0.0
	Total Gainfully Employed	55061	14821	37754	719	545	1264	1222	100.0	26.9	68.6	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.2
	Self-Employed	1807	127	1594	34	16	50	36	100.0	7	88.2	1.9	0.9	2.8	2.0
	Wage Earners	52530	14004	36143	675	526	1201	1182	100.0	26.7	68.8	1.3	1.0	2.3	2.3
	Unpaid Fam. Worker	724	690	17	10	3	13	4	100.0	95.3	2.4	1.4	0.4	1.8	0.6
Appendix 1.5, Notes:															
Adults=10 and over in 1901; 15 and over in 1971.		Canada Totals do not include BC Figures						Self-employed includes employers				Wid./Div. = widowed and divorced			
Data, above, is from a 3 percent public use sample of the 1971 Census of Canada (available from Statistics Canada) and the Canadian Families Project 5 percent national sample of the 1901 census. Data for 1971 will therefore be different than that from the published figures for 1971, used in other tables.															
In 1901, "Separated" women were not often identified; when they were, the published census reported them as Married.															
Using the 1901 data base, "Separated" is not an available variable. In addition, the "unpaid family worker" was not included as part of the gainfully employed in the 1901 data; they appeared as "Not applicable", i.e. not "Gainfully" employed, and therefore were not included in the cross-tabulation. For 1901 Data: the "total gainfully employed" includes only those who stated their relationship to the means of production, i.e. whether they were employers, self-employed or wage earners.															
For 1971 Data: The self-employed includes only the unincorporated self-employed. The self-employed who were incorporated are listed with the wage-earners, following the same pattern as that used by the published data for 1971.															

1901													
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *													
1901: British Columbia													
OCCUPATION:	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)		
		E.	O.A.	W.E.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	E.	O.A.	W.E.
<b>"Agriculture":</b>													
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	12	1	10	1	8.33	83.33	8.33	0	3	9	0.00	25.00	75.00
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	4	0	1	3	0.00	25.00	75.00	2	1	1	50.00	25.00	25.00
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>													
Bakers***	1	0	1	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	0	1	0	0.00	200.00	0.00
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	28	2	13	13	7.14	46.43	46.43	15	8	5	53.57	28.57	17.86
Milliners	4	1	0	3	25.00	0.00	75.00	4	0	0	100.00	0.00	0.00
<b>"Trade":</b>													
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	1	0	1	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	0	1	0	0.00	100.00	0.00
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>													
Real Estate agents/dealers	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>													
Author/journalist/editors	1	0	1	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	0	0	1	0.00	0.00	100.00
Health professional & Nurses-Graduate	19	0	0	19	0.00	0.00	100.00	11	3	5	57.89	15.79	26.32
Musicians, music teachers	4	0	1	3	0.00	25.00	75.00	2	0	2	50.00	0.00	50.00
<b>"Personal Service":</b>													
Hotelkeepers & Managers	4	0	4	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	0	3	1	0.00	75.00	25.00
Boarding, lodging house keepers	12	0	12	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	3	4	5	25.00	33.33	41.67
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	2	0	2	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	0	2	0	0.00	100.00	0.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	1	0	1	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	1	0	0	100.00	0.00	0.00
Laundresses	11	0	4	7	0.00	36.36	63.64	7	3	1	63.64	27.27	9.09
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>104</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>3.85</b>	<b>49.04</b>	<b>47.12</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>43.27</b>	<b>27.88</b>	<b>28.85</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>248</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>180</b>	<b>3.63</b>	<b>23.79</b>	<b>72.58</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>60.08</b>	<b>24.60</b>	<b>15.32</b>
**Adult population = 10 years of age and older in 1901.													
In this table, and in all the tables to follow in the appendix, E.=employer; O.A.=own account (self-employed); W.E.=wage earners;													
N.P=no pay (Where applicable) and N.S. = no status (where applicable)													
Data for this table is compiled from the Canadian Families Project database, a 5 percent sample of the 1901 <i>Census of Canada</i> .													
In this and the other tables in Appendix 2.1, I did not include those who listed employment status as "own means."													
*Selected Occupations for 1901: the database does not capture all employed or self-employed women in British Columbia in 1901 as it is just a 5 percent sample of the population. This table includes all the occupations included in the database, in which self-employed women were recorded by the census takers. Exceptions: two housekeepers, one teacher, and those for whom the listed occupation was absent or illegible in the census, have not been included here, despite listing their employment status as "Own account," ie self-employed.													
***Baker: as this woman is self-employed she could have been listed under retail/trade: I included her here as a baker because that was the specific occupation listed.													

1901, Continued							
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *							
1901: Canada	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			
Females	Total Occupied	E.	O.A	W.E	E	O.A	W.E
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>							
<b>"Agriculture":</b>							
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	728	124	594	10	17.03	81.59	1.37
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>							
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	1256	44	403	809	3.50	32.09	64.41
<b>"Trade":</b>							
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	119	23	73	23	19.33	61.34	19.33
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>							
Real Estate agents/dealers	1	1	0	0	100.00	0.00	0.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>							
Health professional & Nurses-Graduate	208	0	20	188	0.00	9.62	90.38
Musicians, music teachers	103	3	66	34	2.91	64.08	33.01
<b>"Personal Service":</b>							
Hotelkeepers & Managers	68	7	17	44	10.29	25.00	64.71
Boarding, lodging house keepers	103	11	91	1	10.68	88.35	0.97
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	10	2	8	0	20.00	80.00	0.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	6	0	2	4	0.00	33.33	66.67
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	2602	215	1274	1113	8.26	48.96	42.77
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	12261	405	1990	9866	3.30	16.23	80.47
**Adult population =10 years of age and older							
Data is from the Canadian Families Project database.							
*I have only included, here, the occupations that are most prominent in all the decades under study and that were thus most prominent in the dissertation, and I have not included marital status for the Canadian data, because the CFP database is now accessible to the public. References to marital patterns for individual occupations and to the marital status of individual women can be found in the body of the dissertation, where relevant. For the most part, however, discussions of marital status in 1901 in the body of the dissertation are specific to British Columbia, and the marital status of British Columbia self-employed women is contained in the 1901 BC data listed in this appendix.							
Note that in all cases, unless otherwise specified, figures given for Canada exclude British Columbia.							

1901, Continued							
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *							
1901: British Columbia	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			
Males	Total Occupied	E.	O.A.	W.E.	E	O.A.	W.E.
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>							
<b>"Agriculture":</b>							
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	276	23	244	9	8.33	88.41	3.26
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>							
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>"Trade":</b>							
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	78	10	61	7	12.82	78.21	8.97
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>							
Real Estate agents/dealers	4	0	2	2	0.00	50.00	50.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>							
Health professional & Nurses-Graduate	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00
Musicians, music teachers	3	0	1	2	0.00	33.33	66.67
<b>"Personal Service":</b>							
Hotelkeepers & Managers	39	11	28	0	28.21	71.79	0.00
Boarding, lodging house keepers	6	0	6	0	0.00	100.00	0.00
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	6	0	6	0	0.00	100.00	0.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	23	1	8	14	4.35	34.78	60.87
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>435</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>356</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>10.34</b>	<b>81.84</b>	<b>7.82</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>3540</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>769</b>	<b>2587</b>	<b>5.20</b>	<b>21.72</b>	<b>73.08</b>
**Adult population = 10 years of age and older.							
*Selected occupations for men, in both BC and Canada, were chosen to match those selected for women in Canada(see previous table).							
They are therefore not necessarily the occupations in which self-employed men were most prominent; rather, they are those that were significant for women. This is the case in all the tables to follow in the Appendix.							

1901, Continued							
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *							
1901: Canada		<i>EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)</i>			<i>EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)</i>		
Males	Total Occupied	E.	O.A	W.E	E	O.A	W.E
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>							
<b>"Agriculture":</b>							
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	14896	3038	11572	286	20.39	77.69	1.92
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>							
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	14	2	0	12	14.29	0.00	85.71
<b>"Trade":</b>							
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	1516	563	799	154	37.14	52.70	10.16
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>							
Real Estate agents/dealers	27	5	21	1	18.52	77.78	3.70
<b>"Professional Service":</b>							
Health professional & Nurses-Graduate	1	0	0	1	0.00	0.00	100.00
Musicians, music teachers	40	1	22	17	2.50	55.00	42.50
<b>"Personal Service":</b>							
Hotelkeepers & Managers	204	93	107	4	45.59	52.45	1.96
Boarding, lodging house keepers	19	3	14	2	15.79	73.68	10.53
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	33	6	24	3	18.18	72.73	9.09
Barbers & Hairdressers	268	39	97	132	14.55	36.19	49.25
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	17018	3750	12656	612	22.04	74.37	3.60
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	57919	5518	18094	34307	9.53	31.24	59.23
**Adult population = 10 years of age and older.							
*Selected occupations for men were chosen to match those selected for women (see previous table).							
They are therefore not necessarily the occupations in which self-employed men were most prominent; rather, they are those that were significant for women. This is the case in all the tables to follow in the Appendix.							

Employment Status, Selected Occupations, 1921: Females, Canada including British Columbia				
	Total Occupied	E./O.A. no.	E/O.A. %	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>				
<b>"Agriculture":</b>				
Farmers	16090	16090	100.00	
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>				
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	16612	11664	70.21	
<b>"Trade":</b>				
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	6237	5764	92.42	
<b>"Professional Service":</b>				
Musicians, music teachers	4308	2844	66.02	
<b>"Personal Service":</b>				
Hotel & Restaurant	1218	981	80.54	
Boarding, lodging house keepers	4810	4810	100.00	
Barbers & Hairdressers	587	237	40.37	
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	49862	42390	85.01	
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	490150	51263	10.46	
Note: Data for 1921 was not as comprehensive as that listed for later years; Appendix 2.2 therefore lists all information that can be provided for 1921, but it is not the same as that listed in Appendices 2.3-2.7, for 1931-1971.				
Occupations in this table are the only ones for which the number of self-employed (including Employer and Own account workers) were listed. The data was listed only in selected occupations, and only for Canada including British Columbia. While this does not provide any of the detail that later census data for the years 1931-1971 provides, it does at least give a sense of high self-employment in occupations that were notable for their self-employment rates for women in other decades. Moreover, this is the only source that provides a self-employment rate amongst all gainfully occupied women in Canada in 1921 - although, again, it must be noted that this figure includes the British Columbia data. The data listed here for the total numbers occupied is from the <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1921, Volume 4, Table 4; data on the numbers who were own account/employers (the two were not provided separately) is from the <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1931, Volume 13, Table XXIX, 79.				
In all of the tables included in the Appendix, I have used "E." to represent "Employer," and "O.A.," to represent "Own Account" (the self-employed). E./O.A. represents employers and own-account, or self-employed, together.				

1921, Continued						
Male and Female Share of Total Employment, Selected Occupations: Number and Percent						
1921 British Columbia	Number:			Percent:		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>						
<b>"Agriculture":</b>						
Farmers & Stockraisers	23217	652	22565	100.00	2.81	97.19
Gardeners, florists and nursery men	885	23	862	100.00	2.60	97.40
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	17301	7	17294	100.00	0.04	99.96
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>						
Bakers	420	15	405	100.00	3.57	96.43
Boot and Shoemakers	112	15	97	100.00	13.39	86.61
Furriers	28	13	15	100.00	46.43	53.57
Textile Goods - owners,mgers superintendents	579	88	491	100.00	15.20	84.80
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	647	647	0	100.00	100.00	0.00
Milliners	204	203	1	100.00	99.51	0.49
Tailors/Tailoresses	110	64	46	100.00	58.18	41.82
Box/Basket Makers	105	35	70	100.00	33.33	66.67
Foods Manuf.-owner,mger, superintendents	367	19	348	100.00	5.18	94.82
<b>"Trade":</b>						
Advertising-owners, mgers, & agents	78	7	71	100.00	8.97	91.03
Retail stores (owners,managers,dealers)	7789	417	7372	100.00	5.35	94.65
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	760	14	746	100.00	1.84	98.16
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	64	6	58	100.00	9.38	90.63
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>						
Real Estate agents/dealers	926	23	903	100.00	2.48	97.52
Insurance agents	684	14	670	100.00	2.05	97.95
<b>"Professional Service":</b>						
Accountants	288	11	277	100.00	3.82	96.18
Artists, art teachers	102	38	64	100.00	37.25	62.75
Editors/reporters	267	38	229	100.00	14.23	85.77
Health professionals (Excl. nurses)	75	31	44	100.00	41.33	58.67
Lawyers	664	13	651	100.00	1.96	98.04
Musicians, music teachers	755	363	392	100.00	48.08	51.92
Photographers	263	49	214	100.00	18.63	81.37
Physician/Surgeons	609	12	597	100.00	1.97	98.03
"Other" teachers (excl.schoolteachers)	79	12	67	100.00	15.19	84.81
<b>"Personal Service":</b>						
Hotel & Restaurant keepers	1231	136	1095	100.00	11.05	88.95
Boarding, lodging house keepers	586	343	243	100.00	58.53	41.47
Barbers & Hairdressers	857	89	768	100.00	10.39	89.61
Cleaners & Dyers, Clothing	155	25	130	100.00	16.13	83.87
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>60207</b>	<b>3422</b>	<b>56785</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>5.68</b>	<b>94.32</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>219727</b>	<b>25513</b>	<b>194214</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>11.61</b>	<b>88.39</b>
Selected Occupations (above) make up 13.4 percent of the total female labour force in British Columbia in 1921.						
This is not the self-employment rate, although the occupations chosen for this table are notable for their						
high rates of female self-employment and this is the closest estimate I can make as to the female self-						
employment rate in British Columbia in 1921. The self-employment rate for women						
in Canada including British Columbia was 10.5 percent (see previous sheet) in 1921 but census data for 1921						
does not provide data for British Columbia alone, where it would presumably be slightly higher than in the rest of Canada.						
Note: I chose the occupations in this list as ones which had very large shares of self-employment in 1931;						
I also paid attention to the occupational title/description to determine if it was likely to have high self-employment,						
based on other years of the census and on the detail in the description.						
Data is from: <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1921, Volume 4, Table 4.						

1921, Continued						
Male and Female Share of Total Employment, Selected Occupations: Number and Percent						
1921 Canada	Number:			Percent:		
	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>						
<b>"Agriculture":</b>						
Farmers & Stockraisers	627665	15438	612227	100.00	2.46	97.54
Gardeners, florists and nursery men	5729	202	5527	100.00	3.53	96.47
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	51806	51	51755	100.00	0.10	99.90
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>						
Bakers	4374	114	4260	100.00	2.61	97.39
Boot and Shoemakers	9213	3261	5952	100.00	35.40	64.60
Furriers	1979	886	1093	100.00	44.77	55.23
Textile Goods - owners,mgers superintendents	7063	1227	5836	100.00	17.37	82.63
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	15965	15965	0	100.00	100.00	0.00
Milliners	2842	2826	16	100.00	99.44	0.56
Tailors and Tailoresses	7654	2176	5478	100.00	28.43	71.57
Box/Basket Makers	1951	788	1163	100.00	40.39	59.61
Foods Manuf.-owner,mgger, superintendents	4729	95	4634	100.00	2.01	97.99
<b>"Trade":</b>						
Advertising-owners, mgers, & agents	1166	180	986	100.00	15.44	84.56
Retail stores (owners,managers,dealers)	92733	5820	86913	100.00	6.28	93.72
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	4351	55	4296	100.00	1.26	98.74
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	577	57	520	100.00	9.88	90.12
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>						
Real Estate agents/dealers	4754	49	4705	100.00	1.03	98.97
Insurance agents	9115	143	8972	100.00	1.57	98.43
<b>"Professional Service":</b>						
Accountants	1180	25	1155	100.00	2.12	97.88
Artists, art teachers	1015	281	734	100.00	27.68	72.32
Editors/reporters	1647	210	1437	100.00	12.75	87.25
Health professionals (Excl. nurses)	316	150	166	100.00	47.47	52.53
Lawyers	6545	51	6494	100.00	0.78	99.22
Musicians, music teachers	6795	3945	2850	100.00	58.06	41.94
Photographers	2141	370	1771	100.00	17.28	82.72
Physician/Surgeons	8097	140	7957	100.00	1.73	98.27
*Other* teachers (excl.schoolteachers)	980	259	721	100.00	26.43	73.57
<b>"Personal Service":</b>						
Hotel & Restaurant keepers	9857	1082	8775	100.00	10.98	89.02
Boarding, lodging house keepers	5373	4467	906	100.00	83.14	16.86
Barbers & Hairdressers	10355	498	9857	100.00	4.81	95.19
Cleaners & Dyers, Clothing	1563	202	1361	100.00	12.92	87.08
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>909530</b>	<b>61013</b>	<b>848517</b>		<b>6.71</b>	<b>93.29</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>2953442</b>	<b>464637</b>	<b>2488805</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>15.73</b>	<b>84.27</b>
Data from <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 4, Table 4, 1921.						
Canada data does not include British Columbia numbers.						

1921, Continued										
Marital Status, Adult (10 years and over) Women in Selected Occupations: Number and Percent.										
CANADA, 1921										
	FEMALE-ONLY: MARITAL STATUS (n.)					MARITAL STATUS (%)				
	TOTAL	S	M	W/D	N/S	S	M	W/D	N/S	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>										
<b>"Agriculture":</b>										
Farmers & Stockraisers	16119	1563	1918	12618	20	9.70	11.90	78.28	0.12	
Gardeners, florists and nursery men	225	74	36	115	0	32.89	16.00	51.11	0.00	
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	58	26	10	22	0	44.83	17.24	37.93	0.00	
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>										
Bakers	129	89	21	19	0	68.99	16.28	14.73	0.00	
Boot and Shoemakers	3276	2926	208	141	1	89.32	6.35	4.30	0.03	
Furriers	899	777	52	70	0	86.43	5.78	7.79	0.00	
Textile Goods - owners,mgers superintendents	1589	1061	264	264	0	66.77	16.61	16.61	0.00	
Dressmakers, sewers, scamstresses	16612	11590	2129	2888	5	69.77	12.82	17.39	0.03	
Milliners	3029	2683	185	161	0	88.58	6.11	5.32	0.00	
Tailors and Tailoresses	2240	1861	192	187	0	83.08	8.57	8.35	0.00	
Box/Basket Makers	811	764	24	23	0	94.20	2.96	2.84	0.00	
Foods Manuf.-owner,mg, superintendents	261	167	41	53	0	63.98	15.71	20.31	0.00	
<b>"Trade":</b>										
Merchants & Dealers (Retail & Wholesale)	6306	2303	1841	2159	3	36.52	29.19	34.24	0.05	
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>										
Real Estate agents/dealers	90	56	16	18	0	62.22	17.78	20.00	0.00	
Insurance agents	196	139	21	35	1	70.92	10.71	17.86	0.51	
<b>"Professional Service":</b>										
Lawyers	64	58	5	1	0	90.63	7.81	1.56	0.00	
Musicians, music teachers	4308	3580	425	302	1	83.10	9.87	7.01	0.02	
Physician/Surgeons	152	105	28	19	0	69.08	18.42	12.50	0.00	
<b>"Personal Service":</b>										
Hotel & Restaurant keepers	1218	253	411	554	0	20.77	33.74	45.48	0.00	
Boarding, lodging house keepers	4810	935	1048	2827	0	19.44	21.79	58.77	0.00	
Barbers & Hairdressers	587	407	103	77	0	69.34	17.55	13.12	0.00	
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>62979</b>	<b>31417</b>	<b>8978</b>	<b>22553</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>49.88</b>	<b>14.26</b>	<b>35.81</b>	<b>0.05</b>	
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>490150</b>	<b>402893</b>	<b>35202</b>	<b>51956</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>82.20</b>	<b>7.18</b>	<b>10.60</b>	<b>0.02</b>	
NOTE: In this table, the Canadian Data INCLUDES the Figures for British Columbia (because the British Columbia data, individually, was not available.)										
This data is from the <i>Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 7, Table 70</i> . Occupations from 1921 were not all listed, and in some cases were listed differently than in the 1921 manuscript census. Therefore the jobs listed here are not exactly the same as those listed in the previous data listed in this Appendix, pertaining to 1921.										

1931																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *																	
1931: British Columbia		EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)			
Females	Total Occupied	E.	O.A	W.E	N.P	E.	O.A	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	N/S	S	M	W/D	N/S
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																	
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	880	427	453	0	0	48.52	51.48	0	0	137	225	518	0	15.57	25.57	58.86	0
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	47	0	34	12	1	0	72.34	25.53	2.13	9	8	30	0	19.15	17.02	63.83	0
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Bakers	18	0	6	12	0	0	33.33	66.67	0	12	1	5	0	66.67	5.56	27.78	0
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	854	0	453	394	7	0	53.04	46.14	0.82	515	172	167	0	60.3	20.14	19.56	0
Milliners	97	0	14	83	0	0	14.43	85.57	0	85	6	6	0	87.63	6.19	6.19	0
Box/Basket Makers	45	0	35	10	0	0	77.78	22.22	0	15	18	12	0	33.33	40	26.67	0
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	684	147	492	45	0	21.49	71.93	6.58	0	226	273	185	0	33.04	39.91	27.05	0
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	15	6	3	6	0	40	20	40	0	7	5	3	0	46.67	33.33	20	0
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	22	0	5	17	0	0	22.73	77.27	0	13	3	6	0	59.09	13.64	27.27	0
<b>"Finance, Insurance":</b>																	
Real Estate agents/dealers	42	0	33	9	0	0	78.57	21.43	0	11	15	16	0	26.19	35.71	38.1	0
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	84	0	42	39	3	0	50	46.43	3.57	71	6	7	0	84.52	7.14	8.33	0
Author/journalist/editors	55	0	21	34	0	0	38.18	61.82	0	32	10	13	0	58.18	18.18	23.64	0
Health professional & Nurses-Graduate	2059	7	738	1248	66	0.34	35.84	60.61	3.21	1795	130	134	0	87.18	6.31	6.51	0
Musicians, music teachers	430	2	341	80	7	0.47	79.3	18.6	1.63	340	49	41	0	79.07	11.4	9.53	0
Photographers	68	4	6	55	3	5.88	8.82	80.88	4.41	57	7	4	0	83.82	10.29	5.88	0
Physician/Surgeons	15	0	14	1	0	0	93.33	6.67	0	9	3	3	0	60	20	20	0
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	44	1	27	15	1	2.27	61.36	34.09	2.27	33	9	2	0	75	20.45	4.55	0
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	101	70	9	19	3	69.31	8.91	18.81	2.97	12	47	42	0	11.88	46.53	41.58	0
Boa ding, lodging house keepers	1419	52	1367	0	0	3.66	96.34	0	0	128	935	356	0	9.02	65.89	25.09	0
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	138	45	68	25	0	32.61	49.28	18.12	0	36	67	35	0	26.09	48.55	25.36	0
Barbers & Hairdressers	656	35	280	335	6	5.33	42.68	51.07	0.91	419	174	63	0	63.87	26.52	9.6	0
Cleaners & Dyers, Clothing	37	0	6	31	0	0	16.22	83.78	0	18	13	6	0	48.65	35.14	16.22	0
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>7810</b>	<b>796</b>	<b>4447</b>	<b>2470</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>10.19</b>	<b>56.94</b>	<b>31.63</b>	<b>1.24</b>	<b>3980</b>	<b>2176</b>	<b>1654</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>50.96</b>	<b>27.86</b>	<b>21.18</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>43748</b>	<b>882</b>	<b>4703</b>	<b>36618</b>	<b>1545</b>	<b>2.02</b>	<b>10.75</b>	<b>83.7</b>	<b>3.53</b>	<b>33486</b>	<b>5938</b>	<b>4316</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>76.54</b>	<b>13.57</b>	<b>9.87</b>	<b>0.02</b>
Data from: <i>Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 7, Tables 50 and 54.</i>																	
*Selected occupations: those with higher proportion of female self-employment rate than the average self-employment rate for all gainfully employed women & that employ 15 or more women)																	
**Adult Population in 1931 = 10 years and over																	

1931, Continued																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *																	
1931: Canada																	
Females	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S.	M.	W/D.	N/S.	S.	M.	W/D.	N/S.
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																	
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	18287	14068	4219	0	0	76.93	23.07	0	0	1447	2451	14388	1	7.91	13.4	78.68	0.01
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	450	16	395	30	9	3.56	87.78	6.67	2	165	30	255		36.67	6.67	56.67	0.00
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Bakers	300	0	40	245	15	0	13.33	81.67	5	213	47	40		71	15.67	13.33	0.00
Own/managers, Textile Goods/Wearing apparel	165	139	0	26	0	84.24	0	15.76	0	91	30	44		55.15	18.18	26.67	0.00
Dressmakers, sewers, seamstresses	12733	0	6449	5644	640	0	50.65	44.33	5.03	9191	1537	2005	0	72.18	12.07	15.75	0.00
Milliners	2478	0	568	1906	4	0	22.92	76.92	0.16	2097	218	163		84.62	8.8	6.58	0.00
Box Basket Makers	309	0	146	154	9	0	47.25	49.84	2.91	166	94	49		53.72	30.42	15.86	0.00
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	6025	1871	3549	605	0	31.05	58.9	10.04	0	2365	1682	1977	1	39.25	27.92	32.81	0.02
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	89	21	22	46	0	23.6	24.72	51.69	0	55	21	13		61.8	23.6	14.61	0.00
Brokers and Agents	145	2	16	127	0	1.38	11.03	87.59	0	82	34	29		56.55	23.45	20	0.00
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	147	3	17	127	0	2.04	11.56	86.39	0	106	20	21		72.11	13.61	14.29	0.00
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>																	
Real Estate agents/dealers	104	4	60	40	0	3.85	57.69	38.46	0	42	28	34		40.38	26.92	32.69	0.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	625	5	252	328	40	0.8	40.32	52.48	6.4	544	46	35		87.04	7.36	5.6	0.00
Author/journalist/editors	409	2	84	323	0	0.49	20.54	78.97	0	303	53	53		74.08	12.96	12.96	0.00
Health professional & Nurses-Graduate	19331	29	8208	9248	1846	0.15	42.46	47.84	9.55	17500	787	1043	1	90.53	4.07	5.40	0.01
Musicians, music teachers	4211	13	2803	1195	200	0.31	66.56	28.38	4.75	3692	283	236		87.68	6.72	5.6	0.00
Photographers	440	8	50	367	15	1.82	11.36	83.41	3.41	381	29	30		86.59	6.59	6.82	0.00
Physician/Surgeons	188	5	123	59	1	2.66	65.43	31.38	0.53	138	37	13		73.4	19.68	6.91	0.00
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	197	2	70	125	0	1.02	35.53	63.45	0	176	15	6		89.34	7.61	3.05	0.00
<b>"Recreational Service":</b>																	
Actresses	179	0	44	135	0	0	24.58	75.42	0	127	39	13		70.95	21.79	7.26	0.00
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	610	511	7	88	4	83.77	1.15	14.43	0.66	119	199	292		19.51	32.62	47.87	0.00
Boarding, lodging house keepers	17288	335	16953	0	0	1.94	98.06	0	0	1429	11521	4338		8.27	66.64	25.09	0.00
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	1180	459	551	169	1	38.9	46.69	14.32	0.08	331	462	387		28.05	39.15	32.8	0.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	5713	227	2679	2798	9	3.97	46.89	48.98	0.16	4323	967	422	1	75.67	16.93	7.39	0.02
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>91603</b>	<b>17720</b>	<b>47305</b>	<b>23785</b>	<b>2793</b>	<b>19.34</b>	<b>51.64</b>	<b>25.97</b>	<b>3.05</b>	<b>45083</b>	<b>20630</b>	<b>25886</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>49.22</b>	<b>22.52</b>	<b>28.26</b>	<b>0.00</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>622111</b>	<b>18024</b>	<b>50078</b>	<b>511219</b>	<b>42790</b>	<b>2.9</b>	<b>8.05</b>	<b>82.17</b>	<b>6.88</b>	<b>504171</b>	<b>60860</b>	<b>57019</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>81.04</b>	<b>9.78</b>	<b>9.17</b>	<b>0.01</b>
Canada Totals do not include British Columbia figures.																	
Data from: <i>Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 7, Tables 50, 53.</i>																	
*Selected occupations: those with higher female self-employment rate than the average self-employment rate for all gainfully employed women in Canada & that employ 100 or more women.																	
Exception: I included wholesalers as they had high self-employment rates, and almost 100 women were employed in the occupation.																	
**Adult Population in 1931 = 10 years and over																	

1931, Continued																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *																	
1931: British Columbia																	
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	N/S	S	M	W/D	N/S
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																	
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	24557	6958	17599	0	0	28.3341	71.666	0	0	5358	17515	1288	396	21.82	71.32	5.24	1.61
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	9409	113	6210	2977	109	1.2	66	31.64	1.16	3886	5028	489	6	41.3	53.44	5.2	0.06
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Bakers	793	0	91	701	1	0	11.48	88.4	0.13	307	452	29	5	38.71	57	3.66	0.63
Tailors and Sewers ***	680	0	336	344	0	0	49.412	50.59	0	120	476	24	60	17.65	70	3.53	8.82
Milliners ***	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Box/Basket Makers	138	0	8	130	0	0	5.8	94.2	0	78	55	4	1	56.52	39.86	2.9	0.72
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	8187	2481	4577	1129	0	30.3	55.91	13.79	0	1134	6564	273	216	13.85	80.18	3.34	2.64
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	1344	353	482	509	0	26.26	35.86	37.87	0	142	1159	40	3	10.57	86.24	2.98	0.22
Decorators, drapers, windowdressers	59	1	4	54	0	1.69	6.78	91.53	0	29	30	0	0	49.15	50.85	0	0
<b>"Finance, Insurance":</b>																	
Real Estate agents/dealers	964	81	609	274	0	8.4	63.17	28.42	0	146	772	46	0	15.15	80.08	4.77	0
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	168	3	86	79	0	1.79	51.19	47.02	0	71	92	4	1	42.26	54.76	2.38	0.6
Author/journalist/editors	313	0	54	259	0	0	17.25	82.75	0	92	208	12	1	29.39	66.45	3.83	0.32
Nurses & Health Professionals***	117	3	79	35	0	2.56	67.52	29.91	0	15	102	0	0	12.82	87.18	0	0
Musicians, music teachers	500	3	224	273	0	0.6	44.8	54.6	0	188	295	16	1	37.6	59	3.2	0.2
Photographers	238	23	130	84	1	9.66	54.62	35.29	0.42	80	143	13	2	33.61	60.08	5.46	0.84
Physician/Surgeons	714	20	583	111	0	2.8	81.65	15.55	0	84	609	21	0	11.76	85.29	2.94	0
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	81	2	21	58	0	2.47	25.93	71.6	0	24	53	4	0	29.63	65.43	4.94	0
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	668	475	55	138	0	71.11	8.23	20.66	0	100	521	.44	3	14.97	77.99	6.59	0.45
Boarding, lodging house keepers	332	60	272	0	0	18.07	81.93	0	0	53	253	20	6	15.96	76.2	6.02	1.81
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	719	399	241	79	0	55.49	33.52	10.99	0	130	499	17	73	18.08	69.4	2.36	10.15
Barbers & Hairdressers	1052	77	583	389	3	7.32	55.42	36.98	0.29	207	797	41	7	19.68	75.56	3.9	0.67
Cleaners & Dyers - Clothing	193	0	103	90	0	0	53.368	46.63	0	48	139	6	0	24.87	72.02	3.11	0.00
<b>Total, Selected Occups:</b>	<b>51226</b>	<b>11052</b>	<b>32347</b>	<b>7713</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>21.57</b>	<b>63.15</b>	<b>15.06</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>12292</b>	<b>35762</b>	<b>2391</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>24.00</b>	<b>69.81</b>	<b>4.67</b>	<b>1.52</b>
<b>Total, all Occupations:</b>	<b>262515</b>	<b>15629</b>	<b>43140</b>	<b>198448</b>	<b>5298</b>	<b>5.95</b>	<b>16.43</b>	<b>75.59</b>	<b>2.02</b>	<b>96565</b>	<b>154395</b>	<b>8315</b>	<b>3240</b>	<b>36.78</b>	<b>58.81</b>	<b>3.17</b>	<b>1.23</b>
Data from: <i>Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 7, Tables 50 &amp; 54.</i>																	
* See previous sheets on Women in Selected Occupations, 1931. Men's occupations shown here were chosen to compare to the occupations selected for high female self-employment.																	
**Adult Population = 10 years and over in 1931																	
*** Dressmaker does not exist as a category, instead I have listed the equivalent for men, Tailors, & I have combined it with Sewers (there were only 11).																	
Millinery is listed as a category for men, although there are no men gainfully employed as Milliners.																	
***I have combined Nursing with "Health Professionals" in the female labour force;																	
in this case, there were no male Nurses in BC so all the men listed here were "Health Professionals".																	

1931, Continued																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status *																	
1931: Canada																	
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S.	M.	W/D.	N/S.	S.	M.	W/D.	N/S.
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																	
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers, stockraisers, gardeners, florists	600456	282676	317780	0	0	47.08	52.92	0	0	92718	479204	28469	65	15.44	79.81	4.74	0.01
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	37999	1872	26425	7402	2300	4.93	69.54	19.48	6.05	14289	21859	1848	3	37.6	57.53	4.86	0.01
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Bakers	8601	0	897	7556	148	0	10.43	87.85	1.72	3087	5272	242	0	35.89	61.3	2.81	0.00
Own/managers, Textile Goods/Wearing apparel	2526	1961	0	565	0	77.63	0	22.37	0	221	2246	59	0	8.75	88.92	2.34	0.00
Tailors & Sewers***	9647	0	2841	6766	40	0	29.45	70.14	0.41	2066	7225	341	15	21.42	74.89	3.53	0.16
Milliners	35	0	2	33	0	0	5.71	94.29	0	14	20	1	0	40	57.14	2.86	0.00
Box/Basket Makers	1040	0	268	755	17	0	25.77	72.6	1.63	425	565	50	0	40.87	54.33	4.81	0.00
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	85975	32868	40458	12649	0	38.23	47.06	14.71	0	10732	72094	3056	93	12.48	83.85	3.55	0.11
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	11992	3205	3462	5325	0	26.73	28.87	44.4	0	1330	10268	393	1	11.09	85.62	3.28	0.01
Brokers and Agents	5511	292	1049	4170	0	5.3	19.03	75.67	0	880	4445	186	0	15.97	80.66	3.38	0.00
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	674	2	29	643	0	0.3	4.3	95.4	0	308	353	13	0	45.7	52.37	1.93	0.00
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>																	
Real Estate agents/dealers	4554	426	2537	1590	1	9.35	55.71	34.91	0.02	742	3608	204	0	16.29	79.23	4.48	0.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	1741	31	617	1093	0	1.78	35.44	62.78	0	698	992	50	1	40.09	56.98	2.87	0.06
Author/journalist/editors	2567	50	266	2251	0	1.95	10.36	87.69	0	892	1594	80	1	34.75	62.1	3.12	0.04
Nurses & Health Professionals***	375	17	225	131	2	4.53	60	34.93	0.53	74	280	21	0	19.73	74.67	5.6	0.00
Musicians, music teachers	3645	47	1468	2121	9	1.29	40.27	58.19	0.25	1621	1917	107	0	44.47	52.59	2.94	0.00
Photographers	2002	176	773	1040	13	8.79	38.61	51.95	0.65	722	1226	54	0	36.06	61.24	2.7	0.00
Physician/Surgeons	9103	250	7598	1255	0	2.75	83.47	13.79	0	1741	7036	326	0	19.13	77.29	3.58	0.00
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	623	8	88	527	0	1.28	14.13	84.59	0	182	419	22	0	29.21	67.26	3.53	0.00
<b>"Recreational Service":</b>																	
Actors	190	0	32	158	0	0	16.84	83.16	0	67	118	5	0	35.26	62.11	2.63	0.00
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	4731	3734	3	994	0	78.93	0.06	21.01	0	554	3972	198	7	11.71	83.96	4.19	0.15
Boarding, lodging house keepers	1410	178	1232	0	0	12.62	87.38	0	0	187	1093	129	1	13.26	77.52	9.15	0.07
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	9046	4114	4111	821	0	45.48	45.45	9.08	0	1710	6358	254	724	18.9	70.29	2.81	8.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	14854	1543	7379	5916	16	10.39	49.68	39.83	0.11	3925	10539	380	10	26.42	70.95	2.56	0.07
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>819297</b>	<b>333450</b>	<b>419540</b>	<b>63761</b>	<b>2546</b>	<b>40.7</b>	<b>51.21</b>	<b>7.78</b>	<b>0.31</b>	<b>139185</b>	<b>642703</b>	<b>36488</b>	<b>921</b>	<b>16.99</b>	<b>78.45</b>	<b>4.45</b>	<b>0.11</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>2998856</b>	<b>372257</b>	<b>506581</b>	<b>2E+06</b>	<b>296206</b>	<b>12.41</b>	<b>16.89</b>	<b>60.82</b>	<b>9.88</b>	<b>1140174</b>	<b>1761791</b>	<b>93548</b>	<b>3343</b>	<b>38.02</b>	<b>58.75</b>	<b>3.12</b>	<b>0.11</b>
Data from: <i>Census of Canada, 1931, Volume 7, Tables 50, 53.</i>																	
*Selected occupations: see notes, previous sheets for 1931. Occupations chosen for men were chosen to match those selected for women, for comparative purposes.																	
**Adult Population in 1931 = 10 years and over																	
***I have put these together instead of combining Dressmakers and sewers, as there were no male dressmakers: there were 193 male Sewers and 9454 Tailors listed in Canada.																	
***I have combined Nursing with "Health Professionals" in the female labour force;																	
in this case, there were no male Nurses in BC so all the men listed here were "Health Professionals".																	

1941															
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*															
1941: British Columbia		EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)		
Females	Total Occupied	E.	O.A	W.E	N.P	E	O.A	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>															
<b>"Agriculture":</b>															
Farmers/stockraisers	852	208	644	0	0	24.41	75.59	0.00	0	120	124	608	14.08	14.55	71.36
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	32	0	26	2	4	0.00	81.25	6.25	12.50	12	1	19	37.50	3.13	59.38
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>															
Owners/Managers	33	17	0	16	0	51.52	0.00	48.48	0.00	11	10	12	33.33	30.30	36.36
Dressmakers & Sewers	733	6	368	332	27	0.82	50.20	45.29	3.68	463	119	151	63.17	16.23	20.60
Milliners	46	1	5	40	0	2.17	10.87	86.96	0.00	33	6	7	71.74	13.04	15.22
Box/Basket Makers	n/g														
Photographers	109	1	19	82	7	0.92	17.43	75.23	6.42	87	11	11	79.82	10.09	10.09
<b>"Trade":</b>															
Advertising Agents	26	0	10	16	0	0.00	38.46	61.54	0.00	16	7	3	61.54	26.92	11.54
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	1148	148	889	109	2	12.89	77.44	9.49	0.17	354	410	384	30.84	35.71	33.45
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	26	10	7	9	0	38.46	26.92	34.62	0.00	9	9	8	34.62	34.62	30.77
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	33	0	9	24	0	0.00	27.27	72.73	0.00	21	2	10	63.64	6.06	30.30
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>															
Insurance agents	45	2	13	30	0	4.44	28.89	66.67	0.00	19	9	17	42.22	20.00	37.78
Real estate agents/dealers	97	5	70	22	0	5.15	72.16	22.68	0.00	19	26	52	19.59	26.80	53.61
<b>"Professional Service":</b>															
Artists, art teachers	110	0	53	55	2	0.00	48.18	50.00	1.82	91	9	10	82.73	8.18	9.09
Author/journalist/editors	101	0	33	68	0	0.00	32.67	67.33	0.00	73	10	18	72.28	9.90	17.82
Musicians, music teachers	413	0	295	111	7	0.00	71.43	26.88	1.69	325	45	43	78.69	10.90	10.41
Nurses - graduate	2738	3	247	2379	109	0.11	9.02	86.89	3.98	2329	208	201	85.06	7.60	7.34
Physician/Surgeons	21	0	17	3	1	0.00	80.95	14.29	4.76	8	8	5	38.10	38.10	23.81
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	n/g														
Religious workers (excl.nuns)	214	0	44	98	72	0.00	20.56	45.79	33.64	187	15	12	87.38	7.01	5.61
"Other" professionals	416	7	81	296	32	1.68	19.47	71.15	7.69	324	48	44	77.88	11.54	10.58
<b>"Recreational Service":</b>															
Actors/sportsmen	27	0	7	19	1	0.00	25.93	70.37	3.70	18	6	3	66.67	22.22	11.11
<b>"Personal Service":</b>															
Hotelkeepers & Managers	154	76	46	32	0	49.35	29.87	20.78	0.00	14	53	87	9.09	34.42	56.49
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	1738	57	1681	0	0	3.28	96.72	0.00	0.00	183	915	640	10.53	52.65	36.82
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	216	53	136	27	0	24.54	62.96	12.50	0.00	70	84	62	32.41	38.89	28.70
Barbers & Hairdressers	948	30	428	473	17	3.16	45.15	49.89	1.79	614	210	124	64.77	22.15	13.08
Cleaners, Dyers - Clothing	157	2	17	131	7	1.27	10.83	83.44	4.46	101	34	22	64.33	21.66	14.01
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>10433</b>	<b>626</b>	<b>5145</b>	<b>4374</b>	<b>288</b>	<b>6.00</b>	<b>49.31</b>	<b>41.92</b>	<b>2.76</b>	<b>5501</b>	<b>2379</b>	<b>2553</b>	<b>52.73</b>	<b>22.80</b>	<b>24.47</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>55131</b>	<b>654</b>	<b>5446</b>	<b>46223</b>	<b>2808</b>	<b>1.19</b>	<b>9.88</b>	<b>83.84</b>	<b>5.09</b>	<b>41298</b>	<b>6221</b>	<b>7612</b>	<b>74.91</b>	<b>11.28</b>	<b>13.81</b>
Data is from: <i>Census of Canada, 1941, Volume 7, Table 5.</i>															
In 1941, the 'legally separated' were combined with the 'divorced': here, I have put w/d's. all together.															
*Selected Occupations: Those with a higher rate of female self-employment than the average self-employment rate for all gainfully employed women, & that employ 15 or more women.															
**Adult Population in 1941 = 14 years and over															

1941, Continued																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*																	
1941: Canada																	
OCCUPATION:	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E	O.A	W.E	N.P	E	O.A	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	N/S	S	M	W/D	N/S
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers/stockraisers	13211	5037	8174	0	0	38.13	61.87	0.00	0	1475	1518	10218	0	11.16	11.49	77.34	0
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	292	5	240	33	14	1.71	82.19	11.30	4.79	153	16	123	0	52.40	5.48	42.12	0
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Owners/Managers	692	226	3	463	0	32.66	0.43	66.91	0.00	394	138	160	0	56.94	19.94	23.12	0
Dressmakers & Sewers	10148	116	5313	3382	1337	1.14	52.36	33.33	13.18	7334	1110	1704	0	72.27	10.94	16.79	0
Milliners	1203	27	313	848	15	2.24	26.02	70.49	1.25	942	146	115	0	78.30	12.14	9.56	0
Box/Basket Makers	n/g																
Photographers	530	5	78	385	62	0.94	14.72	72.64	11.70	444	50	36	0	83.77	9.43	6.79	0
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Advertising Agents	181	2	17	162	0	1.10	9.39	89.50	0.00	125	33	23	0	69.06	18.23	12.71	0
Brokers & Agents	114	4	10	99	1	3.51	8.77	86.84	0.88	74	21	19	0	64.91	18.42	16.67	0
Retail stores (owners, managers, d)	8602	1447	6163	962	30	16.82	71.65	11.18	0.35	3353	2569	2680	0	38.98	29.87	31.16	0
Wholesale (owners, managers, d)	212	33	43	136	0	15.57	20.28	64.15	0.00	117	46	49	0	55.19	21.70	23.11	0
Decorators, Drapers, Window dr	188	4	27	157	0	2.13	14.36	83.51	0.00	142	23	23	0	75.53	12.23	12.23	0
<b>"Finance, Insurance:":</b>																	
Insurance agents	395	6	96	293	0	1.52	24.30	74.18	0.00	263	43	89	0	66.58	10.89	22.53	0
Real estate agents/dealers	176	13	111	52	0	7.39	63.07	29.55	0.00	61	43	72	0	34.66	24.43	40.91	0
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	844	2	276	486	80	0.24	32.70	57.58	9.48	729	86	29	0	86.37	10.19	3.44	0
Author/journalist/editors	612	3	142	460	7	0.49	23.20	75.16	1.14	466	84	62	0	76.14	13.73	10.13	0
Lawyers	117	2	67	48	0	1.71	57.26	41.03	0.00	81	27	9	0	69.23	23.08	7.69	0
Musicians, music teachers	3611	10	1907	1356	338	0.28	52.81	37.55	9.36	3072	286	253	0	85.07	7.92	7.01	0
Nurses - graduate	23735	38	2580	18642	2475	0.16	10.87	78.54	10.43	21456	1067	1210	2	90.40	4.50	5.10	0.0084264
Physician/Surgeons	363	9	197	139	18	2.48	54.27	38.29	4.96	233	112	18	0	64.19	30.85	4.96	0
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	n/g																
Religious workers (excl.nuns)	1821	0	259	790	772	0.00	14.22	43.38	42.39	1636	118	67	0	89.84	6.48	3.68	0
*Other* professionals	4089	37	278	3103	671	0.90	6.80	75.89	16.41	3541	310	238	0	86.60	7.58	5.82	0
<b>"Recreational Service":</b>																	
Actors/sportmen	243	0	53	183	7	0.00	21.81	75.31	2.88	165	49	29	0	67.90	20.16	11.93	0
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	816	385	314	117	0	47.18	38.48	14.34	0.00	150	267	399	0	18.38	32.72	48.90	0
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	19375	338	19037	0	0	1.74	98.26	0.00	0.00	1983	11215	6175	2	10.23	57.88	31.87	0.0103226
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	1996	401	1319	273	3	20.09	66.08	13.68	0.15	699	716	581	0	35.02	35.87	29.11	0
Laundry owners/managers	119	13	25	80	1	10.92	21.01	67.23	0.84	59	33	27	0	49.58	27.73	22.69	0
Barbers & Hairdressers	10050	548	4103	5107	292	5.45	40.83	50.82	2.91	6924	2286	840	0	68.90	22.75	8.36	0
Nurses - Practical	7254	0	717	5232	1305	0.00	9.88	72.13	17.99	5319	551	1384	0		7.60	19.08	
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>110989</b>	<b>8711</b>	<b>51862</b>	<b>42988</b>	<b>7428</b>	<b>7.85</b>	<b>46.73</b>	<b>38.73</b>	<b>6.69</b>	<b>61390</b>	<b>22963</b>	<b>26632</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>55.31</b>	<b>20.69</b>	<b>24.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>777709</b>	<b>8910</b>	<b>53726</b>	<b>653218</b>	<b>61855</b>	<b>1.15</b>	<b>6.91</b>	<b>83.99</b>	<b>7.95</b>	<b>624325</b>	<b>79412</b>	<b>73934</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>80.28</b>	<b>10.21</b>	<b>9.51</b>	<b>0.00</b>
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1941, Volume 7, Table 5.</i>																	
In 1941, the 'legally separated' were combined with the 'divorced'; here, I have put w/d/s. all together.																	
*Selected Occupations: Those with a higher rate of female self-employment than the average self-employment rate for all gainfully employed women, & that employ 100 or more women.																	
**Adult Population in 1941 = 14 years and over																	
Data for Canada does not include British Columbia.																	
Note: Cleaners and Dyers of clothing appeared on the British Columbia table, but the number of self-employed was not significant at the Canadian level.																	

1941, Continued																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*																	
1941: British Columbia																	
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	N/S	S	M	W/D	N/S
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																	
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers/stockraisers	23526	3663	19863	0	0	15.57	84.43	0.00	0.00	4359	17673	1494	0	18.53	75.12	6.35	0.00
Gardeners Florists, Nursery	n/g																
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	9448	45	7732	1604	67	0.48	81.84	16.98	0.71	3757	5018	672	1	39.77	53.11	7.11	0.01
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Owners/Managers	2354	901	294	1159	0	38.28	12.49	49.24	0.00	238	2028	87	1	10.11	86.15	3.70	0.04
Tailors & Sewers ***	596	25	254	314	3	4.19	42.62	52.68	0.50	100	449	47	0	16.78	75.34	7.89	0.00
Milliners	0	0	0	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Box/Basket Makers	n/g																
Photographers	270	17	132	120	1	6.30	48.89	44.44	0.37	83	173	14	0	30.74	64.07	5.19	0.00
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Advertising Agents	223	3	41	179	0	1.35	18.39	80.27	0.00	38	171	14	1	17.04	76.68	6.28	0.45
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	8619	1388	5848	1383	0	16.10	67.85	16.05	0.00	1031	7141	446	1	11.96	82.85	5.17	0.01
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	1937	380	730	827	0	19.62	37.69	42.69	0.00	175	1683	79	0	9.03	86.89	4.08	0.00
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	70	1	4	65	0	1.43	5.71	92.86	0.00	24	43	3	0	34.29	61.43	4.29	0.00
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>																	
Insurance agents	1193	31	319	843	0	2.60	26.74	70.66	0.00	168	954	71	0	14.08	79.97	5.95	0.00
Real estate agents/dealers	880	53	503	324	0	6.02	57.16	36.82	0.00	92	721	67	0	10.45	81.93	7.61	0.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	181	1	84	96	0	0.55	46.41	53.04	0.00	71	106	4	0	39.23	58.56	2.21	0.00
Author/journalist/editors	350	4	70	276	0	1.14	20.00	78.86	0.00	96	237	17	0	27.43	67.71	4.86	0.00
Health professionals	n/g																
Musicians, music teachers	449	7	213	228	1	1.56	47.44	50.78	0.22	159	271	19	0	35.41	60.36	4.23	0.00
Nurses - graduate	17	0	0	17	0	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	7	7	3	0	41.18	41.18	17.65	0.00
Physician/Surgeons	789	33	595	161	0	4.18	75.41	20.41	0.00	88	666	35	0	11.15	84.41	4.44	0.00
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	n/g																
Religious workers (excl.nuns)	158	0	54	83	21	0.00	34.18	52.53	13.29	55	100	3	0	34.81	63.29	1.90	0.00
"Other" professionals	777	6	173	597	1	0.77	22.27	76.83	0.13	225	511	41	0	28.96	65.77	5.28	0.00
<b>"Recreational Service":</b>																	
Actors/sportsmen	148	4	55	88	1	2.70	37.16	59.46	0.68	64	72	12	0	43.24	48.65	8.11	0.00
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	680	273	208	199	0	40.15	30.59	29.26	0.00	93	546	41	0	13.68	80.29	6.03	0.00
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	468	34	434	0	0	7.26	92.74	0.00	0.00	50	368	50	0	10.68	78.63	10.68	0.00
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	706	238	367	101	0	33.71	51.98	14.31	0.00	115	559	32	0	16.29	79.18	4.53	0.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	1080	67	663	349	1	6.20	61.39	32.31	0.09	182	812	85	1	16.85	75.19	7.87	0.09
Cleaners, Dyers - Clothing	396	12	173	206	5	3.03	43.69	52.02	1.26	134	254	8	0	33.84	64.14	2.02	0.00
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>55315</b>	<b>7186</b>	<b>38809</b>	<b>9219</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>12.99</b>	<b>70.16</b>	<b>16.67</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>11404</b>	<b>40563</b>	<b>3344</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>20.62</b>	<b>73.33</b>	<b>6.05</b>	<b>0.01</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>258723</b>	<b>9054</b>	<b>51624</b>	<b>192917</b>	<b>5128</b>	<b>3.50</b>	<b>19.95</b>	<b>74.57</b>	<b>1.98</b>	<b>80096</b>	<b>166569</b>	<b>12033</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>30.96</b>	<b>64.38</b>	<b>4.65</b>	<b>0.01</b>
Data is from the <i>Census of Canada</i> , 1941, Volume 7, Table 5.																	
In 1941, the 'legally separated' were combined with the 'divorced'; here, I have put w/d/1.s. all together.																	
*Selected Occupations: See notes accompanying data for Females, British Columbia, in previous tables.																	
**Adult Population in 1941 = 14 years and over																	
*** I have combined the data for Tailors and Sewers because there are no male dressmakers and in the Female data for 1941, Sewers and Dressmakers are combined. In 1941 there were only 5 male sewers; the rest of this category are Tailors.																	

1941, Continued																	
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*																	
1941: Canada																	
OCCUPATION:	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)				MARITAL STATUS (%)				
	Total	E	O.A	W.E	N.P	E	O.A	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	N/S	S	M	W/D	N/S
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																	
Farmers/stockraisers	607183	166344	440839	0	0	27.40	72.60	0.00	0.00	99494	477704	29965	20	16.39	78.68	4.94	0.00
Gardeners Florists, Nursery	n/g																
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	41678	517	32518	6892	1751	1.24	78.02	16.54	4.20	15186	24124	2364	4	36.44	57.88	5.67	0.01
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																	
Owners/Managers	28729	9568	3941	14770	0	33.30	13.72	51.41	0.00	2544	24594	1140	1	8.86	85.61	3.97	0.00
Tailors & Sewers	8752	399	2148	6096	109	4.56	24.54	69.65	1.25	1717	6525	510	0	19.62	74.55	5.83	0.00
Milliners	16	0	0	14	2	0.00	0.00	87.50	12.50	7	9	0	0	43.75	56.25	0.00	0.00
Box/Basket Makers	n/g																
Photographers	2096	127	805	1147	17	6.06	38.41	54.72	0.81	760	1251	85	0	36.26	59.69	4.06	0.00
<b>"Trade":</b>																	
Advertising Agents	2013	36	219	1758	0	1.79	10.88	87.33	0.00	419	1527	66	0	20.81	75.86	3.28	0.00
Brokers & Agents	1735	25	137	1573	0	1.44	7.90	90.66	0.00	282	1384	69	0	16.25	79.77	3.98	0.00
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	92137	21043	56477	14562	55	22.84	61.30	15.80	0.06	11502	76623	4010	2	12.48	83.16	4.35	0.00
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	18251	3441	6608	8202	0	18.85	36.21	44.94	0.00	1859	15639	750	3	10.19	85.69	4.11	0.02
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	685	5	49	631	0	0.73	7.15	92.12	0.00	232	436	17	0	33.87	63.65	2.48	0.00
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>																	
Insurance agents	13378	335	2891	10150	2	2.50	21.61	75.87	0.01	1995	10841	542	0	14.91	81.04	4.05	0.00
Real estate agents/dealers	3297	244	1918	1132	3	7.40	58.17	34.33	0.09	448	2612	237	0	13.59	79.22	7.19	0.00
<b>"Professional Service":</b>																	
Artists, art teachers	2147	37	706	1395	9	1.72	32.88	64.97	0.42	816	1249	81	1	38.01	58.17	3.77	0.05
Author/journalist/editors	3084	39	405	2635	5	1.26	13.13	85.44	0.16	887	2069	128	0	28.76	67.09	4.15	0.00
Health professionals	n/g																
Lawyers	7199	774	5232	1193	0	10.75	72.68	16.57	0.00	1472	5394	332	1	20.45	74.93	4.61	0.01
Musicians, music teachers	3442	44	1271	2105	22	1.28	36.93	61.16	0.64	1310	1966	165	1	38.06	57.12	4.79	0.03
Nurses - graduate	136	0	3	133	0	0.00	2.21	97.79	0.00	56	70	10	0	41.18	51.47	7.35	0.00
Physician/Surgeons	9550	387	7362	1524	277	4.05	77.09	15.96	2.90	1617	7563	370	0	16.93	79.19	3.87	0.00
Teachers -dance, phys.ed.	n/g																
Religious workers (excl.muns)	1249	0	191	729	329	0.00	15.29	58.37	26.34	566	656	27	0	45.32	52.52	2.16	0.00
"Other" professionals	7874	57	605	7051	161	0.72	7.68	89.55	2.04	2530	5112	231	1	32.13	64.92	2.93	0.01
<b>"Recreational Service":</b>																	
Actors/sportsmen	1121	20	236	854	11	1.78	21.05	76.18	0.98	428	632	61	0	38.18	56.38	5.44	0.00
<b>"Personal Service":</b>																	
Hotelkeepers & Managers	5265	1992	1816	1457	0	37.83	34.49	27.67	0.00	642	4325	297	1	12.19	82.15	5.64	0.02
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	1740	322	1418	0	0	18.51	81.49	0.00	0.00	266	1269	205	0	15.29	72.93	11.78	0.00
Restaurant, café, Tavern keepers	10153	2981	6036	1134	2	29.36	59.45	11.17	0.02	1819	7853	481	0	17.92	77.35	4.74	0.00
Laundry owners/managers	1038	486	255	297	0	46.82	24.57	28.61	0.00	123	850	65	0	11.85	81.89	6.26	0.00
Barbers & Hairdressers	13809	1106	8321	4289	93	8.01	60.26	31.06	0.67	2439	10662	708	0	17.66	77.21	5.13	0.00
Nurses - Practical	2821	0	21	2750	50	0.00	0.74	97.48	1.77	1360	1313	148	0	48.21	46.54	5.25	0.00
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	890578	210329	582428	94473	2898	23.62	65.40	10.61	0.33	152776	694252	43064	35	17.15	77.96	4.84	0.00
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	3104388	228121	678671	1924440	273156	7.35	21.86	61.99	8.80	1081952	1900668	121547	221	34.85	61.23	3.92	0.01
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1941, Volume 7, Table 5.</i>																	
In 1941, the 'legally separated' were combined with the 'divorced'. here, I have put w/d/l.s. all together.																	
*Selected Occupations: those chosen for men are the same as those occupations selected for women, and are chosen for comparative purposes: see notes, previous sheets on women's selected occupations.																	
** Adult Population in 1941 = 14 years and over																	
Data for Canada does not include British Columbia.																	
Cleaners and Dyers of Clothing do not appear here; this occupation had significant levels of female self-employment in British Columbia but not Canada-wide.																	

1951															
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*															
1951: British Columbia															
		EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)		
Females	Total Occupied	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	s	M	W/D
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>															
<b>"Agriculture":</b>															
Farmer, stockraisers, gardeners/florists	644	63	581	0	0	9.78	90.22	0.00	0.00	121	275	248	18.79	42.70	38.51
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	58	3	20	33	2	5.17	34.48	56.90	3.45	11	40	7	18.97	68.97	12.07
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>															
Owners/Managers	137	82	0	55	0	59.85	0.00	40.15	0.00	42	62	33	30.66	45.26	24.09
Furners	94	2	4	87	1	2.13	4.26	92.55	1.06	29	51	14	30.85	54.26	14.89
Clothing designers	27	0	9	18	0	0.00	33.33	66.67	0.00	17	8	2	62.96	29.63	7.41
Dressmakers, seamstresses	1133	9	251	868	5	0.79	22.15	76.61	0.44	352	534	247	31.07	47.13	21.80
Milliners	43	1	7	35	0	2.33	16.28	81.40	0.00	14	18	11	32.56	41.86	25.58
Tailoresses	222	2	17	202	1	0.90	7.66	90.99	0.45	79	106	37	35.59	47.75	16.67
Typesetters	31	1	2	27	1	3.23	6.45	87.10	3.23	18	11	2	58.06	35.48	6.45
<b>"Construction":</b>															
Painters, glaziers, decorators	58	2	7	46	3	3.45	12.07	79.31	5.17	24	27	7	41.38	46.55	12.07
<b>"Transportation":</b>															
Owners/Mgr/officials	203	13	13	177	0	6.40	6.40	87.19	0.00	43	129	31	21.18	63.55	15.27
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	66	3	8	51	9	4.55	12.12	77.27	13.64	23	33	10	34.85	50.00	15.15
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>															
Advertising Agents	23	0	3	20	0	0.00	13.04	86.96	0.00	14	6	3	60.87	26.09	13.04
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	2190	398	1405	358	29	18.17	64.16	16.35	1.32	397	1361	432	18.13	62.15	19.73
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	101	25	21	54	1	24.75	20.79	53.47	0.99	44	34	23	43.56	33.66	22.77
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	110	3	6	96	5	2.73	5.45	87.27	4.55	46	51	13	41.82	46.36	11.82
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>															
Owners/Mgr/officials	36	8	1	27	0	22.22	2.78	75.00	0.00	15	10	11	41.67	27.78	30.56
Insurance agents	103	1	24	78	0	0.97	23.30	75.73	0.00	39	37	27	37.86	35.92	26.21
Real estate agents/dealers	208	16	93	99	0	7.69	44.71	47.60	0.00	35	113	60	16.83	54.33	28.85
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>															
Accountants, auditors	158	1	11	146	0	0.63	6.96	92.41	0.00	92	42	24	58.23	26.58	15.19
Artists & art teachers	149	0	24	102	0	0.00	16.11	68.46	0.00	84	45	20	56.38	30.20	13.42
Author/journalist/editors	197	0	21	176	0	0.00	10.66	89.34	0.00	74	95	28	37.56	48.22	14.21
Lawyers	27	7	10	10	0	25.93	37.04	37.04	0.00	14	9	4	51.85	33.33	14.81
Musicians, music teachers	463	1	327	135	0	0.22	70.63	29.16	0.00	212	192	59	45.79	41.47	12.74
Photographers	74	4	30	37	3	5.41	40.54	50.00	4.05	31	34	9	41.89	45.95	12.16
Physicians, surgeons	69	8	23	38	0	11.59	33.33	55.07	0.00	36	30	3	52.17	43.48	4.35
"Other" teachers	112	1	9	102	0	0.89	8.04	91.07	0.00	64	37	11	57.14	33.04	9.82
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>															
Barbers, hairdressers	907	92	345	466	4	10.14	38.04	51.38	0.44	307	493	107	33.85	54.36	11.80
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	864	17	847	0	0	1.97	98.03	0.00	0.00	63	494	307	7.29	57.18	35.53
Owners/Mgr/officials	1187	279	640	226	42	23.50	53.92	19.04	3.54	114	875	198	9.60	73.72	16.68
<b>"Recreational Service:"</b>															
Actresses, Sportsman	32	1	10	20	1	3.13	31.25	62.50	3.13	17	9	6	53.13	28.13	18.75
Owners/Mgr/officials	56	11	18	27	0	19.64	32.14	48.21	0.00	10	30	16	17.86	53.57	28.57
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>9782</b>	<b>1054</b>	<b>4787</b>	<b>3816</b>	<b>107</b>	<b>10.77</b>	<b>48.94</b>	<b>39.01</b>	<b>1.09</b>	<b>2481</b>	<b>5291</b>	<b>2010</b>	<b>25.36</b>	<b>54.09</b>	<b>20.55</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>97978</b>	<b>1150</b>	<b>5322</b>	<b>90031</b>	<b>1475</b>	<b>1.17</b>	<b>5.43</b>	<b>91.89</b>	<b>1.51</b>	<b>48797</b>	<b>38519</b>	<b>10662</b>	<b>49.80</b>	<b>39.31</b>	<b>10.88</b>
Data is from the <i>Census of Canada</i> , Volume 4, Table 11.															
*Selected Occupations = those with a higher rate of female self-employment than the average self-employment rate for all gainfully employed women, & that employ 20 or more women.															
** Adult population in 1951=14 yrs and older.															
Notes: Separated women are included with the 'Married' in 1951. Tailoresses appear in 1951, as do taxi drivers; they were occupations for women in earlier decades but didn't appear in significant numbers. I combined gardeners, florists with farmers. Also: there were female box, basket, packingcase makers in 1951 (they didn't appear in 1941), but there were just 40 of them.															
Nurses: there were 4,250 but only 8 were self-employed: Nurses therefore have a drastic shift, from self-employment to wage earner status that began in earlier decades but is very pronounced here.															
Other 'changes': Photographers are now 'professionals' rather than appearing under 'Manufacturing.'															
And: some occupations either don't appear in the 1951 census, or they are not significant any more for women and so don't appear in this table, while others (like Lawyers) gain prominence.															

1951, Continued																
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*																
1951: Canada																
Females	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																
Farmer, stockraisers, gardener/Florist	7519	1849	5670	0	0	24.39	75.41	0.00	0.00	1058	1532	4929	14.07	20.38	65.55	
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	140	2	70	60	8	1.43	50.00	42.86	5.71	68	43	29	48.57	30.71	20.71	
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																
Owners/Managers	1738	735	0	982	21	42.29	0.00	56.50	1.21	684	702	352	39.36	40.39	20.25	
Furriers***																
Clothing designers	614	7	44	559	4	1.14	7.17	91.04	0.65	359	191	64	58.47	31.11	10.42	
Dressmakers, seamstresses	13104	69	4165	8791	79	0.53	31.78	67.09	0.60	7044	4063	1997	53.75	31.01	15.24	
Milliners	1369	34	332	998	5	2.48	24.25	72.90	0.37	872	349	148	63.70	25.49	10.81	
Shoemakers and repairs	148	5	14	120	9	3.38	9.46	81.08	6.08	87	46	15	58.78	31.08	10.14	
Tailoresses	1275	8	102	1156	9	0.63	8.00	90.67	0.71	533	513	229	41.80	40.24	17.96	
Typesetters***																
Upholsterers	237	1	11	219	6	0.42	4.64	92.41	2.53	118	94	25	49.79	39.66	10.55	
<b>"Construction:"</b>																
Painters, glaziers, decorators	827	4	38	782	3	0.48	4.59	94.56	0.36	442	329	56	53.45	39.78	6.77	
<b>"Transportation:"</b>																
Owners/Mgr/officials	2954	89	39	2816	10	3.01	1.32	95.33	0.34	929	1529	496	31.45	51.76	16.79	
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	209	7	54	136	12	3.35	25.84	65.07	5.74	93	90	26	44.50	43.06	12.44	
Truck drivers	332	2	15	290	25	0.60	4.52	87.35	7.53	194	112	26	58.43	33.73	7.83	
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>																
<b>Advertising Agents***</b>																
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	15673	2795	9959	2705	214	17.83	63.54	17.26	1.37	4200	8398	3075	26.80	53.58	19.62	
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	763	127	124	505	7	16.64	16.25	66.19	0.92	306	307	150	40.10	40.24	19.66	
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	614	12	46	540	16	1.95	7.49	87.95	2.61	335	229	50	54.56	37.30	8.14	
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>																
Owners/Mgr/officials	557	44	0	509	4	7.90	0.00	91.38	0.72	355	135	67	63.73	24.24	12.03	
Insurance agents	741	14	102	624	1	1.89	13.77	84.21	0.13	403	205	133	54.39	27.67	17.95	
Real estate agents/dealers	407	49	154	202	2	12.04	37.84	49.63	0.49	108	177	122	26.54	43.49	29.98	
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>																
<b>Accountants, auditors***</b>																
Artists & art teachers	1076	13	230	831	2	1.21	21.38	77.23	0.19	765	263	48	71.10	24.44	4.46	
Author/journalist/editors	1424	6	121	1295	2	0.42	8.50	90.94	0.14	842	439	143	59.13	30.83	10.04	
Lawyers	170	24	56	90	0	14.12	32.94	52.94	0.00	113	45	12	66.47	26.47	7.06	
Musicians, music teachers	4135	8	1779	2319	29	0.19	43.02	56.08	0.70	2650	1190	295	64.09	28.78	7.13	
Photographers	405	30	112	236	27	7.41	27.65	58.27	6.67	253	124	28	62.47	30.62	6.91	
Physicians, surgeons	591	34	197	360	0	5.75	33.33	60.91	0.00	325	243	23	54.99	41.12	3.89	
<b>"Other" teachers***</b>																
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>																
Barbers, hairdressers	9947	894	4079	4825	149	8.99	41.01	48.51	1.50	4813	4448	686	48.39	44.72	6.90	
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	5429	193	5236	0	0	3.55	96.45	0.00	0.00	470	3363	1596	8.66	61.95	29.40	
Owners/Mgr/officials	7722	1789	4483	1242	208	23.17	58.05	16.08	2.69	1312	4780	1630	16.99	61.90	21.11	
Charworkers, cleaners	10495	0	533	9949	13	0.00	5.08	94.80	0.12	2140	5310	3045	20.39	50.60	29.01	
Community service	1349	156	119	1070	4	11.56	8.82	79.32	0.30	817	324	208	60.56	24.02	15.42	
<b>"Recreational Service:"</b>																
Actresses, Sportsman	240	1	34	205	0	0.42	14.17	85.42	0.00	146	78	16	60.83	32.50	6.67	
Owners/Mgr/officials	303	45	74	179	5	14.85	24.42	59.08	1.65	97	141	65	32.01	46.53	21.45	
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>92507</b>	<b>9046</b>	<b>37992</b>	<b>44595</b>	<b>874</b>	<b>9.78</b>	<b>41.07</b>	<b>48.21</b>	<b>0.94</b>	<b>32931</b>	<b>39792</b>	<b>19784</b>	<b>35.60</b>	<b>43.02</b>	<b>21.39</b>	
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>1066343</b>	<b>9402</b>	<b>40848</b>	<b>983798</b>	<b>32295</b>	<b>0.88</b>	<b>3.83</b>	<b>92.26</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>674636</b>	<b>310442</b>	<b>81265</b>	<b>63.27</b>	<b>29.11</b>	<b>7.62</b>	
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 4, Table 11.</i>																
Separated women are included with the "Married" in 1951.																
*Selected Occupations = those with a higher rate of female self-employment than the average self-employment rate for all gainfully employed women, and that employed 150 or more women.																
**Adult Population = 14 years and older																
*** These occupations either did not have significant female self-employment Canada-wide (compared to British Columbia, where they did) or else, they had less than 150 gainfully employed women.																

1951, Continued															
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*															
1951: British Columbia															
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)		
		E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S.	M.	W/D.	S.	M.	W/D.
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>															
<b>"Agriculture":</b>															
Farmer, stockraisers, gardener/florists	1 787	1 744	1 612	0	0	9.76	90.24	0.00	0.00	2 982	1 425	638	16.69	79.74	3.57
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	5 193	71	3 599	1 509	14	1.37	69.30	29.06	0.27	1 485	3 538	170	28.60	68.13	3.27
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>															
Owners/Managers	5 866	3 392	0	2 474	0	57.82	0.00	42.18	0.00	485	5 272	109	8.27	89.87	1.86
Furriers	56	5	3	48	0	8.93	5.36	85.71	0.00	14	40	2	25.00	71.43	3.57
Clothing designers	15	0	2	13	0	0.00	13.33	86.67	0.00	4	11		26.67	73.33	0.00
Sewers	48	0	0	48	0	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	20	27	1	41.67	56.25	2.08
Milliners	0	0	0	0	0					0	0	0			
Tailors	448	40	139	269	0	8.93	31.03	60.04	0.00	80	343	25	17.86	76.56	5.58
Typesetters	1 166	25	71	1 070	0	2.14	6.09	91.77	0.00	326	808	32	27.96	69.30	2.74
<b>"Construction":</b>															
Painters, glaziers, decorators	3 684	118	832	2 732	2	3.20	22.58	74.16	0.05	701	2 855	128	19.03	77.50	3.47
<b>"Transportation":</b>															
Owners/Mgr/officials	2 125	471	257	1 397	0	22.16	12.09	65.74	0.00	143	1 933	49	6.73	90.96	2.31
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	1 396	72	449	875	0	5.16	32.16	62.68	0.00	277	1 070	49	19.84	76.65	3.51
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>															
Advertising Agents	205	0	24	181	0	0.00	11.71	88.29	0.00	36	167	2	17.56	81.46	0.98
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	1 113	3 033	5 207	2 893	2	27.24	46.76	25.98	0.02	852	9 995	288	7.65	89.76	2.59
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	4 094	722	962	2 410	0	17.64	23.50	58.87	0.00	247	3 759	88	6.03	91.82	2.15
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	153	7	16	130	0	4.58	10.46	84.97	0.00	58	92	3	37.91	60.13	1.96
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>															
Owners/Mgr/officials	1 249	195	0	1 053	1	15.61	0.00	84.31	0.08	53	1 176	20	4.24	94.16	1.60
Insurance agents	1 539	67	203	1 269	0	4.35	13.19	82.46	0.00	174	1 317	48	11.31	85.58	3.12
Real estate agents/dealers	2 122	299	732	1 089	2	14.09	34.50	51.32	0.09	120	1 936	66	5.66	91.23	3.11
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>															
Accountants, auditors	3 504	144	358	3 002	0	4.11	10.22	85.67	0.00	430	3 005	69	12.27	85.76	1.97
Artists & art teachers	304	7	90	207	0	2.30	29.61	68.09	0.00	74	221	9	24.34	72.70	2.96
Author/journalist/editors	557	5	61	491	0	0.90	10.95	88.15	0.00	127	414	16	22.80	74.33	2.87
Lawyers	863	292	338	233	0	33.84	39.17	27.00	0.00	135	702	26	15.64	81.34	3.01
Musicians, music teachers	292	10	130	152	0	3.42	44.52	52.05	0.00	83	200	9	28.42	68.49	3.08
Photographers	345	54	149	141	1	15.65	43.19	40.87	0.29	75	257	13	21.74	74.49	3.77
Physicians, surgeons	1 306	387	511	408	0	29.63	39.13	31.24	0.00	99	1 181	26	7.58	90.43	1.99
"Other" teachers	101	2	4	95	0	1.98	3.96	94.06	0.00	13	86	2	12.87	85.15	1.98
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>															
Barbers, hairdressers	1 057	150	546	361	0	14.19	51.66	34.15	0.00	135	872	50	12.77	82.50	4.73
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	400	20	380	0	0	5.00	95.00	0.00	0.00	53	317	30	13.25	79.25	7.50
Owners/Mgr/officials	3 303	1 145	1 548	608	2	34.67	46.87	18.41	0.06	272	2 937	94	8.23	88.92	2.85
<b>"Recreational Service:"</b>															
Actors, Sportsmen	142	2	39	100	1	1.41	27.46	70.42	0.70	48	93	1	33.80	65.49	0.70
Owners/Mgr/officials	631	129	214	288	0	20.44	33.91	45.64	0.00	87	527	17	13.79	83.52	2.69
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>71 170</b>	<b>12 608</b>	<b>32 991</b>	<b>25 546</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>17.72</b>	<b>46.36</b>	<b>35.89</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>9 688</b>	<b>59 402</b>	<b>2 080</b>	<b>13.61</b>	<b>83.46</b>	<b>2.92</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>346 374</b>	<b>165 79</b>	<b>451 24</b>	<b>283 300</b>	<b>1 371</b>	<b>4.79</b>	<b>13.03</b>	<b>81.79</b>	<b>0.40</b>	<b>87 446</b>	<b>250 267</b>	<b>8 661</b>	<b>25.25</b>	<b>72.25</b>	<b>2.50</b>
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 4, Table 11.</i>															
*Selected Occupations: see notes on previous tables dealing with men: Male occupations chosen to compare with those chosen for women.															
**Adult population in 1951=14 years and older. Separated men are included with the 'Married' in 1951.															
Notes: there are more female furriers than male in British Columbia in 1951. The category of "milliner" didn't appear for Males in British Columbia. There are no Seamstress/dressmaker men in 1951 but there are "Sewers - not in factory." Hotel keepers: not listed in the 1951 data. They may be incl. in the Personal Service, 'Not elsewhere specified,' owner-mgr-officials.															

1951, Continued																
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*																
1951: Canada																
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)				EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)				MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			
		E	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E	O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>																
<b>"Agriculture":</b>																
Farmer, stockraisers, gardener/florists	521241	63310	457931	0	0	12.15	87.85	0.00	0.00	89420	416974	14847	17.16	80.00	2.85	
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	45486	1287	35153	7858	1188	2.83	77.28	17.28	2.61	15222	28722	1542	33.47	63.14	3.39	
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>																
Owners/Managers	57768	28620	0	29143	5	49.54	0.00	30.45	0.01	4065	52452	1251	7.04	90.80	2.17	
Furriers***																
Clothing designers	761	10	30	720	1	1.31	3.94	94.61	0.13	147	596	18	19.32	78.32	2.37	
Sewers	5677	0	0	5673	4	0.00	0.00	99.93	0.07	1607	3955	115	28.31	69.67	2.03	
Milliners	69	9	11	49	0	13.04	15.94	71.01	0.00	13	56	0	18.84	81.16	0.00	
Shoemakers and repairs	5528	347	3745	1395	41	6.28	67.75	25.24	0.74	1195	4108	225	21.62	74.31	4.07	
Tailors	7224	324	1236	5657	7	4.49	17.11	78.31	0.10	1877	5097	250	25.98	70.56	3.46	
Typesetters***																
Upholsterers	4494	133	509	3844	8	2.96	11.33	85.54	0.18	1267	3133	94	28.19	69.72	2.09	
<b>"Construction":</b>																
Painters, glaziers, decorators	42589	1434	8396	32698	61	3.37	19.71	76.78	0.14	10506	30848	1235	24.67	72.43	2.90	
<b>"Transportation":</b>																
Owners/Mgr/officials	17238	3396	1854	11986	2	19.70	10.76	69.53	0.01	1402	15413	423	8.13	89.41	2.45	
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	19683	566	7706	11353	58	2.88	39.15	57.68	0.29	5396	13858	429	27.41	70.41	2.18	
Truck drivers	136547	1689	15213	118884	761	1.24	11.14	87.06	0.56	40177	94759	1611	29.42	69.40	1.18	
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>																
<b>Advertising Agents***</b>																
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	115899	36578	52936	26331	54	31.56	45.67	22.72	0.05	10669	102369	2861	9.21	88.33	2.47	
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	35214	7326	8646	19236	6	20.80	24.55	54.63	0.02	2789	31606	819	7.92	89.75	2.33	
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	1552	55	156	1340	1	3.54	10.05	86.34	0.06	519	1004	29	33.44	64.69	1.87	
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>																
Owners/Mgr/officials	14169	1545	2	12621	1	10.90	0.01	89.07	0.01	972	12940	257	6.86	91.33	1.81	
Insurance agents	16493	660	2189	13640	4	4.00	13.27	82.70	0.02	2128	13992	373	12.90	84.84	2.26	
Real estate agents/dealers	7116	1051	2599	3463	3	14.77	36.52	48.66	0.04	803	6069	244	11.28	85.29	3.43	
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>																
<b>Accountants, auditors***</b>																
Artists & art teachers	3367	88	741	2538	0	2.61	22.01	75.38	0.00	993	2329	45	29.49	69.17	1.34	
Author/journalist/editors	5039	72	329	4636	2	1.43	6.53	92.00	0.04	1238	3706	95	24.57	73.55	1.89	
Lawyers	7978	2576	3308	2094	0	32.29	41.46	26.25	0.00	1226	6523	229	15.37	81.76	2.87	
Musicians, music teachers	3143	108	931	2100	4	3.44	29.62	66.82	0.13	1070	1993	80	34.04	63.41	2.55	
Photographers	2774	387	1031	1352	4	13.95	37.17	48.74	0.14	796	1919	59	28.70	69.18	2.13	
Physicians, surgeons	12359	2008	6562	3789	0	16.25	53.09	30.66	0.00	1453	10644	262	11.76	86.12	2.12	
<b>"Other" teachers***</b>																
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>																
Barbers, hairdressers	12504	1529	6915	4021	39	12.23	55.30	32.16	0.31	1744	10302	458	13.95	82.39	3.66	
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	841	117	724	0	0	13.91	86.09	0.00	0.00	120	625	96	14.27	74.32	11.41	
Owners/Mgr/officials	28550	10864	12487	5162	37	38.05	43.74	18.08	0.13	3338	24479	733	11.69	85.74	2.57	
Charworkers, cleaners	5586	70	493	5019	4	1.25	8.83	89.85	0.07	1637	3597	352	29.31	64.39	6.30	
Community service	3860	83	71	3704	2	2.15	1.84	95.96	0.05	314	3442	104	8.13	89.17	2.69	
<b>"Recreational Service:"</b>																
Actors, Sportsman	1357	20	241	1094	2	1.47	17.76	80.62	0.15	609	731	17	44.88	53.87	1.25	
Own: rs/Mgr/officials	5673	1286	1883	2500	4	22.67	33.19	44.07	0.07	961	4567	145	16.94	80.50	2.56	
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>1147779</b>	<b>167548</b>	<b>634028</b>	<b>343900</b>	<b>2303</b>	<b>14.60</b>	<b>55.24</b>	<b>29.96</b>	<b>0.20</b>	<b>205673</b>	<b>912808</b>	<b>29298</b>	<b>17.92</b>	<b>79.53</b>	<b>2.55</b>	
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>3775458</b>	<b>202507</b>	<b>710077</b>	<b>2728022</b>	<b>134852</b>	<b>5.36</b>	<b>18.81</b>	<b>72.26</b>	<b>3.57</b>	<b>1116852</b>	<b>2573890</b>	<b>84716</b>	<b>29.58</b>	<b>68.17</b>	<b>2.24</b>	
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 4, Table 11.</i>																
Separated men appear in the Category of "married" in 1951.																
*Selected Occupations: chosen to match with those chosen for women: See previous tables. ** Adult population = 14 years and older																
*** These occupations either did not have significant female self-employment Canada-wide (compared to British Columbia where they did) or else, they had less than 200 women gainfully employed (see previous tables pertaining to women) and thus were not included in the data listed here for men.																

1961														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected* Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1961: British Columbia														
	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG AGE	
Females	Total Occupied	E.+O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.+O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmer, stockraisers, gardeners/lorists	678	634	40	4	93.51	5.90	0.59	85	312	281	12.54	46.02	41.45	48
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	74	9	52	13	12.16	70.27	17.57	7	61	6	9.46	82.43	8.11	43
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Bakers	205	21	170	14	10.24	82.93	6.83	36	151	18	17.56	73.66	8.78	42
Knitters	59	9	50	0	15.25	84.75	0.00	9	48	2	15.25	81.36	3.39	40
Dressmakers, seamstresses	1211	284	917	10	23.45	75.72	0.83	207	776	228	17.09	64.08	18.83	46
Milliners	38	9	29	0	23.68	76.32	0.00	8	22	8	21.05	57.89	21.05	49
Tailorresses	118	15	98	5	12.71	83.05	4.24	18	84	16	15.25	71.19	13.56	44
Pressmen, printing	27	2	25	0	7.41	92.59	0.00	7	18	2	25.93	66.67	7.41	39
Jewellers, watchmakers	24	10	12	2	41.67	50.00	8.33	6	14	4	25.00	58.33	16.67	46
<b>"Construction":</b>														
Painters, glaziers, decorators	31	6	21	4	19.35	67.74	12.90	9	17	5	29.03	54.84	16.13	37
<b>"Transportation":</b>														
Bus Drivers	45	5	39	1	11.11	86.67	2.22	6	32	7	13.33	71.11	15.56	42
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	80	19	56	5	23.75	70.00	6.25	14	54	12	17.50	67.50	15.00	41
Truck drivers	53	6	44	3	11.32	83.02	5.66	20	29	4	37.74	54.72	7.55	35
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>														
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	2578	1925	566	87	74.67	21.96	3.37	247	1895	436	9.58	73.51	16.91	48
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	159	76	80	3	47.80	50.31	1.89	21	106	32	13.21	66.67	20.13	45
Door to door sales, comm. travellers***	643	68	571	4	10.58	88.80	0.62	69	496	78	10.73	77.14	12.13	41
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	216	29	177	10	13.43	81.94	4.63	53	140	23	24.54	64.81	10.65	38
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>														
Insurance agents	223	17	203	3	7.62	91.03	1.35	68	124	31	30.49	55.61	13.90	39
Real estate agents/dealers	310	29	277	4	9.35	89.35	1.29	17	227	66	5.48	73.23	21.29	48
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>														
Accountants, auditors	253	34	217	2	13.44	85.77	0.79	100	121	32	39.53	47.83	12.65	42
Artists & art teachers	197	50	144	3	25.38	73.10	1.52	76	95	26	38.58	48.22	13.20	41
Author/journalist/editors	351	32	314	5	9.12	89.46	1.42	99	219	33	28.21	62.39	9.40	40
Lawyers	44	25	19	0	56.82	43.18	0.00	18	16	10	40.91	36.36	22.73	41
Musicians, music teachers	656	423	230	3	64.48	35.06	0.46	192	380	84	29.27	57.93	12.80	46
Photographers	47	19	26	2	40.43	55.32	4.26	11	30	6	23.40	63.83	12.77	41
Physicians, surgeons	160	64	96	0	40.00	60.00	0.00	54	97	9	33.75	60.63	5.63	39
Physical, occup therapists	281	34	247	0	12.10	87.90	0.00	134	121	26	47.69	43.06	9.25	38
Pharmacists	115	11	102	2	9.57	88.70	1.74	47	57	11	40.87	49.57	9.57	36
Other Health professionals	22	12	10	0	54.55	45.45	0.00	3	13	6	13.64	59.09	27.27	44
Religious workers	133	9	122	2	6.77	91.73	1.50	85	33	15	63.91	24.81	11.28	44
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	2002	723	1262	17	36.11	63.04	0.85	665	1146	191	33.22	57.24	9.54	34
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	2070	1991	68	11	96.18	3.29	0.53	75	1552	443	3.62	74.98	21.40	51
<b>"Recreational Service:"</b>														
Actresses, entertainers	175	85	89	1	48.57	50.86	0.57	68	97	10	38.86	55.43	5.71	34
<b>"Managerial: Owners/managers/officials:"</b>														
Manufacturing industries	243	132	102	9	54.32	41.98	3.70	32	171	40	13.17	70.37	16.46	47
Construction	49	27	15	7	55.10	30.61	14.29	1	41	7	2.04	83.67	14.29	43
Transportation, communication	103	39	62	2	37.86	60.19	1.94	26	58	19	25.24	56.31	18.45	44
Finance, insurance, real estate	365	122	239	4	33.42	65.48	1.10	45	250	70	12.33	68.49	19.18	49
Health and welfare services	228	113	111	4	49.56	48.68	1.75	55	133	40	24.12	58.33	17.54	50
Motion picture, recreational services	105	52	40	13	49.52	38.10	12.38	6	91	8	5.71	86.67	7.62	45
Personal Services	1948	1399	407	142	71.82	20.89	7.29	85	1610	253	4.36	82.65	12.99	46
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>16319</b>	<b>8569</b>	<b>7349</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>52.51</b>	<b>45.03</b>	<b>2.46</b>	<b>2784</b>	<b>10937</b>	<b>2598</b>	<b>17.06</b>	<b>67.02</b>	<b>15.92</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>155862</b>	<b>9854</b>	<b>141632</b>	<b>4376</b>	<b>6.32</b>	<b>90.87</b>	<b>2.81</b>	<b>49627</b>	<b>89723</b>	<b>16512</b>	<b>31.84</b>	<b>57.57</b>	<b>10.59</b>	<b>38</b>

1961, Continued															
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*															
1961: Canada															
	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG AGE	
Females		E.+O.A.	W.E	N.P	E.+O.A.	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D		
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>															
<b>"Agriculture":</b>															
Farmer, stockraisers, gardeners/florists	8647	8388	222	37	97.00	2.51	0.43	965	3079	4603	11.16	35.61	53.23	49	
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	200	64	99	37	32.00	49.50	18.50	79	98	23	39.50	49.00	11.50	38	
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>															
Bakers	1865	99	1694	72	5.31	90.83	3.86	648	1074	143	34.75	57.59	7.67	37	
Dressmakers, seamstresses	14305	2714	11494	97	18.97	80.35	0.68	5603	6782	1920	39.17	47.41	13.42	46	
Milliners	992	295	694	3	29.74	69.96	0.30	426	441	125	42.94	44.46	12.60	44	
Tailoresses	905	99	778	28	10.94	85.91	3.09	232	541	132	25.64	59.78	14.59	43	
<b>"Construction":</b>															
Painters, glaziers, decorators	339	45	274	20	13.27	80.83	5.90	106	211	22	31.27	62.24	6.49	37	
<b>"Transportation":</b>															
Bus Drivers	483	27	401	55	5.59	83.02	11.39	21	443	19	4.35	91.72	3.93	40	
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	314	79	191	44	25.16	60.83	14.01	57	216	41	18.15	68.79	13.06	40	
Truck drivers	279	23	237	19	8.24	84.95	6.81	123	141	15	44.09	50.54	5.38	33	
<b>"Commercial: (Trade)</b>															
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	19961	15878	3613	470	79.55	18.10	2.35	2961	13455	3545	14.83	67.41	17.76	47	
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	1050	496	513	41	47.24	48.86	3.90	204	622	224	19.43	59.24	21.33	46	
Door to door sales, com. travellers***	5135	678	4435	22	13.20	86.37	0.43	729	3949	457	14.20	76.90	8.90	40	
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	1390	140	1195	55	10.07	85.97	3.96	439	801	150	31.58	57.63	10.79	37	
<b>"Finance, Insurance:":</b>															
Insurance agents	1449	180	1253	16	12.42	86.47	1.10	581	681	187	40.10	47.00	12.91	40	
Real estate agents/dealers	1076	122	934	20	11.34	86.80	1.86	80	823	173	7.43	76.49	16.08	45	
<b>"Professional Service:":</b>															
Accountants, auditors	1296	80	1212	4	6.17	93.52	0.31	656	527	113	50.62	40.66	8.72	41	
Artists & art teachers	1506	243	1242	21	16.14	82.47	1.39	863	574	69	57.30	38.11	4.58	39	
Author/journalist/editors	2962	226	2728	8	7.63	92.10	0.27	1285	1392	285	43.38	47.00	9.62	39	
Lawyers	267	101	164	2	37.83	61.42	0.75	137	104	26	51.31	38.95	9.74	40	
Musicians, music teachers	6146	2273	3814	59	36.98	62.06	0.96	2947	2738	461	47.95	44.55	7.50	44	
Photographers	320	93	201	26	29.06	62.81	8.13	120	178	22	37.50	55.63	6.88	38	
Physicians, surgeons	1295	431	864	0	33.28	66.72	0.00	507	728	60	39.15	56.22	4.63	38	
Physical, occup. therapists	1763	139	1612	12	7.88	91.44	0.68	945	713	105	53.60	40.44	5.96	35	
Pharmacists	870	93	758	19	10.69	87.13	2.18	454	367	49	52.18	42.18	5.63	38	
Other Health professionals	234	36	196	2	15.38	83.76	0.85	118	83	33	50.43	35.47	14.10	42	
<b>"Personal Service:":</b>															
Barbers, hairdressers	21303	8565	12478	260	40.21	58.57	1.22	8821	11216	1266	41.41	52.65	5.94	32	
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	22580	21372	1179	29	94.65	5.22	0.13	726	18379	3475	3.22	81.40	15.39	46	
<b>"Recreational Service:":</b>															
Actresses, entertainers	1063	342	707	14	32.17	66.51	1.32	462	542	59	43.46	50.99	5.55	32	
<b>"Managerial: Owners/managers/officials:":</b>															
Manufacturing industries	2221	953	1209	59	42.91	54.43	2.66	510	1240	471	22.96	55.83	21.21	47	
Construction	330	146	165	19	44.24	50.00	5.76	41	226	63	12.42	68.48	19.09	45	
Transportation, communication	773	261	493	19	33.76	63.78	2.46	219	400	154	28.33	51.75	19.92	43	
Finance, insurance, real estate	1353	371	965	17	27.42	71.32	1.26	445	684	224	32.89	50.55	16.56	46	
Education & related services	285	50	233	2	17.54	81.75	0.70	195	66	24	68.42	23.16	8.42	49	
Health and welfare services	1901	462	1415	24	24.30	74.43	1.26	1090	601	210	57.34	31.61	11.05	50	
Motion picture, recreational services	556	223	289	44	40.11	51.98	7.91	100	355	101	17.99	63.85	18.17	44	
Services to business mgement	503	243	252	8	48.31	50.10	1.59	143	270	90	28.43	53.68	17.89	44	
Personal Services	10432	7894	1774	764	75.67	17.01	7.32	958	7764	1710	9.18	74.42	16.39	46	
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>138349</b>	<b>73924</b>	<b>61977</b>	<b>2448</b>	<b>53.43</b>	<b>44.80</b>	<b>1.77</b>	<b>34996</b>	<b>82504</b>	<b>20849</b>	<b>25.30</b>	<b>59.63</b>	<b>15.07</b>	<b>42</b>	
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>1610470</b>	<b>84167</b>	<b>1443825</b>	<b>82478</b>	<b>5.23</b>	<b>89.65</b>	<b>5.12</b>	<b>697640</b>	<b>789418</b>	<b>123412</b>	<b>43.32</b>	<b>49.02</b>	<b>7.66</b>	<b>36</b>	

1961, Continued														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1961: British Columbia														
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG. AGE
		E.+O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.+O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmer, stockraisers, gardener/florists	14249	11544	2697	8	81.02	18.93	0.06	2281	11539	429	16.01	80.98	3.01	48
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	4900	2960	1918	22	60.41	39.14	0.45	1157	3612	131	23.61	73.71	2.67	42
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Bakers	1062	156	902	4	14.69	84.93	0.38	215	834	13	20.24	78.53	1.22	39
Knitters	12	0	12	0	0.00	100.00	0.00	1	11	0	8.33	91.67	0.00	43
Dressmakers, sewers	26	5	20	1	19.23	76.92	3.85	3	21	2	11.54	80.77	7.69	43
Milliners	0	0	0	0				0	0	0				
Tailors	303	129	173	1	42.57	57.10	0.33	58	232	13	19.14	76.57	4.29	47
Pressmen, printing	485	6	478	1	1.24	98.56	0.21	86	386	13	17.73	79.59	2.68	39
Jewellers, watchmakers	363	160	200	3	44.08	55.10	0.83	55	298	10	15.15	82.09	2.75	43
<b>"Construction":</b>														
Painters, glaziers, decorators	3471	924	2543	4	26.62	73.26	0.12	605	2767	99	17.43	79.72	2.85	42
<b>"Transportation":</b>														
Bus Drivers	1953	33	1920	0	1.69	98.31	0.00	81	1834	38	4.15	93.91	1.95	43
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	1348	430	918	0	31.90	68.10	0.00	188	1107	53	13.95	82.12	3.93	41
Truck drivers	14598	1606	12965	27	11.00	88.81	0.18	2540	11847	211	17.40	81.15	1.45	36
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>														
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	11866	8278	3580	8	69.76	30.17	0.07	793	10842	231	6.68	91.37	1.95	44
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	4598	2205	2392	1	47.96	52.02	0.02	208	4316	74	4.52	93.87	1.61	45
Door to door sales, com. travellers+ASO	6951	730	6218	3	10.50	89.45	0.04	675	6173	103	9.71	88.81	1.48	41
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	214	33	181	0	15.42	84.58	0.00	62	145	7	28.97	67.76	3.27	38
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>														
Insurance agents	2235	246	1989	0	11.01	88.99	0.00	210	1997	28	9.40	89.35	1.25	40
Real estate agents/dealers	1801	277	1523	1	15.38	84.56	0.06	105	1651	45	5.83	91.67	2.50	48
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>														
Accountants, auditors	3572	677	2894	1	18.95	81.02	0.03	389	3117	66	10.89	87.26	1.85	41
Artists & art teachers	448	118	329	1	26.34	73.44	0.22	87	351	10	19.42	78.35	2.23	40
Author/journalist/editors	859	95	763	1	11.06	88.82	0.12	158	687	14	18.39	79.98	1.63	40
Lawyers	1204	825	379	0	68.52	31.48	0.00	157	1024	23	13.04	85.05	1.91	41
Musicians, music teachers	398	165	233	0	41.46	58.54	0.00	105	280	13	26.38	70.35	3.27	42
Photographers	341	164	177	0	48.09	51.91	0.00	51	283	7	14.96	82.99	2.05	40
Physicians, surgeons	1990	1405	585	0	70.60	29.40	0.00	106	1856	28	5.33	93.27	1.41	43
Physical, occup. therapists	100	40	60	0	40.00	60.00	0.00	7	91	2	7.00	91.00	2.00	49
Pharmacists	734	230	504	0	31.34	68.66	0.00	86	636	12	11.72	86.65	1.63	43
Other Health professionals	88	45	43	0	51.14	48.86	0.00	9	75	4	10.23	85.23	4.55	47
Religious workers	151	12	139	0	7.95	92.05	0.00	45	104	2	29.80	68.87	1.32	39
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	1536	923	611	2	60.09	39.78	0.13	283	1216	37	18.42	79.17	2.41	43
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	251	232	19	0	92.43	7.57	0.00	27	203	21	10.76	80.88	8.37	60
<b>"Recreational Service:"</b>														
Actors, entertainers	135	67	68	0	49.63	50.37	0.00	40	91	4	29.63	67.41	2.96	40
<b>"Managerial: Owners/managers/officials:"</b>														
Manufacturing industries	6263	3038	3223	2	48.51	51.46	0.03	298	5875	90	4.76	93.80	1.44	45
Construction	3928	3013	913	2	76.71	23.24	0.05	135	3726	67	3.44	94.86	1.71	44
Transportation, communication	2899	977	1920	2	33.70	66.23	0.07	118	2735	46	4.07	94.34	1.59	45
Finance, insurance, real estate	3420	1281	2139	0	37.46	62.54	0.00	183	3178	59	5.35	92.92	1.73	47
Health and welfare services	386	73	313	0	18.91	81.09	0.00	18	362	6	4.66	93.78	1.55	48
Motion picture, recreational services	664	344	318	2	51.81	47.89	0.30	80	572	12	12.05	86.14	1.81	47
Personal Services	3957	3117	829	11	78.77	20.95	0.28	305	3559	93	7.71	89.94	2.35	47
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>103759</b>	<b>46563</b>	<b>57088</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>44.88</b>	<b>55.02</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>12010</b>	<b>89633</b>	<b>2116</b>	<b>11.57</b>	<b>86.39</b>	<b>2.04</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>421786</b>	<b>61807</b>	<b>358424</b>	<b>1555</b>	<b>14.65</b>	<b>84.98</b>	<b>0.37</b>	<b>91659</b>	<b>321220</b>	<b>8907</b>	<b>21.73</b>	<b>76.16</b>	<b>2.11</b>	<b>40</b>

1961, Continued														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1961: Canada														
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG. AGE
		E.+O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	E.+O.A.	W.E.	N.P.	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmer, stockraisers, gardeners/florists	394572	375494	19010	68	95.16	4.82	0.02	58888	326125	9559	14.92	82.65	2.42	46
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	30748	21277	8663	808	69.20	28.17	2.63	9667	20323	758	31.44	66.10	2.47	39
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Bakers	10166	1015	9118	33	9.98	89.69	0.32	2735	7271	160	26.90	71.52	1.57	37
Dreammakers, sewers	657	81	576	0	12.33	87.67	0.00	196	435	26	29.83	66.21	3.96	44
Milliners	168	16	152	0	9.52	90.48	0.00	36	128	4	21.43	76.19	2.38	44
Tailors	5634	1445	4176	13	25.65	74.12	0.23	1099	4379	156	19.51	77.72	2.77	44
<b>"Construction":</b>														
Painters, glaziers, decorators	39693	8469	31157	67	21.34	78.49	0.17	8583	30255	855	21.62	76.22	2.15	40
<b>"Transportation":</b>														
Bus Drivers	16153	755	15387	11	4.67	95.26	0.07	1314	14625	214	8.13	90.54	1.32	41
Chauffeurs, taxi drivers	20358	7521	12796	41	36.94	62.85	0.20	3822	16007	529	18.77	78.63	2.60	41
Truck drivers	145644	14577	130689	378	10.01	89.73	0.26	28769	115209	1666	19.75	79.10	1.14	35
<b>"Commercial: (Trade)</b>														
Retail stores (owners, managers, dealers)	114505	83533	30874	98	72.95	26.96	0.09	8617	103747	2141	7.53	90.60	1.87	44
Wholesale (owners, managers, dealers)	38103	19815	18270	18	52.00	47.95	0.05	2105	35311	687	5.52	92.67	1.80	45
Door to door sales, com. travellers+A55	75246	6394	68776	76	8.50	91.40	0.10	8851	65360	1035	11.76	86.86	1.38	40
Decorators, Drapers, Window dressers	2168	288	1875	5	13.28	86.49	0.23	786	1354	28	36.25	62.45	1.29	35
<b>"Finance, Insurance: "</b>														
Insurance agents	24138	3337	20796	5	13.82	86.15	0.02	2554	21262	322	10.58	88.09	1.33	39
Real estate agents/dealers	8000	2049	5940	11	25.61	74.25	0.14	713	7075	212	8.91	88.44	2.65	39
<b>"Professional Service: "</b>														
Accountants, auditors	25549	3519	22024	6	13.77	86.20	0.02	3535	21714	300	13.84	84.99	1.17	40
Artists & art teachers	5300	1221	4075	4	23.04	76.89	0.08	1268	3963	69	23.92	74.77	1.30	39
Author/journalist/editors	8858	726	8129	3	8.20	91.77	0.03	2046	6649	163	23.10	75.06	1.84	39
Lawyers	10573	7286	3284	3	68.91	31.06	0.03	1373	8995	205	12.99	85.08	1.94	42
Musicians, music teachers	4071	1136	2930	5	27.90	71.97	0.12	1407	2578	86	34.56	63.33	2.11	38
Photographers	2994	1172	1816	6	39.14	60.65	0.20	724	2225	45	24.18	74.32	1.50	37
Physicians, surgeons	17845	11144	6699	2	62.45	37.54	0.01	1818	15762	265	10.19	88.33	1.49	42
Physical, occup. therapists	533	145	388	0	27.20	72.80	0.00	82	437	14	15.38	81.99	2.63	44
Pharmacists	5709	2724	2984	1	47.71	52.27	0.02	793	4793	123	13.89	83.96	2.15	43
Other Health professionals	363	156	207	0	42.98	57.02	0.00	41	310	12	11.29	85.40	3.31	45
<b>"Personal Service: "</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	17304	10428	6810	66	60.26	39.36	0.38	3640	13197	467	21.04	76.27	2.70	43
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	818	691	126	1	84.47	15.40	0.12	160	554	104	19.56	67.73	12.71	59
<b>"Recreational Service: "</b>														
Actors, Entertainers	1357	390	963	4	28.74	70.97	0.29	517	809	31	38.10	59.62	2.28	36
<b>"Managerial: Owners/managers/officials: "</b>														
Manufacturing industries	59304	22825	36443	36	38.49	61.45	0.06	2641	55702	961	4.45	93.93	1.62	45
Construction	31884	23684	8193	7	74.28	25.70	0.02	1471	29930	483	4.61	93.87	1.51	43
Transportation, communication	21203	6386	14803	14	30.12	69.82	0.07	1117	19773	313	5.27	93.26	1.48	44
Finance, insurance, real estate	28760	8595	20157	8	29.89	70.09	0.03	1685	26611	464	5.86	92.53	1.61	45
Education & related services	729	71	655	3	9.74	89.85	0.41	281	440	8	38.55	60.36	1.10	46
Health and welfare services	2370	363	1998	9	15.32	84.30	0.38	198	2129	43	8.35	89.83	1.81	46
Motion picture, recreational services	5644	2795	2838	11	49.52	50.28	0.19	807	4694	143	14.30	83.17	2.53	45
Services to business mgement	4936	2565	2369	2	51.97	47.99	0.04	334	4516	86	6.77	91.49	1.74	44
Personal Services	31297	24825	6362	110	79.32	20.33	0.35	3123	27483	691	9.98	87.81	2.21	46
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>1213354</b>	<b>678913</b>	<b>532508</b>	<b>1933</b>	<b>55.95</b>	<b>43.89</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>167796</b>	<b>1022130</b>	<b>23428</b>	<b>13.83</b>	<b>84.24</b>	<b>1.93</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>4283732</b>	<b>784660</b>	<b>3423096</b>	<b>75976</b>	<b>18.32</b>	<b>79.91</b>	<b>1.77</b>	<b>1040006</b>	<b>3166121</b>	<b>77605</b>	<b>24.28</b>	<b>73.91</b>	<b>1.81</b>	<b>39</b>

**Notes, 1961, British Columbia, Females:**

Data is from the *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 3.1, Cat.#94-512, Table 17 & Cat.#94-514, Table 20.

\*Selected Occupations: those with a higher rate of female self-employment than the rate for all gainfully employed women, and that employ 20 or more women .

\*\*Adult population in 1961=15 years and older

\*\*\* Door-to-door sales (canvassers) and Commercial Travellers: new occupations in 1961, and they have a high rate of female self-employment. I have put the two jobs together. They are listed in 1961, under the category of "Sales Occupations" which I have called commercial "Trade" in keeping with census data from earlier decades.

Another new feature in 1961 is the category of Managerial Occupations: owners and managers from a variety of occupational fields have been listed in a separate category for the first time in 1961. Note: Sewers were listed separately from seamstresses but are mainly employees and so have not been included here.

**Notes, 1961, Canada, Females:**

Data is from *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 3.1, Cat.#94-514, Table 20 & Cat.#94-509, Table 17.

\*Selected Occupations: those with a higher rate of female self-employment than the rate for all gainfully employed women, and that employ 200 or more women

\*\* Adult population in 1961 = 15 years and older.

Certain occupations that had significant self-employment for women in British Columbia were not significant in Canada: notably, knitters; pressmen, printers; jewellers & watchmakers; religious workers. Other occupations are more significant Canada-wide than in British Columbia and appear on this table: ex. Education & rel. services, services to business mgement.

\*\*\*I combined these two occupations; they are a 'new' occupation for women, that is, they were not significant for women in earlier decades.

Note: "Sewers" were listed separately from Dressmakers/Seamstresses but they were almost all employees and so not included here.

**Notes, 1961, British Columbia, Males:**

Data is from *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 3.1, Cat.#94-512, Table 17 & Cat.#94-514, Table 20.

\*Selected Occupations for men match those chosen for women: see notes on selected occupations for women. \*\*Adult population=15 years and older

**Notes, 1961, Canada, Males:**

Data is from *Census of Canada*, 1961, Series 3.1, Cat.#94-514, Table 20, 1961 & Cat.#94-509, Table 17.

Certain occupations that had significant self-employment for women in British Columbia were not significant for women in Canada, ex.knitters; pressmen, printers; jewellers & watchmakers; religious workers. They therefore do not appear in the data listed here for males.

Other occupations are more significant Canada-wide than in British Columbia and appear in the female data and here: ex. Education & rel. services, services to business mgement.

\*Selected Occupations: see data on women, previous sheets: male occupations were chosen to match those chosen for females.

1971														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1971: British Columbia	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG. AGE	
Females	Total Occupied	E. +O.A.	W.E	N.P	E.+O.A.	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmers	585	585	0	0	100.00	0.00	0.00	70	375	140	11.97	64.10	23.93	48
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	80	25	40	15	31.25	50.00	18.75	10	60	10	12.50	75.00	12.50	42
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Dressmakers, seamstresses, tailors	795	190	595	5	23.90	74.84	1.26	100	550	145	12.58	69.18	18.24	45
Sewing machine operators	2770	165	2580	25	5.96	93.14	0.90	340	2095	335	12.27	75.63	12.10	41
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>														
Sales	5265	1570	3390	310	29.82	64.39	5.89	465	4005	795	8.83	76.07	15.10	46
Interior decorators	545	50	495	0	9.17	90.83	0.00	145	335	65	26.61	61.47	11.93	36
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>														
Insurance agents	435	10	425	0	2.30	97.70	0.00	120	270	45	27.59	62.07	10.34	34
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>														
Accountants, auditors	1765	165	1590	10	9.35	90.08	0.57	335	1135	295	18.98	64.31	16.71	42
Artists & art teachers	1185	630	555	0	53.16	46.84	0.00	305	730	150	25.74	61.60	12.66	43
Author/journalist/editors	450	45	405	0	10.00	90.00	0.00	130	265	55	28.89	58.89	12.22	38
Lawyers	95	35	60	0	36.84	63.16	0.00	25	65	5	26.32	72.22	1.46	41
Musicians, music teachers	235	35	200	0	14.89	85.11	0.00	55	145	35	23.40	61.70	14.89	44
Photographers	75	15	55	5	20.00	73.33	6.67	5	65	5	6.67	86.67	6.67	41
Physicians, surgeons	330	105	225	0	31.82	68.18	0.00	110	205	15	33.33	62.12	4.55	40
Physical, occup. therapists	555	25	530	0	4.50	95.50	0.00	245	285	25	44.14	51.35	4.51	34
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	3675	750	2905	20	20.41	79.05	0.54	1000	2335	340	27.21	63.54	9.25	32
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	4835	910	3630	295	18.82	75.08	6.10	315	3730	790	6.51	77.15	16.34	49
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>23675</b>	<b>5310</b>	<b>17680</b>	<b>685</b>	<b>22.43</b>	<b>74.68</b>	<b>2.89</b>	<b>3775</b>	<b>16650</b>	<b>3250</b>	<b>15.95</b>	<b>70.33</b>	<b>13.73</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>307755</b>	<b>9660</b>	<b>278835</b>	<b>19260</b>	<b>3.14</b>	<b>90.60</b>	<b>6.26</b>	<b>86820</b>	<b>189835</b>	<b>31100</b>	<b>28.21</b>	<b>61.68</b>	<b>10.11</b>	<b>36</b>
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 94-726, Volume 3, Part 2, Table 8.</i>														
*Selected Occupations: in many ways, occupational data for 1971 is incompatible with data from earlier decades. I have only included occupations here that were commonly found in earlier census data, or that were compatible in terms of type of job or job description, to the data given in earlier census decades.														
**Adult Population in 1971=15 years and over.														

1971, Continued														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1971: Canada														
		EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG. AGE
Females	Total Occupied	E. + O.A.	W.E	N.P	E.+O.A.	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmers	7095	7090	5	0	99.93	0.07	0.00	925	3520	2645	13.04	49.61	37.28	51
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	200	65	120	15	32.50	60.00	7.50	60	110	30	30.00	55.00	15.00	39
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Dressmakers, seamstresses, tailors	15760	1100	14500	160	6.98	92.00	1.02	5620	9120	1020	35.66	57.87	6.47	38
Sewing machine operators	54550	920	53415	215	1.69	97.92	0.39	12480	38675	3395	22.88	70.90	6.22	37
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>														
Sales	36710	13130	21490	2090	35.77	58.54	5.69	4900	26465	5345	13.35	72.09	14.56	45
Interior decorators	4250	385	3745	120	9.06	88.12	2.82	1230	2640	380	28.94	62.12	8.94	37
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>														
Insurance agents	3725	85	3625	15	2.28	97.32	0.40	1250	2105	370	33.56	56.51	9.93	35
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>														
Accountants, auditors	13890	430	13310	160	3.10	95.80	1.17	4020	8490	1380	28.94	61.12	9.94	40
Artists & art teachers	9220	3030	6110	80	32.86	66.27	0.87	3655	4885	680	39.64	52.98	7.38	41
Author/journalist/editors	4160	295	3835	30	7.09	92.19	0.70	1715	2065	380	41.23	49.64	9.13	37
Lawyers	690	185	505	0	26.81	73.19	0.00	310	285	95	44.93	41.30	13.77	37
Musicians, music teachers	2190	180	1995	15	8.22	91.10	0.68	715	1255	220	32.65	57.31	10.05	40
Photographers	480	165	300	15	34.38	62.50	3.13	165	270	45	34.38	56.25	9.38	37
Physicians, surgeons	2560	690	1865	5	26.95	72.85	0.20	890	1530	140	34.77	59.77	5.47	37
Physical, occup. therapists	4550	110	4430	10	2.42	97.36	0.22	1790	2570	190	39.34	56.48	4.18	32
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	31945	8940	22660	345	27.99	70.93	1.08	11150	18755	2040	34.90	58.71	6.39	31
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	21675	5290	15540	845	24.41	71.70	3.89	2400	15405	3870	11.07	71.07	17.85	48
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>213660</b>	<b>42090</b>	<b>167450</b>	<b>4120</b>	<b>19.70</b>	<b>78.37</b>	<b>1.93</b>	<b>53275</b>	<b>138145</b>	<b>22225</b>	<b>24.93</b>	<b>64.66</b>	<b>10.40</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>2653455</b>	<b>73060</b>	<b>2390305</b>	<b>190090</b>	<b>2.75</b>	<b>90.08</b>	<b>7.16</b>	<b>871965</b>	<b>1585970</b>	<b>195525</b>	<b>32.86</b>	<b>59.77</b>	<b>7.37</b>	<b>36</b>
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 94-723, Volume 3, Part 2, Table 8.</i>														
*Selected Occupations: in many ways, occupational data for 1971 is incompatible with data from earlier decades. I have only included occupations here that were commonly found in earlier census data, or that were compatible in terms of type of job or job description, to the data given in earlier census decades.														
**Adult Population in 1971=15 years and over.														

1971, Continued														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1971: British Columbia														
Males	Total Occupied	EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG. AGE
		E. +O.A.	W.E	N.P	E.+O.A.	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmers	6695	6690	5	0	99.93	0.07	0.00	735	5730	230	10.98	85.59	3.44	49
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	3380	1975	1400	5	58.43	41.42	0.15	725	2500	155	21.45	73.96	4.59	41
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Dressmakers, seamstresses, tailors	295	65	230	0	22.03	77.97	0.00	40	250	5	13.56	84.75	1.69	44
Sewing machine operators	115	5	110	0	4.35	95.65	0.00	30	75	10	26.09	65.22	8.70	38
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>														
Sales	24045	4670	19365	10	19.42	80.54	0.04	2135	21225	685	8.88	88.27	2.85	42
Interior decorators	595	100	495	0	16.81	83.19	0.00	190	380	25	31.93	63.87	4.20	36
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>														
Insurance agents	2645	105	2535	5	3.97	95.84	0.19	230	2350	65	8.70	88.85	2.46	40
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>														
Accountants, auditors	8855	810	8040	5	9.15	90.80	0.06	1090	7565	200	12.31	85.43	2.26	39
Artists & art teachers	915	380	530	5	41.53	57.92	0.55	260	635	20	28.42	69.40	2.19	39
Author/journalist/editors	915	105	810	0	11.48	88.52	0.00	205	650	60	22.40	71.04	6.56	40
Lawyers	1745	955	790	0	54.73	45.27	0.00	210	1470	65	12.03	84.24	3.72	45
Musicians, music teachers	710	195	515	0	27.46	72.54	0.00	365	305	40	51.41	42.96	5.63	30
Photographers	495	215	280	0	43.43	56.57	0.00	110	370	15	22.22	74.75	3.03	40
Physicians, surgeons	2925	1900	1025	0	64.96	35.04	0.00	200	2690	35	6.84	91.97	1.20	44
Physical, occup. therapists	140	30	110	0	21.43	78.57	0.00	25	110	5	17.86	78.57	3.57	46
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	1970	1045	920	5	53.05	46.70	0.25	325	1555	90	16.50	78.93	4.57	41
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	3475	995	2475	5	28.63	71.22	0.14	275	3055	145	7.91	87.91	4.17	52
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>59915</b>	<b>20240</b>	<b>39635</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>33.78</b>	<b>66.15</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>7150</b>	<b>50915</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>11.93</b>	<b>84.98</b>	<b>3.09</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>602335</b>	<b>48010</b>	<b>549920</b>	<b>4405</b>	<b>7.97</b>	<b>91.30</b>	<b>0.73</b>	<b>147005</b>	<b>435855</b>	<b>19475</b>	<b>24.41</b>	<b>72.36</b>	<b>3.23</b>	<b>38</b>
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 94-726, Volume 3, Part 2, Table 8.</i>														
*Selected Occupations: occupations for men match those that were selected for women: see previous tables on females in selected occupations.														
**Adult Population in 1971=15 years and over.														

1971, Continued														
Gainfully Employed Adult** Population in Selected Occupations, by Marital Status and Employment Status*														
1971: Canada														
		EMPLOYMENT STATUS (n.)			EMPLOYMENT STATUS (%)			MARITAL STATUS (n.)			MARITAL STATUS (%)			AVG. AGE
Males	Total Occupied	E. + O.A.	W.E	N.P	E.+O.A.	W.E	N.P	S	M	W/D	S	M	W/D	
<b>OCCUPATION:</b>														
<b>"Agriculture":</b>														
Farmers	219645	219445	195	5	99.91	0.09	0.00	32655	181490	5500	14.87	82.63	2.50	48
Fisher/Hunter/Trappers	19650	10875	8690	85	55.34	44.22	0.43	5715	13500	435	29.08	68.70	2.21	38
<b>"Manufacturing":</b>														
Dressmakers, seamstresses, tailors	5825	945	4870	10	16.22	83.61	0.17	1130	4500	195	19.40	77.25	3.35	42
Sewing machine operators	6160	105	6050	5	1.70	98.21	0.08	1670	4335	155	27.11	70.37	2.52	39
<b>"Commercial:" (Trade)</b>														
Sales	184250	52095	132005	150	28.27	71.64	0.08	16585	163860	3805	9.00	88.93	2.07	42
Interior decorators	8040	770	7265	5	9.58	90.36	0.06	2200	5625	215	27.36	69.96	2.67	36
<b>"Finance, Insurance:"</b>														
Insurance agents	26835	1575	25255	5	5.87	94.11	0.02	3165	23190	480	11.79	86.42	1.79	39
<b>"Professional Service:"</b>														
Accountants, auditors	78510	4910	73595	5	6.25	93.74	0.01	11420	65840	1250	14.55	83.86	1.59	38
Artists & art teachers	5505	1515	3990	0	27.52	72.48	0.00	1835	3530	140	33.33	64.12	2.54	38
Author/journalist/editors	9260	800	8460	0	8.64	91.36	0.00	2385	6600	275	25.76	71.27	2.97	38
Lawyers	13785	7775	6005	5	56.40	43.56	0.04	1700	11805	280	12.33	85.64	2.03	41
Musicians, music teachers	5935	1330	4590	15	22.41	77.34	0.25	2690	3015	230	45.32	50.80	3.88	31
Photographers	4415	1400	3015		31.71	68.29	0.00	1140	3165	110	25.82	71.69	2.49	37
Physicians, surgeons	22770	11945	10825	0	52.46	47.54	0.00	1845	20485	440	8.10	89.96	1.93	43
Physical, occup. therapists	1010	100	905	5	9.90	89.60	0.50	295	690	25	29.21	68.32	2.48	37
<b>"Personal Service:"</b>														
Barbers, hairdressers	18760	10010	8755	0	53.36	46.67	0.00	4025	14245	490	21.46	75.93	2.61	40
Lodging, boardinghouse keepers	13955	5545	8375	30	39.73	60.01	0.21	1345	12160	450	9.64	87.14	3.22	48
<b>Total, Selected Occupations:</b>	<b>644310</b>	<b>331140</b>	<b>312845</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>51.39</b>	<b>48.56</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>91800</b>	<b>538035</b>	<b>14475</b>	<b>14.25</b>	<b>83.51</b>	<b>2.25</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Total, All Occupations:</b>	<b>5063380</b>	<b>538120</b>	<b>4455465</b>	<b>69795</b>	<b>10.63</b>	<b>87.99</b>	<b>1.38</b>	<b>1292250</b>	<b>3662235</b>	<b>108900</b>	<b>25.52</b>	<b>72.33</b>	<b>2.15</b>	<b>38</b>
Data is from <i>Census of Canada, 1971, Catalogue 94-723, Volume 3, Part 2, Table 8.</i>														
*Selected Occupations: occupations for men match those that were selected for women: see previous tables on females in selected occupations.														
**Adult Population in 1971=15 years and over.														

<b>1931 Membership List of the Victoria BPW Club:</b>				
<b>Clerical - Wage Earners</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
	Blythe	Muriel	S	Stenographer
	Bradshaw	E	S	Secretary
	Brown	Kate	S	Stenographer
	Cameron	Mabel	S	Secretary
	Cruikshanks	Gladys	S	Secretary
	Fraser	Jessie	S	Stenographer
	Gray	Clarice	S	Stenographer
	Hafer	F.	S	Stenographer
	Howell	Edith	S	Stenographer
	Johnson	May	M	Stenographer
	Macrae	E.M.	S	Bank Clerk
	Monteith	M.	M	Secretary
	Morris	Hilda	S	Bank Clerk
	Murie	F.	M	Secretary
	McLaren	Kate	S	Stenographer
	McLeod	Gene	S	YWCA Secretary
	Nickerson	H.	S	Stenographer
	Paul	A.J.	S	Law Office
	Pogson	E.	S	Insurance
	Richards	Bessie	S	Bank Clerk
	Richards	Elsie	S	Insurance
	Richardson	Elsie	S	Bank Clerk
	Roberts	Mary	S	Secretary
	Reynolds	Elsie	S	Stenographer
	Taylor	Tephi	S	Secretary
	Thomas	B.G.	S	Secretary
	Unwin	Mabel	S	Stenographer
	Wigley	M.A. (Bay)	S	Accountant
	Wills	Elizabeth	M	Stenographer
	Woodcock	Margaret	S	Stenographer
<b>Professional - Wage Earners</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
	Austin		M	Librarian
	Clay	Margaret	S	Librarian
	Craig	Sadie	S	Manageress
	Donough	Kate	S	Customs inspector
	Forbes	Agnes	S	Nurse
	Girling		M	Nurse
	Hall	Margaret	M	Librarian
	Hodge	Meta	S	Nurse
	Hodges	Nancy	M	Society Editor, newspaper
	Kelly	Helen	S	Nurse
	Macrae	Kate	S	Nurse
	McBride	A.	S	Social Service
	Ormiston	May	S	Nurse
	Shaw	Geraldine	S	Librarian
	Snyder	Olive	S	Social Service
	Sylvester	Louise	S	Teacher
	Taylor		M	Nurses' Home
	Thornley	Ethel	S	Nurse
	Whitehead		S	Governess
<b>Retail Workers - Wage Earners</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
	Abbott	Ida	M	Saleslady
	Burwood	Ivy	S	Saleslady
	Lacey	Ada	S	Saleslady
	Lamport	M.	M	Saleslady
	Rose		M	Saleslady
<b>Self-Employed</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
	Beckwith	Winnifred	S	Milliner
	Conacher	Isabella?	S	Photographer
	Darling	Dollie	M	Beauty Shop owner
	Donough	Dora	S	Artist
	Foxall	Nettie	S	Photographer
	Griffin	Beatrice	S	Musician
	Greaves		M	Photographer
	Grute	Margaret	M	Art Pottery
	Herd	Minnie	S	Milliner
	Maynard	E.G.	M	Jeweller

	Maynard	Ida	M	Fashion Bootery (shop)
	McCrea		M	Photographer
	McMartin		M	Leather Goods (shop)
	Raine	Olive	S	Milliner
	Schramli		M	Merchant
	Stewart	Margaret	M	Musician
	Turley	Eva	S	"Academy of Useful Arts"
	Wilkes		M	Furrier
	Willis	W.A.	M	Art Pottery
<b>Other (Occupation status unknown)</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
	Herbert	E.J.	S	Unknown
	Holland	Francis	M	Architect
	Kenworthy		S	Unknown
	Matheson		M	Unknown
	Morton	E.M.	S	Unknown
	Roberts	Emily	S	Girls' Private School
	Shaw	Jennie	S	Unknown
	Strathern	Ada	S	Music Teacher
	Sweeney	Lillian	M	Unknown
	Van Becker	E.	S	Masseuse
	Wallace	May	S	Law Student
	White	E.H.	M	Unknown
	White	J.L.	M	Unknown
Source: Membership List, Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club, 1931, in "Attendance and Registration Book," BPW Club Records, British Columbia Archives, 89-1386-3.				

1948 Membership List of the Victoria BPW Club:					
Clerical - Wage Earners	Lastname	Firstname	Marital status	Occupation	Member in 1931
	Beck	Verna	S	Secretary	
	Bidwell	Margaret	S	Stenographer	
	Buckingham	Daisy		Clerk	
	Cameron	Mabel	S	Secretary (Retired)	Y (Secretary)
	Cliff	Mary	S	Payroll Clerk	
	Cumming	Mary	M	Office Clerk	
	Campbell	Meryl		Clerk	
	Downing	K.	S	Secretary	
	Drake	Alice	M	Office Clerk	
	Dykes	Dorothy	S	Traffic Clerk	
	Edney	Dorothy	S	Stenographer	
	Farquharson	Kate	M	Secretary	
	Fraser	Jessie	S	Secretary	Y (Stenographer)
	Gray	Ethel	S	Insurance	
	Hall	Madge	M	Insurance	Y (Librarian)
	Hall	Jane	S	Secretary	
	Hebden	Marjorie	M	Clerk	
	Henderson	Lily	S	Bookkeeper	
	Henderson	Constance	M	Bank Clerk	
	Laughlin	Marguerite	M	Secretary	
	Lord		M	Secretary	
	Masters	Ruby	M	Steno-bookkeeper	
	Mitchell	Marion	M	Wholesale Clerk	
	Moore	Helen	S	Secretary	
	McClement	Mae	M	Bookkeeper	
	Palmason	Avis	M	Advertising (Newspaper)	
	Paterson	Kate	M	Secretary (Retired)	
	Pembridge	Lottie	M	Insurance	
	Phipps	Agnes	M	Secretary	
	Rainforth	Margaret	M	Bookkeeper	
	Rich	Nona	S	Chief Clerk	
	Richardson	Elsie	S	Bank Clerk (Retired)	Y (Bank Clerk)
	Ross	Harriet	M	Secretary	
	Smith	Bessie	M	Sec. Bookkeeper	
	Smith	Lillian	M	Secretary	
	Stevenson	Winifred	M	Secretary	
	Stewart	Eleanor	S	Stenographer	
	Woodcock	Margaret	S	Secretary	Y (Stenographer)
Professional -Wage Earners	Lastname	Firstname	Marital status	Occupation	
	Baird	Marjorie	S	Supt V.O.N.	
	Barton	Lillian	S	Teacher	
	Burwash	Ella	M	Librarian	
	Carey	Gladys	M	Practical Nurse	
	Clay	Margaret	S	Librarian	Y (Librarian)
	Cruickshank	Helen	S	Nurse	
	Crighton	Dorothy	S	Librarian	
	Forbes	Elizabeth	S	Social Editor (newspaper)	
	Guild	Mary	M	Teacher	
	Herson	Alice		Nurse	
	Hodges	Nancy	M	Newspaper	Y (Newspaper)
	Lovel	Irene	S	Teacher	
	Lucas	Eva	S	Nurse	
	Maunsell	Eleanor	M	Commercial Teacher	
	Roberts	Jane	S	Hospital Matron	
	Sylvester	Louise	S	Teacher (Retired)	Y (Teacher)
	Simpson	Jean		Teacher	
	Tuck	Isla	S	Teacher (Retired)	
	Webster	Dorothy	S	Nurse	
	Woods	Gertrude	M	Civil Service	
	Worthington	Iola	S	Commercial Teacher	

<b>Retail Workers - Wage Earners</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	
	Ambrose	Dorothy	M	Saleslady	
	Carslake	Ida	M	Saleslady	
	Devine	Olive	M	Saleslady	
	Ellis	Winnifred	S	Cashier	
	Higgins	Jessie	S	Cashier	
	Lamport	Mary	M	Saleslady	Y (Saleslady)
	Mackley	Mary		Saleslady	
	Maxwell	Violet	M	Cashier	
	Norrie	Doris	M	Saleslady	
	Parsell	Edith	S	Cashier	
	Webb	Mary	M	Saleslady	
<b>Self-Employed</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	
	Bell	Margaret	M	Corsetiere	
	Beveridge	Minnie	S	Milliner	
	Carroll	E.I.	M	Lingerie Shop	
	Connacher	Isabella	S	Photographer	Y (Photographer)
	Cooper	Rozella	M	Café Owner	
	Costar	Winnifred	M	Dressmaker	
	Curry	Mabel	M	Milliner (Retired)	
	Darling	Dollie	M	Hairdresser (owns shop)	Y (Store Owner)
	Gibson	Marjorie	S	Photographer	
	Harvey	Bernice	S	Dressmaker	
	Heeney	Dorothy	M	Milliner	
	Mallek	Alice	M	Ladies' wear (owns shop)	
	More	Bessie	M	Milliner	
	Morrison	Cecilia	M	Dressmaker	
	Macdonald	Norma	M	Hotel Prop.	
	McMartin		M	Leather Goods (shop)	Y (Leather Goods)
	Nichols	Kily	M	Caterer	
	Pearce	Winifred	M	Café Owner	
	Rose	Sonia	M	Jewellery Store	Y (Sales lady)
	Sparks	Edith		Milliner	
	Vautrin	Erma	M	Hotel Prop.	
	Woodward	Barbara	M	Artist and Author	
	York	Elizabeth	S	Café Owner (Retired)	
<b>Other (Occupational status unknown)</b>	<b>Lastname</b>	<b>Firstname</b>	<b>Marital status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	
	Abbott	I.M.	M	Post Office	Y (Sales lady)
	Brown	Mae		YWCA	
	Dodds	Pamela	M	Music Teacher	
	Fitz	Eileen	M	Hairdresser	
	Germaine	Jessie	S	Dietician (Retired)	
	Gibbon	Marjorie	S	Designer	
	Kitts	Ethel	S	Pharmacist	
	McLean	M.V.	M	Real Estate	
	McNaughton	Florence	M	Doctor's Directory	
	Press	Marjorie	S	Employment	
	Rayfuse	Winifred	M	Rentals	
	Richards	Elsie	S	Real Estate	Y (Insurance)
	Walls	Doris	M	Retired	
	Wilson	Violet	S	Radio	
Source: "Membership List, Victoria Business and Professional Women's Club, 1948," BPW Club Records, British Columbia Archives, 89-1386-2.					