Diverging and Contested Feminisms in Early Social Work History in Ontario (1900–1950)

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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University of Toronto

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Abstract

This study examines early Ontario social work history by documenting the lives of four women who contributed to the history of Ontario social work some of whom have largely been forgotten. While social work remains a female-dominated profession, both currently and historically, few historical studies have addressed this. This study attempts to equalize the views and voices of social workers by including select women who were active in the field illuminating and identifying some of the contributions of women to the debates which characterized early social work in Ontario. This study selected two women from the radical tradition with socialist/communist affiliations and as counterpoint two figures who were members of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and who represent a conservative value system based in the tradition of British imperialism. Three guiding research questions for the study are 1) what conditions organizations and practices shaped and positioned social work as a profession in its formative years 2) how were the significant debates/discursive trajectories reflected in the organizational settings of early social work? 3) How were these ideas implicated in their practice? Did these women speak through the organizations they led or participated in? How did they contribute to the production of or alternative positions to, the competing epistemés of the
time? This research provides an original contribution by elaborating a history of ideas in social work through the prism of organizational practice and key formative figures. By adopting this dual focus, I capture individual agency in life history but also the cultural shift of discourse and regimes of truth, not only within individual lives but also as a myriad of intersecting overlapping discursive (ideas) and material (practices) occurrences.
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Introduction

The history of social work often appears in the social work curriculum as an afterthought, added to the introduction of a general undergraduate course or more commonly discussed in the context of social welfare and policy development. Social work graduates begin a career with only a shadowy knowledge of the history of their profession and with few role models of their professional forbears. Given that it has always been and continues to be a female-dominated profession, the number of historical female social work actors who have been written about is few. It was during my own undergraduate courses in social work that I first became interested in the history of the profession. From the scant overview I was provided in class I wanted further information and I began looking for books on the topic and quickly discovered that there were very few. My interest persisted and during my graduate studies I found material on American social work but little on Canadian social work. When I began thinking of a dissertation topic, I determined to conduct an historical study and I was particularly interested in historical female social worker lives. I was curious about the lack of divergent positions in the historical account. Left radicalism was not well documented and imperialism also appeared to be underdocumented.

Growing up in the white settler society of New Zealand, my maternal grandmother, a staunch Anglican Sunday school teacher, and daughter of British evangelical missionary parents, exemplified conservative white imperial thinking, and often spoke wistfully of 'home' meaning England. My mother resisted these values and spoke to me at length about the injustices wrought on the Maori peoples by the white colonisers, the corruption and double standards endemic in the Anglican church, and she espoused a program of social justice and reform. Influenced by both strands of these contested values, I too longed to go to England, thinking that there I would find a sense of belonging away from the stolen lands of my birth place. However, when I realised this dream, in my mid-twenties, I discovered that I was regarded as a quaint and colonial person of low class status in English society. This was irredeemable as I could not change the circumstances of my youth. Now as a citizen in another white settler society, Canada, I find I have a particular interest in history, imperialism, class, difference and exclusion, and contested values.

This social work history takes into account the broader cultural spheres and provides an original contribution, by elaborating a history of social work through the prism of organizational practice.
and key formative figures. Currently the existing history of social work in Ontario is more institution-centred and while the contributions of specific women are noted, there is seldom a concentration on social work lives. In addition to this, critiques of social work completed in Britain or the United States are applied to Canadian social work and do not always reflect the conditions and circumstances that are unique to Canada. I decided to employ a feminist standpoint in combination with Foucault’s empirical approach to practice and a postcolonial perspective, to explore relevant archival records. Attentive to context (established by a critical reading of multiple secondary historical sources), I examined the archival record of both institutions and select women. By adopting this dual focus, I hoped to capture not only individual agency in life history but also the cultural shifts within social service agencies and institutions. In addition I focused on the translation of ideas into practice.

The 1970s was a time when there was a significant change in the writing of history. From chronicling the sequence of great leaders, wars, laws and political treaties the focus turned from an interest in social history and documenting the lives of ordinary people to including the marginalised, the poor and the customs of everyday life (Eley and Nield 2007; Hobsbawn 1971). Second wave feminism was also on the rise and feminist historians devoted themselves to recovering the history of women, including the emergence of the female professions and the suffrage movement (Bacchi 1989; Gordon 1988, 1990; Little 1995; Roberts 1979; Strong-Boag 1974). Through the lens of Marxist feminist historians, social work history was depicted as the domain of white middle and upper class women, intent on civilizing the lower classes with the imposition of Christian moral strictures and guilty of a self absorbed disregard for the structural causes of poverty (Sangster 2001; Strange 1995; Valverde 1991). An historical interest in case records led to a more nuanced depiction of social workers with some analysis of the play of power (Iacovetta 1992; Iacovetta and Mitchinson 1998; Myers 2006; Sangster 2001, 2002; Strange 1998). Historical archival research of social service agencies, postmodern approaches, and the interdisciplinary integration of anthropology, cultural studies and literary studies produced a more diverse and multi-voiced account of social work (Koven 2004; Poovey 1988; Ross 2007; Vicinus 1985; Walkowitz 1992). The diverging voices of early social workers who entered social work from different locations, with different values, interests and goals, began to emerge. These new studies contextualized social work within social, cultural and political
constraints. Essentializing tropes began to be replaced with a greater interest in the individual lives of social workers (Campbell 2010).

Social work historians, while few in number, have distinguished themselves from mainstream historians by attending to the debates, divisions and tensions in social work. Many have used a particular polarising issue as the central theme of their study, such as voluntary versus professional work; cause(reform) versus function(competency); individual versus group work; clinical versus community work; structural advocacy versus individual responses; field work versus theory (Baines 1994; Graham 1996; Latimer 1972; Lewey 2006). Professionalization and masculinisation and the tension between funding and service have been addressed in studies of early social work agencies (Baines 1990,1994; Burke 1996; Wills 1995). Studies of the settlement movement have increased understanding of some of the early debates (Bellamy and Irving 1995; James 1997; Wasteneys 1975). An account of the history of structural social work has now been expanded into a century long history of the profession in English Canada (Jennissen and Lundy 2011; Lundy 2004). Social welfare historical writing and analysis has been richly represented by social work scholars (Graham 1996; Guest 1997; Lightman 2003,2009; Moscovitch and Albert 1987; Splane 1965). Informed by a postcolonial perspective, a social work history of the colonization of First Nations cultures through welfare policy has been published (Shewell 2004). On the topic of child welfare history a narrative history of the Children’s Aid Society has been written (McCullagh 2002) and a critical analysis of child saving in Toronto (Chen 2005).

There are few biographies or critical studies of social welfare/social service pioneers (McNaught 1975; Ziegler 1934). Dorothy Livesay left memoirs which included her reflections on a social work career during the Great Depression (Livesay 1977,1991). Biographies of J.J.Kelso, Harry Cassidy, Leonard Marsh and some other male pioneers have been published (Bellamy and Irving 1995; Jones and Rutman 1981). Charlotte Whitton stands out as one female social worker whose life has been studied in some depth (Moffatt 2001; Mullington 2010; Rooke and Schnell 1987; Struthers 1987,1994). However, her long term membership in the Imperial Daughters of the Empire and her adherence to imperial ideas and values has not been considered from a social work perspective.
Social work remains a female-dominated profession, both currently and historically, and yet few historical studies have addressed this (Chambon, Irving, and Epstein 1999). Currently the existing history of social work in Ontario, is more male-centred and does not reflect the contributions of specific women (Bellamy and Irving 1995; Jones and Rutman 1981; Ziegler 1934). Few of the strong female figures who chose to pursue a career dedicated to social services are known today. Feminist scholarship has demonstrated that traditional scientific and modern approaches have erased women from male-stream scholarship and thus feminist historians have pioneered enquiries which are producing new understandings of previously marginalized and excluded groups of women. In traditional scholarship the contributions of women were sidelined; they were not only absent from the central theoretical focus but women were made invisible by not appearing as subjects in their own right (Thiele 1986).

This study contributes to raising the status of the views and voices of women to equalise those with men who dominated the field; in particular the study will illuminate and identify some of the contributions of women to the debates, values and tensions that characterised early social work history in Ontario. I used individual public social work lives as the central focus of the study, and I examined these lives as they were revealed in the agencies in which these women worked, and by considering the historical context and the practices they employed. In this way I have documented the lives of some key women who contributed to the formation of Ontario social work, but who have largely been forgotten. In addition I study the public lives of these women within the context of the emerging profession of social work. Thus, cultural politics are examined through an individual life and personal agency and are considered in juxtaposition with structural and cultural processes. This study assumed that the self is always constructed from the cultural ideas available in a particular historical setting. Women often had to “perform” their public selves against opposition from dominant cultural trends, and this resistance to dominant conventional patterns raised the question of the networks of power which constrained and enabled women in the public domain. All the women I discuss in this study were reported on in the newspapers, so their influence in breaking new ground would have had an impact on not only their personal social network, but also on readers from the public at large (Margadant 2000; Scott 1999).

As a way of accessing the debates, contestations and multiple positioning that formed the fabric of early social work this study selected two broad and contrasting ideological spheres namely
radical/left-leaning/progressive thinking and the ideas and values of British imperialism particularly female imperialism in early twentieth century Canada. Research on British-based female imperialism is a recent but growing field of study and has not been widely applied to the history of social work in Canada. Joan Scott suggested that the study of women in history requires not just adding lost material but also rethinking traditional historical paradigms (Scott 1999). Female imperialism is now a field of scholarship and was identified by feminist historical scholars who were studying the wives, sisters, and daughters of British imperial administrators and British settlers. These women are characterised by a conservative, patriotic set of ideas, steeped in loyalty to Britain and Empire, and they primarily occupy the middle and upper classes. These ideas were in wide circulation at the time of the emergence of social work in Britain and in Canada (Burton 1994, 2011; Davin 1997; Gaudet 2001; Pickles 2002).

Feminism and reform are usually considered in the localized context of women’s volunteer charity work or suffragette agitation. The national implications of social reform initiatives entering federal legislation and influencing policy formulation is considered the domain of politicians and policy advising mechanisms (Cohen 1996; Gaudet 2001). But female imperialism was a set of ideas that was highly invested in the national context and in its Canadian form was fiercely patriotic with an allegiance to the white settler colony becoming a strong and proud part of the British Empire. This study examined the intersection between imperialism and the emergence of social work in Canada, by focussing on a national Canadian imperial woman’s club, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and selected for study two figures who were members of this club and also social workers active in social service organisations in Ontario. With this growing interest in female imperialism and female involvement in the building of the nation, considering the question of whether imperialism was a part of emerging social work, is important.

Not well known and not well understood is the history of radical social work in Canada. While Canadian social work could not be described as a radical profession, there is a history of radical social workers who, for example, were members of the Communist Party, and who were closely monitored by the RCMP for many years. The history of radical social work in the United States is better documented (Reisch and Andrews 2002; Selmi 1998). Patrick Selmi suggested that there is a radical subtext to social work philosophy and mission, which has provided the space for radicalism to exist on the margins of social work practice in the United States (Selmi 1998).
Building on this idea, but looking specifically at the Canadian context, this study has selected two figures from the radical tradition as counterpoint to the two figures who were members of the IODE. In her study of social work during the Cold War in Canada, Laurel Lewey identified the general absence from the literature of activities of radical social workers and of radical social work in general (Lewey 2006).

Most studies of social work have used a modern historical approach where material is presented in a chronological sequence accompanied by relevant historical background such as the impact of the Great Depression or world wars, and looking in greater detail at a few select lives of leading figures and similarly at a few select organisations such as the development of children’s welfare services (Bellamy and Irving 1995; Hick 2002; Jennissen and Lundy 2011). This study used a slightly different postmodern approach in order to show that there were not only multiple strands in the formative years of social work but there were also hotly contested differences, and that the formation of social work was a collision of cultural, political and individual circumstances (Chambon 1999; Foucault 1972,1981; Skehill 2004). The application of a Foucauldian examination of practices was used as an analytic tool to examine the patterns, approaches, actions and accomplishments of each social work figure. This study was exploratory and sought to examine some of the multiplicity of voices, ideas and practice in early social work through the documentation of the public lives of two radical social workers, and two imperial social workers together with a brief examination of the major agencies where they worked.

**Research Questions and Figures**

The guiding research questions for this study were as follows:

What conditions (historical context), organizations (who is to be helped) and practices (how they are to be helped) shaped and positioned social work as a profession, in its formative years? How were the significant debates/discursive trajectories reflected in the organizational settings of early social work? What were their effects on individual and institutional or organised levels? Did some practices of social work and social work organizations combine these divergent orientations?

In documenting the formation of subjects through the public lives of selected key women in early social work, the social, cultural and economic capital were considered in relation to the key
ideas/discourses/epistemé that appeared in their public presentation of self? How were these ideas implicated in their practice and how reflective were these of the major episteme of the period? Did these women speak through the organizations they led or participated in? How did they contribute to the production of, or alternative positions to the dominant practices or competing practices of the time?

In this study Bourdieu’s approach on positionality and relative capital is employed. Bourdieu developed the concept of social fields or spheres of activity of which individual actors were a part. Then, considering how individual actors were located within a social field resulted in identifying them in a set of relative positions in terms of cultural, economic and political capital. These measures of social location or position had to be investigated in each social sphere or social field. By examining individual actors and spheres of activity in relation to one another Bourdieu attempted to bridge the split between agency and structure. He conceived of a negotiated relationship between *habitus* which was lived experience embodied in an individual actor and the social field which was more complex than social class and economics and included social, economic, cultural and symbolic capital. Applying this conceptualization to the social location of each of the female actors in this study included gathering and collating information relating to the capital of each woman: social (friends, networks, club memberships, affiliations) cultural (education, family background, possessions, interests) and economic (money, wealth, source of income, work history) (Bourdieu 1989; Middleton 1987,1992). Related to this, standpoint theory, holds that social position including gender roles, one’s background, family of origin and community of origin shapes the perspective of an individual actor and influences how they perceive and describe the world (Hartsock 2004). While this study is not designed to assemble an exhaustive biography of each of the actors, this broadened approach to social location widens the scope of gathered information.

This study was not only attentive to the interplay between an individual actor and the social field that she inhabited but also attended to the networks and interactions between actors and between actors and institutions. Lewey (2006) discovered that there were close-knit friendship networks among friends who shared a common objective. By tracing the public biographies of four women this study builds on Lewey’s findings and has found overlapping networks, or network-based joint ventures that were unexpected as they included women with opposing values working together.
For considering the field of social work this study used a Foucauldian approach of investigating the minute actual doings and thoughts of the actors in relation to their practice field of social work. Theory, method and findings were linked. Methodologically I examined the activities and the speeches/writings of each actor which was also a conceptual activation of Foucault’s postmodern approach of moving away from essentializing social work and social work perspectives into one overarching viewpoint. Thus the study stayed clear of creating prototypes of the figures. Similarly, it was very useful to examine not just one practice arena of social work (perhaps that most commonly associated with the chosen figure) but rather to look at a number of spheres of activity including areas that were not their “main” focus of activity. Comparison was facilitated by examining the same spectrum of fields of action for each figure. Secondly, looking in multiple arenas of action for each figure resulted in unexpected findings.

In this study, the historical contexts examined reflect pivotal points in the storylines and life histories of the women under study as well as the terrain of ideas and changes occurring in Ontario during the first half of the twentieth century. The female figures are all from Ontario and all practised in Toronto at some point in their working lives. Toronto is a significant location in the history of English social work in Canada. The University of Toronto founded the first Canadian social work program in 1914 and the first doctoral program in social work in 1951. The first association of Canadian social work began in Toronto in 1926 and in the early twentieth century there were numerous social service agencies and organisations in operation, many of which specifically hired social workers once this title was acquired. I have chosen to consider women who were involved in social work practice or social service delivery as social workers. Currently the formal definition of a social worker has become very constricted and is limited to those who register with the professional association for which they must have professional social work education. Because I am discussing the period 1900–1950, many of the women practising social work particularly in the first half of that period, were practising before formalized social work education existed and before the Canadian Association of Social Workers was established but were nevertheless very active in social work practice. For these reasons my definition is broad so that I can capture the practice and contribution of early women actors in the field who by current standards would not be considered social workers.

The selection of female figures was carefully orchestrated in order to provide insight into the research questions guiding the study. As part of a social work archival study of the West End
Crèche (WEC) I found frequent references to an organization called the IODE and curiosity led me to discovering that not only was this a woman’s club which was involved in numerous social service activities, but the co-founder of the WEC Joan Arnoldi was also a prominent member of this organisation. Furthermore Charlotte Whitton, who was a well known social worker in early twentieth century Ontario, was the ‘postergirl’ for this club. As these two women were actively engaged in social service work and also shared membership in a female imperial woman’s club which was itself involved in social service delivery, I decided to select these two women and further examine their social work lives, the organizations they practiced in. Arnoldi was born in Toronto, a fifth generation Canadian, the eldest child of a professional Church of England family who were staunch Dominionists and intensely loyal to Canada and the Empire. In 1909 Arnoldi co-founded the West End Crèche in Toronto an agency which began as a daycare service for women who had to work out of necessity. It is still running today as a children’s mental health centre (the Child Development Institute). Working as a volunteer, she was actively engaged with this agency throughout her lifetime and was responsible for spearheading many of the early, cutting edge initiatives which ensured the longevity of the agency. Part of the group of women who remained single and devoted their lives to social service and social reform, Arnoldi could be described as a pre-social worker since her education remains unknown as does her affiliation with the Canadian Association of Social Workers. These “rites of passage” are argued by some as the essential distinguishing markers of a social worker (Wills 1995). Arnoldi and many other women spent a lifetime engaged in social service delivery and social reform advocacy as well as self education in the developing professions of social work, psychology, early childhood education and public health care. In addition, Arnoldi was not only a founding member of the women’s club the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, she was a long term participant at the national level of the organisation, serving as a president, a vice-president and convening many pivotal committees in the organisation.

Whitton (1898–1975) is perhaps one of Ontario’s most well known social workers, with a number of published biographies, copious newspaper references and widely cited in most accounts of Canadian social work. Born in rural Ontario, Whitton was the daughter of a lumber merchant, staunch member of the Church of England, and became a Queen’s University graduate with an M.A. in history. This impressive academic accomplishment for a woman at that time was followed with a succession of female “firsts” throughout her lifetime. After graduation she
moved into a paid professional social work career, beginning as secretary for the Social Service Council of Canada (SSCC) in Toronto, and four years later moving to Ottawa to accept the position of Director of the newly formed Canadian Council of Child Welfare (CCCW). She remained in this position for twenty years, pioneering initiatives in the development of child welfare in Canada and a strident and outspoken advocate of the professionalization of social work. What has not been studied is her lifetime membership with the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, where she was a highly valued clubwoman given her national stature in social work. This study addresses this gap and analyses her contributions to the pivotal committees on immigration and child welfare which she convened within the national IODE. It also considers the influence of this imperial strand in her thinking on her social work contributions.

As my research goal was to explore multiplicity, contestation and debate in early social work I wanted to consider the lives of social workers who approached their work very differently from Arnoldi and Whitton. Thus as a counterpoint to the values represented by women who were active members of the IODE, two figures were chosen from an opposite pole, the terrain of a radical left leaning episteme. One such figure was Bessie Touzel (1904–1997). To date, no book-length biography has been written of her, and while she appears fleetingly in many accounts of the history of social work and social policy, this early graduate of the University of Toronto social work program (1928), is largely unremembered today. Her distinguished career included participating in the Marsh Commission, and implementing many of the new welfare initiatives as they were legislated, in her capacity as Executive Director of the Ontario Welfare Council (1950–1964). During a lifetime social work career, her employment spanned municipal, provincial and federal ministries and even after she retired in 1964, she accepted a United Nations assignment as an advisor in Tanzania for two years. Awarded an honorary doctorate in 1964, Touzel networked with other left-leaning social workers throughout her career and was a secret member of the Communist Party. Touzel looked to Bertha Reynolds as a model and a mentor. Reynolds, a well known American social worker, belonged to the Communist Party. She was blacklisted from social work during the McCarthy years.

Margaret Gould (1900–1981) was born in Russia and in 1905 at the age of five emigrated to Canada. During the 1930s, she and Dorothy Livesay, a social work colleague of hers and now remembered as a poet, were both on the Editorial Committee of The New Frontier, a radical left
wing magazine. Gould was a member of the socialist League for Social Reconstruction and was also a member of the Communist Party. While Gould was the Executive Director of the Child Welfare Council (1930–1937) she and two social work friends and colleagues went on a trip and visited the Soviet Union, Finland and Switzerland, studying their social welfare systems. Upon her return, she published a book summarising her findings, *I visit the Soviets* (1937). Squeezed out of social work in the late 1930s, Gould went on to write as a journalist for the Toronto Star for a number of years, continuing to promote the importance of social justice and fiercely advocating for public state responsibility for social issues. No biography has been written on Gould, and she is largely uncelebrated in the literature, occasionally cited in social work histories, while leaving behind a considerable body of written work, which this study will assemble and organise. She and Touzel were friends and colleagues, but Gould was more stridently left wing than Touzel, openly joining the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) and publishing material that was unabashedly socialist and radical. Touzel, while left leaning in her values, was more conformist in her social work position, and did not make overt declarations of communist sympathies. Nevertheless, she acted and advocated in a manner consistent with a left leaning value system. This study presents Bessie Touzel in greater depth, but also introduces Margaret Gould to show that there was a significant group of radical social workers, who networked from a shared value base, and made significant contributions to the development of social work in its formative years.

It is expected that this study will contribute to social work historical scholarship and to feminist history of the service professions by providing a fresh examination of historical occurrences and personalities through a feminist and postcolonial lens. The public lives and ideas of some little known and unknown early female social work pioneers will be documented and considered. I map some of the divergent, contested and uncontested ideas that permeated early Canadian social work, and that became evident in practices and agencies, and I consider these in light of current trends and practices. It is hoped that this study of the past will offer some illumination of the present.

### Outline of the Chapters

Chapter 1, introduces the theoretical framework and elaborates on the two main theoretical areas which inform the study. Approaches to writing history have undergone dramatic shifts since
1970, and this thesis reflects many of these changes. I identify my use of a feminist recuperative approach as well as a postcolonial feminist approach. I discuss aspects of Foucault’s approach to history, particularly the facilitation of multiplicity, contradiction and debate and the focus on tracing not only ideas but also practice. I review the writing of the history of social work through a different lens, looking first at what historians have written about social work and then look at what social workers have written about their own history.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the research questions which guide my enquiry and provide information about the method I use. I discuss the process I employed to facilitate a dual approach of considering individual lives and the field of social work practice in tandem. My sampling process is elaborated and I discuss how the enquiry proceeded. I describe the archives which were examined, the key informant interviews and the use of secondary sources. Rounding out the chapter I discuss the analytic process I employed to assemble and synthesize my findings.

With the theory discussed, the literature reviewed and the method outlined, chapters three to six present the findings. These chapters follow the same presentation format in order to facilitate comparison. Each of these chapters is organized around one figure, beginning with a description of personal social location, a narrative of their public life in social work followed by a descriptive analysis of their chosen fields of practice. This section on the field of social work employs a Foucauldian approach which focuses on actions/accomplishments and what was done as opposed to limiting the discussion to ideas or political affiliations. In order to discuss the field of practice, three domains were identified: immigrants, newcomers and the nation, children, family and welfare, and poverty and the welfare state. In each case the dominant field of action is discussed first, so the ordering of these domains varies between chapters. Key ideas are discussed with respect to the professionalization of social work and to feminism and the role of women. Chapters three and four discuss the two female imperialists, Arnoldi and Whitton and chapters five and six discuss the two socialist/radically affiliated women, Touzel and Gould.

Chapter 3 reports the findings on Joan Arnoldi and opens the discussion on social work and imperialism. Arnoldi is a member of that largely anonymous group of voluntary social workers about whom we know little and who are rarely discussed as individuals. The Arnoldi family fonds had no personal material on her beyond two photographs and a passport and so the account is derived from agency archives and newspaper reports. In this chapter I provide material on the
IODE and on the cultural implications of imperialism as well as background on the developing field of social work alongside the narrative of Arnoldi.

Chapter 4 continues the discussion of social work and imperialism with the examination of the social work career of Charlotte Whitton. In this account, her work at the Canadian Welfare Council and her involvement with the IODE are examined in tandem and the influence of imperial ideas and imperial thinking on her practice approach, and her choice of practice location are considered.

Chapter 5 introduces socialist/radical social work with a portrait of Bessie Touzel and her lengthy social work career. Touzel’s professional life straddled the critical years in the formation of the social work profession when the cataclysm of the Great Depression challenged many of the basic assumptions of casework (and in the wider context issued the same challenge to the assumptions of classical liberalism and economics), which resulted in a fluorescence of radical ideas. Touzel’s practice approach and choice of practice location are examined and reviewed within the wider context of the profession and the times.

Chapter 6, the final chapter of findings discusses Margaret Gould’s career as first an insider and then as an outsider in the social work profession. Gould’s life work overlaps with the same era of radical fluorescence as Touzel but she takes another path and her socialism/radicalism is formed and shaped differently. I consider her participation in the formation of social work.

With the social work careers of the four women described and discussed in the context of the wider imperial and radical discourses of the day, I consolidate the findings and reflect on the study in a final chapter. In chapter seven I assemble the research findings by first of all looking at imperialism and imperial social workers and then at socialism/radicalism and socialist/radical social workers. From there I discuss the study in its entirety and identify three overarching ideas which have emerged from it. I then focus briefly on social work and imperialism. I conclude by reflecting on expectations, assumptions and surprises, the relevance of the theoretical framework and the methodology, the implications for social work, and finally some questions for further research.
Chapter 1
Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

Organized in two distinct parts, the first section of this chapter explores the major theories which guide the enquiry, namely feminism, colonialism and imperialism. The history of the woman’s movement in Canada is understood as occurring in three waves and the period examined in this thesis falls entirely within the first wave. Different types of feminisms which emerged in the first wave period (1900–1960) are discussed in turn. Next the reader is introduced to the key issues in British Imperialism, which inform this study. An examination of white settler societies, colonialism and the unique conditions in Canada are described and elaborated. The second section of the chapter discusses approaches to knowledge and history. There are two main approaches informing the study and these are discussed in turn. Firstly, the author’s choice of using a feminist historical approach and secondly the mobilization of a postmodern Foucauldian approach to history. Then this section focuses on questions about social work and its history. This section is organised to introduce the reader to studies that have been completed by feminist historians on the history of social work, complemented with an overview of social work scholarship on its own history. This dual perspective reveals the different knowledges which are documented by insider and outsider standpoints and suggests the potential contribution of feminist historiography to social work scholarship and its limitations.

1.1 Feminism

There are different ways of conceptualizing feminism and the different forms that feminist thought and feminist movements have taken over time. One way modern scholars approach feminist theoretical thinking is to organise the material into categories of thought and political orientation using labels and categories such as liberal, radical, socialist, Marxist and more recently existentialist, postmodern, postcolonial and transnational (Tong 2014; Watkins 1992). However, Canadian feminist historians have most commonly conceptualised the course of the woman’s movement in broad terms using the metaphor of a wave and described the major shifts in approach and praxis as falling into three broad waves corresponding to time frames as well as primary issues of concern (Bacchi 1989; Cleverdon 1975; Kealey 1979; Prentice 1988). Each of these approaches has merit and limitations. The wave approach provides immediate historical
location and a picture of the gradual process of change across time whereas the labelling system is a useful tool for distinguishing difference and capturing anomalies.

In this study, the period under examination is entirely in the time of first wave feminism. Early feminist scholarship approached first wave feminism as a largely homogenous grouping but more recently there has been a growing awareness that there were many different ideas, affiliations, and perspectives in circulation (Moynagh 2014). The title of this thesis uses feminism in the plural form to capture the multiple forms of feminism which were present during first wave feminism. These different feminisms overlapped and intersected and together they provided the landscape for the debates, differences, and consensus which occurred. In this study, three main types of first wave feminism are identified for discussion and elaboration but this is not intended to be a definitive or exhaustive list. The types to be discussed are first maternal feminism, second female imperialism, and lastly socialist feminism. These different forms of feminism represent a contrasting spectrum of ideas and political affiliations. Despite their differences these feminisms were all active and interactive during the first wave period.

It is difficult to separate the history of women and the history of the women’s movement, which is the praxis/practice or embodiment of feminist theory, from a discussion of what is purely theory. For this reason I am including seminal events which occurred in the women’s movement alongside a discussion of significant theoretical ideas as they are an inextricable part of the development of feminist thought.

1.1.1 The Wave Theory of Feminism

The history of Canadian feminism has been divided into three waves. The first wave corresponds to the early woman’s movement from the 19th century till the end of the Second World War when women’s entry into the work force triggered a shift into what became known as second wave feminism. There was a transitional period between the end of World War II and the 1960s when second wave feminism began in earnest. Known as the women’s liberation movement this wave was characterised by female activism for equal rights in all areas of public life. Gender roles at home, the sexual division of labour in the workplace as well as control over their bodies became central concerns (Bromley 2012; Tong 2014).
In the 1980s women who were not white, heterosexual, middle class and able challenged the relevance of the second wave woman’s liberation movement to their lives and this launched third wave feminism. Inclusivity and the understanding of differences through class, ethnicity, sexual orientation or ability became central parts of third wave feminism. Theoretically they drew on intersectionality, postmodernism, postcolonialism and queer theory (Bromley 2012; Tong 2014).

1.1.1.1 First Wave Maternal Feminism in Canada (1900–1950)

First wave feminism in Canada has been studied by a number of historical scholars who identified maternal feminism and a version of “equal rights” or “equity” feminism as distinguishing features of this early period of female activism (Kealey 1979; Prentice 1988; Roberts 1979; Strong-Boag 1974; Valverde 1992, 2008). I will discuss each of these features of maternal feminism in turn.

Maternal Feminism

Maternal feminism is based on an understanding of femaleness as rooted in biology. It is the belief that the differences between the sexes is a biological difference that determines the nature of femaleness and maleness. The maternalist understanding of women was of a female identity that was built on her reproductive destiny of child bearing and child rearing. The domestic tasks of homemaking and social provisioning were understood to be part of this biological destiny. It was believed that the qualities of nurturing, caregiving and homemaking were inherent to women and were part of her female nature. Single and childless women were also believed to be naturally interested in domestic matters and childrearing. They were believed to be better equipped than men to undertake caregiving and family related tasks.

The maternalist idea that women had an inherent ability to nurture was transferred to the public sphere of policy and social reform. It was believed that “women possessed unique biological qualities which suited them for the work of repairing the damage wrought by economic and social change” (Kealey 1979,8). It was this belief that propelled many of these women into clubs and active social service. In the early twentieth century women formed clubs with many different social and philosophical orientations about women’s place in society. The reasons for forming a club included religion, charity, literary pursuits and social reform. Some of these clubs were local but many became dominion-wide societies. A substantial number of these clubs were
involved in social reform sometimes by initial design and sometimes a social reform agenda became apparent at a later point in the club’s development. The range of interest was quite wide. Indeed clubs formed around social issues such as temperance, child welfare, urban reform, city government, public health, child and female labour and suffrage (Kealey 1979). Strong-Boag (1974) claimed that it was this bedrock of female organizing that allowed the creation in 1893 of the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC). Led by Lady Aberdeen, the wife of the Governor General who was a proponent of maternal feminism, the club began expressing women’s perspectives on immigration, welfare, jails, education, disability and other social issues. This organization was very conservative. The Canadian Suffrage Association (CSA) sought affiliation with the National Council of Women for fifteen years. It wasn’t until 1910 that the NCWC finally adopted the suffrage platform.

In her study of the suffrage movement, Bacchi (1989) carefully analysed who joined the suffrage movement and what the prevailing arguments were. She discovered that the members included large numbers of men as well as women who were mostly elite, Anglo-Saxon women with a social-imperial reform agenda. These women held conservative maternalist ideas and wished to gain political citizenship in order to further their reform agenda. They were joined in this quest by many men who shared their goal. Bacchi cited a statement from the Women’s Suffrage Headquarters “For a nation is but a larger home. And the wide-world knows that women’s love and judgement and voice are needed in the home” (p.xi).

This mobilization into local public service resulted in many women’s clubs becoming an important part of the social landscape. For example, the Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) was formed in 1874 and worked to ban alcohol and promote evangelical family values (Mitchinson, 1979). The Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) provided a range of services for single working class women, and The Girls Friendly Society, which was based in the Anglican Church, provided reception services for newcomers and single working women (Chilton 2007). Religion was a mobilizing force in the early years of the Canadian women’s movement, and women organised home-based missionary work and began advocating for social change. Ellen Ross (2007) studied women’s early social activism in London, England. She described first wave feminists as ‘slum travellers,’ as she observed that many women travelled across class and region within the country to “visit” and help the poor and the outcast.
It was missionary work that increased the internationalism of the women’s club movement. Missionary societies formed to organize overseas work. These groups launched ambitious fundraising programs and provided co-ordination and organisation for missionary expeditions. Women sought higher education as doctors so they could offer more specialised assistance (Prentice 1988).

**Equal Rights Maternal Feminism**

First wave maternal feminism in Canada was also characterised by a fight for rights: educational rights, property rights, and political citizenship through suffrage. Obtaining the right to vote, the right for women to own property, to be granted inheritance, to access higher education, and to be able to enter the professions were long fought struggles in the first half of the twentieth century (Bacchi 1989; Backhouse 1992; Bromley 2012). Maternal feminists wanted the political and citizenship rights held by men and wanted to participate in public life. They also wanted some autonomy and economic security. These maternal feminists stressed that women were not essentially different from men and should have the same rights but these women were a minority (Prentice 1988)

Within the group of women who were raised with maternalist ideas there were women who had begun to question some of the basic tenets of maternalism. Victorian science upheld the primacy of biology over culture. However this was challenged by social science which took hold in the first half of the twentieth century. The power of cultural conditioning was slowly revealed. This marked a critical shift in thinking for feminism as it was the beginning of the idea of gender, the idea that femaleness was a learned role or a social construct. In her study of the intellectual roots of modern feminism, Rosenberg (1982) examined the lives of two early twentieth century female social scientists who concluded that sex differences were constructed by environmental conditioning. Their work was not well received as it was in startling conflict with the dominant discourse of maternalism. While these women were not promoted in academia and were not acknowledged politically, their writings revealed how women’s understanding of themselves was beginning to change. However, this change in the conceptualization of sex and femininity did not become a dominant understanding until second wave feminism.

Canadian maternal feminism was informed by liberalism beginning with the publication of Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* in 1792. Wollenstonecraft wrote in the
aftermath of the French revolution. She argued that women were born equal and taught to be subordinate. She hypothesized that women could break free from the tyranny of male privilege just as the French working classes had broken free from the tyranny of the monarchy. In 1869 another seminal text was John Stuart Mill’s *The Subjection of Women* in which he argued that women had the right to work, education, suffrage and property. These two texts laid the intellectual foundation for the nineteenth century women’s suffrage movement which flourished in Britain, Canada, the United States and Europe. The primary contention of liberal feminism was that female subordination was an outcome of customary and legal constraints and so logically it was believed that if these rules were changed then gender justice would follow (Tong 2014). The struggle for change in educational, property and political voting rights was essentially a liberal reform agenda. In 1919, after women had gained federal suffrage, Judge Emily Murphy passed a resolution requesting that the prime minister appoint a female senator. The NCWC supported this motion but it was not until 1929, after the resolution had been denied by the Supreme Court of Canada, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council of England, the highest court of appeal on questions relating to Canadian law, unanimously agreed that the word “persons” in section 24 of the British North America Act applied equally to men and women (Prentice 1988).

Women began to participate in the professional sector in the late nineteenth century. Initially excluded from professional education, they started to demand access to the established male dominated professions of medicine, dentistry, law, and theology (Strong-Boag 1979). The women’s professions of nursing, teaching, social work, library science, and home economics began to emerge in the late 1800s and appeared to be rooted in maternal feminism. Wayne Roberts (1979) observed that the new professions were identified with “feminine traits of emotionalism, self-sacrifice, culture, nurture, and spirituality . . . just as women within the home were assumed to humanize male relatives brutalized by their encounter with industrial capitalism so female professions would blunt its destructive impact on the world at large” (p.31). Roberts argued that the very label “helping professions” revealed the occupational limitations open to women and he suggested that their professional existence served to extend their subordinate position within the family structure into the public arena, where their rights were conditional on “self denial rather than self advancement, helping others rather than themselves and service rather than leadership” (p.39).
Second Wave Feminist Critique of Maternal Feminism

When second wave feminist historians began studying first wave maternal feminists they were hoping to find early equal rights activists who could become early role model heroines for the women’s movement. What they found were many highly conservative women who were guided by a firm belief that maternal differences were inherent to women. Yet these were also women who fought for the vote and educational and property rights. In addition they were women who moved into the public sphere and became prominent social and political actors. Molly Ladd-Taylor (1995) argued that through their involvement with social reform work maternal feminists “hoped to limit patriarchal power by replacing it with the seemingly more benign and maternal authority of the state” (p.5). Ladd-Taylor suggested that maternal feminism was based on an ideology of separate spheres which posited that women were socially and economically dependent on men and that this belief then precluded them from being politically and economically independent. While they might hope to influence the public sphere they conceived of themselves as being apart from it. Jill Conway (1972) wrote about this paradox of women in the forefront of reform and social criticism, who were resisting traditional homebound roles and courageously defying tradition. She described how they demanded admittance to universities and to male-designated professions and yet at the same time subscribed to maternalist ideas about feminine nature. She observed that they lacked class consciousness and expected “a sex group to be agents of social change because of the unique qualities with which they believed the feminine temperament was endowed” (p.166). Conway expressed concern that “to tie one’s identity as a social critic to acquiescence in the traditional stereotype of women” (p.167) was to build on foundations of sand. For feminist historians writing in the late 1970s who were deeply invested in women having political, social, and cultural equality with men, it was difficult to sympathetically account for the ideas of maternal feminists in the early twentieth century.

1.1.1.2 Female Imperialism in Canada (1900–1950)

Anna Davin (1978) set the stage for studying maternal imperialism with a groundbreaking article on imperialism and motherhood. She argued that at the beginning of the twentieth century there was an emphasis on the need for an abundant and healthy population as a critical national resource. This was in tension with the Malthusians who were concerned about overpopulation and the eugenics movement. They sought to limit population growth, “race deterioration” and
“unfit breeding.” Davin cited imperial writers who warned that if Britain didn’t expand and fill the empty spaces of Empire then others would “that threat was not from indigenous populations but from rival master races” (p.88). The birthrate became an issue of national and imperial importance, making infant and maternal mortality a national problem. Child rearing was a national duty and good motherhood was part of national strength, racial health and purity. Davin stated that “motherhood was to be given new dignity: it was not just the duty and destiny of women to be “the mothers of the race” but also their great reward” (p.91). This linking of central maternal ideas with imperial ideology set the stage for understanding female imperialism as a separate strand of first wave feminism.

More recent feminist historical scholarship has identified female imperialism as an important stream of first wave feminism. During the ascendancy of the British Empire many women became actively involved in the work of empire, sometimes independently as missionaries but also as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters of British Imperial administrative officials and settlers in the new colonies. These women were not widely studied in male-stream history and they were also ignored in the early history of feminist historical scholarship (1970–1990). Many early feminist historians wished to escape studying elite white women and their views of others. However in the 1990s, third wave postcolonial feminist historians began to investigate some of these female lives through diaries, letters, and the records of women’s clubs (Chaudhuri 1992; Jayawardena 1995; Stoler 1997; Ram 1998; Pickles 2002). They discovered that these women shared the ideas and cultural beliefs of their imperial male counterparts but also had a gender-based response to the implications of these values and ideas in their own feminine lives (Burton 1994, 2011; Davin 1997; Pickles 2002). In their scholarship, these feminist historians adopted a feminist postcolonial position which meant a conceptual reorientation towards colonial knowledge. This involved bringing cultural gender based analyses into material that had formerly been considered as an exclusively national/international political and economic matter.

Female imperialism was enacted primarily by elite or middle class Christian white women who were guided by maternalist ideas about the nature of femaleness. They had a patriotic agenda that they wished to enact in the public arena of nation and empire (Bush 1998; Chilton 2007; Mann 2005; Pickles 2002). The imperial maternalist platform coupled city poverty with race degeneration and called for social reform. They crusaded to improve the “feeding of schoolchildren, pure food clean milk, hygiene, cookery classes for schoolgirls, workgirls and
mothers. temperance, education for parenthood, refusals of marriage licences to the ‘degenerate’ or ‘unfit’ or even their sterilization” (Davin 1978, 95). This mix of maternalist domestic concerns with an imperial political agenda was a common feature of female imperialism. There was a widespread class fear that middle class Anglo-Saxon families would use birth control to limit their families, and that women would choose to remain single and childless. As a consequence, the middle and upper class population would diminish while the empire would become overrun with working class and non-British peoples. Imperial ideology depicted motherhood as not just a moral duty but also a national responsibility. There was a pairing of good motherhood with racial health and purity. Maternal hygiene and education in mothercraft became tools of empire building and were frequently the action agendas of missionaries working in colonized countries (Davin 1997; Pickles 2002; Ram and Jolly 1998).

Once postcolonial feminist historians made a link between maternal feminism and imperialist ideology, it was recognised that the vocabulary of Victorian social reform and philanthropy was full of racial metaphors and civilizing tropes. They were influenced by social Darwinism which was a strong discourse in Victorian thinking as well as institutional anthropology. Anthropological scholarship disseminated material on aboriginal and racialized cultures which described them as “primitive” “childlike” and “less civilized” and placed them on the bottom of an evolutionary hierarchy of cultural development. Social Darwinism collapsed anthropological ideas of lesser developed cultures into racialising and civilizing tropes and attached them to social classes (Burton 1994). British culture was positioned as superior and more advanced, which justified imposing it throughout the Empire to improve and upgrade the living standards of the colonized peoples. “Women as saviour of the nation, the race, and the empire was a common theme in female emancipation arguments before and especially after 1900 . . . British feminists must be counted among the shapers of imperial rhetoric and imperial ideologies in this period” (Davin 1978,44). This recognition that women participated in, shaped and disseminated imperial discourses is central to the identification of female imperialism as a distinct and separate strand of first wave feminism.

While for many years postcolonial feminist historians focused their studies on colonized third world women in an effort to privilege subjugated and silenced voices, there was a dawning realization that there was value in studying not just the colonized but also the colonizer in order to fully understand the mutual shaping effects each construction had on the other (Strobel 1991).
Feminist postcolonial scholars (Burton 1992, 1994; Jayawardena 1995; Ram and Jolly 1998) identified that in the early 1900s reproduction was seen as inseparable from racial and imperial politics, and that imperial thinking was permeated with a sense of cultural superiority and political caretaking. Many middle and upperclass Canadian women were drawn to this stream of maternalist feminism. They saw it as a way to apply their feminist strengths and abilities to the goal of imperial progress. It became an avenue for political self assertion as well as a commitment to domestic ‘missionary work,’ (Lewis 1992; Mitchinson 1987; Pickles 2002; Roberts 1979; Valverde 1991).

Valverde (1992) suggested that the history of Canadian feminism had been studied as a Canadian phenomenon but she further argued that first wave feminism had an international dimension which should be examined in an international context. Using a postcolonial critical perspective, Valverde examined the writings of Protestant women’s foreign missionary societies and identified that they represented third world women as child-like and as victims in contrast to their representation of western women as autonomous adults seeking self emancipation. She noted that racial and class privilege were often blurred in comparisons of lower classes and lower races, and that upper class persons were assumed to be morally superior. Protestant women participated in foreign missions as ‘mothers of the race’ and third world mothers were seen as needing to be mothered and taught by wiser Anglo-Saxon protestant women. Valverde’s analysis honed in on the racist and classist assumptions that infused female Protestant missionary societies. She noted that “white feminists attacked only the gender bias of evolutionary and eugenic thought, leaving its basic framework intact” (p.13). Other writers have brought up alternative understandings of the missionary activity of women. In contrast to these findings, two studies by Canadian feminist historians of Canadian missionaries in Asia who were abroad during the time of first wave feminism found that the missionary work offered an opportunity for single women to pursue a career and questioned whether these women had an imperial agenda (Compton Brouwer 2002; Gagan 1992). These different findings suggest that there were many feminisms in circulation during the time of first wave feminism and while some missionaries may have been female imperialists there were others who were not. It also suggests that the reasons women embarked on missionary work were varied and thus it is important to examine individual narratives.
Imperial feminism was one of the feminisms which was present during the formative period of social work. Burton (1994) suggested that imperial feminists of the early twentieth century viewed feminism itself as an agent of imperial progress. Some early social workers such as the two women selected in this study, Joan Arnoldi and Charlotte Whitton, were shaped by imperial ideology. This study investigates the implications of this in greater detail in an effort to illuminate how these ideas shaped the practice of each of these women and what contribution they made to the developing fabric of social work.

**The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE)**

Among the missionary societies, suffrage associations, business clubs, and social reform organizations there were influential circles of imperialist women motivated by a staunch commitment to “God, King and Country.” Their fathers, husbands, and brothers expressed such imperial affinities at the Empire Club, the Orange Lodge or the United Empire Loyalist Associations.

The largest female imperialist organization in Canada was the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, which was founded in 1900 by Margaret Murray, the wife of a McGill University professor. She planned to create an empire-wide federation beginning in Canada. It was amid a climate of Anglo-Canadian patriotism following the Boer War that she began this project. She set up headquarters in Toronto with a structural hierarchy of local, municipal, provincial, and national chapters. The IODE grew quickly. The organization established chapters in every Canadian province as well as in India, Bermuda, the Bahamas, and in Newfoundland (Gaudet 2001; Pickles 2002).

The IODE statement of purpose showed that the preservation of imperial connections was of primary importance to its members. Members of the IODE saw themselves as female imperialists. They dissociated themselves from female activism such as suffrage for women. Heavily committed to maternalism, they took pride in their ‘womanly’ qualities of nurturing and caring, seeking to make a uniquely female contribution to the Empire (Gaudet 2001). There were a number of other women’s patriotic clubs operating at the same time as the IODE such as the Girls friendly Society, The Primrose League, the British Women’s Emigration Association, and the Victoria League. The IODE was very much part of this genre (Bush 1998; Chilton 2007; Pickles 2002).
The IODE sought British immigrants to populate Canadian space, but given that some non-British immigrants were permitted entry they sought to ‘canadianize’ them as quickly and effectively as possible. Canadianization emerged as their term for the assimilation of newcomers into Anglo-conformity (Gaudet 2001). The IODE welcomed immigrants at ports of arrival and supported arrival hostels for young single women. During World War I, they retained their sense of maternal identity and provided food, clothing and bedding, set up clubs and entertainment for soldiers, counselled the wounded, and gave emotional support to soldiers’ families. Their contributions were impressive with 19 ambulances, trucks, sterilizing units, operating tables, field kitchens, cots, equipment for hospital wards and thousands of knitted items. They provided a fully equipped hospital ship to the British Admiralty, and the National Executive noted “it is felt that this will be an opportunity for every Canadian woman to show her loyalty and devotion to the Empire and most fitting as it is the woman’s part to minister to the sick and wounded” (Pickles 2002, p.43).

To defend Britain, the IODE used its maternal skills. In a 1918 issue of their monthly publication, *Echoes*, the caption under the picture of a young film star read: “Two weapons of the Anglo-Saxon race are doing tremendous work to win the war for freedom – the bayonet of our soldiers and the needle of our loyal women. The knitting, the sewing, and the unparalleled helpfulness of the women in all lines of activity have doubled the effectiveness of our men in the field” (Pickles 2002, 43). Immigration and war work had the joint purpose of the construction of a strong British Canada. The IODE supported the racial hierarchy which placed British people and their Anglo-Celtic Canadian descendants as superior to all other races and they supported the discriminatory immigration laws which legislated this preference. Membership peaked during the war to 50,000 members (Pickles 2002).

After World War I, Britain renewed its commitment to the settlement of British people in the white dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa with the 1922 Empire Settlement Act, which authorized assistance to this population with passages and land settlement for fifteen years. The IODE worked closely with the Society for Overseas Settlement of British Women (SOSBW) based in England, to increase the number of white British women throughout the Empire outside Britain (Gaudet 2001; Pickles 2002).
Class was an overt concern of the IODE. While supportive of domestic servants, they continued to encourage the immigration of educated and middle and upper class women. “While the need for household workers in Canada is unlimited it is not desirable that Canadian stock should be replenished solely by that one class of British newcomer . . . your committee feels that it is of utmost importance that Canada should encourage to come to its shores women who will include among their numbers those of education and ability” (Pickles 2002, 60). The IODE followed eugenic reasoning and urged intervention in social reform work to improve and absorb the “racial” qualities of future generations, both physically and mentally.

The IODE invoked the discourses of the time: social Darwinism, eugenics, and maternalism. They viewed national degeneracy as occurring in working class households where the pattern of domestic life had been broken by the need for mothers and children to work outside the home. The child was at the centre of the IODE efforts to cultivate a healthy national body. Canadian children were regarded as the seeds of continued imperial dominance, and as such needed their protection and guidance. At the time, the social hygiene movement stimulated the creation of a nation-wide public health infrastructure. The IODE cited ‘lack of home control’ and ‘bad home management’ as causing many of the health and welfare problems of children. The Daughters were concerned that urban slums not become the future of the nation so inner-city mothers were targeted for instruction in child-rearing (Pickles 2002). Burton (1992) described imperial female reformers as assuming the British imperial discourses of conquest which positioned the conquerors as guarantors of social progress and the agents of civilization: “middle class feminists deliberately cultivated the civilizing responsibility as their own modern, womanly, and largely secular burden because it affirmed an emancipated role for them in the imperial nation state” (p. 139).

After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, there was a strong fear of “red revolt” and a fear of immigrants living in ethnic groups. They were seen as a threat to the political system because they could vote in blocks. This concern was directed primarily towards Finnish immigrants and towards central and eastern European immigrants (Pickles 2002). During the cold war years, the IODE was fiercely opposed to communism and actively promoted women’s place in the home, and opposed the peace movement (Pickles 2002).
This study examines the intersection between imperialism and the emergence of social work in Canada, by focussing on this national Canadian imperial woman’s club, Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire and two figures, Joan Arnoldi and Charlotte Whitton, who were members of this club and were active in social service organisations in Ontario. This is an unexamined but significant thread present in social work, which this study addresses. It is important for a fuller understanding of the history of social work and for recognizing traces of these ideas and practices which may continue today.

1.1.1.3 First Wave Socialist Feminism (1900–1950)

During the period of first wave feminism there were women who joined early socialist parties in Canada and adhered to Marxist and socialist ideas. These women were a minority and the exact number of women who were involved in these organizations is uncertain. In her study of women in the Canadian left in the first two decades of the twentieth century, Newton (1995) examined the three largest English-speaking socialist organizations in the years preceding World War I. These were the Canadian Socialist League, the Socialist Party of Canada, and the Social Democratic Party of Canada. The Canadian Socialist League (CSL) was formed in 1898 and was a loose federation of socialist locals. Each local branch had a lot of autonomy and women supported these local organizations, joined executive committees and wrote for their newspapers. By 1902 there were sixty locals across Canada but the Socialist Party of Canada (SPC) was forming in British Columbia and by 1903 it eclipsed the CSL, which disbanded. The Socialist Party of Canada was more explicitly Marxist and was dedicated to educating the working class in the need for a socialist transformation of the economic system (Newton 1995). Women were active in the SPC as members of executive committees and as writers and fundraisers. The SPS believed that it was important that its members restrict their activism to working class interests specifically the waged-labour relationship. For this reason they did not support the suffrage movement. In 1911 a new national party was formed, the Social Democratic Party of Canada (SDPC). This was a splinter group from the SPC, made up of many Finnish and Ukranian locals who had become dissatisfied with the SPC’s inflexible English-based leadership (Sangster 1989). They wanted a more ethnically tolerant leadership and they promoted a platform of “reform now, revolution later” (Sangster 1989, 14). This party did support the women’s suffrage movement. Its newspaper Cotton’s Weekly became the largest selling socialist newspaper in Canada.
These three socialist organizations all agreed that capitalism was to blame for the problems facing women. They affirmed the ideas of Marx and Engels who claimed that women cannot achieve liberation in a class-based society. Historically socialists and communists have agreed that women occupy an inferior position in society. In 1884 Engels published *The Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* which used ethnographic and historical evidence to show that women’s social position had not always been inferior but with the introduction of the modern nuclear family in capitalist society women had become part of the new private household. Engels stated that:

> to emancipate woman and make her the equal of the man is and remains an impossibility so long as the woman is shut out from social productive labour and restricted to private domestic labour. The emancipation of woman will only be possible when women take part in production on a large, social scale, and domestic work no longer claims anything but an insignificant amount of her time (p199).

In 1883, Auguste Bebel published *Women under Socialism* which became a world bestseller and popularized many of Engels’ ideas. Canadian socialists would have been familiar with these publications and would probably have discussed the ideas which were presented.

These socialist feminists sought to understand how socialism might transform their private and public worlds which included the home, relations between men and women, and the waged-labour relationship. Newton (1995) questioned the idea that concern for maternal or domestic issues is inherently non radical which is the heart of the critique of maternal feminism. She suggested that socialist women framed their political mobilization in relation to their lived experience which meant that some of their activism was built on the issue of women’s work in the home. Newton argued that these women accepted maternal feminism and turned it to radical ends by advocating for a socialist restructuring of domestic work and mothering. She structured her study under four themes which she discovered animated socialist feminist debates in this period. They were the home, paid work, sexuality and politics.

Between the 1890s and 1917, when the Russian Revolution occurred, in addition to these early socialist organizations there were local labour parties. Labour parties challenged the proliferation of sweatshops, the conditions of factory work, and the social problems issuing from industrial social organization. At this time, the social gospel movement was strong. The social gospellers applied many socialist ideas through a Christian lens and saw Christ as the exemplary socialist.
Social gospellers strove to introduce many of the same social reforms that the socialist organizations were fighting for (McKay 2005). During this period, settlement houses were set up in Toronto and offered social support programs. These were structured on socialist principles of shared responsibility for the social provisioning burdens of working families. They offered daycare, recreational programs and communal meals and activities. In 1912, Central Neighbourhood House offered direct support to striking Eatons workers (James 1997).

In 1921 the Communist Party of Canada (CPC) was formed. This new organization was very similar to the Marxist Socialist Party of Canada and emphasized class inequality, class conflict and the revolutionary transformation of society. Radicalised by the war and also by the labour revolt of 1919, socialist feminists shared the class-conscious reform-minded critique of capitalism that the party offered. The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was established in 1932 in Calgary and selected J.S. Woodsworth as the first party leader. Their manifesto included public ownership of key industries, universal public pensions, universal health care, children’s allowances, unemployment insurance and workers compensation. Women were active in the day-to-day organizing and in the front lines of helping women workers unionize. They defended and supported housewives who were battling to protect the standard of living for their families (Kealey and Sangster 1989; Sangster 1989).

The expansion of organized labour led to improved working conditions. Moreover the Depression forced the recognition that unemployment had structural causes and could not be accounted for by a solely moral explanation. During this period there was an efflorescence in radical social work, not only in the settlement houses but also in social service agencies in Toronto. Olive Ziegler an early graduate from the University of Toronto Social Service Program (1916) was Head Worker at University Settlement (1928–1933), and was so impressed by J.S. Woodsworth after he came to speak at the Settlement, that she joined the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (forerunner to the NDP), and later wrote his authorized biography, Woodsworth Social Pioneer, published in 1934. In her book, I visit the Soviets, published in 1937, Margaret Gould, a graduate from the University of Toronto, and Executive Secretary of the Child Welfare Council of Toronto documented her trip to Soviet Russia and other European countries. One of the women who accompanied her was Kathleen Gorrie who was also a socialist feminist. Gorrie was the daughter of left-leaning parents, and served on the social policy committee of the Child Welfare Council in 1930 (Wills 1995). Bessie Touzel graduated from the
University of Toronto Social Services Program in 1928 and was self identified as a Marxist (Lewey 2006). Touzel was a close personal friend of Dora Wilensky, the Executive Director of Jewish Family and Child Services, who was married to J.B. Salsberg, himself a member of the Communist Party and a Toronto Alderman (Patton 1998; Tulchinsky 2013). Dorothy Livesay was a social worker during the Depression, and also a member of the Communist Party. She followed a Marxist interpretation of the power relations within capitalism, but was forced to end her social work career when she married in 1937. At the time it was illegal for married women to work (Livesay 1977, 1991; Moffatt 2001).

Socialist feminists were not a homogenous group. There was a diversity of opinion. For Marxist feminists, changing a society where wealth was produced by the capitalist oppressors would lead to the end of capitalist male-female relationships and they believed that a communist society would facilitate members co-operating with one another in communities of care (Tong 2014). For them, the problems of unequal status would be solved once the problem of class inequality was addressed. However, other socialist feminists asserted that all women were alienated, no matter what their work role was. This was at odds with the classical Marxist idea that alienation results from participation in the capitalist relations of production (Jaggar 1983).

Two figures were selected to represent socialist feminism, Bessie Touzel and Margaret Gould, and it is expected that even though this is a very small sample there will be individual differences and some representation of the spectrum in this practice. Joan Sangster (1989) noted that retrieving the history of women socialists is an important task for contemporary feminists in order to understand what historical conditions encourage, or stifle, women’s radicalism (Sangster 1989). It is hoped that this study will make a contribution by shedding more light on the history of radical/socialist social work in Canada by listening to multiple voices and moving outside the constriction of binaries such as progressive/conservative; individual/group; clinical/structural; case-based/community and plot out ideas as they appear, looking for actual patterns, clusterings and associations.
1.2 Imperialism, Colonialism and a Postcolonial Perspective

1.2.1 Colonialism and Liberal Imperialism

Colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people’s lands and goods. Colonisation has been a recurrent and widespread feature of history that can be traced back in time through a succession of Empires from Egypt to Rome to the early Americas. The colonization under discussion in this thesis is British colonization which occurred between the sixteenth century and the twentieth century. British colonialism, particularly in its later phase in the late nineteenth century, was based on liberal capitalism and used a range of techniques and patterns of domination, in some cases involving more superficial contact and in other instances penetrating more deeply. The growth of British capitalism and industry was the paramount purpose of the incursion but the spread of influence and power was also accompanied by a liberal discourse of enlightenment, democracy and civilization. British colonialism restructured the economies that it conquered, connecting them with its own so that there was a flow of human and natural resources between colonised and colonial countries. The flow of resources went in both directions but the flow of profits always went back to the ‘mother’ country (Loomba 2007).

While empires and colonies existed for a long time, the term ‘imperialism’ became part of common vocabulary in England in the 1890s. Eric Hobsbawm described the reach of the British Empire as beyond the economic and political realm “the age of Empire was not only an economic and political but a cultural phenomenon. The conquest of the globe by its ‘developed’ minority transformed images, ideas and aspiration, both by force and institutions, by example and by social transformation” (Hobsbawm 1987, 76). He described imperialism as including a cultural component of civilizing or westernizing the elites of dependent countries through the establishment of British institutions such as British law and British education.

In 1947 Lenin published a book called *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, in which he argued that capitalist states would expand until they needed new markets, increased labour and more resources which would result in their subordination of non capitalist countries. He predicted that this development would lead to imperial wars and ultimately to the death of capitalism. Loomba (2007) pointed out that the distinction between pre-capitalist and capitalist colonialism was often made by referring to the latter as imperialism.
1.2.1.1 White Settler Societies

The British Empire established different forms of control and administration in the nations and lands which were conquered. Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa were established as white settler societies as part of a British imperial plan to establish overseas extensions of Britain in strategic locations around the globe (Stasiulis 1995). These colonies were set up to be replicas of the motherland with British ideas, laws, goods, fashions and cultural and economic practices. British immigration, English speaking hegemony, liberal democratic government and relative political autonomy were put in place in each of the Dominions so that they might develop within a shared framework of civilization and moral and material standards. Stasiulis & Jhappan (1995) identified some major problems which occurred in this white settler construct as it was applied to Canada. Firstly, the land was already occupied with Aboriginal peoples. As white settlement intensified, the lands and rights of indigenous people were confiscated under a self-justifying rhetoric of their failure to qualify as civilised communities. This violent domination of Aboriginal peoples and the accompanying erasure and diminishment of Aboriginal culture, has left a legacy of tension, resistance and inequity which remains unresolved. Secondly, while a ‘white Canada’ immigration policy was set in place, they soon discovered that they were unable to supply the required number of British settlers. The importation of ethnic/racial minorities became a necessary part of the settler society’s labour market and resulted in a more ethnically diverse population than originally envisaged, a development which disrupted the ideal of a white British clone. Thirdly, there were two competing imperial powers with settler projects in Canada, the British and the French. While the French were treated as a subordinate power in nation building, they refused to relinquish their language, culture, Catholicism or traditions. They remained a permanent challenge to British cultural hegemony. All of these factors became a part of ongoing tension and conflict throughout Canadian white settler history.

The period between the 1880s and the 1920s was a transitional period in Canadian white settler history that saw the intersection of the social forces of capitalism, feminism, nationalism, imperialism and social reform, shift into versions of Canadian identity. While feminism and reform were very active social movements during this time they have commonly been considered as local. They have been seen as limited in significance and not as part of the national question (Cohen 1996; Gaudet 2001). The ideas of the white elites who controlled education, government
and print culture were the ideas that were privileged and passed on to future generations as the historical record. This is characteristic of national narratives which are implicitly exclusionary, as in order to create an illusion of a national unity of interests, ideas that undermine ruling groups are suppressed. Thus they become less evident or absent in the official record (Gaudet 2001; Young 2004).

It was during this period that early forms of social work began to take shape among women who organised into interest-based groups through the club movement and inserted themselves into the public domain. British imperial ideas were in wide circulation amongst the elite in Toronto. The Orange Order, Protestantism and patriotic clubs such as The British Empire League and the National Club were powerful institutional actors conferring status and prestige on the members. Excluded from membership were women and the growing number of newcomers who were not of British origin. In addition, those who were of a lower class such as labourers, service workers and factory workers as well as groups such as the Irish were not eligible for membership (Kealey 1988, Berger 1998). Women became agents as well as objects of these exclusionary practices. Through the establishment of clubs such as the IODE, with exclusive membership rules, they participated in defining Canadianness in terms of race and class, but from a position of national marginality as a women’s club (Bush 1998; Cohen 1996; Gaudet 2001; Pickles 2002; Young 2003). It was during these years of contested ideas on the nation, political participation, suffrage, work, wages, urban and rural life, industrialization, the family, motherhood and the role of women, that social work took shape and established a professional identity. Not surprisingly, the newly minted field of social work was a terrain of debate and difference reflecting the tensions and social struggles which were occurring in the wider society. Many early social workers participated in imperial discourses and for some of them this was a strong guiding belief system which shaped their practice and thus became part of the early fabric of the profession.

1.2.2.2 A Postcolonial Critical Perspective

The term postcolonialism is a contested topic for a number of reasons. In its most literal meaning of “after colonialism” it is challenged on the grounds that there is no “after colonialism” as the effects of colonialism continue beyond a political shift in colonial status. In a temporal sense the term is problematic as decolonisation from European colonialism has spanned three centuries and the diverse circumstances of each region make a general descriptive term insufficient. In
addition the difference between “the politics of decolonisation in parts of Latin America or Australia or South Africa where white settlers formed their own independent nations is different from the dynamics of those societies where indigenous populations overthrew their European masters” (Loomba 2007, 13). If the term postcolonial is used to suggest that there has been an ideological shift after decolonisation when a country has declared independence, this is also unclear. A country may be independent in the sense of politically self-governing, but still linked economically and culturally to the former metropole. Anne McClintock (1995) questioned the “post” in postcolonialism and suggested that in many places cultural decolonisation was ongoing and so to suggest that it was finished through the use of such a category was to impose closure prematurely. Stoler & Cooper (1997) raised an additional point on the limitations of the term and suggested that the application of a postcolonial framework to a decolonised nation flattened the history of a former colony to colonialism and ignored other factors and events that might have also been pivotal.

Canada’s position in the British Empire was as a white settler society and white settlers were historically the agents of colonial rule. Their subsequent history is different from those of other colonised peoples. While multiple differences with the metropole are part of their story of decolonisation, white settler populations were not subject to genocide, economic exploitation, cultural decimation and political exclusion as were the indigenous peoples (Loomba 2007). For this reason it is important to chronicle the history of each nation separately while remaining mindful of the wider context.

Critical postcolonial scholarship challenged colonialism and studied the process of disengagement from the colonial system. Young (2003) described postcolonial scholarship as attempting to address multidisciplinary issues to do with the position of women, the development of ecology, the promotion of social justice and to actively “change the way people think, the way they behave, to produce a more just and equitable relation between the different peoples of the world” (p.7). Spivak (1993) said that the work of Frantz Fanon and Edward Said’s Orientalism provided the source books for teaching marginality. She attributed the study of colonial discourse to Said’s work, arguing that his work grew into a place where the marginal could speak.

The introduction of the idea that colonialism operated not only as a form of military and political domination but also as a discourse of domination was the achievement of Said. It was the
publication of *Orientalism* which exposed the cultural politics of academic knowledge, that effectively founded postcolonial studies as an academic discipline (Young 2004). In his scholarship, Said (1979) showed how power operates in knowledge, how the ways the West “knew” the Orient was a way of maintaining power over it. “To be a European in the Orient, and to be one knowledgeably, one must see and know the Orient as a domain ruled over by Europe. Orientalism which is the system of European or Western knowledge about the Orient, thus becomes synonymous with European domination of the Orient.” (p.197). Through a detailed analysis of historical treatises, archaeological accounts, literary accounts, fiction and memoir Said illustrated how the positionality of the western authors inserted itself into their texts and reflected and shaped assumptions about the colonial “other.”

Said (1979) asked “How does one represent other cultures? What is another culture? Is the notion of a distinct culture (or race, or religion, or civilization) a useful one, or does it always get involved either in self congratulation (when one discusses one’s own) or hostility and aggression (when one discusses the ‘other’)? Do cultural, religious, and other racial differences matter more than socio-economic categories or politico-historical ones? How do ideas acquire authority, ‘normality,’ and even the status of natural truth? What is the role of the intellectual? Is s/he there to validate the culture and state of which s/he is a part? What importance must be given to an independent critical consciousness, an *oppositional* critical consciousness?” (p. 326). These questions which underpin his work unleashed a new field of scholarship and opened the doors for marginalised subaltern voices to be heard. Said (1979) stated that “My hope is to illustrate the formidable structure of cultural domination and, specifically for formerly colonized peoples, [to illustrate] the dangers and temptations of employing this structure upon themselves or upon others” (p. 25).

A postcolonial perspective views history with an awareness that the values and ideas embedded in imperial conquest and domination are absorbed and transmitted formally through structural mechanisms such as legislation, social policies and education practices, and more informally through everyday discourse/language practices and common beliefs, attitudes and traditions. As an example of this, the language of social reform and philanthropy at the turn of the twentieth century which was part of the missionary zeal of female imperialists was rife with racial metaphors and civilizing tropes drawn from social Darwinism and the new field of genetics and eugenics (Burton 1994, 2011; Davin 1997). Social work took shape when these discourses were
common and scholarly disciplines, such as anthropology which studied the “other” and the new science of psychology which was measuring intelligence and inviting comparisons between groups of people, were swept into the cause of Empire.

1.2.2.3 Culture and Imperialism

Written as a sequel to Orientalism, in Culture and Imperialism Said (1993) addressed the relationships between culture and empire. He defined culture as “all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social and political realms” (p.xii). He later expanded this description to note that culture comes to be associated with the nation or the state and often differentiates “us” from “them.” He identified that this differentiation becomes a source of identity as well as a source of xenophobia. Said explored the more nuanced effects of imperialism aside from the visible political and economic implications. He looked at how imperial ideas became embedded in cultural artifacts such as literary works, memoirs and historical accounts.

Said’s analysis of cultural imperialism is built on work by earlier writers such as Aimé Césaire and Frantz Fanon. First published in 1950, Discourse on Colonialism, was written by Aimé Césaire who grew up in the French Caribbean colony of Martinique and travelled to France for higher education. In 1950 many of the old empires were on the verge of collapse and it was the beginning of decolonization and revolt in Africa, Asia and Latin America (Kelley 2000 [1955]). Césaire wrote about the impact of colonialism on culture, on the concept of civilization and on the colonized. He said “Colonization = ‘thingification’. I hear the storm. They talk to me about progress, about ‘achievements’, diseases cured, improved standards of living. I am talking about societies drained of their essence, cultures trampeled underfoot, institutions undermined, lands confiscated, religions smashed, magnificent artistic creations destroyed, extraordinary possibilities wiped out” (p 42). Césaire summed up the legacy of colonisation as “colonialist Europe has grafted modern abuse onto ancient injustice, hateful racism onto old inequality” (p.45). Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) was a philosopher and a psychoanalyst who also grew up in Martinique, and was a student of Césaire. It was when he was training as a psychoanalyst in France that he experienced his racialized difference. Upon his return to Martinique he wrote Black Skin White Masks (1952) in which he described his experiences of cultural imperialism. He described the feeling of being “othered,” of being an “object in the midst of other objects”
He said “I was responsible at the same time for my body, for my race, for my ancestors. I subjected myself to an objective examination, I discovered my blackness, my ethnic characteristics; and I was battered down by toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave ships, and above all else, above all “Sho’ good eatin’” (p.112).

Fanon wrote on his inner reflections on the impact of racism and internalised “other” identity and said “Out of the blackest part of my soul, across the zebra striping of my mind, surges this desire to be suddenly white. I wish to be acknowledged not as black but as white” (p.61).

In a modern analysis of the workings of cultural imperialism, Iris Marion Young (1990) devoted an entire chapter in her book *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, to discussing the general dynamics of cultural imperialism. She cited Fanon’s work and used the Foucauldian notion of the normalizing gaze to explain how in the early twentieth century, the privileged groups (colonising powers) assumed the position of the scientific viewpoint and universal truth while the oppressed groups (the colonised) were locked in a position of dumb passivity. “The normalizing gaze of science focused on the objectified bodies of women, Blacks, Jews, homosexuals, old people, the mad and feeble minded. From its observations emerged theories of sexual, racial, age, and mental or moral superiority” (p.127). This normalizing gaze was internalised by the colonised and created the internal war which Fanon described so graphically with his image of “the zebra striping of my mind.” Any person outside the descriptive boundaries of the normalizing gaze was subject to this challenge and might not even be aware of the source of discomfort. The transmission of imperial ideas which are embedded in cultural artifacts and reinforced in everyday discourse are passed on inter-generationally. Mullaly (1997) listed cultural imperialism as one form of oppression which social workers needed to be aware of in their current practice.

This section has discussed the theoretical framework which I will employ in my study and I am now going to review my use of a feminist historical perspective and Foucault’s approach to history and to knowledge.

### 1.3 Approaching Social Work Historically (Literature Review)

This thesis mobilizes an historical approach to social work resting on the idea that a knowledge of the past sharpens and deepens our understanding of the present. Foucault pioneered this
history-of-the-present historical approach to investigating philosophical questions, arguing that establishing a genealogy of events which precedes the present illuminates the current constellation of circumstances. An understanding of how present policies, approaches and solutions have been conceived and created in the past and have undergone change underscores the possibility of change in the present.

Substantively, this thesis rests on a feminist historical recovery position which means adding the stories of women and women’s history into the historical record. In addition, this study introduces a focus on practice and considers multiple voices beyond the usual dichotomy of progressive and conservative, attending to difference as well as intersecting and parallel positioning of ideas and practice.

1.3.1 Approaches to Knowledge and History

The approach adopted in this study facilitates an examination of institutional and organizational contexts juxtaposed with individual life history in order to capture the intersections between structural and personal events and their relationship to practice. This study assumes that theories are partly produced by the contexts in which they arise, and in turn may also contribute to shaping the context. They must therefore be considered in relation to surrounding conditions and circumstances so that this interaction is made more visible. This idea challenges the notion that new theories and ideas spring solely from the thinking and creative energy of individual genius which, in turn, leads to history as a record of the deeds and contributions of such figures. While I believe that there is an important contribution made through personal agency, I concur with Foucault that there is a more complex intersection of particular events, ideas in circulation at the time, personal and social experience, in combination with an individual life, which produces the shifts and changes we call history (Foucault 1977).

1.3.1.1 Feminist Historical Position

History is often viewed as an objective record of events and circumstances which documents what happened in the past. However, in the 1960s and 1970s second wave feminism drew attention to the fact that history is constructed by historians and that the resulting product absorbs the values of the recorders. Feminist historical scholars challenged many existing accounts which minimized or excluded women from the record, and thus early feminist historical scholarship
was a recovery project to reintroduce women and women’s stories into the historical record (Bock 2006; Campbell 2010; Prentice 1988).

The time when feminist historians began concentrating on women’s history in the 1970s was also a time when there had been a significant shift in mainstream history writing. The focus on history as the record of the lives of great men in prominent political positions shifted to an interest in social and cultural history and the history of ordinary people, the working class and what was happening on the ground (Eley and Nield 2007). Feminist historians adopted this shift to social and cultural history and much of their early work on woman’s history was centred on the lives of ordinary and working class women. They were particularly interested in finding role models of early members of the women’s movements who fought for equal rights for women and this drew them to an examination of the suffrage movement (Bacchi 1989).

In the 1980s third wave feminism challenged second wave feminist thinking as white, middle class and heteronormative. This perspective resulted in new lines of scholarship which explored race, sexual orientation and class as they intersected with gender. The distinction between sex as the biological bodily identity and gender as the socially constructed role/based identity of men and women resulted in gender history which explored not only women but the learned socially constructed characteristics of femininity and masculinity. And these were often considered in conjunction with power (Campbell 2010; Scott 1999). New lines of historical scholarship emerged with third wave feminism such as postcolonial, critical race, queer theory, transnational and postmodern approaches.

In this thesis I primarily have used a combination of a feminist historical recovery approach in combination with a postmodern and a feminist postcolonial approach. I believe the social work field and more broadly the social reform movement in twentieth century Canada continues to be under researched and under reported. This study aims to explore anew the history of social work beginnings and the social reform movement by using original sources with particular attention to the participation and contributions of women. Anne Scott (1984) suggested that history has largely been written by men and that men view women as wives, mothers, daughters and mistresses not as political or social actors. As a result, women’s associations and women-led agencies have not been considered a source of “historical” information and have not been examined. Scott’s studies of women’s voluntary organizations in 18th and 19th century America
revealed that women were active in building libraries, lobbying for clean water and clean milk, promoting public education, housing reform and public health, while supporting the inspection of prisons, teaching prisoners, creating museums, public libraries and trade unions, protecting immigrants, supporting prohibition, abolishing child labor, controlling prostitution, establishing colleges for women, creating the bookmobile, and creating parks and playgrounds. More recently Netting, O’Connor and Fauri (2009) conducted a study of women’s charitable organizations in late nineteenth century America and discovered that women created agencies to cover gaps in service similar to current alternative feminist practice. The authors suggested that this female-led value based form of public service organizing is missing in the historical literature, and this tradition has never been adequately documented. This study sought to provide a Canadian based examination of early social work using archives on women-led agencies as the primary form of data.

Feminist biographers have broadened their focus from writing about exceptional individuals to an interest in individual cases which illuminate the lives of all women in a particular time and place. This led to an interest in culture and social relationships as well as in female organisations (Caine 1994; Gere 1997; Margadant 2000; Pickles 2002). Even the lives of women whose primary involvement was in domestic care have been restored to the historical record, with the publication of personal letters and diaries (Staebler 1995). An interest in how women negotiated social and familial structures, the strategies they employed and the support they were able to enlist has moved feminist biography beyond a focus on the traditional life of an individual (Caine 1994). The use of detailed case studies, sometimes involving a group of women, has been used by a number of feminist historians. Martha Vicinus studied small groups of middle class women, who pioneered new occupations, new living conditions and new public roles, investigating nursing, teaching, sisterhoods and deaconesses, and settlement workers (Vicinus 1985). Ellen Ross studied “lady explorers” who were active in the slums of East, South and Central London from 1860–1920, investigating and relieving poverty (Ross 2007). Katie Pickles studied the organization, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, looking at women’s interventions in debates concerning citizenship and national identity (Pickles 2002). More recently, some individual biographies have been completed which study women’s lives within a cultural, social, political and economic context and are not restricted to a domestic backdrop (Campbell 2010; Mann 2005).
Using a method she described as the new biography, Jo Burr Margadant explored feminine presence in public life in nineteenth century France (Margadant 2000). Based on a constructive approach to gender, and a shift from collective identities (women, the outcast, the working class etc.) to a renewed interest in how individual identity takes shape, she re-introduced biography as a valuable approach to historical knowledge. She discussed how identity politics demonstrate the instability of group identity as new cultural combinations of identity markers continually threaten group cohesion and result in fractured identities and the formation of new splinter groups (Margadant 2000). Thus she argued that cultural politics can best be examined and empathically understood through the individual life. While the self is always constructed from the cultural ideas available in a particular historical setting, nevertheless women often had to “perform” their public selves despite opposition from or in the context of dominant cultural trends.

This study uses the public life histories of four selected female social workers from early Canadian social work as the central line of investigation. This choice was both a conceptual and a methodological one. By considering a life history as a mediating zone between a particular person and the array of choices within a cultural context, personal autonomy and structural determinism can be approached simultaneously (Kadar 1992). The archival record left by the agencies within which these women worked were the primary source of information but also provided the contextual frame within which their practice occurred so the study uses biography and institutionalism as method within a feminist standpoint.

1.3.1.2 Foucault’s Approach to History

A postmodern approach challenged the notion that change and new ideas spring from the thinking and creative energy of individual genius. This position went counter to an earlier historical approach which catalogued the lives of great leaders. While I considered the contribution made through individual agency, I also believe that there is a complex intersection among cultural, political and discursive events and individual lives. Consequently, an historical account should focus on patterns, shifts, changes and the surrounding conditions. The scholarship of Foucault has been employed by historical social work scholars as a way of deepening our understanding and approach to local archives (Chen 2005; Moffatt 2001; Skehill 2004).
Foucault focused on multiplicity, contradiction, discontinuity and overlapping developments looking at not only discourse and ideas but also at practice (Foucault 1977, Veyne 1997). Foucault (1979) used the study of practice as his central approach in his examination of the carceral system which pivoted on key practices that he identified in his work entitled *Discipline and Punish* (1979). In this work he demonstrated how to study everyday practices by looking at for example, daily schedules and routines, body comportment and architectural configurations. He considered the network of power relations that were inherent in these practices. He identified and traced the practices of surveillance, examination, normalizing judgement, discipline and punishment. By focussing attention on practice he moved away from essentializing or classifying an institution, a person or a figure into one immutable category, and instead discovered new patterns and relationships. His study of the prison was revolutionary because he identified and elaborated on key practices which were already known but had not been examined in detail before. He showed how they had changed over time and how they embraced relations of power.

Power is an important concept in social work, and while it is addressed in structuralist approaches, the micro-aspects of social work practice have commonly not been seen from the perspective of power relations. Accepted uncritically as residing in structural arrangements or in personal authority, rank or status, it has often evaded scrutiny. Foucault developed a concept of power which was based on asking how power operates and on examining power relations, describing it as “a set of actions upon other action” (Foucault 1983, 220). He viewed power as a part of practice, something exercised daily by all people rather than something remote and exclusively owned by figures of authority. This conceptualization has dramatic implications as it means that individuals have the option to mobilize their own power resources. To Foucault, freedom was a necessary condition, as without the possibility of resistance, power would be equivalent to physical coercion, which he placed in a separate category. Foucault used the metaphor of capillary to describe the operation of power at a microlevel and he regarded it as distributed throughout the social body. He did not formulate it as exclusively repressive and negative but rather saw it as also productive and generative, linked to pleasure and meaning (Foucault 1983). Chambon pointed out the transformative potential of this conceptualization of power as this work “shows that the present is not natural and need not be taken as inevitable or absolute. Change can come from the realization of the precarious nature of established ways and by inviting the development of alternatives” (Chambon 1999, 70).
Foucault’s analysis of power has important implications for historical scholarship as it supports the idea that in the formation of the state change can come from multiple sources. Not limited to top-down authority from political actors and governing bodies, it can also come from more localized sources such as ordinary people and municipal groups. This model of power allows that personal agency and structural conditions can act in unison to bring about change in ways that are not as clearly visible as directives from a political actor, but are equally formative. This study considers local power as well as top-down authority in the construction of the collective social fabric.

Four key figures were selected in this study, and while these figures were chosen for what they represent, this understanding was suspended while the archival material was “problematised” and investigated to determine the specific practices which were employed. This inquiry involved viewing the close-up details in order to understand the different institutional logics that might be operating in a single institution or in a single person. These strands were traced without being shackled to a particular category. Methodologically this approach involved using archives as the primary source, which is characteristic of all historians. Foucault argued that the importance of archival materials is that they are closer to the source than secondary texts. He also argued that it is easier to detect discursive patterns in historical materials than in the present, as we are embedded in current discourses and may not recognise their presence (Foucault 1972).

In order to identify shifts as well as patterns and repetition in practice and in discourse, not only were figures deliberately selected but multiple arenas of practice were identified as a way to trace their ideas/discourse and practices/activities/accomplishments, both individually and comparatively (Foucault 1972, 1977, 1983). Chambon noted that Foucault’s approach to social work “is an invitation to retrace specific ways of doing and knowing; to illuminate how operating assumptions have clustered together and changed over time; and to identify the events and circumstances that acted as turning points in our profession” (Chambon 1999, 55).

By focusing on relations, Foucault shifted from a world of subjects and objects, and the dialectic between them, to examine practice – what actions people take, what they say and what they actually do, engaging in a precise and particular examination of specific occurrences (Veyne 1997). This approach is particularly well suited to the study of social work which is a profession premised on applied knowledge or practice. This study adopted Foucault’s approach which
meant considering the day to day minutiae of archival records embedded in the text, in light of actual stated goals and outcomes, focusing on patterns, shifts and changes, and in the surrounding conditions. Postmodernism offers a useful framework for understanding the mechanisms of power as well as the possibilities for change and is well suited to explore the multiplicity of ideas and of practice in the early years of social work in Ontario. This study maps the development of practice in formative social work, straddling public lives of particular female social workers in relation to the unfolding of selected social service organisations/agencies. It illuminates some of the central ideas and practices that contributed to the formation of social work practice wisdom and theoretical understanding, building on the work of previous social work scholars (Chen 2005; Skehill 2004).

Now that I have reviewed the two major approaches which inform this study, I will proceed with the literature review which I have organised in two parts. Firstly I consider how Canadian historians have approached social work and then I consider how Canadian social work historians have approached the study of social work.

1.4 The History of Social Work Through Different Lenses

1.4.1 Brief Overview of Social Work History in Ontario

This literature review considers what has been written about social work to date (much of which has been written by feminist historians). It looks separately at the standpoint of historians writing about the profession as outsiders and the standpoint of social work historians writing about the profession as insiders. Feminist historians contributed new approaches and new questions while social work historians provided a detailed account of the inner debates and tensions which have been part of the development of the profession.

The emergence of social work in Canada corresponded with the industrial revolution, a time of dramatic social change that included urbanization, factory work, slums, poverty, and increased immigration. So intense were these changes that they triggered social movements calling for social reform. Several new professions arose at this time – psychiatry, public health nursing, psychology, early childhood education, librarianship and social work (Prentice 1988). The new profession of social work was female dominated and in its early form it was in the private
voluntary domain of work, with many of the female volunteers largely from the upper and middle classes. In the early days of social work there was a strong link between Christian service, social reform and voluntary charity work. During the formative years this provoked contested public discourses on social and individual responsibility (Baines 1994; Jennissen and Lundy 2011; Wiebe 1967; Woodroophe 1974).

Social work has been written about by historians, as part of the social history of early twentieth century Canada and as part of Canada’s social welfare history (Guest 1997; Struthers 1989; Struthers 1989). The manner in which social work has been represented mirrors the shifts in historiography, or approaches to writing history, which have undergone some dramatic changes in the past fifty years. Traditionally, historians used an historical lens which recorded political economic events focused on political leadership and a top down view of state creation. This approach was challenged by socio-cultural, Marxist and feminist perspectives which posited that history should also record changes that occur in the social, cultural and domestic realm from the ground up. Canadian social workers have written their own history and they focussed on the debates and divisions characterising the profession at different times (Baines 1990; Graham 1996; Latimer 1972; Lewey 2006). But the studies of the history of Canadian social work completed by social workers are sparse.

Feminist historians have studied the early social reform movement, the unfolding of first wave feminism and the rise of the female professions. The following is a review of historical accounts (1900–1950) of Canadian history, distinguishing those who write as historians, from social workers writing of their profession’s history. I am interested in exploring whether or not a different positionality leads to different knowledge outcomes.

1.4.2 How Has Canadian History Dealt with Social Work?

There is no one answer to the question of how social work has been dealt with by historians. The writing of history has undergone numerous changes in the past fifty years and these are reflected in the depictions of social work and social workers by historians. Prior to 1970, history looked at critical historical processes which were macro patterns of change such as the rise of capitalism, pre-industrial social relations, the rise of institutions, or rural and urban mobility. The scrutiny of individuals was mostly limited to ‘pivotal’ figures, leaders, innovators, heroes and heroines. In accounts of the period covering the beginnings of social work, macro developments such as the
growth of charity and philanthropy, the social and moral reform movement, and the beginnings of the female professions, was discussed with social work appearing as little more than a footnote. When social workers were mentioned in these accounts, they were portrayed according to the stereotypic trope of the Lady Bountiful and they were considered to be women of elite or middle class origin. For example, Robert Wiebe (1967) described the emergence of the profession of social work as a natural venue for women. He reported that women were depicted as tender mothers and angels of mercy, and identified their role as the keepers of the morals (Wiebe 1967). Kathleen Woodroofe devoted an entire study to the beginnings of social work, using a nation-centred perspective, contrasting Britain with the United States. She also characterized social workers as Lady Bountifuls, i.e., elite ladies of leisure who volunteered their time to dispense charity to the destitute. She described Mary Richmond as a pivotal individual who became the key role model for generations of caseworkers and the inspiration for the entire social work profession. Her account described some of the early social service institutions but with social workers positioned as apolitical actors (Woodroofe 1974). The period of history writing prior to 1970s scholarship did not focus on ordinary people (which most social workers were) rather social workers were represented through generalization and trope.

The 1970s witnessed the beginning of second wave feminism at the same time as the field of history broadened its scope to include the history of ordinary people, the marginalized and the poor, as well as accounts of social protest and the manners and customs of everyday life (Eley and Nield 2007; Hobsbawm 1971). Marxist social historians sought to document the working classes and the rise of the middle classes, which included the work of middle class reformers involved in education, delinquency, temperance, suffrage, charity and state welfare (Finkel 2007). Inspired by an equal rights feminist philosophy, as well as an interest in social cultural history, Canadian feminist historians set out to explore the history of women and the history of feminism in Canada (Strong-Boag 1974; Kealey 1979; Scott 1984; Mitchinson 1987; Sangster 1989). The historical period between the mid nineteenth and the mid twentieth century became a focus of interest as this was a time when there was significant class and gender social change with industrialization, urbanization, immigration, the social reform movement, the rise of the female professions and the suffrage movement.

Feminist historians in the 1970s wanted to write the history of Canadian women, but as many of these feminist historians were radical and left leaning in their political affiliation they were
sympathetic with the working class, the poor and the marginalized. As many of the pre-professional social workers were women of affluence they were naturally not subjects of sympathy and so this tension between class and gender affiliations resulted in feminist historians ignoring early social workers as a topic of study. In 1975, Veronica Strong-Boag completed her Ph.D thesis on The National Council of Women (NCWC), which was an elitist Dominion-wide women’s club, formed in 1893, which became a crucible for women’s organizing, networking and public activism. Strong-Boag’s study was pioneering in that it was one of the first substantial investigations of the women’s history of Canada using a feminist standpoint. She began her study by apologizing for choosing to study elite women and justified her choice by explaining that the field of women’s history was trackless and so she felt she had to begin with conspicuous objects of study (Strong-Boag 1974). Strong-Boag identified her study as part of the new historiographical interest in social history which coincided with the “rebirth” of the feminist movement. This “rebirth” was a renunciation of the tenets of first wave feminism which was characterized by maternalism. Maternal feminism was premised on the idea that women deserved more rights and privileges not because they were equal to men but because they had unique feminine qualities of nurturance, caring and moral sense which could make a valuable contribution to public life. Wayne Roberts argued that the turn of the twentieth century witnessed a ‘new woman’ who rebelled against uselessness and showed an interest in spiritualism, labour and suffrage, but then became confined to a ‘helping profession’. He suggested that transferring social provisioning from the domestic realm to the public realm was moving the same subordination women experienced in families to the public arena. Roberts interpreted this as women practicing self denial rather than self advancement, helping others rather than themselves and being in service rather than in leadership positions (Roberts 1979). In her study of the suffrage movement in Canada, Bacchi (1989) also apologized for examining this elite group of women, and framed her rationale in Marxist terms stating that the study of an elite is equivalent to the study of the ideology of a movement as it is the elite who formulates and propagates ideology. Puzzled as to why women suffragists did not seek equal rights with men and critique the status quo of male patriarchy, she also laid the blame on maternal feminism.

Early Marxist feminist historians criticized the secular reform movement, including early social workers as social actors who supported the growth of domestic science and made homemaking a profession, guided by the ideology that it is a woman’s duty to stay within and defend the home.
Social work was identified as part of the social reform movement shaped by maternal feminism, and it was seen as an insufficient feminism by second wave feminists. As benevolence, including organized charity, was viewed as a natural female inclination social work then emerged “naturally” as a women’s profession (Bacchi 1989; Kealey 1979; Roberts 1979; Strong-Boag 1977). These scholars suggested that social work and charity were assigned to women rather than being actively created and honed by women. Women passively accepted this new role in the public domain as a natural extension of their lesser domestic role. Social workers were thus viewed as agents of patriarchy and of male hegemony. Bacchi (1989) called her study of the suffrage movement “Liberation Deferred,” as she respected that some first wave feminists were fighting for the right to vote but she criticized them for stopping short and not demanding equal rights. Feminist historians viewed early social workers in the same light. In their documenting of Canadian women’s history early social workers were represented as social actors who were mainly agents of social control and of the status quo. “Backed by the woman’s movement and reformers in general, social workers went forth to ‘man’ the nation’s new welfare agencies with maternally minded crusaders” (Strong-Boag 1974, p. 21). Maternal feminism was considered the overriding ideology of the reform movement and the dominant ideology influencing the origins of social work. The marxist analysis of reform was that the movement was motivated by a fear of social instability rather than seeking social justice or helping the poor. The possibility that equal rights and radical reform initiatives could have been embedded in maternal feminist rhetoric was not considered at the time.

With the shift in historiography to an interest in cultural studies in the late 1980s (Eley and Nield 2007), an interest in case histories began, as these were sources of information on the lives of individuals and groups who had traditionally been ignored by historians. Working from the ground up, these studies examined the lives of institutional populations such as delinquent girls, asylum residents and prisoners (Iacovetta and Mitchinson 1998). The earlier work of Marxist inspired studies of state power which ascribed a social control role to social workers reappeared in some of this work. Linda Gordon’s (1988) study of women who were victims of domestic violence declared that male leadership and professional social workers were guilty of disdain for non-white Anglo-Saxon protestant cultures, arrogant towards the poor, failed to understand the impact of structural unemployment, and refused to defend the rights of single mothers. She held social workers partially responsible for the neglect of female victims of violence (Gordon 1988).
In a study of case files from the first ten years of Mothers Allowance, Margaret Little (1995) focused on the evidence of female agency in poor women’s lives. Social workers were described as the agents of social control and stood to benefit from social reforms. She stated that once the Ontario Mothers Allowance Act (OMA) was enacted in 1920, white Anglo-Celtic middle class female social workers benefitted through employment as OMA investigators. She argued the investigator’s financial security and social position was ensured through employment as “police” in this unequal power relationship (Little 1995). Later case-based studies presented a more nuanced portrait of social work. Differences in the administration of social services were noted as well as an appreciation for the play of power between legislation, employer, employee and client (Iacovetta 2006; Iacovetta and Mitchinson 1998; Myers 2006; Sangster 2001, 2002; Strange 1995, 1998).

Studies in the history of the welfare state have been conducted by Canadian historians (Christie 2000; Finkel 2007; Guest 1997; Rice and Prince 2013; Struthers 1989; Struthers 1994). These studies document the rise of professional social work and the roles social workers assumed in planning and implementing social support systems. Many of these accounts have been expanded and republished over the years and the more recent editions contain a more detailed account of the part played by social workers in policy development and in the creation of the welfare state, including specific details on more prominent social work actors such as Harry Cassidy, Leonard Marsh, Charlotte Whitton and Bessie Touzel. The moral agenda of early social work continued to be a topic of investigation even as a more secular professional practice replaced the earlier religiously driven practice (Knowles 1997; Valverde 1991). Gender analysis of the welfare state added another dimension by demanding the review of commonly accepted categories and definitions. The family wage model, which undergirds Canada’s welfare system, acting effectively to exclude women from the labour market and consign them to the role of caretakers of the nation’s children, aged, sick and disabled, was examined closely through a feminist lens (Christie 2000; Gordon 1990; Little 1995; Mahon 2000; McKeen 2004; Nelson 1990; Porter 1993). In these studies social workers appeared as supporting the status quo and failing to advocate for the rights of women.

An exception to these studies is the work of Shirley Tillotson. In her study of the role of private charity funded services in our society, Tillotson (2008) suggested that this role has been under-reported in favour of a history of public welfare, and in so doing the role of women in this sector
has been elided. This function included a large number of social workers as this was an area in which they were very active. She observed that federated funding for charities was a development unique to North America, and that the mixture of forces which shaped the relation of masculinity to fundraising needs to be further explored. She described social workers as a larger group than the professionals listed in the Canadian Association of Social Work (CASW), and identified fundraising federations and their associated welfare councils as equally representative of social work. Her definition was broadly based and included not only social workers from member agencies but also fundraisers, volunteers and donors (Tillotson 2008).

In the postmodern trend of the 1990s, archival studies and the disciplinary intersection of anthropology, cultural studies and literary studies, produced a more diverse and multi-voiced account of social work (Koven 2004; Poovey 1988, 1995; Ross 2007; Vicinus 1985; Walkowitz 1992). Previously not addressed, the diverging and contested voices of early social workers who came to the field from different backgrounds with a wide range of values, interests and goals, began to emerge. Postmodernism called for a new understanding of “truth” and knowledge. Conditions of possibility, or convergence of diverse causal factors surrounding an event or a life were sought by pursuing new kinds of questions. Joan Scott (1992), a postmodern feminist historian, called for the new approaches to historical scholarship to include politics as well as social institutions and organizations as a line of investigation in order to disrupt the fixity of traditional binary gender representation. Ellen Ross (2007) asked whether the settlement house and children’s charities prepared a generation of women for leadership roles. She observed that the term Lady Bountiful was always pejorative, a figure of ridicule, characterized by ineptness, gullibility and indiscriminate giving and assistance. That image, according to her research, was resisted and challenged by twentieth century friendly visitors in the slums of industrial cities such as London, England.

In her study of Victorian independent single women, Martha Vicinus (1985) noted that probably the greatest achievements of Victorian women was in the field of philanthropy where many women gained experience and leadership skills in some charity organization. Settlement work, she observed, was often a stepping stone to local politics and involvement in local pressure groups seeking legislative and social reform. She reported that there was a mixing of classes within the settlement movement, with middle class women, often new university graduates, working side by side with more affluent and elite women (Vicinus 1985). In her study of
slumming (in the 1880s it became popular to tour the slums of East London), Seth Koven (2004) declared:

I portray slum reformers and workers not as mere tools of social or discursive forces outside their control—though such forces did influence their agendas—but as human beings who confronted ethical dilemmas and made difficult choices. I examine the interplay of sexual and social politics both at the micro-level of how men and women came to express and understand who they were and at the macro-level of public debates about poverty and welfare, gender, and sexuality. By so doing, I work within, but also reorient, a tradition of scholarship linking private conscience and public duty in Victorian culture and society (p.3).

Shifts in historiography in the last 50 years have changed the representation of social workers. Furthermore, the attention to social cultural history has resulted in a greater interest in the lives of social workers as well as in the field of social work. More recent studies move away from essentializing tropes and assumptions based on dominant ideologies toward a more detailed study of specific locations, uneven developments and contested ideas. For example, recently published is a life history of Rose Henderson, an early radical social worker from Montreal, who has remained almost invisible in the historical record. Crafted from an extensive historical research of organizations, letters and speeches, this account suggests a new interest in examining individual and ordinary social work lives in greater depth (Campbell 2010). My study is located in the latter part of feminist historiography assuming a postmodern position as a vehicle for considering multiplicity, contestation and fissures within the profession.

1.4.3 How Has Canadian Social Work Dealt With Its History?

In current social work education programs the history of the profession is often absent from the curriculum. In introductory undergraduate courses and textbooks a thumbnail sketch might be provided which describes social work as a vocation committed to social reform, that changes from a religious and charitable voluntary practice to a systematic, professional, publically funded, paid occupation. Charity organizations are described as the forerunners to casework whereas the settlement house movement is seen as the forerunner to community-based practice (Graham, Swift, and Delaney 2009; Hick 2002). This story of social work is a very simplified account of the history of social work practice, as a greater focus is given to the history of Canadian social policy and the role that social work has had in both advocacy, design, and implementation. These accounts are written by social workers who are not specialized in
historical studies and who tend to provide an overview of the entire field. For many students such accounts become their only exposure to social work history and even if a student should wish to learn more there are few readily available sources. A recent exception to this however, is a detailed and scholarly study One Hundred Years of Social Work. A History of the Profession in English Canada 1900–2000. This meticulously researched and thorough account provides the first comprehensive history of the profession with a focus on the professional association, the CASW. Archival sources across the country were consulted and the complexity, debate and diverging values and opinions within the profession are well represented.

Unlike the homogenous descriptions of social work often portrayed by historians, social work historians discuss division and tension and suggest that the history of social work is complex, tangled and characterized by contested values and ideas. To illustrate this point I will review the major Canadian historical social work studies.

1.4.3.1 Tensions, Debates, and Contestation in the History of Social Work

There are many issues which have been controversial in the history of social work but there are some fundamental divisions which have been identified by social work historians and traced to the early days of the profession. One debated issue is the ratio of time, energy and resources that should be devoted by social workers to individual private concerns versus public concerns. This is sometimes articulated as the efficacy of individual/case response versus the importance of social reform. Elspeth Latimer studied the social action activity of the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) from its organizational beginnings (Latimer 1972). Drawing on archival records and the earliest social work journals, Social Welfare (1918–1932) and The Social Worker (1932–1996), she concluded that the founders were primarily concerned with developing a social work professional identity and a collective approach to professional problems i.e. standards of practice. She felt that little attention was given to developing a ‘field of competence’, and even though social workers were clearly interested in problems of poverty and relief, and later in mental health, and in other social problems, the CASW eschewed political action. She pointed out that a conflict exists whereby social workers are generally paid by groups (business or the State) who would most resent radical changes. Latimer observed that the services in the private sector of social welfare were largely disregarded by the CASW even though that was where the majority of professional social workers were employed (Latimer
In his study of the first social work school established in Canada, John Graham (1996) identified a tension between social advocacy and remedial intervention, and between research and practice. He surmised that this resulted in the social work profession lacking a coherent unity. He examined the University of Toronto, Faculty of Social Work from its inception in 1914 until 1970, and traced the tension between practice and theory (Graham 1996). His study was a single case study which focused exclusively on the school and while he discussed the large number of female sessional teachers from community-based agencies who formed a significant part of the teaching staff in the first thirty years of the school, he was unable to speak to the presence of the same tensions in the community agency settings. His study focused on the Heads of Department and a selection of faculty. The alumni were notably absent from his study.

In her historically situated account of the intersection between social work and social justice, Colleen Lundy identified two fundamental goals in social work since its beginnings: providing service to those in need, and advocating for change in social policy and in social conditions. She noted that all social workers agreed on the first goal, but that there has never been consensus on the place of reform within social work. Lundy articulated the principles of structural social work which blend this binary into a unified practice (Lundy 2004).

### 1.4.3.2 Social Work and Gender

Sara Burke (1996) studied social service and gender at the University of Toronto. She traced the movement of ideas from England to Toronto, where they became the central tenets taught to the first generation of social work graduates. The male social work teachers who assumed the directorships and senior positions in the early schools of social work form the core of her investigation and she shows how the exclusive promotion of men into senior positions modelled the importance of men and men’s ideas to the largely female student body (Burke 1996). Carol Baines used gender analysis in her historical archival study of an historic children’s home in Toronto. She asserted that the history of social work has perpetuated a pejorative image of women as volunteers, perpetuating the image of the ‘Lady Bountiful, and pointed out that there is no corresponding image of the male volunteers who were also active in early social work (Baines 1990). Baines described the transition to professionalization which she saw as a process of masculinization, not only with the increasing number of men entering the profession and assuming senior positions, but also in supplanting a caring nurturing approach with a detached,
rational scientific approach. The professional expert eclipsed the untrained volunteer. As her study was based on a single case she did not explore multiple locations to see whether her hypothesis held up.

In an in-depth study of the Social Planning Council of Toronto in the first half of the twentieth century, Gayle Wills (1995) attended to the relationship between business and social work. Early practitioners involved themselves in politics and in unpopular causes. Like Baines, she identified a shift to professionalization where the women were consigned to casework and men adopted an apolitical role of rational planning and scientific social analysis. In her study, Wills provided valuable portraits of a number of key social workers who took a strong position in the agency and resisted pressure from the business community to accede to their agenda (Wills 1995). As her study was a single case study of one organization she also was unable to examine the presence of her conclusions in other settings.

1.4.3.3 Settlement Movement and Social Work

A comprehensive study of the settlement movement in Toronto, using archival records and personal interviews was completed in 1995 by the collaborative efforts of Irving, Parsons and Bellamy. Thumbnail sketches of numerous named social workers, representing a diversity of ideas, values and philosophies, but united in a vision of social justice and the eradication of poverty, is interspersed throughout the narration of the changes across time of three major settlement programs in Toronto (Bellamy and Irving 1995). An early unpublished history of the settlement movement was completed by Mary Jennison in 1970 entitled Study of the Canadian Settlement Movement. Two social work Ph.D theses explored the settlement movement. In 1975, Hortense Wasteneys wrote A History of the University Settlement of Toronto, 1910–1958, in which she documented the social objectives and the changes in the settlement movement between 1910–1958. In synchrony with the historiography of the time, this thesis is a social history (Wasteneys 1975). In 1997, Cathy James wrote Gender. Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation: The role of Toronto’s Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902–1914, in which she argued that the settlement movement helped to create the prototypical approaches to poverty and the strategy of assimilation of non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants, which were later institutionalized in the State system (James 1997).
1.4.3.4 Casework

Subtitling her introduction “from the soupkettle to the inkwell” Karen Tice, an American social work scholar, outlined the importance of studying case recording as a site of the process of profession building. In her study, she examined the shifting conventions for constructing case records. She discussed the contested roles of science and art; recording impressions versus objective documentation of ‘facts’. The shifting representation of the client; the use of realism and gender embedded in the changing forms and uses of case records (Tice 1998). A politics of professional writing is revealed in her study, which ranged from the contested terrains of scientific objectivity, to humanism. As a record of social work expert authority/knowledge, these documents provide a rich repository, which she pointed out is now being mined by social historians who wish to privilege the stories of marginalized and ‘forgotten’ people. This source has been largely ignored by welfare historians who have focused on social work leaders rather than on practitioners and on their clients (Tice 1998).

1.4.3.5 Canadian Social Welfare History

In his analysis of Canadian social welfare historical writing, John Graham, documented the contribution of several social work scholars. He identified the preeminent work in the field beginning with Richard Splane’s 1965, Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791–1893, a publication which was based on a social work Ph.D thesis (Graham 1996). While there is a fine tradition of social work academic scholarship in the welfare field (with published work from J.S.Woodsworth, Harry Cassidy, Leonard Marsh, Dorothy King, Charlotte Whitton and Bessie Touzel), this is not well known. First published in 1980, Dennis Guest’s book, The Emergence of Social Security in Canada remains a classic text in Canadian welfare historiography. As a graduate from the London School of Economics, and a tenured professor in the school of social work at the University of British Columbia, Guest expressed a social work philosophy that supported an institutional approach. In the third edition, he mourned the loss of the welfare state, stating that in the 1960s he thought that the residual model of social welfare had become a part of history along with work camps for the unemployed, soup kitchens, orphanages and charity wards. He did not expect to see this earlier model rise again in Canadian society (Guest 1997). Told through the lens of economics and political statecraft, Guest’s account is a detailed chronicle of the development of state run social services in Canada. While he included the role of prominent male social workers such as Harry Cassidy, Leonard Marsh, and Frank Stapleton,
excluded from his discussion was the role of voluntary and charity based services which were largely driven by women, as well as the participation of women in policy formulation (with the exception of a limited mention of Charlotte Whitton) (Guest 1997).

Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert hosted a conference on the development of the welfare state and published a collection of the presented papers (Moscovitch and Albert 1987; Moscovitch, Jennissen and Findlay 1983). Assisted by Therese Jennissen and Peter Findlay, Moscovitch assembled a valuable bibliography of the welfare state in Canada covering the years 1840 to 1978 (Moscovitch Jennissen and Findlay 1983). A number of histories of the welfare state and histories of Canadian social policy have been prepared by social work scholars as texts but these accounts are also respected contributions to the field of welfare history (Graham 2009; Guest 1997; Lightman 2003). Currently, social work scholars with an economic and political science background continue this research tradition such as the recent report prepared by economist Ernie Lightman of the Factor Inwentash Faculty of Social Work at University of Toronto, *Sick and Tired. The Compromised Health of Social Assistance Recipients and the Working Poor in Ontario* (Lightman 2009).

*Enough to Keep them Alive* is the provocative title of Hugh Shewell’s study of First Nations welfare in Canada. Informed by a postcolonial perspective, using government archival material, Shewell detailed the colonization of First Nations through welfare policies. He argued that social assistance has been used as a weapon to induce assimilation (i.e. disappearance) of First Nations cultures into the dominant Canadian economic and social order and concluded that dependency is a complex form of resistance to a socioeconomic order that Indian nations neither chose nor fundamentally accept (Shewell 2004). On the topic of child welfare in Canada, a narrative history of the Children’s Aid society has been completed (McCullagh 2002), and a critical analysis of child saving in Toronto (Chen 2005).

This review of two literatures one of social work historians as outsiders and one of social work historians as insiders has revealed the production of different bodies of knowledge. Mainstream historians have been heavily influenced by the historiography occurring in their own discipline which has in turn changed their representation of social workers. Consistently however they view social workers as a homogenous group and they focus their attention on the mostly local social effects of social work practice. Their awareness of social work is primarily of the frontline
worker engaged in service delivery in the context of casework and home visiting in the early
days, and subsequently as government employees following the establishment of the welfare
state. There is little discussion of social work as an actor in the political or social policy domain.

By contrast, social work historians have focused heavily on what is going on within the
profession and are most concerned with tensions, divisions, debates, values and ideas. As
insiders they do not see social work as homogenous or focussed on a single unitary objective.
For many of these scholars the examination of the history of the profession is a contribution
towards the process of understanding and resolving these divisions. Social work historians are
very aware of social workers as actors in the social policy field as well as in frontline casework
and discuss this dual function in relation to the mission of social work. The debate about the
primary purpose of social work has long been a source of dissension within the profession.

This study conformed to the direction taken by previous social work historians in examining
contestation and debate and division within the profession and contributed to a newer direction
by including an analysis from a postcolonial view of Canada’s heritage as a settler society
created by Britain and France.

1.5 Social Work and Biography

There are few biographies or critical studies of Canadian social welfare/social services pioneers.
In 1934, Olive Ziegler, a Toronto social worker who worked in the settlement houses and
lectured at the University of Toronto, wrote a biography of J.S. Woodsworth (Ziegler 1934). In
her memoirs, Dorothy Livesay recorded her reflections on her social work career during the
Great Depression (Livesay 1977, 1991). Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman used the extensive
archival fonds of Kelso to construct his biography (Jones and Rutman 1981). Similarly, Allan
Irving used the archival fonds of Harry Cassidy lodged at the University of Toronto Archives to
compile a biographical intellectual life history (Bellamy and Irving 1995). Harry Cassidy was the
subject of Allan Irving’s Ph.D dissertation (1982). Don Bellamy and Alan Irving co-authored a
publication entitled Pioneers, in which they profiled a range of social workers who were at the
centre of developments in social welfare (Bellamy and Irving 1995). While few women appear in
the record, with the exception of Charlotte Whitton, they describe notable males at length
including J.J. Kelso, J.S. Woodsworth, Brock Chisholm, Harry Cassidy, Leonard Marsh, and
some male civil servants (Bellamy and Irving 1995). Charlotte Whitton stands out as one female
social worker whose life has been studied in some depth (Moffatt 2001; Rooke and Schnell 1987; Struthers 1987, 1994). However, her long term leadership position in the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the influence of imperialist ideas and values have not been considered in her context from a social work perspective.

Not comprehensively addressed, are the lives of key women who contributed to the formation of Ontario social work, and the debates, values and tensions that formed a broad spectrum of positions and practices, in the early history of the province. Ken Moffatt profiled the lives of four contrasting social workers to show that social work did not develop in a single linear narrative but rather was constituted by multiple voices with different assumptions, values and visions. The social workers in his study were Charlotte Whitton, Dorothy Livesay, E. J. Urwick and Carl Dawson (Moffatt 2001). While discussions about the debates and contested positions of feminist thought in the twentieth century do not often refer to social work, these ideas were adopted and applied by social workers (Abramovitz 1988; Bacchi 1989; Cott 1987; Koven and Michel 1993; Ladd-Taylor 1995; Valverde 1992). This study built on the work of Moffatt using a postmodern feminist historical perspective to examine individual female social work lives and social work agencies considering some of the debates and tensions within social work and how individual social work actors reflected these issues in their practice as both an individual actor and as part of a social work institution/agency.
Chapter 2
Research Questions and Methodology

2.1 Research Objectives

When I began this study I had three primary objectives that guided my initial inquiry 1) To document the lives of some key women who contributed to the formation of social work in Ontario, but have been largely forgotten. 2) To show that not only were there multiple social, political and cultural influences in the formative years of the social work profession, but there were hotly contested differences and debates. And 3) To apply a feminist historical approach, a postcolonial perspective and a Foucauldian history-of-the-present method to the early history of Canadian Social Work.

As I began collecting data, I refined my questions making them more specific and precise. As my investigation was two-pronged examining not just four individual social work figures but also some key social work agencies and the social work field of practice, I developed questions which addressed each part of the inquiry.

Research Questions

2.1.1 Part 1: The Figures

My underlying goal was to document the formation of social work subjects through the public lives of selected key women in early social work in Ontario, Canada. To accomplish this I planned to document the social, cultural and economic capital and positionality of each subject (i.e. her socio economic, political, ideological and religious background; her educational models i.e. mentors, teachers, influential educational institutional experiences and other significant influences). In essence I wanted to establish the social location for each of these women.

Next I sought to document the key ideas/discourses/epistemé and the social work practice of each figure in relation to their social, cultural and economic positionality. I wanted to ascertain their main ideas and values and what shaped them on a personal, familial, structural and historical level. My next step was to organise the practice ideas through common key arenas of practice or service in the field of social work. The categories I established were: immigrants,
newcomers and the nation; children, family and welfare; poverty and the welfare state. And finally. I aimed to consider key ideas and practice orientations by discussing each woman’s approach to feminism and the role of women and to the professionalization of social work.

My final questions of the figures are: How were these ideas reflected in the figures’ respective practice as 1) producers of knowledge through writing and public speaking, and 2) as actors in a local, provincial, national or international field? In what activities did these women engage? In what sites and scenes were these women active?

2.1.2 Part 2: The Field of Social Work

In exploring how these women contributed to the production of, or alternative positions to, the dominant practices of the time, I will consider the following questions: Did these women speak through the organizations they led or participated in? What shaped them as leaders? Did some practices of social work and social work organizations combine divergent orientations? If there were divergent practices how did these appear or make themselves manifest? Were multiplicity and contradiction contained, expressed, constrained? Are tensions apparent in the records? Or can tensions be made apparent through the analysis?

And finally I will consider how these perspectives, tensions, debates and compromises positioned the profession of social work in its formative years.

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 Archival Historical Case-Based Research Design

This study employed an archival historical case-based research design. The case-based approach focussed on four figures for comparison and variation. The public social work lives of four female social work actors and the agencies/organizations in which they worked were selected. The period identified for study was the first half of the twentieth century. The location of Ontario was selected because Ontario was a key location in the early development of social work in Canada. Therefore examining social workers and agencies from that province was a logical choice for my research.
The women who were chosen for the study were selected not as typical social workers but rather as participants in a range of perspectives within the two broadly defined spectrums of British imperialism and left leaning communist/socialist ideas. These figures were selected without reference to the availability of source material. In the beginning I knew there was personal material available on Whitton. In the course of my research I discovered an archival fonds on Gould which contained small fragments of personal material. However, in the cases of Arnoldi and Touzel there were no known personal materials available and to date none have come to light. For this reason I used social service agency archives where the women had worked as my primary archival resource. This was very challenging as it meant searching through materials to discover the presence of my research figures and once found, the written evidence of their involvement or participation was sometimes sparse. This confirms the need for such a study as the information which is compiled in this study has not been available in this form before now.

In order to organise emerging data, I built a timeline for the public social work career of each figure. Where there were secondary sources available as in the case of Whitton and more fragmentary accounts of Touzel and Gould, I used these to provide contextual information and also to triangulate the findings. Looking within an agency archive, I began with annual reports for the years in which the figure under study was prominent in the organization. This gave me the public face of the agency and also broad coverage of major events that occurred in that institution and the role of my figure in relation to that. Next I looked at general meeting minutes and committee meeting minutes (where my figure was participant) which gave me a less edited inside view of the agency and also of my figure. General meeting minutes are not edited or constructed for publication as are annual reports but nevertheless they are subject to the selection of the recorder and can contain the bias of the recorder. Nevertheless these minutes often contain specific information such as the motions put forward and the ensuing debate and comments, who seconded them, with individual actors identified. I then looked in correspondence and reports for further material. Correspondence is particularly valuable as an entire letter written by one of my figures can be revealing.

In my search of each archive I looked for the involvement, participation and role of each figure. I was particularly interested in committees they joined/led, any leadership initiatives they undertook in the agency, advocacy work, political action, speeches or reports that they may have written, correspondence, connections and material written about them by peers or published in
newspapers or journals. I was also vigilant for leads to other sources such as mention of membership in a club or presence as a board member or invitation to provide consultation or to participate in a radio show.

2.3 Sampling

2.3.1 The Figures

The sampling for this study was purposive as it was planned to use a number of figures for comparative purposes and also to reflect a wider range of individual difference than a single figure could. Social work is a female dominated profession and has been since its inception and yet most scholarship has focused on male social work actors. Part of the purpose of this study was to represent some female social work voices and so for this reason only female social work figures were considered. Two female social worker figures were selected from the radical tradition with socialist/communist affiliations and as counterpoint, two figures who were members of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and active in social service agencies were chosen to represent a conservative imperial value system. This selection was designed to facilitate a comparative approach but also as a means to access multiple storylines and to provide a platform which would allow complexity, and new patterns of association and affiliations to be discerned. It was not intended to be a balanced representation of the majority of social workers during these periods. The women chosen were all in leadership positions and were well known within their own communities during their lifetime, which makes none of them typical or average. However they represent significant ideas and practices which were a part of the field of social work yet antithetical to one another, and thus provide material to examine how such contested differences were manifested. Looking at more than one figure facilitated the consideration of interactions and networks between figures who shared similar viewpoints and also among figures who were very different. In short, the selection was a deliberate attempt to locate highly active and vocal women who participated in the public debates of the times and made an imprint on the field.

2.3.2 Texts: Primary Sources

The selection of archives and texts was initially centred on the figures under study. I searched national, provincial and local archives for listings under the names of the figures, which did not
produce many results. I began with the links I knew and used snowball referencing to expand the search. This sometimes involved secondary sources and sometimes primary sources. For example, early in its history, the West End Crèche archive began noting donations from the IODE. To discover more about this organization I read Katie Pickles’ (2004) account of the history of this organization. In her history she named Arnoldi as the organizer of the British Schoolgirl Tour and this connected me to Arnoldi’s IODE involvement, which was richly confirmed when I investigated the IODE archive. Some discoveries were serendipitous such as finding the Margaret Gould Fonds when I went to the Reference Library to search for early records of the Toronto Welfare Council. On other occasions the material in one archive led me to another archive. I also searched early social work journals and early records of social work conferences for publications by any of my figures. I searched historical newspaper collections particularly *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail*. In addition I used some associated original sources such as the record of the Imperial Conferences, the course calendar collection and the *Torontonensis* collection at University of Toronto.

In the case of Whitton, I relied heavily on secondary sources to construct a timeline of her professional life and to identify her social location. In this process I identified themes which linked to her identity as a female imperialist. It was my reading of Kate Pickles’ study of the IODE which alerted me to Whitton’s prominence in that organization and I targeted the IODE fonds as a primary source for material on this part of Whitton’s life. With respect to Touzel, I first became aware of her when I read Gale Will’s book *A Marriage of Convenience*. In her chronicle of the history of the Social Planning Council of Toronto, Wills discusses Touzel’s work in an early period of their history. The fonds for the Social Planning Council of Toronto then became my starting point to discover more about Touzel. Fortunately I found a resumé in that collection which pointed me to further social service agencies.

This study used archival sources as the major data source as this was the material which allowed an examination of practices close-up, a look at the details and the different logics operating within the practice of a particular figure. A Foucauldian approach required stepping away from the categorizing constraints of imperialism and radicalism by investigating the details of actual practice. By using the same identified fields of practice with each figure it was possible to consider the choice of practice location as well as the methods of practice which were employed by each.
2.3.3 Secondary Sources

To supplement and in some instances to verify my findings in the archival record I used a wide range of secondary sources which are referenced throughout the findings of this dissertation. Relevant academic dissertations were also consulted including some in which one of my chosen figures had been interviewed.

2.4 Data Collections

2.4.1 Texts

Written (textual documents) provided the majority of the data for the project. Beginning with archives of key Toronto agencies, documents such as meeting minutes, annual reports, correspondence, reports, personnel records and other materials such as newspaper clippings and photographs were examined. Available family records were accessed. Snowball referencing was employed so when one archive made mention of another organization or women’s club I went to that archive to investigate further. Additional information was collected from early social work journals, conference papers, historical newspaper collections. These data were cross referenced with published information in secondary sources. The data were qualitative.

2.4.2 Archives consulted

The following archives were consulted selectively based on the known active participation of the figures under study.

2.4.2.1 The Library and Archives Canada held in Ottawa

*Canadian Association of Social Workers Fonds MG 28, I 441.* Theses fonds contain correspondence, memoranda, minutes, reports, briefs, printed matter, and reference materials. The records of the national organization of social workers as well as related provincial organizations from its founding in 1926 until 1975 are contained in the collection.

*Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Fonds. MG 28, I 17; 11.04 metres of textual records.* The fonds contain minutes from national committees, national annual reports, historical pamphlets and sketches of constitution and structure, records of select individual chapters,
correspondence, memoranda, the full collection of *Echoes* (quarterly annual magazine) 1902–1946 and miscellaneous issues 1961–1979, scrapbooks, and press clippings.

*Arnoldi Family Fonds MG25-G303, R7864-0-1-E; 1816–1968* is a textual record that contains a memoir, a family genealogy, a family history, photographs, and also Joan Arnoldi’s final passport.

*Canadian Council on Social Development Fonds MG 28, 1 10; 80.875 metres of textual records.* textual records 1921–1981, of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Council on Social Development. The fonds contain minutes, annual reports, correspondence, reports, clippings, photos, images, sound and video recordings.

*Charlotte Elizabeth Whitton Fonds MG 30 E; 15.82 metres of textual records.* The fonds consists of textual records, photographs, art works, audio-visual materials relating to Charlotte Whitton’s life and professional career; general correspondence, finances, personal correspondence, note cards and printed material, Canadian Welfare Council correspondence and reports, Report on unemployment relief in Western Canada, National Employment Commission, Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Reports to Ontario Government, Alberta Welfare Study. This collection was received in 1975 from the estate of Charlotte Whitton.


### Archives of Ontario

*West End Creche Child and Family clinic papers F4336; 8 feet of textual records.* 19 photographs 1908–1985. The fonds contain administration files, minutes, annual reports, newspaper clippings and scrapbooks, photographs, reference materials, guest books and case book case filings.

*Ontario Welfare Council Collection F837; 17 metres of textual record.* 1908–1982. Included are records of the Board of Directors, the Executive Committee annual meetings and conferences, minutes of meetings, financial statements, briefs, reports, correspondence, agendas,
recommendations, summary of program proposals, memoranda, proposed amendments, studies resolutions and papers. The fonds were donated to the Archives of Ontario by the Ontario Social Development Council in 1984.

2.4.2.3 City of Toronto Archives

Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto Fonds 1040 (previously cited as SC40); 70m of textual records 1908–1997. Fonds consist of minutes, publications and subject files relating the activities and concerns of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto. Formerly the Child Welfare Council and subsequently the Welfare Council of Toronto.

2.4.2.4 University of Toronto Archives

Torontonensis Collection; University Calendar Collection; Harry Cassidy Fonds; Newspaper clipping Collection, Accession 1973–0026, Box 474 Bessie Eileen Touzel, Box 122 Margaret Sarah Gould.

2.4.2.5 Metropolitan Toronto Reference Library

Margaret Gould Fonds S236; .6 metres of textual records, 8 photographs. The fonds were presented to the library by Ms Gould’s sister (Hinda) in two accessions, in 1985 and in 1991. The fonds consists of editorials and signed articles, articles on aging and cancer, fictional articles written after 1955, working files of clippings and notes, fragments of autobiography, personal correspondence and photographs. Margaret Gould also wrote under the pseudonym, Ruth Ritchie.

2.4.3 Key Informant interviews

Semi-structured interviews with three key informants were conducted. This was a supplementary source of information for the study. The archival material which was discovered provided a rich source of information for analysis and so it was not necessary to pursue further key informants. All the key informant interviews concerned Bessie Touzel. Interviewees for Touzel were more accessible. Born in 1904, she lived into her mid-nineties and therefore there were more people who were still available for interview who had actually met her. In the case of the other three women, it is more than thirty five years since they passed away and so informants would be further removed from the subjects.
The sources planned for key informant interviews were: relatives of key women under study; work colleagues of key women under study; academic scholars who have interviewed key women under study. The interviews were conducted at the Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work at University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario and at Trent University, Peterborough, Ontario. Each interview lasted for one to two hours. Prospective interviewees were contacted through an email (see Appendix A). Before the interview each participant was asked to read an information letter (see Appendix B), which communicated the objectives of the study, risks and benefits from participation in the study, and the rights of the participants. Each participant was asked to sign a written signed consent form (see Appendix C). All participants agreed to be recorded with a digital recorder. After the interview the interviewer wrote down field notes reflecting on the interview and the interview was transcribed. The content of the interviews was reviewed and organized in accordance with the material already gathered through the archives and was used to verify/validate data from other sources or if at variance to re-examine or reconsider the material gathered. The data from the interviews was identified as such and all the interviewees indicated that they wished to be recognized so their names are attached to the information which has been used.

Selection of Key Informants

The key informants were selected because they had all met Bessie Touzel in person. The circumstances for each were very different. Don Bellamy, an emeritus Professor of the University of Toronto, was hired by Bessie Touzel to work at the Ontario Welfare Council and this developed into a longtime working relationship. As a work colleague he was able to describe Touzel as an employer and as an activist. He maintained a friendship with her after he left her employ and remembered her talking about her work in Tanzania which occurred following her retirement from active service. Professor James Struthers, Canadian social welfare historian, interviewed Touzel on two separate occasions in the course of his historical research on the history of social welfare in Ontario. Subsequently Touzel continued to contact him and provide further information about policy developments in Ontario. Tom Reid archivist at the University of Toronto and author of a biography of Robert Kenny met Touzel “by chance” when he was working on the Kenny Collection. He advertised for persons who could identify figures in unnamed photographs from the Kenny Collection and Touzel stepped forward. This led to a
number of lengthy discussions of “the left” in Canada and Touzel’s involvement with the Communist Party as well as her longterm relationship with Kenny.

2.4.3.1 Structure of the Interviews

The interviews were semi-formal and a prepared semi-structured interview guide was designed (see appendix D) which included a variety of clarifying questions, broadly formulated and open ended. Following brief questions on demographics, the intent of the main part of the interview was to guide discussion towards sharing pertinent information on the public social work life and values of the key social workers under study. In each case the interviewee was encouraged to remember and to follow a train of thought with respect to these memories and this was given priority over a strict adherence to the order of interview guide questions. However, by the conclusion of each interview the content areas targeted by the interview guide had been covered.

2.5 Data Analysis

The first stage of analysis was inductive. A timeline was constructed of the career trajectory of each figure. A fuller narrative of the formative background events and social location of each figure was created using the material collected from the archives, historical newspaper collections, key informant interviews and some secondary sources with substantive biographical material (where available). A fuller narrative of the formative background events and social location of each figure was created. Secondary source materials on Ontario history, social welfare history in Canada, and the history of social work in Canada were interspersed with the archival material to enrich and contextualize the information from the archives. The public social work life of each figure was completed with material from the archive creating a chronological narrative.

A preliminary analysis of the fields of practice for each figure was conducted using material from the relevant archives, early social work journals and conference reports and key informant interviews. Original quotations from each woman were used as available to try and capture their wording and to create a small window where they could speak directly to the reader. The domains of practice identified as representative of the social work field were: poverty and the welfare state; children, family and welfare and immigrants; and newcomers and the nation. Each figure was analysed in relation to the same arenas of practice so that comparisons could be made.
This became a useful analytic tool because during the study it became clear that the preferred arenas of practice or service were not only slightly different for each figure but there were also significant differences between the two ideological groupings of the women. Furthermore, these differences were evident not only in the preferred arena of practice but also in the choice of practice approaches and in the target populations or the persons the services were designed to help.

A preliminary analysis of key ideas and practice orientations was made by examining each figure in relation to the professionalization of social work, and in relation to feminism and the role of women. In the early period of Canadian social work history professionalization was a key area of development but was also a highly contested zone, so positioning the figures in relation to these debates was useful. Positioning the figures in relation to feminism was difficult as the evidence was unclear and conflicted suggesting that this is a complex issue where further research would be required to increase clarity.

A Foucauldian approach to history is focused on practice and looks closely at what actions are taken and what actors do under particular conditions (Veyne 1997). In his study of the prison which is entitled according to the primary practices identified *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) illustrated how he examined everyday practices such as schedules, body comportment, and architecture in order to establish what the over-riding practices were. The strength of this approach is that by examining the actions taken it overcomes the discrepancy between stated values and beliefs and actual practice. In this study, once the chronology for each figure was in place, a second stage of analysis concentrated on patterns of practice, logics of practice and the preferred field of practice for each figure.

The second stage of analysis was deductive. Once the preliminary narrative was in place a second level of analysis was completed where key patterns and major events for each figure were identified and the original narrative account was edited to refine and focus the narrative.

The double frameworks for the study were biographical and institutional and were employed simultaneously. The biographical approach was directed to compiling a social work public life profile situated with formative personal life details and information on social location. As the primary source of material on the social work lives of these women was from archives of early social work agencies where these figures practised, there was an institutional component in the
material gathered. Descriptions of these early organizations were included in the biographical narrative and the intersection between person and institution was considered.

In the final discussion, the complexity of the findings was addressed systematically by considering in turn the social work practice chosen and enacted by each figure as well as the interactions between figures. The multiplicity within each career trajectory was explored through an examination of ideas/discourses and practices/activities/accomplishments in multiple fields of practice. Multiplicity can be seen quite clearly through this analytic structure and it is a useful approach for revealing the tensions and contestation within the practice of a single figure as well as within an institution. In addition by using the same analytic grid for each of the figures the differences become readily apparent. The choice of practice field and the practice strategies used by the figures with imperial conservative ideas and the figures with left-leaning radical ideas can be seen to be distinctively different and yet at the same time there are some unexpected commonalities and shared approaches.
Chapter 3
Joan Arnoldi: (1882–?) In Service of God, Monarch and Country

Joan Arnoldi was part of the first generation of social workers in Canada. With no formal social work education she practised well before the Canadian Association of Social Workers was founded in 1926 and prior to the first social work university program in Canada began at the University of Toronto in 1914. She was a voluntary worker supported comfortably by her professional family of origin. As a voluntary worker however, she was driven, ambitious and hard working. A staunch protestant Christian woman of conservative viewpoint who embraced her family’s tradition of imperial loyalty from a young age, Arnoldi was a founding member of the woman’s club Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE). The IODE was a flagship organization with a broad policy direction that operated like an early conservative think tank. In contrast to this she co-founded the woman’s club of the West End Creche (WEC) in Toronto. This was a hands-on endeavour establishing a direct service agency which continues to operate today as the Child Development Institute (CDI). These two distinct types of activity position Arnoldi as an intriguing figure to examine more closely. Arnoldi was one of many women who devoted their lives to public service, but are seldom represented as individuals in the historical record. In this chapter I will discuss her personal social location and then her public life in social work and in related spheres such as active service in World War I. I will consider her participation in the field of social work by focussing on her practice in the substantive areas of immigration, family and children and welfare and poverty, and conclude with an overview of her practice orientation and values in relation to feminisms of the time and the role of women and to professionalization.

Joan Arnoldi is an unknown figure in social work literature. Her story is one of many ordinary women who spent their working lives engaged in voluntary social work in the early part of the twentieth century. Arnoldi is mentioned in brief in Katie Pickles’ (2004) account of the history of The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) in Canada, and is noted in the book, Canadian Women: A history, for her work as Field Comfort Commissioner in World War I (Prentice et al. 1988). Her role as co-founder of the West End Crèche is recorded in passing in Larry Prochner’s (1994) doctoral dissertation, Themes in the History of Daycare: a Case Study of
the West End Crèche, Toronto, 1909–1939. An Arnoldi Family Fonds is held at Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa.

3.1 Social Location

Born on December 9, 1882 in Toronto, Canada, Joan Arnoldi was the oldest surviving child of a family of five children. Her next sibling was also a girl followed by three brothers. Arnoldi became the unmarried female caretaker in her family, living with her parents throughout their lives, taking care of her mother when she became sick and providing a lifelong companionship to her father for the long years after the death of his wife. Equally formative were the social and political positions she was born into as the eldest daughter of a prominent established Church of England family in the Orange dominated world of Anglo-Protestant Ontario in the late nineteenth century. It was a life that promised the comforts of affluence, with three ‘domestics’ living in the house allowing her the time to pursue her own interests.

Living with her family of origin Joan Arnoldi assumed an active voluntary working life joining women’s clubs and occupying new workspaces that were opening up for women. The generation of women born in the 1870s and the 1880s were seeking social and political participation rights through suffrage, ownership of property, entry into higher education and the masculine domains of the professions. It was during the latter part of the 19th century that educated women began to take a place in the paid workforce through the demands created by growing bureaucracies, health care and education. Middle class women were increasingly able to support themselves independent of the nuclear family unit through paid employment (Cleverdon 1975; Vicinus 1985).

3.1.1 An Early Female Family Role Model

Even though the newly confederated Canada was only fifteen years old when Arnoldi was born, she was a fourth generation Canadian, descended from a German immigrant who arrived in Montreal from Forbach, Germany, in the mid-1700s. The Arnoldi archive contains rich material of the men in the Arnoldi family and little of the women but there is reference to a daughter of John Peter, Phebe Arnoldi, who was forced to marry when she was just 15 years old. There is an implied sense that she was a victim of violence, and after four years of married life, she fled the union with her young son and supported herself by teaching English and French. She later
opened a drapery store, and invested her profit in buying a second property lot. Then in 1799, even though she was a successful and prospering business woman, she signed both properties over to her mother, assigned the income to her son and entered the Ursuline Convent. This move probably shocked her family at the time as she renounced her protestant heritage, and she was re-baptized as Apolline de Sainte-Angèle.¹ Marta Danylewycz explored the decisions to enter the convent of Roman Catholic nuns in nineteenth century Quebec in her book Taking the Veil and argued that the nunnery provided women with an avenue to independence and social acceptance through charity work and teaching (Danylewycz 1987). Indeed Marguerite Bourgeoys arrived in Quebec in 1653 and established a religious order (The Congregation of Notre Dame) that provided teaching and charity to the surrounding communities and some historical accounts regard her as the first social worker in Canada (Hick 2002) This strong female figure from eighteenth century Canadian history was a Great Aunt of Joan Arnoldi and may have provided her with a female model of independence, entrepreneurial success, and early teaching and charity work.

3.1.2 A Professional Background

Of the remaining children of Phebe’s generation, three of her brothers became renowned silversmiths, and one moved into the professions and became a surgeon of some note. The nineteenth century professions in Upper Canada were a significant source of social status and the prevailing types were medicine, law, divinity and the officer class in the military. A British-based classical education system added the authority of character and culture to social authority. “To have a profession was to have more than an occupation. It was to lay claim to full membership in the group which was to guide the destinies of Upper Canada by providing it with its political leadership, its central social values, its ruling ideas, its erudition” (Gidney 1994, p. 6). In 1847 Dr. Daniel Arnoldi was nominated as the first President of the College of Physicians and Surgeons of the Province of Lower Canada and the royal proclamation of this new college was issued by Lord Elgin.

3.1.3 Imperial Beginnings

Arnoldi’s father, Frank, was the grandson of Dr. Daniel and was born in 1848 in Montreal. He moved to Toronto in 1855 where he attended Upper Canada College. The school was attended by some of the leading families of the time and was known as a Tory stronghold with strong loyalist ties to Britain and Empire (Bourinot 1901). Following in the footsteps of his forbears, Frank Arnoldi set out on a professional life course in law. In 1870, Frank Arnoldi completed his legal training in Canada and was later appointed to the King’s Counsel in 1889 by the Earl of Derby. Frequently reported in the newspapers of the day, Frank set up a law firm (Arnoldi, Grierson & McMurrich) and became a respected public figure and one of the founders of the New Bar Association in 1907.

In 1891, the Arnoldi household is listed as having three “domestics” living with them: Janet Hands, age 27, nurse, English-born Roman Catholic; Elizabeth Murphy, aged 20, housemaid, Ontario born; and Julia Murphy, aged 23, cook, Ontario born. At this time the Arnoldi family consisted of four small children aged between two and eight, and so home help would have been a welcome addition to the household. The Arnoldi family were listed as Church of England members.

Frank Arnoldi belonged to a number of professional organisations which provide a further elaboration of his imperialist political position. He was a ‘Dominionist’, a loyal member of the British Empire. From 1893 to 1897, he was the president of the National Club, and after retiring from this position, he remained a member as a director into the 1900s. The National Club was

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5 Department of Agriculture, Third census of Canada, 1891.

founded in 1874 to house the Canada First Party, a party which did not survive. Dr. Goldwin Smith was its first president, a prominent imperialist expatriate British intellectual who married a wealthy widow from the old Family Compact elite that owned The Grange (later bequeathed to the Art Gallery of Ontario). During his term as President, Frank Arnoldi attended the third Congress of Chambers of Commerce of the British Empire, and supported a trade arrangement within the Empire by the creation of a zollverein which is a customs and trade union. He was a longtime member of the British Empire League, listed in 1897 as a member of the Council and Vice President of the Toronto Branch of the League as of 1912. The League was formed in London in 1894 to promote and maintain loyalty to the British Empire, and Canada, Australia and New Zealand all hosted branches of the club. Promoting trade relations, ensuring the commercial growth of the Empire and military loyalty were the binding issues. At the turn of the twentieth century there was split in Canada between nationalists and imperialists. Imperialists believed that Canada’s future could only be assured through continued membership in the British Empire consolidated by economic, military and constitutional ties. Nationalists meanwhile believed that Canada should strive for autonomy and should establish ties beyond the British Empire (Berger 1998).

From 1913–1916, Frank Arnoldi was the President of the Royal Canadian Institute (RCI) after serving as its Vice President. The RCI was founded in Toronto in 1849 by a small group of civil engineers, architects and surveyors led by Sir Sandford Fleming (1827–1915). It is the oldest scientific society in Canada. During Arnoldi’s presidency, both the Bureau of Science and Industrial Research and the Federal Government’s Honorary Advisory Council on Scientific and Industrial Research (1916) were established, the latter being the forerunner to the National Research Council (1917).

The two wars at the turn of the twentieth century became a testing ground for the division between imperialism and nationalism. The Boer or South African war began in early October

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8 The British Empire League in Canada. The Carewell Co. Ltd. Printers.

9 “Past presidents,” Royal Canadian Institute for the Advancement of Science. http://www.royalcanadianinstitute.org
1899 and was essentially an imperial dispute between Britain and The Netherlands (Boileau 2011). English Canadians favoured supporting the British but the French Canadians opposed Canadian involvement as they did not equate British interests with those of Canada, and believed that this was a war which did not concern Canada. Eventually, in late October 1899, French-Canadian Prime Minister Sir Wilfred Laurier offered to send one thousand volunteers to South Africa. The overseas deployment of Canadian troops was a first time occurrence since confederation in 1867, and it served to polarise Canadian loyalties between those who were loyal to Britain and those who were non-British Canadians (the French and non-British immigrants) who believed that Britain’s issues had nothing to do with Canada (Boileau 2011). The Arnoldi family became intimately involved in this division during World War I in 1914 which raised the same polarization of opinion. Both of Frank Arnoldi’s sons and his eldest daughter Joan would engage in active service.

Joan Arnoldi was well provided for throughout her life and she seemed to have a close relationship with her father, judging by his involvement with her activities and by her wholesale adoption of his values and ideas. Frank Arnoldi was a member of the Advisory committee for the West End Crèche (WEC). He presented a copy of the Magna Carta to the national office of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) while his daughter was national president and she became his regular companion at public events after the death of his wife. A group family photograph, taken when Arnoldi was in her twenties, shows Joan Arnoldi standing behind her father while her sister Frances stands behind their mother and the boys stand between the two parents. This might have been a chance family constellation but it was Frances who married and had children while Joan pursued interests which required entry into masculine domains such as executive positions in organizations and service in the military. She remained single throughout her life and did not have any children. Throughout her life Joan Arnoldi followed the values that were near and dear to her father. She was a staunch Church of England church-goer, she adhered to imperial values of loyalty to empire and country through her work at the IODE, she was in active service in World War I, and she practiced Christian service with her work at the WEC. Speeches delivered when she was in an executive position in the IODE and at the WEC are resonant with the same imperial themes as those delivered by her father.
3.2 Public Life in Social Work

Table 1

*Chronology of Arnoldi’s Voluntary Work History*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IODE</td>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Founding member of first local chapter of IODE set up in Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEC</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Co-founder of the West End Crèche in Toronto. Becomes part of the Executive Committee.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field Comfort Commissioner</td>
<td>1914–1918</td>
<td>Active Service in WWI – camped on Salisbury Plains in England with Canadian troops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IODE National President</td>
<td>1920–1922</td>
<td>Voted National President and leads the organisation out of internal leadership division</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEC Local President</td>
<td>1925–1932</td>
<td>Leads the WEC executive and restructures the Agency as a model Crèche reflecting national and international trends in approaches to the child and the new professionalism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IODE: British Schoolgirl Tour</td>
<td>1928–1929</td>
<td>As a member of the National IODE she spearheads this initiative to foster white middle class/elite immigration to Canada.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IODE</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Resigned from the IODE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IODE</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Called back to head up WWII service initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Planning Council of Toronto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEC</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Signed visitors book at WEC event</td>
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</table>

Arnoldi participated in voluntary social work throughout her life. At the turn of the twentieth century the voluntary sector was the predominant form of social service delivery. This began to change only after World War I and the Depression, when there was a gradual increase in the public assumption of responsibility for social service delivery culminating in the formation of the welfare state (Finkel 2007; Jennissen and Lundy 2011; Struthers 1989). Within Arnoldi’s working lifetime there was a shift to government run social service provision as well as a shift to the professionalization of social work. This occurred not only as a top-down process emanating from University-based faculties of social work and the standards established in professional organizations such as the Canadian Association of Social Work (1926) but also resulted from a movement from the ground up with volunteer social workers such as Arnoldi deeply involved in the process. The current pejorative image of early voluntary social workers as merely moral regulators and uplifters is an image that does not appear in early records. For example, it is noted in the University of Toronto Calendar for 1915–1916 that:
the volunteer in social work, whether giving a few hours weekly, or her full-time without salary, is of much value to social agencies. Volunteers also, moreover, mould public opinion and often become the leaders in procuring legislation and effective administration affecting public and private work. This is, likewise true of directors and trustees of important institutions who need intelligent comprehension of the general field of social activity. (p. 638)

It is clear in this passage that when the Faculty of Social Work began at the University of Toronto, voluntary social workers were held in high regard and were acknowledged as the leaders in social reform.

In a 1964 article Exit Lady Bountiful: the Volunteer and the Professional Social Worker, Dorothy Becker identified the prevailing image of the Lady Bountiful in the volunteer sector as impeding the formation of new forms of volunteer/citizen participation. Becker argued that the dominance of professionalism and paid social work resulted in the emasculation of voluntary contribution to the field and a loss to the general field of social work (Becker 1964). In the fifty years between 1914 and 1964, the contributions of the voluntary social worker were gradually superceded by the newly paid professional social workers, but the relationships between these groups were entwined and complex as the story of Arnoldi’s public life will show.

At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a proliferation of women’s clubs and organizations in Canada. Female reform groups dedicated to a wide spectrum of causes flourished in urban and rural settings. There was a growing number of locally organized groups who were committed to improving the quality of community life. Clubs promoted social interests such as literature, history, art and crafts as well as professional interests associated with the new female involvement in social work, public health, teaching and journalism. Political interests such as suffrage, the status of women, imperialism and political reform were also represented by clubs (Gere 1997; Prentice et al. 1988). There are numerous organizational archives where these women meticulously documented their activities, meetings and programs, kept detailed financial records including listings of all the donations with the names of the donors. They produced annual reports which were published and distributed not only within the club but also among clubs (Gere 1997).
3.2.1 Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire

The Canadian national women’s club called the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire has not been looked at within social work history which is surprising as the activities of the club overlap with the social reform movement, and the activities and accomplishments of the members are performed in the arenas of practice which can be regarded as social work.

As the daughter of an influential Canadian family with a generational tradition of imperial loyalty to Britain and her Empire, it is not surprising that Arnoldi chose to become a “daughter of the empire.” This imperial version of her self-identity was a reflection of the discourses and codes of conduct disseminated in her family, as well as in her church and social networks. In the latter part of the nineteenth century the metaphor of the family and the family of man became widespread in imperial discourse.

The family as a metaphor offered a single genesis narrative for global history, while the family as an institution became void of history. As the nineteenth century drew on, the family as an institution was figured as existing, naturally, beyond the commodity market, beyond politics and beyond history proper. The family thus became both the antithesis of history and history’s organising figure (McClintock, 1995, p.44).

By adopting the metaphor of family the imperial imposition of culture and authority was given a natural domestic veneer and was also provided with a venue to replicate the social organisation of families, namely the subordination of women and children, in the structure of the Empire. So the new white settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa became children of the Empire mother England and this metaphor lent a sense of benevolence and protective nurturance which served to mask the accompanying violence, exclusion and exploitation of colonization (McClintock 1995).

As a young woman of nineteen in the year 1901, Arnoldi joined the Alexandra Chapter of the IODE, the first chapter to open in Toronto which met 16 times in its first year. In accordance with the metaphorical preference of imperial discourse at the time it was named the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire. This was the feminine equivalent of numerous men’s patriotic clubs which were operating in Toronto, including the National Club and The British

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10 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28 1 17, file 20, Ontario Alexandra Chapter Annual Report 1902.
Empire League which Frank Arnoldi was a longtime member of. Attracted to the prospect of joining with other women of similar background and interests, Arnoldi was one of the founding members of the Alexandra Chapter, which was named after the wife of the newly invested King of England, Alexandra, and adopted the motto “for King and Empire.” The annual report (1902) recorded that the group was set up on February 20, 1901 with 73 members enrolled during the first year. As a group the members studied and discussed patriotic literature on the history of the British Empire, the history of Canada and the British monarchy and worked to further their understanding of the civilizing greatness of British culture.  

In 1910, Arnoldi became active in setting up an additional chapter in Toronto, the Westminister Chapter, and by that time she was also a member of the national executive.

In 1902 the IODE began publishing a quarterly magazine called *Echoes*, which was a large glossy production filled with updates about the Order, with articles by prominent Canadians on topics of interest such as the social services, immigration, conferences and congresses, and of course patriotic news about the English monarchy as well as advertisements. This magazine was distributed across Canada and had a guaranteed readership by the members and their families. In the June 1923 issue they ran a piece entitled *What it means to be a Daughter of the Empire*, which was a collection of letters sent in by members, one of them written by Arnoldi (see appendix E for complete letter).

The question has been asked of me—what is your idea of the term Daughter of the Empire, by which I take it is meant a member of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. I shall answer this as best I can and can only plead my legal upbringing if my answer is circumlocutory and indirect.

First and foremost I would say that any woman seriously desiring to become a member of the order, is one who realizes the importance and value of her country’s birthright,—mark you, I say her country’s, not her own, and is determined that it shall not be exchanged for a mess of pottage. She recognises that the “pottage agents” are amongst us and that organised effort is necessary for the guidance and guardianship of our young nation. She realizes that it is necessary to keep ever before her the greatness and value of

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11 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28 1 17, file 20, Ontario Alexandra Chapter Annual Report 1902.

12 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo Magazine, Amicus 114363 (years 1902–1942), 1915.

13 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo Magazine, Amicus 114363 (years 1902–1942), 1915.
our traditions, our share in British history and the value to mankind of British civilization.\textsuperscript{14}

Arnoldi began this letter with a humorous representation of her “legal upbringing” which is a skillful way to establish her elite membership with the professional class in Toronto. Her use of the phrase “a mess of pottage” is a biblical allusion to the Old Testament where Esau sold his birthright for a pot of lentil stew, which was referred to as a mess of pottage. So the usage of the phrase is to express that something of little value is traded in for something of great value. In this case she is referring to Canada’s birthright as part of Britain and highlights immigrants and newcomers who are trying to create a “mess of pottage” meaning a heterogenous society which must be prevented at all costs. The newcomers who remain loyal to countries or religions or political positions other than protestant Anglo-Canadian liberal imperialism are “pottage agents” and represent a threat to the young nation of Canada. For Arnoldi loyalty to Canada is fused with loyalty to Britain and the two cannot be separated. This is the heart of her identity as a daughter of the Empire. Arnoldi articulated \textit{laissez faire} liberal values of individualism and self reliance, with a Christian position of personal duty of service. Britain is painted as a noble purveyor of service to mankind and Arnoldi fiercely defended the mother country against unnamed foreign critics who see things differently. She invoked the familial metaphor of ‘mother’ to communicate the benevolence and wise stewardship exercised by Britain across the Empire. There is no hint of the realities of conquest, violence or coercion which are an inevitable part of establishing and maintaining an Empire.

### 3.2.2 Field Comfort Commissioner

At the turn of the twentieth century, imperialism became increasingly military. A generation of women had carried out an imperial agenda with missionary work (Compton Brouwer 2002; Gagan 1992; Vicinus 1985). However with the Boer War and then World War 1, military power was required to maintain the Empire. New routes to public service were opened up for female imperialist women such as army nurse. Joan Arnoldi found her own route to serve Canada in World War I, and it was this work which swept her to national prominence in the IODE. The December 1914 edition of \textit{Echoes} reports:

\textsuperscript{14} LAC,IODE Fonds, Echo Magazine, Amicus 114363 (years 1902–1942), 1923, p.17.
Miss M. Plummer and Miss J. Arnoldi who were appointed by the Minister of Militia to take charge of the field comforts of the Canadian contingent have been given the rank of lieutenants for special service.\footnote{LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, December 1914, p. 18.}

Joining Britain when it declared war on Germany in 1914 was a highly contested issue in Canada, once again polarising the imperialists and the nationalists, the French and the English (Berger 1998). The IODE which of course supported the war, formed a National Service Committee to co-ordinate women’s war work in Canada, assembling Red Cross and field comfort supplies through women’s organisations to send to the Canadian troops stationed in England.

Joan Arnoldi and Mary Plummer enlisted shortly after war was declared. They were already friends and were both members of the IODE and the West End Crèche Club. The Canadian Field Comforts Commission was part of the Canadian Army Medical Corps and they were both ranked as Lieutenant.\footnote{http://www.canadiangreatwarproject.com/searches/soldierDetail.asp?ID=85619.} The program collected home comforts such as socks, blankets, tobacco, candy and reading material and distributed them to the troops.\footnote{http://www.canadiangreatwarproject.com/searches/soldierDetail.asp?ID=105766 retrieved 8/12/2011.} On September 30, *The Toronto Star* reported that “Miss Mary Plummer and Miss Joan Arnoldi left last night for Quebec, and will leave for England with the nurses and doctors this week.” Volunteers from across Canada gathered at Valcartier Camp, twenty miles north of Quebec City, to train and prepare for active service. Designed to accommodate 5,000 militiamen, by September 8 it had become the gathering place for 32,665 men (Vance 2012).

A fellow IODE member, Margaret MacDonald, a Canadian nurse who became the Matron-in-Chief of Canada’s overseas nursing service during WWI, met Joan Arnoldi on board the *Franconia*, the ship which was seconded to transport troops and medical staff to Britain during the war. This friendship continued during the war and in 1917 the two went on a week long holiday trip to Ireland (Mann 2005).

Plummer and Arnoldi began their Field Comforts work in Quebec at Valcartier and then travelled with the troops to England and camped alongside them on Salisbury Plains in the shadow of Stonehenge. Here the troops trained and waited to be called to active service in...
Europe. In her commemorative publication, Plummer assembled photographs and articles and poems honouring the troops:

In Valcartier, at Amesbury, and now from Shorncliffe, Miss Arnoldi and I have had the privilege of working for our men. We have known and admired and loved them, and they have brought to all Canadians great honour together with much sorrow (Plummer 1915).

Arnoldi contributed a descriptive piece on Salisbury Plain, noting that “this is no military description of the camp, but just a few items of the woman side of life there” (Plummer 1915, 44). Her piece catalogues the weather conditions, camping accommodations and honours the work of the nursing sisters, and the Y.M.C.A. who provided entertainment. Her publication is patriotic and lauds the Canadian contribution to Empire. A letter from the Front written by Captain Edward Crosby Goldie reports on life on the Salisbury Plains and notes that “there is a distribution of personal comforts to the well men, and this work could not be in more able and efficient hands than Miss Plummer and Miss Arnoldi of Toronto who are stationed at Amesbury.”

3.2.3 National President of IODE (1920–1922)

Immediately after the end of World War I, Arnoldi was voted national president in the IODE. Her opening address is an appeal to the aggregate power of organized women:

As I see our future, it looks very rosy and full of hope, and to me it seems no exaggeration to say that we have within our own ranks one of the greatest organised powers in our Dominion. To us, fifty thousand loyal and organised women, is given the opportunity to carry on the ideals our men fought and died for.

She wanted this aggregate power to be directed towards the cause of imperialism. This is a tribute to female imperialism and she reiterated the loyalty to first of all Canada but a Canada which is British.

There is no question as to what the Daughters of the Empire stand for. They stand for the greatest good of the Dominion of Canada, which is her British foundation and her British traditions and her British connection. We went into

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19 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, December 1920.
the war a body of organised women. We emerged from the war a body of organised citizens.20

Suffrage was granted to women in 1917 and Arnoldi linked suffrage to citizenship and urged the members to use this new responsibility to support a British imperial agenda. As national president she pursued active remembrance of the “Canadian” wars – the Boer War and World War I – and cementing Canada as a Dominion of the Empire and a national force in its own right. She launched a National War Memorial scheme and her written recommendation resulted in a Bill passed to have Armistice Day and Thanksgiving day celebrated jointly. She introduced three initiatives for investing in the next generation: bursaries, the distribution of patriotic material, and postgraduate scholarships.

Arnoldi was 1st Vice President of the National Executive from 1925–1929. Within the IODE, the Constitution Committee operated to oversee the administration and binding rules of the organization. As convenor of the Constitution Committee, Arnoldi re-organised representation throughout the provincial and local chapters so that power was distributed more evenly and not concentrated in the National Executive. Arnoldi reported with evident pride in 1926 that she had been told by the President of another national women’s organisation:

That she considered that the Daughters of the Empire had one of the most perfect organisations which had been worked out in this country. While she realised that we, ourselves, might feel the top heaviness of our detail, as a national organisation really able to speak nationally and to express a unified sentiment for the country, she considered us quite unique.21

For two years Arnoldi worked in co-operation with Canadian ex-officers from the Boer War on the South African Graves Committee which she initiated herself (1924–1926). She was committed to ensuring the erection of a memorial.

During the past two months I have met several Canadians to whom naturally I have explained the good work being carried out by the IODE. They have invariably stated their intention of being present at the unveiling, and desire me to convey to your committee their heartfelt thanks for the sustained efforts made by its members to immortalize the memory of the first Canadians who fought “overseas” for Empire.22

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20 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, December 1920
21 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28,1 17, Vol 12, Annual General Report, 1926, p. 52
Arnoldi initiated the Girl Guides Committee in 1924, suggesting that IODE Girl Guide Companies should be led by members of the Order so the influence of the Order could be brought to bear on a movement which was assuming an important position in the national life. We may rest assured of one thing, that if we do not reach and influence the lives of children of Canada, other forces that work for disorder and disloyalty are seeking every opportunity to do so. Bolshevik leaders are at work in Canada, as in Russia, using any means to imprint on the minds of the children of school age, the vicious and destructive principles of the Soviet. How appalling have been the results of these teachings in Russia we know.  

This virulent anti-communist outburst is paired with her advocacy for using the Girl Guide movement as another vehicle for imperial propaganda. In Britain itself there were supporters and opponents of the Soviet Union and there was much admiration for the early education system and the social reforms which were part of the new Bolshevik program in Russia.

### 3.2.4 Immigration Work

In the late nineteenth century female emigration to Canada was predominantly white and British, and women in Canada organised to provide immigration reception services. At confederation it was determined that immigration was a shared responsibility between the federal and the provincial governments with the provinces responsible for providing welfare services to immigrants. The focus of the IODE was on the flow of immigration, the entry conditions and the needs for employment for immigrants. As women, the IODE recognised that there was a gap in service as no provisions were in place to address the conditions of passage or the arrival circumstances of new immigrants. Women’s groups such as the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA) provided aftercare, protection and accommodation and even organised a system of chaperonage on the boats to ensure that single British women were not victims of violence, and perhaps to ensure that the “good character” of the women was protected. They operated in the contact zone between immigrant women and their new communities as well as in the transnational contact zone between British women’s emigration services and Canadian immigration services (Chilton 2007; Pratt 2008).

Britain passed The Empire Settlement Act in 1922 which provided assisted passage to Canada as well as settling assistance for 15 years for each immigrant and this resulted in the setting up of a

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Women’s Division in the Department of Immigration in Canada. This act was designed to increase British emigration to Canada and in particular the emigration of single women. Work opportunities for women such as teaching and domestic service were advertised. A series of hostels became receiving facilities for the arriving employees who were then placed by a new government employment service (Barber 1991). This new bureaucracy displaced some of the voluntary women’s work but also set up a new collaboration between voluntary women’s agencies and the state. Women continued their involvement in immigration work in both a voluntary capacity and as new professional workers. Much of the immigration work in the 1920s was characterized by a focus on promoting the assimilation of newcomers into Canadian society and aimed to promote citizenship and a strong Canada. The new professional agenda was based on secular rather than religious/moral goals. The Canadian Council for the Immigration of Women (CCIW) was set up in 1919 and was made up of women’s voluntary organisations including the IODE. It acted as an advisory body to the government (Pickles 2002).

One of the major providers of this service was the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). The shift towards professionalization influenced this work in the early part of the century. The YWCA affiliated with the National Council of Women in Canada NCWC in 1914, and became increasingly involved in Canadianization programs offering language and reading and writing classes as opposed to moral instruction and religious teaching (Strong-Boag 1974). Paid workers with specialized skills were hired and the inclusion of religious content became open to debate (Woollacott 1998). The Girls friendly Society was established in Canada as a satellite program from Britain in 1885. It assisted hundreds of women to immigrate. New arrivals were greeted at the docks and assistance was given to the newcomers to obtain lodging and work (Chilton 2007). Imperial in sympathy, the Salvation Army, the Overseas League and the Navy League offered similar services (Pickles 2002).

In the 1920s the IODE moved more actively into immigration work. Canadianization was their primary goal, with a focus on fluency in English and good housekeeping. Their concern about newcomers forming segregated communities, the rise of socialism and communism and the threat of atheism was of paramount importance, and many of their programs were intended to upstage “the Bolshevik leaders at work in Canada.” They organised travelling libraries, children’s newspapers, the distribution of copies of the British North America Act and portraits of British royalty and they awarded prizes for patriotic short stories and plays. IODE club
members gave lectures on the British Empire and the Dominions. They organised special awards for teachers who spent time teaching in a “foreign settlement” (group settlements of newcomers such as settlements of Finns or Ukranians), and they promoted the distribution of patriotic films. Club members took on home visiting and encouraged immigrant women to learn English and keep their houses clean. The IODE was a member of the Canadian Council for the Immigration of Women (CCIW) and had organised chapters across the country to welcome and assist newcomers upon their arrival. In all of this detailed service agenda the IODE was in close contact with women’s emigration organisations in Britain as well as with the Canadian Department of Immigration (Pickles 2002).

Arnoldi worked on the immigration committee for many years with one year as convenor (1923). In her annual report as convenor, she expressed concern that the government was not active enough in recruiting British immigrants and she attributed this to a financial depression. She asserted that the Order wished to promote the right sort of immigration:

> It is manifestly our duty to urge, when we can, that the present policy of inaction cease and then an active campaign be undertaken by the Dominion authorities to secure Canada’s fair share of the immigration from the British Isles and elsewhere, where suitable citizens for this country may be found.  

Dissatisfied with the government’s “lack of action” on the immigration question Arnoldi outlined an administrative plan whereby the IODE settlement workers across the country would give a card to each newcomer on which they would write down the community to where they were going and mail it so the Order could begin compiling a record of all the newcomers and follow up with further visits. In this way the Order could begin assembling statistics on its immigration work. This would also mean that the IODE would have its own database on new immigrants and their place of origin. Whereas other women’s organisations were focussed on the service gap for arriving newcomers, the IODE was more concerned with the federal immigration matter of regulating the flow of immigrants into the country and in particular ensuring that there was a predominance of white British stock. Arnoldi instructed each provincial branch of the Order to gather information on the attitude of the general public to immigration as well as information on the provincial government’s approach to assisted immigration. This multi-tiered strategy of regulation and data collection positioned the IODE as a meta-branch of government, a national

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24 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1923, p.38.
observer, and as an organization strengthened by a volume of immigration “data.” From this location its members were in a strong position to make recommendations and influence future immigration policy in Canada.

Arnoldi met Miss Burnham, the Head of the Woman’s Department of Colonization and Immigration, who requested that the Order welcome teachers arriving from Britain under the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf. These teachers were arriving as permanent settlers and Arnoldi noted that “this is the first definite offer made to us by the government for co-operation and follow-up work, and I am most anxious that we should do it effectively” (p. 39). Arnoldi organised a national response instructing each provincial branch to oversee the local chapters. She discussed a second proposal with Miss Burnham on the Overseas Settlement of British Women (OSBW) which was a London-based women’s immigration organisation. The OSBW proposed sending groups of three women such as a teacher, a nurse and a dressmaker, to work co-operatively and thus become a part of the community. Miss Burnham suggested that 2 or 3 groups could be brought out experimentally with the Order acting as support hosts. Arnoldi fully supported the recommendation.  

On a personal note, in the 1923 Annual General Report Arnoldi informed the membership that her work had been interrupted by the prolonged illness and death of her dear mother in December 1922.  

3.2.5 The British Schoolgirls Tour

There was a push for women to emigrate to Canada in the wake of postwar unemployment and a local shortage of available women to provide men with wives and to fill the demand for domestic servants. In 1922 The Empire Settlement Act was a British postwar emigration plan to encourage the settlement of British people in British territories around the world, especially in the Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. This act authorized assistance for passages and land settlement for fifteen years, with £3 million allocated each year (Pickles 2002). In 1928, Arnoldi was present at a meeting of the Overseas Settlement of British Women (OSOBW) in London and the topic of sending a group of schoolgirls on a tour of Canada was raised. Opportunistically Arnoldi asked if she could put a proposal before the executive of the

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25 LAC, MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1923.

26 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1923, p. 38.
Order. The plan was to send 25 senior British school girls on a tour of Canada hoping that they would return and disseminate information about the new nation. As Arnoldi put it “I do not think we could have found a more splendid piece of Empire propaganda” (p.139).  

Twenty five school-girls from the best English “public schools” were selected for the ten week educational tour of Canada. Parents were asked to contribute £100.00 for their daughter and the rest of the cost was supplied by the IODE, “because the Committee did not want the scheme to be limited to the daughters of wealthy parents.” Arnoldi co-ordinated the complex arrangements involving IODE members from across Canada who met and billeted the girls at each leg of their journey. The route was carefully planned to ensure that the girls would learn about Canada in its grandeur:

It was felt that the wisest thing to do was to begin with the history of Canada so the girls will stay two or three days in Quebec on landing and go down through the Maritime Provinces, where they will see the cradle of the Canadian race and get some idea of how the whole nation has spread from east to west. They will then go to Ontario, and there they will have a short time in one of the girl’s camps. This will be an unique experience for the English girls. Arrangements are being made for them to go to Miss Edgar’s and Miss Hamilton’s camps in Northern Ontario. They will then see something of the mining areas in Northern Ontario, from thence going to Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where they will see something of the wheat harvest, then to Alberta where they will get a glimpse of ranch life and see something of the Rockies. Then they will go to British Columbia and spend a short time in the fruit district of Okanagan Valley, go through the wonderful Kettle Valley to Vancouver and Victoria, returning via Jasper, Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton, Niagra Falls. During their visit to Ontario the party will be divided into three groups and will spend a short time in the universities of Toronto, Kingston, and Montreal, the party reuniting and visiting Montreal and Quebec before sailing from Quebec.  

The itinerary included visits to all the key immigration destinations across the country, presented through the imperial lens of a flourishing Dominion of the British Empire, and designed to create experiences in key regions that would linger in the memories of the participants and nourish a dream of immigration. The conquest, domination and displacement of First Nations people are omitted from this narrative and the retrospective accounts of the tour reveal that they were included in the tour only as examples of the empire’s benevolence to them as people of exotic

27 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1928.  
28 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1928, p.140.
interest. A phrase such as “the cradle of the Canadian race” reiterated the imperial belief that Britain is the mother and disseminator of civilization around the world. In this account Canadian history began with the arrival of the British and the French and the points of interest reflect the resource industries of the Empire. A narrative that erases First Nations history is understood from a postcolonial perspective as a colonizing strategy of cultural genocide (Smith 2006).

In the report published in the *Echoes* magazine there is an account of a visit to Chilliwack, British Columbia, written by Miss Edith Thompson, the English director of the school girls’ tour. She wrote:

> A thoroughly up to date little British Columbian town with model schools and public buildings. There we visited an Indian school and it was interesting to see the children show us England on the map, and on being asked the (to us) somewhat puzzling question, “What is the other name of that country?” to hear them all respond without hesitation “Our Motherland.” What a quaint world it is.  

In a similar vein, a letter from one of the tour girls, published in the same edition of *Echoes*, recounts how as part of a whirlwind tour of Toronto, the group was taken on a tour of the Royal Ontario Museum with an accompanying lecture on “old Indian customs.”  

This positioning of First Nations peoples as “old” placed them as part of the distant past and by discussing their cultural traditions in the same context positioned them as “fascinating” “outmoded” but now edified by the benevolent influences of empire – educated, housed and being “taken care of.”

Arnoldi remained deeply involved with the IODE for many years and was active on the *Echoes* Committee and the Film committee. The film committee monitored the burgeoning movie industry. Arnoldi promoted the British film industry as another form of British propaganda.

In 1935 she resigned from the IODE and there is no explanation in the archive to account for this. She was called back at the outbreak of World War II in 1939 and asked to be the war service convenor. She and Mary Plummer took up this position and they served for six intense months before Arnoldi resigned once again. During this period her work was covered in detail in the *Echoes* magazine. Arnoldi was highly respected within the IODE and in each instance of her resignation there was discussion of how to encourage her to stay.

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29 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, December 1928, p. 9.

30 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, December 1928, p. 9.
3.2.6 The Formation of the West End Crèche

In early twentieth century Toronto it was widely held that the only feasible solution to the problem of poverty was character regeneration. This was the main goal of many charity initiatives including “friendly visiting.” It was believed that indiscriminate almsgiving would promote dependency and effectively create paupers. Consequently initiatives that co-ordinated charity work were to eradicate the duplication of services and ensure the appropriate distribution of charity. In 1881, Associated Charities was formed in Toronto and was made up of representatives from the main relief agencies, namely the House of Industry, the Ladies’ Relief Society, the St Vincent de Paul Society and the National Benevolent Societies (Pitsula 1979). In 1898 the National Conference of Charities and Corrections met in Toronto for the first time and Goldwin Smith arranged a meeting of two American conference attendees with the Mayor. This encounter resulted in the formation of the Board of Associated Charities (Hareven 1969). In 1898, Goldwin Smith appointed a paid relief officer, the first time public authorities assumed responsibility for the administration of poor relief (Pitsula 1979). The appointee was Edward Taylor, a hatter by trade with a background in charitable service with the Prisoners Aid Association and the Toronto Mission Union. Taylor relieved the Mayor of relief functions and collected statistics on all persons who were assisted by charities that were funded by civic grants. The House of Industry, the City of Toronto ‘poor house,’ was the primary relief provider and Taylor sent his supplicants there (Pitsula 1979).

*A model crèche.* Joan Arnoldi was the driving force behind the creation of the West End Crèche as a model social service for newcomers. This was a project that she was deeply involved with from the ground up. This venture was consistent with the mandate of the IODE to strengthen Canada by ensuring that newcomers were assimilated into the dominant Anglo-Protestant society as seamlessly as possible, and to perpetuate a conservative ideology in Canada. It was to be an important contribution to the community in minimizing demands for relief and public assistance by providing daycare for children whose mothers could then go out to work and thus forego collecting relief payments.

Arnoldi was just 26 years old in 1908 when she was approached by her friend, Gertrude Tate, to join with her in opening a crèche in “the Ward” (St. John’s Ward). Arnoldi knew that there was a
need from her parish work for St. Margaret’s Church located in that neighbourhood. 

Years later in 1925, the occasion of the death of Reverend Moore, Arnoldi remembered:

It was to Mr. Moore we went when the idea first came to us, and I well remember how, almost before Miss Tate and I had finished telling him our tale, he seized his hat and hurried us down to the City Hall to see Mr. Taylor, the then City Relief Officer, whose encouragement and welcome also cheered us on our way to no inconsiderable extent.

It was at Arnoldi’s home at 37 North St (now Bay Street), that the West End Crèche Club was formed. Seventy five young women were recruited and they agreed each to collect or contribute $100.00 for the formation of the service, with a subsequent annual fee of $25.00. It was decided that the first president would be Mrs. George Burton, “We were young enough to need a person of some standing in the community,” Arnoldi is quoted as saying.

A Board of Advisors was formed, which included Arnoldi’s father and, with their assistance, four thousand dollars was raised, so that on February 15, 1909, the West End Crèche opened in a rented house on 521 Adelaide Street West. Arnoldi was actively involved in the setup of the crèche, vetting possible rental locations and soliciting the donation of needed fixtures such as a kitchen stove. Public childcare began in Toronto at the beginning of the twentieth century as a program that allowed mothers who were poor to engage in waged work. Most commonly they were set up privately by volunteer women who wished to help other women who were poor and provide a social service. (Prochner and Howe 2000). The archive contains two letters, both addressed to Arnoldi, that support the creation of the WEC and attest to the need for such a service in the location Arnoldi had identified. E.G Mylie on Bloor Street West wrote:

In my work amongst the poor in the West End of the city, I have often thought that we should have a crèche in a convenient situation so that our women might avail themselves of it and thus be able to work. The nearest one to our district is Victoria Street and it is altogether too far to be of any use by the

31 Archives of Ontario (AO), Inventory of the West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers, F4336-1-0-20, Box 2, Reports 1912–1953, “The West End Crèche” 1965.

32 AO, Inventory of the West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers, F4336-3-0-7, Box 5, 18th Annual Report, 1925-1926.

33 AO, Inventory of the West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers, F4336-1-0-20, Box 2, Reports 1912–1953, “The West End Crèche” 1965.
time the women pay car fare to take their children and bring them home, and the length of time it takes them, they either stay at home or pay some mother in the neighbourhood to take care of them. Two cases that I have in mind that I came across this week, was one woman on Spadina Avenue who has been working all summer and who has been paying a woman 25c a day besides milk to take care of her baby & another who lives on Stewart Street who paid another woman 25c a day. The woman who was taking care of the baby took scarlet fever and had to be taken to the isolation hospital, and the mother could not get anyone else to look after her baby and had to stay at home and do whatever she could to make a living for herself. She had not any husband. And last winter many women had to receive charity who would have been able to earn something if we had a crèche in the west end.

I heard that you were interested in this and as I am a Bible Reader in connection with St. Andrews Church King St. I am glad that someone has taken it up for it would be a great help to us in our work in that part of the city. And Dr. J. Moore wrote:

And Dr. J. Moore wrote:

A crèche is sadly needed in the west end. In the east end of the city there are two, but in the west end there is no place where children can be placed, so that the mothers can go to their work without anxiety. The relief officer Mr. Taylor, tells me that just as soon as a place is secured he will recommend the Board of Control to make the usual payment. The payment to their other place in the east end is $1000. Miss Wylie who has charge of the poor work ups’ census will write you speaking of the need of such a place. Apart from the mothers being able to obtain work, the placing of the children in a healthy environment – a few days every week, would go a long way in the saving of them from disease – crèche work – work with children is the noblest we can engage in.

In keeping with the idea that poverty was an individual moral failing, and defending the value of liberal individualism by encouraging those in need to support themselves through their own labour, the first annual report from the West End Crèche stated that:

the year’s report will, I hope, convince you of the wisdom and foresight of Miss Tate and Miss Arnoldi, with whom the idea originated. We have, of course, encountered the usual adverse and ingenious arguments which can always be found to oppose any charitable or other undertaking. In our case those have been that a crèche tends to discourage home life, that women should not be breadwinners etc. Broad arguments which overlook particular

34 Archives of Ontario. Box#1 West End Creche Papers. F4336-1-0-9 Correspondence 1911–1943.

35 Archives of Ontario. Box#1 West End Creche Papers. F4336-1-0-9 Correspondence 1911–1943.
cases, and it is for these particular cases that we justify our existence. We maintain, and our experience bears us out, that we do not encourage women to leave their homes, but we do enable those to go out to work, who, from being widows, or deserted wives, or having incompetent or drunken husbands, find themselves under the necessity of doing so.  

Married women working for wages was a highly contested issue in 1909, and the WEC report carefully positions itself as supporting only married women with children who are without a male breadwinner through death, desertion or incompetence. At its inception the WEC was designed to offer women daycare for their children as well as an employment service, where day cleaning services were brokered. The primary clients were mothers. In order to be eligible, women had to be living in such poverty that without paid employment they would be receiving relief from the City. Early day nurseries in Canada became involved in other charitable projects to support the lives of poor families and this involved networking with public health, social services and the churches. Programs such as the penny bank, the well-baby clinic, medical services and loans of money and distribution of clothing and food were a common part of their practice (Varga 1997).

For the opening two weeks of the crèche, Arnoldi was one of the home visitors. This was a community she was familiar with from her parish work teaching Sunday School and Bible classes. Christian service was important to Arnoldi. At a general meeting in 1909, she proposed that all meetings be opened by a prayer, and this was a practice which continued in the agency for 50 years. At start up, the crèche assembled a team of 6 physicians who provided health services to the clients.  

The visiting committee reported that mothers were unable to work as they were caring for infected children, and Arnoldi approached the City Council on behalf of the Toronto crèches to argue the importance of an isolation hospital for cases of serious diseases.  

As a visitor, in the early days of the crèche, Arnoldi witnessed first-hand the devastation of infectious diseases upon families, and it was also within her own experience as the first born, a girl in her family of origin had died at 3 months of age. In the early twentieth century public health, nursing, early childhood education and social services were emerging areas of

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37 President’s report, 1st Annual General Report, 1909, box#6, F4336-3-0-36, AO.

38 AO, WEC papers, F4336-2-0-1, Box 2, General Meeting Minutes, October 1, 1909, Minutebook 1908–1911.
professional focus with less well defined boundaries and the services crossed all of these areas within the same agency.

A building committee was inaugurated which included Arnoldi, Tate and Plummer (friend of Arnoldi from the IODE). They dreamed about a custom built facility, and an architect was consulted who studied nursery school design in the United States. The target cost was $20,000.00 and initiatives for fund raising were set in motion. The process took almost three years from inception to completion, but in the end they successfully purchased land and erected a custom designed daycare centre/nursery school, the first of its kind in Canada (Prochner and Howe 2000).

A note in the *Toronto Star* on May 11, 1912 reported that Miss Joan Arnoldi returned to her home on North Street from the hospital where she had been recovering from her recent accident. While she continued to be acknowledged as a lifetime member of the Crèche, after 1913, there is no further documentation of her active involvement in the executive or in committees of the organization until 1925. No doubt this is because during those years she was heavily involved with the IODE, working as a Field Comfort Commissioner during World War I and then assuming the National IODE presidency in 1920–1922.

*President of the Executive Committee West End Crèche (1925–1932)*

In 1925, after an absence of 12 years, Arnoldi reappeared in the archival record as the President of the Executive Committee. In her absence there had been many changes in the delivery of social services, including the transformation of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada that resulted in the Social Services Council of Canada, the establishment of the Neighbourhood Workers Association, the creation of a social work department at the University of Toronto, and the further development of the new disciplines of psychology, mental hygiene, and psychiatry. There were revolutionary changes in approaches to the child, reflected in ideas about nursery-school education and the importance of child welfare and child protection. There was a growth in eugenic ideas.

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39 *Toronto Star*, May 11, 1912.
Arnoldi Reorganizes the West End Crèche

In 1925 Arnoldi became the President of the Executive Committee and directed the WEC through a major reorganization of its program. The changes she introduced changed the primary mandate of the agency. It was set up as a program to help mothers go to work so they would not need to depend on government benefits and Arnoldi introduced a nursery school program which would provide early childhood education and produce better citizens. Participation in the IODE, residency in Britain, and travels to the United States had exposed Arnoldi to the new child study approaches and nursery school programs in operation. A survey from the Federation for Community Services and a follow-up investigation had found the West End Crèche to be far from the “ideal in Crèche work.” 40 While Arnoldi noted that war had impeded progress at the Crèche she pinpointed the primary problem as a “lack of co-operation between our Crèche and other social service activities in the district.” 41 Arnoldi established a working relationship at the University of Toronto with Dr. Dale the University’s Director of the Department of Social Service, the Head of the Child Study Institute Dr Blatz, and Dr. Bott the head of the new University Psychology Department.

The University of Toronto and McGill University were the forerunners of modern psychology in Canada. Psychology was originally taught as moral philosophy and ethics, but in 1926 when Canadian scholar E.A. Bott became the Head of the new Department of Psychology at University of Toronto he introduced laboratory-based experimental research which resulted in psychology being acknowledged as an independent field of academic scholarship. This new experimental approach was pioneered by Wilhelm Wundt in Germany, and Bott had been a student in this new approach. During World War I, Bott set up a program at University of Toronto to rehabilitate disabled war veterans, using motivational strategies. To further extend this new tradition of applied psychology, in 1924, he hired William Blatz, a medical graduate from the University of Toronto and a recent psychology Ph.D graduate from the University of Chicago, to set up a new nursery school project in Toronto, which later became the Institute in Child Study (Myers 1995). Establishing a child study centre was a way of setting up a laboratory for the systematic study of children. In a joint publication in 1929, Bott & Blatz stated:

40 A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-7, Box 5, Eighteenth Annual Report 1925–1926.
41 A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-7, Box 5, Eighteenth Annual Report 1925–1926.
in general the facilities, personnel and point of view for research interests are found within universities while the subject matter of mental hygiene, at least as regards child study, is outside the university, in homes and the community at large. In order, therefore, to facilitate intensive study, an initial question from the university angle is how to establish the most effective contact between the scientist and his complex material, for while children may be brought to a clinic or a laboratory the social situation so vital for an understanding of the genesis and treatment of most behavior problems cannot be thus transported (Blatz and Bott 1927, p.552).

The opportunity to study children in a “natural” social environment was paramount and so local agencies such as the West End Crèche became prime locations for such observational work with a primary goal to understand the role of environment in the development of the child (Wright 2000).

The universities were grappling with the suitability of teaching applied knowledge within the university, while the demand for applied training continued to increase fuelling the debate as to where it should take place. Arnoldi became part of this early development of field placement and professional supervision within the university setting with her plan to introduce a nursery school program and to begin training nursery school teachers.

Professor Dale has kindly promised us the hearty co-operation of his Department in this matter and our hope is that our nursery school may prove a training ground for nursery school teachers, so that others having like ambitions with ourselves will not have to go outside our own country for the necessary helpers to carry it on.  

Dr. Dale was consulted and he agreed to consider issuing a Diploma/Certificate at the end of an 18 months training.  

Dr. Blatz visited the crèche and was most impressed with the system they had established, and was interested in using the crèche as a field work location for his students.  

At the end of the following year (1927) Arnoldi announced in the Annual General Report:

The year of 1926–1927 was one of investigation and reorganisation. The four outstanding accomplishments are the establishment of our nursery school, a better control of the older children problem, the improvement of the infant’s department, and the opening of parent’s training class.  

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42 A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-7, Box 5, Eighteenth Annual Report 1925–1926.  
43 A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-7, Box 5, Eighteenth Annual Report 1925–1926.  
44 A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-8, Box 5, nineteenth Annual Report 1926–1927.  
45 A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-8, Box 5, nineteenth Annual Report 1926–1927.
These are significant accomplishments for the course of one year. Later in the same report Arnoldi elaborated further:

Trained nursery school teachers are as yet few and far between. Up till this year none have been trained in Canada. England and the United States have not yet caught up with their own demand. The club felt that we could kill two birds with one stone—solve our own problem of assistants and help with the training of such teachers in our own country.\(^{46}\)

The energy and excitement fuelling these new initiatives at the crèche are evident in Arnoldi’s reporting. A parent training program for mothers was started with teachers provided by Dr. Blatz and the George Street School Study Program. Parent training classes were held fortnightly, a social worker investigated each family, and every effort was made “to raise and keep up the standard of family life.” The children were inspected daily by a public health nurse and close cooperation with other agencies eliminated overlapping and ensured efficiency.\(^{47}\) The new nursery program and the work being done with the children elicited praise from surprised parents as well as local schools.

The appreciation and gratitude evinced by the parents for the improvement in the manners, general character and deportment of their children is really pitiful. Some of our children from the nursery school went this autumn to the kindergarten at the Manning St. School, having reached the official school age. When Mrs. Dyer took them over to introduce them she was asked what on earth we were doing at the West End Crèche for the children from being the most unmanageable in the school had become in a few months the best mannered and most biddable.\(^{48}\)

Arnoldi stated in 1927 that “there is a great difference in the method of the WEC and the other crèches.”\(^{49}\) The new programs that she had instituted had already established the WEC as the cutting edge childcare program in Toronto. Arnoldi went to New York in 1926 to visit crèches and study the methods they were using. They also visited the Social Services Centre and various other organisations to consider their relevance to the work of the WEC. When she returned she led a discussion at the Executive Meeting on three topics. First she discussed the Carsten Report, then the hiring of a social service worker and lastly, the results of her visit to New York.

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\(^{46}\) A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-8, Box 5, nineteenth Annual Report 1926–1927.

\(^{47}\) A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-9, Box 5, twentieth Annual Report 1927–1928.

\(^{48}\) A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-8, Box 5, nineteenth Annual Report 1926–1927.

\(^{49}\) A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-8, Box 5, nineteenth Annual Report 1926–1927.
In undertaking these reforms and readjustments your officers have gone very thoroughly into the relation of Crèche work to the general social service work of the community and have sought advice from those best situated to judge. We are most grateful for the interest and help accorded us by Dr.Hastings our splendid City Health Officer, Professor Dale of the Social Services Department of University of Toronto and Mr.McLean, the secretary of the Federation. All these gentlemen gave much sympathetic consideration to our problems, and their advice and practical help have put us a long way forward. 

By consulting with key community leaders in the new professions of public health care, psychology, and social services and by travelling to Britain and the United States, Arnoldi educated herself and built networks. There is no record in the archive of Arnoldi travelling to Detroit to visit the Merrill Palmer School but it is very likely that she did as a strong relationship was built with this program. Closely resembling the George Street Study School the Merrill Palmer School was a nursery school program which trained professional nursery school teachers and provided a site for observational psychological research on the study of the child (Cleveland 1925). Arnoldi sent her staff to Detroit to see the Merrill Palmer School which had a program to train women who were attending universities and colleges for motherhood. Child health, nutrition, child psychology, child management and educational method were taught and an experimental nursery school supervised by a psychologist was maintained (Cleveland 1925).

The new understanding of the child became central to new professional approaches to childcare. Developmental schedules were considered fundamental to understanding children and to organising research into childhood. The mental hygiene movement, which focussed on personality formation, shifted its attention to early childhood, working with the idea that if children were not raised “properly” then their individual lack of mental health became part of a collective threat to the progress of civilization (Varga 1997). The intersection of the nursery school, systematic observational child study, and expert care were seen as critical ingredients for the development of a healthy society. The modern nursery school teacher was no longer a mere babysitter, a minder of children, but rather a supervisor of child development. The new function of the nursery was the temporal and spatial ordering of developmental time, with the success and

50 A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-7, Box 5, Eighteenth Annual Report 1925–1926.

51 A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-7, Box 5, Eighteenth Annual Report 1925–1926.
progress of the child reflective of the skill of the nursery school teacher. The child was now regarded as incompetent (no longer a young adult), needing adult guidance and support to develop productively (Varga 1997).

In 1930 Dr. Bott indicated he wanted to introduce mental (intelligence) testing at the crèche. A meeting between Arnoldi, Dr. Bott and Dr. Lewis resulted in arrangements for second year students to complete fieldwork at the crèche. Binet equipment which consisted of a screen for observation, testing materials, a small table and chair at a cost of $100 was required for the administration of the tests. It was agreed that the costs would be shared between the University and the crèche. Shortly after this the executive meeting minutes recorded that Dr. Blatz had established a Saturday morning clinic at the creche to see families. 52

The Challenge of Change

The Annual General Reports of the West End Crèche provide an account of the changes that were implemented and chronicle the progress made at the Crèche, but the executive committee meeting minutes for this period document the challenges that were encountered in bringing about these changes. As an untrained voluntary worker Arnoldi embarked on a sophisticated course of introducing a professional program to the Crèche. This meant networking with university professors and hiring new graduate professionals to work in her agency while retaining the authority of the executive committee of the WEC club of voluntary women. This complex task required administrative skills and an understanding of the new professional expert discourse. Arnoldi introduced two new programs back-to-back, a nursery school and a professional training program. These required hiring new paid staff persons who understood early childhood education, psychology, healthcare, professional public health, mental hygiene and family work. This was a dramatic change from the previous paid staff group which consisted of a matron, a nurse and a housekeeper. Arnoldi introduced a new position of Director of the Nursery School which became the most senior highly paid position and upstaged the authority of the matron. 53 This resulted in an extended period of friction and instability amongst the paid staff group. The matron resigned and her replacements did not stay. Similarly the Director of the Nursery School

52 A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-3-0-11, Box 5, 22nd Annual Report, 1929-1930.
53 A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-2-0-30, Box 4, Minutebook Executive 1926-1931.
also resigned and was very difficult to replace. A succession of staff problems was catalogued: conflicts, complaints, demands for pay increase, request for vacations, resignations and replacements.\textsuperscript{54} Arnoldi set up a regular staff meeting as a subsection of the executive meeting to deal with these issues and over time she succeeded in establishing a more stable team. The period of rapid staff turnover triggered the development of written organisational policies and procedures to ensure program continuity. These staff conflicts could be understood as a collision between the old discourse of need and the new professional expertise which was based on a discourse of rights.

The committee was confronted with an issue of liability when one of the children was hurt while playing and taken to the hospital for treatment. When the mother arrived to pick up her child, the situation was explained to her and the mother expressed her thanks to the staff, but later laid a complaint with City Hall. The executive committee with Arnoldi at the helm decided that they would suspend this mother “for behaving in this manner.”\textsuperscript{55} The discussion surrounding this incident lays bare the unequal playing ground and power differential between the executive committee of the Crèche and the service users.

The authority structure at the WEC club was hierarchical characterized by the executive committee at the top making decisions that were then disseminated downwards to the rest of the club members. Even with the creation of a job position of Director and the hiring of a staff team of educated professional experts, there was no expectation that executive authority in the agency would change.\textsuperscript{56}

The foundational mandate of the agency to support the employment of mothers through the provision of childcare was altered with the new program. An absent child became a problem as they were missing the program, and the executive wrestled with this problem. Previously if the mother had no employment on a particular day the child would be turned away.\textsuperscript{57} Now donations were found to support the continued attendance of children when the mothers were

\textsuperscript{54} A O, West End Crèche Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-2-0-30, Box 4, Minutebook Executive 1926-1931.

\textsuperscript{55} A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-2-0-30, Box 4, Minutebook Executive 1926–1931.

\textsuperscript{56} A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-2-0-30, Box 4, Minutebook Executive 1926–1931, 1930.

\textsuperscript{57} A O, WEC Child and Family Clinic Papers F446-2-0-30, Box 4, Minutebook Executive 1926–1931, 1930.
unemployed. A new organisation was taking shape and the agency was becoming more specialized. The decision was made in 1929 to stop providing relief:

This decision was made because the WEC has determined to abandon relief work except in cases of extreme need when Miss Prescott will co-operate with the Neighbourhood Workers and other organisations in this work and will have the support of the relief committee.  

Arnoldi wanted a cutting edge agency that would be a credit to Canada and that would serve to strengthen the Dominion. For her the imperial mission of building a stronger Canada by building a more productive future generation was paramount. These changes which were implemented at the WEC occurred as the Great Depression began but this seemed to have little impact on Arnoldi as she never addressed the Depression in any of her speeches or reports and remained fixed on her improvement plans. In the Annual General Report for 1930, Arnoldi reflected on the five years of change she had initiated at the crèche, the progress made in shifting the mission to teaching the children how to live and not be a social burden on society. The awareness of class differences was clear—we are helping them in the name of the greater good. The concluding paragraph in Arnoldi’s address in the Annual General Report sums up her position:

It seems to me that here is a good point for me to say a word or two about the policy of the WEC. We have been going for 21 years and we have always tried to be in the vanguard of our special branch of children’s work. Intelligent progress has been our aim and I think we may congratulate ourselves particularly on the progress made in the last 4–5 years. We realize that the children who come to us are our responsibility to a great extent. If we merely provide a parking place for these children so that they might be kept from physical harm we are shirking this responsibility. Children that have to go to nursery school are amongst the most underprivileged in the community. Their future is very vague and hopeless and what opportunity have they to learn how to live? Our aim is to give these children as good opportunities of learning this lesson and becoming contributing citizens instead of public burdens as any other class of child.  

Arnoldi’s commitment to the new professional expertise in childcare did not changed her values or philosophy. She viewed the new expert methods as a tool to further her imperial goals.

When the need for a welfare council in Toronto to co-ordinate all welfare services was being considered a committee was formed to debate and plan for it. Arnoldi was a member of this

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59 AO, WEC 22nd Annual general report, 1929-1930.
committee with Margaret Gould, Frank Stapleford (Executive Director of the Neighbourhood Workers Association) and Professor Urwick (Head of the Department of Social Science at University of Toronto). The minutes of these meetings in the mid to late 1930s record Arnoldi’s presence and at one point she became the convenor of the committee. On February 11, 1937, Arnoldi was reported as saying that “she felt strongly that a Council of Social Agencies was a crying need in Toronto and that voluntary workers should have a strong representation in its formation. They must be responsible for its financing, and had, she believed a stronger vision of social needs” (p.2). Eventually there was consensus that the Child Welfare Council would become the Welfare Council of Toronto. At a later date it became the Social Planning Council of Toronto in which form it continues today (see chapter 6 for more details).

3.3 Fields of Practice

With a narrative of Arnoldi’s social location described and her working life outlined, I will now analyse her practice as it occurred in the domains of social work. In addition I will consider the imperial context of her guiding belief system as it is revealed in her involvement and practice in the IODE and the West End Creche. The decisions and directions identified in the imperial conferences, which the IODE followed closely, will be cited to illuminate Arnoldi’s practice and its link with imperialism.

3.3.1 Immigrants, Newcomers and the Nation

In her public working life at the IODE and the WEC Arnoldi worked primarily in the field of immigration. At the IODE this was a key issue for her and was reflected in her direct involvement with the immigration committee, and her organization of the British schoolgirls tour. Her approach to immigration was shaped by her imperial beliefs and is reflected in her frequent references to British homogeneity as a crucial element of Canadian identity. At the WEC she created a program from the ground up for newcomers with the same goals of promoting assimilation, Anglo-conformity, and ensuring that newcomers were employed so they could support themselves independently without requiring relief or other state-based assistance.

60 CTA,SC 40, Box 88, File 9, Organization Executive Secretaries, Committee Studying the Establishment of A Council of Social Services, 1934–1937, Minutes of a general meeting to discuss the possibilities of forming a council of social agencies in Toronto, February 11, 1937.
Immigration, newcomers and the nation were thus the common focus across Arnoldi’s work in both organizations. For Arnoldi her feminist project was blended with the colonial project of British imperialism.

### 3.3.1.1 Context and Background: The Council of Empire

After Britain conceded self-government to the settler colonies of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, a council of empire was established whereby representatives from the settler colonies joined with the ministers of the British government to discuss management strategies and solutions to the management of empire. From 1887 until 1937 Canada participated in Colonial Conferences, discussing trade, immigration and imperial defence with this select group of co-imperialists (Henderson 2003). At the Imperial Conference in 1907 there was an extended discussion on immigration as at that time it was a pressing concern. Firstly it was laid out that immigrants of British stock should settle within the Empire and should be discouraged from settling under another flag.

There is boundless room for settlement . . . and that settlement not only enhances the prosperity of that part of the Empire, and not only increases its trade with the Mother country, but is a guarantee for the permanence of the control of those great territories by our own people and by our own race. I use the word “race” here generally and in no invidious sense. We quite recognise that in Canada and South Africa we have two races with whom we are most intimately associated. We look forward in these countries to a gradual merging into a common stock.61

The races referred to here are the French and the British in Canada and the British and the Dutch in South Africa. Currently the descriptor of “race” is attached to physiological difference/skin colour but previously it was attached to culture as well as physiological characteristics. Henderson (2003) stated that “race is a highly mediated and historically variant construct that works to organize knowledge and to justify various forms of exclusion and discipline” (p. 18). The construction of race was an important tool of exclusion in the British Empire and also became a critical part of eugenic thinking. In discussing the need for immigration to populate the new white settler societies there was discussion of the importance of having British immigrants who can:

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blend with us in the working of our social and political institutions, they enter into our life in all its phases without any sense of separateness or strangeness, and hence we are most eager to obtain them.  

At a later point in the same discussion there is a detailed discussion of Australia where there is intensive use of neighbouring Pacific Islanders as a cheap labour source. However we are determined to have a white Australia, and mean to keep it white. ..we believe it is good for the Islands to have them back, and good for their people that they should return and live among them. For ourselves, we will have a white Australia, cost us what it may.

In this discussion there is concurrence from the other countries (including Canada) that white settler societies are most desirable. There is no discussion of aboriginal inhabitants in the “boundless land for settlement” nor of the presence of aboriginal people as disrupting the sought after goal of white nations. As Lawrence (2002) noted in her discussion of Canadian history:

The Council of Empire was united in its goal of maintaining not only the geographic dominance of the British Empire but also the cultural dominance of the English language and of Britishness. By establishing white settler societies which were constructed as a reflection of its own image, strategically placed around the world, the Empire extended its influence and imperial power. The IODE was an organisation that embraced this agenda and yet paradoxically it also had a strong allegiance to an autonomous Canada. In her letter on what it means to be a Daughter of the Empire, Arnoldi stated:

There has been and still is, a feeling sometimes openly expressed in Canada that the IODE is an organisation of “jingo” type, that its aims are not truly Canadian. This is of course utterly and manifestly untrue. The IODE is a Canadian organisation devoted to the best interests of Canada, and firmly convinced that its best interests lie in the direction of Canada’s natural and

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national development within the commonwealth of the nations of her own race.\textsuperscript{64}

Arnoldi identified strongly as Canadian but her notion of Canadianness was rooted in imperial membership in the commonwealth of nations of her own race. Her allusion to “her own race” seems to mean not only of white skin but also culturally British (i.e. as a superior white civilization).

In an article titled The Assimilation of the Foreign Born which appeared in Echoes magazine in 1914, the “problems” of assimilating nearly a million foreign-born (non-British) were discussed.

Many of these are from the countries South and East of Europe, who will not readily assimilate and who do not comprehend our democratic institutions—such as Galicians, Hungarians, Poles, Serbians etc. They reside in little colonies and in some cases aim to retain their foreign institutional and communal organizations, use their own spoken language, learn English very imperfectly, or not at all.\textsuperscript{65}

The author discussed the monumental task to teach English and British ways to these newcomers who must learn these things in order to become Canadian citizens. As difficult a challenge as this represented to the author, it was not as insurmountable as the problem of “oriental immigration.”

The Chinese and Japanese immigration is a peril to white civilization. Many undesirable nationalities may settle in colonies and present a very difficult problem for assimilation, but the oriental races absolutely will not assimilate. If the number of yellow men and women increase, the inevitable will follow—a struggle as to whether or not the Pacific coast of our fair Dominion shall remain a possible white man’s home—now the white labouring man has been superseded in the saw mills, the fishing industry etc., by the oriental, who works for less wage, and the whole equilibrium of the industrial life of the West has been affected by depressing wages.\textsuperscript{66}

Not only was the Oriental immigrant being paid less but was also held responsible for depressing the entire provincial economy. This paradoxical assessment of immigration fails to acknowledge the need for labour that recruits immigrants, and the contribution of newcomers to developing the infrastructure from which the new settler state draws its wealth. The exploitation of these workers is twisted into an accusation of responsibility for structural economic problems in the

\textsuperscript{64} LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, June, 1923, p. 11.

\textsuperscript{65} LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, October 1914, p. 20.

\textsuperscript{66} LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, October 1914, p. 21.
country. In the same vein the article lists the poor housekeeping, slum living standards and lack of hygiene as further evidence of how these people are not able to be assimilated. The slum living conditions and poverty are perceived as caused by the immigrants. Arnoldi most probably was a regular reader of *Echoes*. She was on the *Echoes* committee for a number of years and probably concurred with the conservative imperial ideas which suffused the reporting.

*Echoes* covered the Imperial Conferences whenever they occurred and in 1930 a two page spread described this meeting of the “empire family” in London with a first hand account from a Daughter of the Empire who attended as an observer. 67 Another Imperial Conference was held in 1932, no doubt motivated by the Depression. While the economic crisis was not directly addressed the discussion revolved around trade agreements and economic co-operation. The Canadian delegation stated that in the face of this “world period of reorganization and change” when “our social and industrial existence is threatened” then:

State-controlled standards of living, state-controlled labour, state-aided dumping dictated by high state policy, conflict in theory and practice with the free institutions of the British Empire. 68

The Imperial Council reinforced the liberal ideal of a free market economy and expressed this as consistent with the liberal values of freedom, equality and liberty. In 1933 Arnoldi published a supporting piece in *Echoes* called *Guidance for Empire Marketing*, in which she urged readers to purchase empire produce even listing the specific items to buy as they are seasonally available. In her preamble she said:

The Imperial Economic Conference roused the peoples of the Empire to a consciousness of their citizenship as nothing outside of the Great War has ever done. The fact of leading members of every country in the Commonwealth sitting around one table and discussing the affairs of the Family and the best methods by which the different members of it could and would build up the fortunes of the whole, seized upon the imagination of the public in a remarkable way. 69

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69 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, March 1933, p. 7.21.
3.3.1.2 Nature or Nurture: Eugenics and Reproductive Debates

The mental hygiene movement gained momentum in the second decade of the 20th century, at the same time as the public health movement which was itself a blending of medicine and social reform. The advances in genetic research and a new understanding of the principles of heredity, blended with debates on social reform created a new scientific biopolitical approach which became known as eugenics, an approach which attributed all individual characteristics to unchangeable genetic factors (MacLennan 1987; McLaren 1990). This ran at cross purposes with Victorian liberalism which was premised on the idea that training and education could overcome any obstacle. Herbert Spencer was largely responsible for the idea of social Darwinism, the application of Darwin’s “survival of the fittest” to a social setting. Spencer suggested that the competition provided through a liberal market economy would naturally select the strongest and weed out the weakest (McLaren 1990).

In Canada, the medical profession became the main supporter of eugenics, believing that this new understanding of the laws of heredity could lead to improved public health (McLaren 1990). Helen MacMurchy was a leading proponent, and in her Ontario Sessional Paper (1915) Report on the feeble minded, she characterised eugenics as a scientific way to improve society by using scientific testing to identify those who were not fit to be citizens, and segregating and institutionalizing these people (MacLennan 1987). Eugenic thinking spilled over into immigration policy. The idea that there was a hierarchy of races in the world which unfolded in a racialised, classed and gendered manner with white Anglo civilization as the pinnacle and then a descending order from South and Central European to racialised groups and finally to women was widely held within this epistemé. From this came the idea that the race could be improved through education and moral suasion but also more ominously by controlling reproduction. Segregation, institutionalization and sterilization were widely debated but it was not until the Nazi regime employed the use of euthanasia that there was recognition of the lethally destructive potential inherent in this approach. Effectively silenced by this the eugenic debate disappeared from many public forums after the Nazi genocide but many of the ideas continued in imperial discourse.

Between 1910 and 1920, an imperial network of immigration agents dominated female immigration. They shared the understanding that British culture represented the pinnacle of
civilization and that women who were the carriers of the race had a moral role to play in passing on the culture of imperialism. Single British women were encouraged to migrate to Canada to provide domestic labour and to provide white breeding stock for the growing white settler society. Voluntary women immigration committees wanted to ensure that these women arrived safely and that they take up supervised domestic service positions rather than engage in other employment options such as the retail industry or factories or even perhaps turn to “immoral” and “dangerous” elements of urban life. This was perhaps partly self-serving as these affluent and middle class voluntary immigration workers were also the class who employed numbers of domestic servants in their own homes, but it was also part of the social and moral authority that women exercised in the public sphere at this time (Chilton 2007; Woollacott 1998). It was during this period that Arnoldi co-founded the WEC. She provided a program that would serve the dual functions of brokering domestic work for newcomer women and providing childcare so women who might otherwise be dependent on relief could work. As the National President of the IODE, in her 1921 annual address, Arnoldi stated:

> And when we say Canadianization, do not let us mean standardization. That is so likely to be the error into which we fall. We want to do all we can to bring the new citizen into the national life. We want him to realise that in becoming a Canadian citizen he becomes a British citizen and has the attendant privileges, and that to be a Canadian citizen and share the privileges he has to become a British citizen.\(^7\)

After World War I, Arnoldi instituted a data collection system across the organization by asking each chapter to gather information on the public attitudes towards immigration and the immigration strategies being employed by each province. This broad-based national strategy had the potential to position the IODE to influence immigration policy in Canada. Under Arnoldi’s leadership, the IODE program was expanded to educational outreach, teaching English and imperial propaganda to newcomers to improve the “racial” qualities of future generations. Arnoldi illustrated the efficacy of this educational outreach program by quoting a graduate from a class in Kitchener:

> We are certainly glad that we are Canadians and live in this big and wonderful Dominion of Canada. This is due to a few reasons which we shall mention. First because Canada belongs to Great Britain and Great Britain is one of the finest countries in the world, and is mistress of the seas. She is spoken of as Christian because she keeps the Sabbath day holy and believes in the bible

\(^7\) LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 117, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1921.
and the church. Canada contains over fifty nationalities, and all of these will join hands and sing “God save the King.”71

In her involvement on the film committee Arnoldi promoted the circulation of British based films that would disseminate imperial propaganda and actively campaigned to limit the new American Hollywood material that was flooding the market. She promoted an alliance between the Girl Guide Associations and the IODE.

Her second approach was to shape the flow of immigration by arranging the British Schoolgirls tour. Her plans were ambitious and she wanted to directly influence who would come to Canada. By drawing exclusively from British schoolgirls all of whom would have a familial and friendship network which was British the scheme was exclusively targeted to the imperial agenda of white settler societies.

3.3.2 Children, Family and Welfare

Arnoldi not only co-founded the WEC, she also introduced “modern” professional approaches to the child to the program. Sunday school teaching and voluntary church work had occupied her time until setting up a crèche became a full-time job. In the first five years she focussed on the practical logistics of an efficient service. She put Christian practices in place, organised fundraising in her Christian church work community, began home visiting and established a penny bank, all programs that were designed to remedy poverty by teaching newcomers thrift, cleanliness and the sober self discipline associated with a good protestant work ethic. The founding mission of the crèche to facilitate mother’s employment fuelled Arnoldi’s enthusiasm for the project. It was after her years in active service during the First World War and subsequent rise in prestige at the IODE with her election to Presidency in 1920 that Arnoldi returned to the WEC with her renewed vision. As the National IODE President in 1921 she addressed the question of child welfare and announced:

This is essentially woman’s work, and as it means everything to the future citizenship of our country, it must be a very prominent part of the work of the Daughters of the Empire. We have here in Toronto the Preventorium to which his Worship referred, which is one of the greatest monuments to child welfare work in Canada, and it is entirely owing to the Daughters of the Empire. We don’t want to brag, but we do want to claim that we are taking a vital interest in these great national questions. A National Council—Advisory Council—is

71 LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1921.
sitting in Ottawa today on this very work, and we are represented on that council.\textsuperscript{72}

Child welfare work was of national importance – it was not just a local matter. And the IODE was working on these national questions directly with the national advisory bodies that advised the government on social policy and legislative directions. In twenty years the IODE achieved national prominence but this was also an organisation which was aligned with the imperial agenda of the Council of Empire. In her letter on what it means to be a daughter of the empire Arnoldi stated:

> We daughters of the Empire have in our hands the shaping of our future citizens both men and women. We should try to realize that the whole outlook of the world could be changed in one generation by the training of the children. Think for a moment what our world would be if every child between the ages of five and eighteen could be trained in the teachings of Jesus Christ.\textsuperscript{73}

In this statement she summarized her position on the importance of the work with children and families and articulated a dream of not only a nation and an empire united in Christian values, but a whole world ruled by a single faith.

Arnoldi marshalled what she considered the most effective cutting edge approaches to maximize the work at the WEC. The clients were predominantly newcomers and the WEC annually published demographic data which showed place of origin, language spoken and living conditions such as the number of rooms the family occupied. These data may have been material for the WEC to evaluate Canadianization. In 1930 the WEC set up a testing centre in cooperation with the psychology Department at University of Toronto which may have been part of an eugenic initiative as it was the introduction of IQ testing which fuelled the eugenics movement in the late 1920s and early 1930s helping in the identification of persons who were subnormal in intelligence. The belief that “feeble mindedness” could be scientifically established smoothed the wheels for institutionalization and sterilization (McLaren 1990).

In the WEC’s annual report of 1927–1928 Arnoldi announced that “some of our most difficult problem classes have emerged altogether from that class—a fact, which in itself makes the whole

\textsuperscript{72} LAC, IODE Fonds MG28, 1 17, Vol12, file 1, Annual General Report, 1921.

\textsuperscript{73} LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, June, 1922, p. 17.
year’s work worthwhile.” 74 In this comment she revealed her ideas and values on class and the importance of “civilizing” the lower classes and transforming them into worthwhile citizens for Canada. Her larger goal of nationhood is implied in that her vision for the crèche was not rooted in saving individual children or even families but on addressing national needs. She continued her address with the statement “it is well to pause a moment to think that were it not for the work being done at the West End Crèche these particular children would have no chance whatever to make anything of the life that is before them.”75 She invited the audience to speak to the staff to hear stories of improvement and progress. Her assumption was that any improvement in the children was a reflection of the expert work at the crèche; newcomers and poor people did not have the skills to adequately parent children, and needed assistance to raise their ability to a level of being able to contribute meaningfully to Canada as a nation.

3.3.3 Poverty and the Welfare State

Arnoldi subscribed to laissez faire liberal values of individualism and self reliance, and regarded poverty as linked to low motivation and personal deficit. She did not often discuss this issue directly but focussed on national issues rather than on the plight of an individual. Nevertheless this view is implicit in her writings. Consistent with this political stance she probably thought that a residual welfare state together with individual family responsibility would be a satisfactory response to the social problems of industrialization. While her work at the WEC was directed at supporting the lives of poor families, she assumed this responsibility out of a Christian moral position of personal duty of service and as part of her imperial patriotic duty to Canada. She implemented a top down program which imposed her views of what was best for these newcomers and at no point did she attempt to survey or listen to the voices of her clients. During the Depression years she focussed on building a model crèche and did not address the privation and desperation emerging from the effects of unemployment which must surely have been evident among the WEC clients (as documented in the financial reports of the agency).

74 WEC 20th Annual Report, The President’s Address, 1927–1928.
75 ibid.
3.4 Key Ideas and Practice Orientations

In this section I begin with a general discussion of professionalization in Ontario and as part of Joan Arnoldi’s social location as the daughter of a professional. Then I discuss her participation in the early professionalization of social work. Following that I discuss her approach to the role of women and the importance of female imperialism to her sense of identity.

3.4.1 The Professionalization of Social Work

In his study of Ontario professions in the nineteenth century, Gidney (1994) identified the three learned professions as medicine, law and the ministry which all rested on a classical or “liberal” education including classics, mathematics and philosophy. These professional life choices were exclusively masculine and provided an avenue to social recognition and financial capital outside the direct business of the market economy and the class advantage of inherited wealth. The Arnoldi family achieved increased social standing through firstly the skilled trades of silversmithing and later through the professions of medicine and law. Joan Arnoldi grew up with the social and cultural capital from being a member of a professional family and her father participated in her public life as an honored patron of her work. Daughter and father shared the same values, beliefs and religious and imperial affiliations. Arnoldi’s involvement in social reform work grew out of this framework and was a feminine extension of her father’s world. Her involvement in the rising women’s professions was in the context of volunteer work and self-education. While she did not attend the social work program at University of Toronto, through networking she was well informed of the developments in the professional fields of social work, psychology, psychiatry and childhood education. Through travelling to Britain and the United States visiting social service programs and in reading relevant materials she became self-educated. This equipped her to join the new generation of professional social workers, to provide field education for university graduates and to implement a multidisciplinary program at the WEC that was congruent with the latest developments in the field. This was an unexpected finding as voluntary social work and paid professional social work are usually described as separate streams of development with professional social work superceding voluntary social work. My findings suggest that there was a blending and co-participation in the new professionalism of experienced voluntary workers with the new trained social workers which was changing the face of social service delivery in the early twentieth century.
Professionalization is defined variously as the shift from voluntary work to paid work, from untrained workers to university trained and educated workers, and with respect to eligibility for membership in the Canadian Association of Social Work. Angela Woollacott (1998) argued that there was a shift in women’s social power at the turn of the twentieth century, from moral authority to professional authority. Moral authority was exercised by women in their performance of voluntary charity work which was widely legitimized by a discourse of maternal feminism whereas a new professional authority hinged on competence and rights with entry into the masculine domain of employment through paid work. Women participated in the rise of the new professions, which coincided with women gaining suffrage, as professional status assumed legal and economic rights (Woollacott 1998). Arnoldi does not fit comfortably into this account as she moved into Woolacott’s domain of professional authority without becoming a paid worker and without shifting her value system to a rights-based status. Arnoldi was not a member of the Canadian Association of Social Work and was not involved in teaching at the University, nor was she a graduate, thus she did not participate in any of the conventional designations of professionalization. Instead, as a voluntary worker with private means she travelled to the United States and Britain and she built and participated in a transatlantic network of like-minded women. Through these relationships she acquired some expert knowledge which she applied directly at the WEC. By looking at an individual life such as this it becomes clear that categories such as professional and voluntary are not discrete and separate but rather are fields of practice which are open to negotiation and overlap.

### 3.4.2 Feminism and the Role of Women

Arnoldi was a female imperialist. Her passion was to promote the growth and development of the Dominion of Canada as a part of the British Empire. She believed unquestioningly in the greatness of the British Empire and of British culture as the pinnacle of civilized development yet known by humanity. As a female she wanted to do what she could to promote the imperial agenda established by men and she expressed no concern that women were treated unequally or were disadvantaged in relation to men. She also did not express maternalist ideas. She did not use female metaphors of nurturing and mothering nor of housekeeping or moral superiority. She belonged to women’s clubs and urged other women to adopt her vision of a better Canada by working on agendas such as teaching newcomers how to be British and teaching mothers how to raise their children to be economically productive and not a burden on the country. She was an
inspirational figure to other like-minded women and received many letters of praise from members when she was the National president at the IODE. When Gertrude Tate wished to open a crèche the first person she turned to was her friend Joan Arnoldi, which suggests that she already understood Arnoldi to be a capable leader already as a young woman in her mid-twenties. When World War II began the IODE appealed to Arnoldi to return and organise the war service committee and indeed when she resigned there was extensive discussion of how to persuade her to continue her work. She was valued and respected by her women peers.

Arnoldi was a woman who entered masculine spaces such as active service in World War I and leadership roles in the public sphere in the context of prominent women’s clubs. Arnoldi and Plummer invented the field comforts program (Plummer 1915; Prentice et al. 1988), which filled a gap in services since having to stage the troops in Britain meant that Canadian men were not able to be supported by their families while they waited to be called to active duty. Arnoldi and Plummer commandeered a very feminine activity of care-taking, nurturing, and supporting men, dispensed in the masculine setting of a military camp in a out-of-home setting. This was a newsworthy activity and Arnoldi was sought as a speaker on her return and widely reported in the newspapers. She performed a public feminine role in a traditionally masculine bastion (the military) breaking boundaries and creating new roles for women. She also enacted female imperialism as the war effort in Canada was determined by imperial positioning with Britain. In contrast to Arnoldi, Woodsworth who was a pacifist and a socialist opposed the “imperial” war and resigned from his position at his Methodist church as the church supported the war effort and advertised conscription (McNaught 1975).

In her address to the members of the IODE shortly after being elected national president at the IODE in 1920, Arnoldi urged her female peers to embrace change and look towards the future. She appealed to ‘common knowledge’ amongst women, namely that women respond to human figures and personalities, but she urged them to set their sights higher and strive for the mission of the Order:

There is no progress without change and while I think as women, we hate change more than most of creation, we have to open our eyes and look at this subject from all round and not just from the interest of our particular part of the Order or the personalities involved in the change. I don’t want to be misunderstood in my references to the personal – they are entirely impersonal – but one cannot have worked as long as I have amongst women and being a woman oneself, without realising how much the heart of a woman responds to
the personalities with whom she is connected. To us, fifty thousand loyal and organised women, is given the opportunity to carry on the ideals our men fought and died for.\textsuperscript{76}

She alluded to women’s suffrage and aligns this with a new responsibility as a citizen rather than a step forward for women. As a woman without property rights, and without recognition as a person under the law, and even before the granting of suffrage, Joan Arnoldi had a strong Anglo-Protestant female voice. She identified herself as a daughter of the empire and associated her feminist project as part of her imperial project. This identification gave her a claim to British “racial and cultural superiority” and as such she did not experience diminishment as a woman.

\subsection*{3.5 Discussion}

Was Arnoldi a social worker? Certainly she didn’t have any of the conventional credentials of membership such as social work education, membership with the CASW, or even peers who regarded her as a social worker. She was part of the large group of mostly anonymous women who connected with other women through women’s clubs and became involved in public life and the social reform movement. Arnoldi was part of the cadre of women who planned and provided social support for those who were poor and unable to provide for themselves. But she was by no means a “Lady Bountiful.” It was not overflowing kindness and compassion that moved her to action but rather a stern sense of duty and imperial mission. Her patriotic devotion to country and Empire inspired her to the industrious application of her abilities in this cause.

There were two distinct and yet also related facets to her public life. Her participation in the broadly visioned national organization the IODE and her participation in a local concrete single model crèche as a venue for the future of the newcomer generation. Her passion for imperialist ideas suffused both venues and influenced her primary field of practice which was immigration. It was her concern about retaining the British Anglo-Protestant fibre of Canada that led her to believe that the most pressing issues on a national level were immigration policy and practice and on a local level were the quality of services for managing the newcomers. It was these two female imperialist directions that became her life’s work.

\textsuperscript{76} NAC IODE AGR, 1926 p. 52.
Through networking and personal abilities she was able to straddle changing practices and contested ideas. Arnoldi was undoubtedly a woman with leadership, planning and administrative abilities who was able to effectively take charge and orchestrate the operation of both a large national organization and a much smaller local organization. Her style of leadership was militaristic with an authoritarian hierarchical approach to institutional policies and procedures. However, she was a person of vision and was guided by the ends she wished to achieve. Her means of achieving these ends were primarily through networking. As the daughter of an influential well-respected lawyer in Toronto she used this social capital to approach wealthy businessmen for funding to support the WEC. Her professional affiliations eased the way to garner the support of a team of physicians to provide gratis medical services to the clients of the crèche. Later when she decided to “modernize” the services at the crèche, her social capital and familiarity with professionals enabled her to establish contacts at the University of Toronto in the Departments of social work, psychology and psychiatry. As she had the material means to travel she networked nationally and internationally visiting other crèches and childcare institutions, talking about new programs, new ideas and new methods in childcare and childhood education. Arnoldi built collaborative relationships with other organizations, shared training opportunities and exchanged staff.

Arnoldi travelled to London, England to meet with other female imperialist clubs to exchange ideas and to discuss new programs. On a national level she worked with other women’s clubs sharing ideas and co-ordinating service delivery to prevent duplication of services but also to expand and improve existing services. Her network from the IODE extended into political circles and she corresponded with Ministers and even with the Prime Minister. She worked actively with the Ministry of Immigration setting up programs for female immigration and female immigration services.

These social work networks which operated locally, nationally and internationally facilitated Arnoldi in straddling the gap between voluntary social workers and the new professional social workers and allowed apparently incompatible ideas to be employed together. In this way the progressive new ideas about children, premised on the idea of children’s rights and derived from new scholarship on child development, were picked up by Arnoldi and implemented at the WEC, in service of her imperial ideas about race homogeneity and the Canadianization of newcomers. Employing a rights-based practice at the crèche did not shift Arnoldi’s paternalistic approach to
services, just as she hired young graduate professional social workers to work side-by-side with a matron and a housekeeper who held completely different views on childcare. It was the existing social network of mostly women’s clubs that allowed actors in the field of social work to blend differences in ideas, education, and practice.
Chapter 4
Charlotte Whitton (1896–1975): Imperial Feminist and Social Reformer

Charlotte Whitton is the best known and the most written about of the four women under study in this dissertation. She was chosen for two reasons. She was a long-time member of the IODE and this aspect of her allegiances has not been widely explored, and secondly her social work public life has not been fully studied from a social work perspective. For her first twenty years in public life she pursued a career in social work and then after a ten-year interlude as a freelance journalist and speaker she assumed a second career path in politics by becoming the first female Mayor of a major city in Canada, the city of Ottawa, in 1951. While two full biographies have been completed on her public life, neither was written by a social worker. Aptly named, No Bleeding Heart, Charlotte Whitton A Feminist on the Right was completed by Rooke and Schnell, two education scholars in 1987, and covers her career in child welfare in scholarly detail. More recently in 2010, Mullington, a retired journalist from Ottawa, completed a biography, Whitton, The Last Suffragette, in which he described her mayoralty as well as her earlier social work career. Mullington recounted in his preface that his mother, who had never taken any interest in politics became a “die hard Whitton supporter” when Whitton ran for office in 1952, and this had sparked his interest in Whitton’s public life. In 2005 a play was published Molly’s Veil, which focused on Whitton’s lifelong intimate friendship with social worker Margaret Grier. In 1999 the personal correspondence between Whitton and Grier and Whitton’s personal journal were opened to public view, providing the material for the play. Whitton’s photograph is on the front cover of a recent publication, Champions of Women’s Rights. Leading Canadian Women and Their Battles for Social Justice, and her story is one of the chapters. A Masters research project chronicled her social work career (Hamlet 1979), and a number of scholarly articles have been written about her (Rooke and Schnell 1981; Struthers 1983, 1987). Whitton is referenced in historical accounts of social welfare in Canada (Christie 2000; Finkel 2007; Struthers 1989, 1994; Valverde 2008), historical accounts of Ottawa (Francis and Lloyd 1988), in the history of the IODE (Pickles 2002) and in the Canadian history of women (Prentice et al. 1988). Richard Splane included a brief account of her founding role and accomplishments at the Canadian Council of Social Development when he wrote their 75 years commemorative booklet (Splane 1996), Ken Moffat (2001) included a study of the guiding Christian philosophy
of Whitton in his book *A Poetics of Social Work*, and in a history of social work in Canada she is noted multiple times (Jennissen and Lundy 2011). Dennis Guest (1997) included an account of Whitton’s social work career in his account of the emergence of social security in Canada. The extensive archival material on Whitton has been the source for most of the writings referenced here, but it appears that few have examined these materials from an insider social work perspective and no-one has looked at the Charlotte Whitton Papers, the CCSD fonds and the IODE fonds in relation to one another, which is the reason for this study.

This chapter continues the discussion of social work and imperialism. I begin with an overview of Whitton’s social location followed by a narrative account of her social work career which occupied the first twenty to thirty years of her working life. I then analyse the domains of practice she chose to work in and how these intersect with her identity as a female imperialist. Most accounts of Whitton’s social work career place child welfare as her central contribution. However in this study immigration, newcomers and the nation emerged as her primary focus of interest. It is followed by children and families and finally by poverty and the welfare state as her least active domain of practice. A reflection on her key ideas and practice orientations as revealed in her approach to professionalization and to the role of women will wrap up the chapter.

### 4.1 Social Location

Charlotte Whitton was born on March 8, 1896 in Renfrew, Ontario. A third generation Canadian, she was the eldest of eight children, of whom only four survived childhood. Her father, John Whitton, was born in Belleville, Ontario in 1871. One of 15 children he was the child of strict Methodist parents who emigrated from Yorkshire, England and settled in Ontario in the 1840s. When John Whitton eloped with an Irish catholic girl who was born in New York in 1870, he was barred from his parents’ home. The couple married in an Anglican church and agreed to raise their children in that faith. Whitton’s paternal grandmother Matilda Carr Whitton eventually joined the household and a close bond developed between her and the young Charlotte. Working in casual lumber industry jobs around Algonquin Park, John Whitton was often absent from the family home for most of the year (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Whitton retained a lifelong interest in the region of her childhood and later in 1943, she published a book on the Ottawa Valley lumber industry called *A Hundred Years A-Fellin*. 
Whitton’s mother, Elizabeth operated a boarding house on Raglan Street, the main street in Renfrew, which served the town’s commercial centre (Mullington 2010). In 1907, when Whitton was eleven years old her mother returned to the Catholic Church and took her three younger children with her, John (1899), Kathleen (1904), and Stephen (1905). Whitton decided to remain an Anglican which left her aligned with her grandmother Whitton, her father and the Renfrew community which was predominantly Protestant. Whitton’s father was known as a committed conservative (Mullington 2010). This denominational split was the source of ongoing dissension in the family (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Whitton remained a staunch member of the Christian Protestant church throughout her life which put her in a position of strength in her career years as Ontario had a protestant power base. Orangeism came to Canada with Irish orange immigrants and lodges were formed throughout Ontario. Committed to protestant Christianity, Canadian patriotism and public social service, members swore allegiance to the Empire and in the nineteenth century Toronto was such a stronghold of orangeism that it was dubbed the Belfast of Canada (Kealey 1988). Prior to 1920 religion was a dominant factor in family welfare policy in Canada with Protestant-Catholic relations a central issue of conflict in the Children’s Aid Societies. The powerful position of the Orange Order and of Protestantism made many regard the CAS as a protestant society and this issue was a source of contestation when newcomers from Eastern Europe who were Catholic or Orthodox were confronted with exclusively protestant options for child protection (Christie 2000).

Apart from her grandmother, Whitton adopted British female monarchs as mentors in her early identity formation. This developed into her personal philosophy of feminism tied to the ideology of British imperialism which became a motivating force in her life. In her autobiographical writings, Whitton recalled her earliest memory as that of Queen Victoria passing (when she was four years old) and nine months later she stood in the streets with Grandmother Whitton and waved a union jack as the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York travelled west from Ottawa. She recalled her disappointment that they looked like ordinary people and were not wearing ermine stoles and diamond tiaras.77 Throughout her life, Whitton was attracted to the trappings of authority and as Mayor of Ottawa she consistently wore the chain of office which had not been done for several generations of her predecessors (Rooke and Schnell 1987).

77 LAC, Charlotte Elizabeth Whitton fonds MG30-E256, R5071-O-5-E, 89 In Royal Remembrances 1957.
Whitton looked to the Tudor Queen Elizabeth I as a mentor and inspiration. This interest in Elizabeth began when she was young and continued throughout her life. In her study she had a personal book collection of a thousand titles and one tenth of them were on Elizabeth Tudor. Portraits of Elizabeth decorated her walls and the Queen’s death mask was on a shelf (Rooke and Schnell 1987). In her personal files there are records of a correspondence exchange between Whitton and Lady Astor at the House of Commons, Westminster London England in 1933 in which Whitton expressed her concern that no special celebrations had been arranged for the anniversary of Elizabeth’s accession to the throne. Whitton wrote:

> to date I fail to see the least intimation or preparation for honouring or remembering what must always be one of the most significant dates in British history, the opening of the Elizabethan Era . . . Since you are yourself the daughter of a State founded by one of the most brilliant Elizabethans and in the Queen’s honour, and at the same time the first woman in the British Commons, I have taken the liberty of suggesting that you might have a personal interest in stirring some attention and interest in this matter.  

In the same file there was a newspaper clipping of a review of a new book that had been published on Elizabeth. At the conclusion of an IODE report on child welfare delivered at an Annual General Meeting in 1924, Whitton said:

> What shall be the unspoken watchword of the Order’s child welfare endeavor for 1924–1925? May it not be our pledge as Daughters in Blood, and Daughters in Soul, of this old Empire, to place our young and vibrant hearts in pulse with the heart of that mighty Empire, nay more, in pulse with the Old World’s weary and worn, but ever vibrant beat, beat, beat of Destiny itself . . . Wearied with age, it has turned its worn eyes and heart to youth, and has bound itself to the Children’s Charter Declaration of Geneva. [a copy of the charter]is followed by the following statement:

> May not we, this sworn band of the Daughters of the British Empire,—an Empire whose very being was born in the triumphant dream of a woman, Elizabeth, the childless mother of Empire,—may we not pledge ourselves to this mighty Charter, and in so far as it be given us, to influence our day and generation, dedicate ourselves to the high duty of living it, into the life of this Dominion.  

This concluding part of her presentation was very revealing as it demonstrates her identification with Elizabeth I as the “childless Mother of the Empire.” Whitton had some male romantic

78 LAC, Charlotte Elizabeth Whitton fonds MG30-E256, R5071-0-5-E, Personal File, letter to Lady Astor.
interests during her University years but she chose to remain single and childless and to pursue the “high duty” of a career which she approached as a “sacred pledge.” Elizabeth I also chose to remain single and childless and exercised the supreme power of a monarch with a triumphant dream of the British Empire. The Ottawa Valley was a region of strong imperial identification and fierce pride in the British Empire. The Union Jack was displayed at school and God save the King was sung at all social events (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Whitton developed a fierce imperial loyalty at a young age which sustained her throughout her life and also became pivotal in her self identity as a woman in public life.

4.2 Education

Whitton excelled academically from the beginning, quickly gaining an honours promotion from grade 1 to grade 2. She learned reading, writing, arithmetic and history from British texts in a dimly lit room with forty to fifty students, heated by a wood stove and served with outdoor plumbing. She graduated from the Renfrew Collegiate Institute in 1914 with numerous awards which translated into scholarships for university (Rooke and Schnell 1987). She chose Queen’s University which was very loyal to Britain and affiliated with Canada’s Military College in Kingston and with the Canadian Officers Training Corps (COTC). It was the closest university to Renfrew and Renfrew Collegiate hired many Queen’s graduates. The students at Queen’s were largely children of farmers, small merchants and tradesmen from the Ottawa Valley region and the fees were lower than universities in the larger cities of Toronto and Montreal (Rooke and Schnell 1987).

When Whitton arrived in 1915, 300 Queens undergraduates had enlisted and joined the two Queens units in France (the 46th Battery, Royal Canadian Artillery and the Fifth Queens Stationary Hospital). In 1914–1915 women were 36% of the student population and by 1917–1918 they were 68%. This created a strong reform female ethos at the university and the faculty encouraged students to serve the nation through government, social reform or the helping professions. During WWI Whitton worked for the YWCA fund-raising for relief efforts and war parcels (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Nicknamed “Charles” Whitton she excelled in sports, debating, writing, and poetry. Whitton edited the Queen’s Journal from 1917–1918: the first time a woman had done this. In 1918 Whitton graduated with an M.A. in English, history and philosophy with full honours in two subjects and a double first. She was the recipient of medals
in English and history and the Governor Generals medal in pedagogy. For the immediate years after graduating, Whitton wanted to continue her studies with a Ph.D. She corresponded with her former teacher Wilhelmina Gordon for a number of years on this topic considering colleges and universities where she might study (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Within a week of graduating she began her first job at the Social Service Council in Toronto.

4.3 Public Life in Social Work

Table 2

*Chronology of Whitton’s Work History and Education*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Name</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Queens University, Kingston, Ontario</td>
<td>1914–1918</td>
<td>Graduated M.A. in English, history &amp; philosophy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Service Council of Canada SSCC Editor</td>
<td>1918–1922</td>
<td>Assistant Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Pensions and National Health convened a national conference on child welfare in Ottawa</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>180 delegates from 114 philanthropic agencies with Whitton representing SSCC. From this meeting the Canadian National Council on Child Welfare was established (later to become Canadian Council on Child Welfare and the Family, the Canadian Welfare Council and finally the Canadian Council on Social Development).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Council of Child Welfare</td>
<td>1920–1926</td>
<td>Honorary Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employed by Liberal Member of Parliament Tom Lowe</td>
<td>1922 – 1925</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCW</td>
<td>1926–1929</td>
<td>Executive Director Canadian Council on Child Welfare and the Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queens Trustee</td>
<td>1928–1940</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Council on Child &amp; Family Welfare; Canadian Welfare Council (1935 . . .)</td>
<td>1929–1941</td>
<td>Executive Director Resigned in 1941.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Survey of child welfare in New Brunswick</td>
<td>1927–1928</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>League of Nations</td>
<td>1926–1933</td>
<td>Canadian representative in Child Welfare; Delegate to International Child Labour Conventions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sessional lecturer Department of Social Science, University of Toronto</td>
<td>1930–1943</td>
<td>Teaching at University of Toronto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Employment Commission</td>
<td>1937</td>
<td>Advisor on welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honorary Doctorate awarded</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Kings College, Halifax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assisted with evacuation of British children to Canada</td>
<td>1939–1941</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dawn of an Ampler Life Alternative to Marsh report) 1943 Prepared for Federal conservative leader John Bracken
Two studies for Ontario Govn. 1944 Welfare administration; treatment of delinquent girls
Death of Margaret Grier(1892–1947) 1947 Her life partner
Mayor of Ottawa 1951–1956
Mayor of Ottawa 1960–1962
Alderman for Capital Ward 1966–1972

4.3.1 Social Service Council of Canada (SSCC)

The Social Service Council of Canada developed out of the Moral and Social Reform Council of Canada, a church-based organization which shifted its central focus to social concerns in 1913 when its name changed to the Social Service Council of Canada. With standing committees on industrial life, Indian affairs, political purity and franchise, social hygiene, criminology, the family, child welfare, immigration and legislation, it conducted research, disseminated information to the public and lobbied for change (Rooke and Schnell 1987; Wills 1995). The managing Director was J.G Shearer, a deeply conservative man. He selected Whitton as Assistant Secretary because she had demonstrated scholarly excellence and had been the editor of the Queen’s Journal. Shearer had just founded Social Welfare, a new journal which was to become one of Canada’s earliest and most influential social work journals. Shearer hired Whitton because he wanted an assistant editor for the journal in addition to a secretary (Rooke and Schnell 1987).

Whitton moved to Toronto and quickly developed a network of friends and colleagues. On the committees were members of the Juvenile Court, Neighbourhood Workers Association, Big Sisters, Children’s and Infant’s Homes, Children’s Aid Societies, Christopher Settlement House, churches, and the social welfare division of the City Public Health Department. Whitton resided on the campus of the University of Toronto in an all-female residence with women from all the new professions – teachers, nurses, social workers and law students. Whitton not only met Margaret Grier (who became her intimate companion and housemate for the next 29 years) but she also met other women working in social services. Her biographer Rooke (1987) calls the network of friends and colleagues which Whitton established in Toronto, the “Whitton
connection” (p. 38) as Whitton was recognised informally as the spokesperson for the group. Many of these women assumed important posts in social agencies. The main women in this group were Marjorie Moore, Elizabeth King, Ethel Dodds (later Parker), Nora Lea, Kate Dickson, Laura Holland, Elsie Lawson, Jane Wisdom, and Mary MacPhedron (Rooke and Schnell 1987).

As assistant editor for *Social Welfare* (1918–1939), Whitton began writing in January 1919 as “Kit of the Kitchen.” Her first piece was called Women in the World’s Work and it was a lighthearted article about women’s work at Christmas time. Subsequently in May and June of the same year “Kit of the Kitchen” published two more pieces called For Woman’s Thought, which were a serious articulation of Whitton’s thoughts on women (see section 4.5.2). In March 1919 her article on child labour appeared. In it she compiled a national database and recommended national standards, monitoring the employment of children under 14, increasing mandatory education and vocational training for youth. Whitton called for a minimum wage and increased wages which she believed would reduce the need for charity assistance and relief to which she was opposed. These ideas are apparent in this early work and she retained them throughout her life. In the early editions of *Social Welfare* there are articles on social issues such as poverty, housing, social reconstruction, child welfare and social hygiene, many of them reflecting eugenic ideas. In March, 1919 Dr. Hincks delivered an address on mental hygiene and stated that:

> The prevention of feeblemindedness in Canada can be brought about in two ways: first, by debarring defective immigrants from this country; second, by segregating the feebleminded in farm colonies so that they cannot reproduce their kind. In this connection it would be interesting to dwell upon the question of immigration to show that in the past over 50% of our insane and feebleminded in Canada have come to us from countries outside the Dominion (p. 130).

As a pioneer psychiatrist, Hincks viewed social problems from a genetic and medical perspective and supported eugenic solutions to problems of individual pathology and genetic deficiency. As demographic surveys identified higher rates of social problems in immigrant communities the cause was attributed to the immigrants themselves rather than to the gross structural shortcomings and inadequacies that the newcomers were forced to contend with. The November 1919 issue of *Social Welfare* included articles by Dr. Helen McMurchy on defective children, Dr. Hincks on feeblemindedness in Canada as a serious national problem, and Dr. Clarke’s research on the inadequate mental inspection of immigrants which linked mental deficiency to
immigration. These eugenic views appeared in Whitton’s early writing and while Clarke and Hincks later changed their views, Whitton did not (e.g. her later publication opposing the new Family Allowance Act (1945), Baby Bonuses: Dollars or Sense? (1945) discussed the risks of subsidized breeding).

4.3.2 The Children’s Bureau in Canada

In the course of her work at the Social Services Council of Canada, Whitton met many Canadian leading figures in the social reform movement as well as some well known international figures. In a conference which was held at SSCC in 1920 she met Julia Lathrop who was from Hull House and a dear friend of Jane Addams. It was an immediate connection which became a lasting mentorship. This was an unexpected alliance as by this time Whitton was already a devoted imperialist and yet she aligned with the progressive views on children emanating from Hull House and the United States. In 1912 the Federal Children’s Bureau was signed into law by the President of the United States, a response to lobbying from women’s organizations across the United States and Julia Lathrop was appointed its first Director. She established a scientific approach to improving the welfare of children and created numerous positions for educated women. This was the first welfare institution created by the Federal government in the United States. Lathrop believed that the careful collection of data was important and that program strategies should be based on such evidence. She mobilized women’s voluntary organizations across the nation to accomplish this, completing surveys on infant mortality, child health, and the need for birth registration for statistical knowledge. The Children’s Bureau began distributing pamphlets on infant and child care and answering letters from women across the country (Scott et al. 1975).

In Canada a lobby for a similar Children’s Bureau began in 1913 led by Helen Reid (Director of Montreal School of Social Work and member of the IODE) and Emily Murphy (judge, author of the Janey Canuck series and leader in the “women as persons” case). In 1918, when Whitton was hired at SSCC, she joined the lobby. Murphy and Whitton worked together on various SSCC committees as well as on the executive of the National Council of Women (NCW). A mentoring relationship developed and the regular correspondence between the two women (Mullington 2010; Rooke and Schnell 1987). They fought for a Children’s Bureau of Canada which would parallel the American institution and, in early 1920, the Federal Department of Health announced
the creation of a Children’s Bureau or Division of Child Hygiene as a subdivision of the new health portfolio. Advertisements for the position, which were published in the March 1920 edition of *Social Welfare*, called for persons with medical credentials, and stated a preference for a woman: Dr. Helen MacMurchy was appointed.

This newly formed Canadian Children’s Bureau focused on health and medical issues, but a national conference on child welfare in Ottawa determined that there remained a need for a national child welfare organization which would address the social issues concerning children. From this meeting the Canadian National Council on Child Welfare was established. From its inception Whitton was its honorary secretary, and six committees were formed: child hygiene, child workers, special needs children, education, recreation, defective/dependent/neglected/delinquent children. The grouping of defective/dependent/neglected/delinquent children was revealing as it reflected the assumption that disabilities and delinquency were outcomes of poor families who needed relief and had inadequate parenting skills. These ideas were prevalent in imperial missionary work (Burton 1992, 1994). The new council was to be based in Ottawa and this meant that Whitton needed to re-locate and find a way to support herself as the new position was unpaid (Mullington 2010; Rooke and Schnell 1987). When Whitton left the SSCC the tribute published in July 1922, *Social Welfare* was glowing:

> She has a great facility in expression, whether with pen or tongue as in intellectual penetration. She is specially gifted in argument and in persuasive power on the platform. We predict for her a place of highest leadership among the women of Canada, and shall not be surprised to see her in parliament and in one of the first Federal cabinets in which women are given a place (p. 208).

### 4.3.3 1922–1925 Secretary to Liberal Member of Parliament Tom Low

In 1922, Whitton accepted a paid position in Ottawa as Secretary to the Liberal Member of Parliament, Tom Low. As her work with the Canadian Council of Child Welfare was voluntary she needed a job to support herself. She chose strategically, recognizing that a “political education” would be useful. Margaret Grier who had become a close friend (and became Whitton’s life partner) found a job working for the Tuberculosis Society. With her new job Whitton expanded her social welfare network into parliamentary circles. Her introduction to international affairs occurred in 1924 when she accompanied the Minister Tom Lowe on a European trade mission. Whitton visited New York, London, the Hague, Brussels, Geneva, Paris,
Milan, Rome, Florence. This sphere of influence was later expanded into her League of Nations work. In 1924 she began publishing Canadian Child Welfare News, a journal which assembled material from across Canada as well as news about Child welfare developments in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the League of Nations (Mullington 2010; Rooke and Schnell 1987).

4.3.4 Canadian Council on Child Welfare 1925–1929

In 1925 Whitton was appointed the Director of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare (CCCW). Not only had she been building the organization in a voluntary capacity since its inception, she also positioned herself to be the best qualified person in Canada for this job. The CCCW was committed to the application of scientific principles to child welfare and this went hand-in-hand with a commitment to training, qualifications, and expertise.

4.3.4.1 The Survey

With the establishment of a university social work training program at the University of Toronto in 1914, a new generation of professionally trained graduates were entering paid social service positions and a National Association of Social Work established in 1926 was implementing standards of practice competency. The survey introduced a research-based scientific approach, using qualitative and quantitative methods, to establish demographic patterns, pinpoint need, and identify gaps between legislation and practice. Reports based on scientific findings gave professional authority to the recommendations (Irving 1992). Whitton adopted this approach early in her career and used it as a foundational part of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare. A new journal, *Child and Family Welfare*, published the findings of the Council, and popular pamphlets for the general public on child and family topics were produced. National Canadian Council of Child welfare conferences further disseminated this information. Whitton used these venues to mobilize her own strategic agenda.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Survey</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Juvenile Delinquency</td>
<td>1919–1920</td>
<td>Article published in Social Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare as the approach to the Community</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Report delivered at Annual Meeting and Conference of Social Service Council of Ontario (May 10–11, 1920)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario’s Immediate Problem in Child welfare</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Address to Toronto Child Welfare Council; published in Social Welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several Years After</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Survey on Juvenile immigration conducted in response to earlier British survey completed by Margaret Bondfield Report of the overseas settlement delegation to Canada. Whitton’s survey was discussed at the Juvenile Immigration Conference in Ottawa in 1928.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manitoba Royal Commission into Social Services</td>
<td>1928 June to November</td>
<td>Whitton the investigator for the child welfare section in the Manitoba Royal Commission into Social Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International Labour Office</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Appointed to Advisory Committee of Experts – women and children in employment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution of Unemployment Relief</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Prime Minister Bennett hired Whitton to study unemployment relief in Western Canada (the hardest hit region during the Depression)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Better Provision for the Protection of Girl Life</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Commissioned by Ontario Synod of the Anglican Church—on the pastoral needs of women between 12 to 25—linked incorrigibility, immorality, illegitimacy, and the dangers surrounding girls living away from home.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Employment Commission (NEC)</td>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Hired by the NEC—Produced report Canada’s Problems in Welfare Administration (194 pgs) which reiterated findings from 1932 report.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawn of an Ampler Life: some aids to social security</td>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Prepared for Federal conservative leader John Bracken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two studies for Ontario Government.</td>
<td>1944</td>
<td>Whitton prepared 2 confidential reports for the Minister of Welfare and Secretary for the Province of Ontario one on welfare administration and another on the treatment of delinquent girls.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.4.2 Surveys and Reports

Following the example of her Hull House mentors, Whitton mobilized women across the nation to assist with surveys on the social issues that were of interest to her. Whitton was on the National Executive of numerous clubs: Employment Council of Canada; Canadian Council on the Immigration of Women; Canadian Association of Social Workers; Social Service Council of Canada; Council of Social Services, Church of England, Canada; Imperial Order, Daughters of the Empire; Canadian Women’s Press Club; one of two women members of the Board of Trustees, Queens University. In her early years as the paid leader of the CCCW, Whitton focused on a standardized child welfare practice throughout Canada that was quintessentially Canadian, and that reflected the political and geographical reality of the Canadian nation. Specifically, she directed her energy and attention to three areas of child welfare. These were juvenile immigration, the child welfare section of recommendations from the Manitoba Royal Commission on Social Services and the New Brunswick survey of child welfare.

4.3.4.3 Juvenile Immigration

The juvenile immigration movement was a product of the British Empire and began in 1534 with Britain sending pauper children to the newly founded colonies of Virginia and New England. It lasted until 1952 when New Zealand ended the last child migration scheme. In 1866, Annie McPherson, a Canadian of missionary background, began working with the poor and destitute in London’s East End alongside William Booth and Thomas Barnardo. A cholera epidemic precipitated the first arrangements for philanthropic monies to be used to transport orphan children to Canada where they were “boarded out” to homes and given a new chance at life. Later the program was extended to include destitute street children. Most of these children were sent to rural settings where girls became domestic servants and boys became farm labourers (Bagnell 2001; Harrison 2003: Wagner 1982). Initially this was seen as a good thing for Canada, however it didn’t take long before there were many who viewed this as a threat to the moral and social fabric of the nation. It came to be seen as an imperial dumping of the unwanted and socially dangerous ‘riff raff’ on the Dominions. Trade Unions such as the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress TLC (organised in 1883) opposed it as competition for employment with adult

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80 LAC, Canadian Council for Social Development Fonds (CCSD), MG 28 110, Vol.6, file 26, Personal File, Miss Charlotte Whitton Executive Director.
Canadians. Furthermore they saw many of the “little immigrants” joining the urban drift once they were old enough to leave their foster homes. In addition these unpaid children were seen as undercutting adult farm labour wages (Rooke and Schnell 1983).

Prior to WWI up to 30,000 applications for juvenile immigration were received annually. In the pre-war years J.J. Kelso was the dominant voice in child welfare in Ontario and he was strongly opposed to institutional care and in support of foster care. As a result he did not oppose the policy of these rescue homes which removed children from institutional care and gave them to families. While Kelso became part of a government-funded CAS provision of service, he remained attached to the idea that service offered through private philanthropy was superior. He admired and supported Barnardo and his philanthropic child rescue program. Juvenile emigration stopped during the war, but in 1920 it resumed (Wagner 1982).

The Imperial Conference of 1921 recommended that the United Kingdom support both Empire land settlement and directed migration with £2 million a year for schemes of land settlement and assisted passages. These provisions became part of the new 1922 *Empire Settlement Act*. The general aim of this policy was stated in the 1923 Imperial Conference under the discussion of Empire settlement:

> The aim of this policy is a redistribution of the white population of the Empire in the best interests of the Empire as a whole . . . The Committee also believe that much may be accomplished by encouraging the young during the years of education a desire for life upon the land, together with a knowledge of the geography of the Empire and the conditions of life and opportunities within its territories. 81

There was a keen interest in bringing British children to Canada as they were seen not only as the next generation and the hope of the future but also as filling a need for agricultural labourers. The popular opposition to juvenile immigration did not enter the discussion.

The Dominion Government adheres to the policy, which has been successfully pursued for the last forty years, of encouraging the settlement in Canada of children who proceed to the Dominion under the auspices of societies such as Dr. Barnardo’s Homes. This system deals generally speaking with orphan and destitute children. 82

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It was planned to have 5000 children come annually to Canada under the new Empire Settlement Act. This provided an opening for opponents of child immigration to begin a new lobby. In 1924 the Bondfield Report on juvenile immigration commissioned by the British Government was completed and noted that this was a program open to the abuse of children through overworking, non-payment of wages, loss of education and their employment under the age of 14. In response to the Bondfield report, Whitton was financed by the Montreal Women’s Canadian Club to complete a Juvenile Immigration survey, which was completed between 1924–1928 and involved collaborative work between the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, The Council for Social Services of the Church of England in Canada, The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, The Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Social Service Council of Canada. The report found that the children who were brought to Canada were rarely adopted and the demand was for children who would “help” “do chores” and “work around the place” and that most of the younger children had been exploited and the older children overworked. In addition it was found that most of the children would have been refused admission if their full histories had been known in advance. There was confusion regarding the status and guardianship of these children as agreements were reached between the Overseas Juvenile Migration Agencies and the children. Their status under provincial laws once they became residents in Canada was unclear with the juvenile immigration program being a federal program.

That the lack of any real co-operation or close association between the work of most of the Juvenile Emigration Agencies and Canadian official and voluntary agencies, and the Canadian community has resulted in a most undesirable lack of contact, that may help to explain the sad absence of such community interest, or effort, in the assimilation of the “home” child, in the ordinary Canadian community.

Whitton noted that the fact that the program supplies agricultural and household help in Canada should be acknowledged and recommended that appropriate regulations be put in place to ensure adequate safeguards including initial screening and monitoring. The legal status of guardianship should be explicitly legislated, and the age boundaries of the indentureship established. Indirectly, Whitton was describing an extensive role for professional social workers in this

program as they would be screening, monitoring and discharge planning for these children. She stated:

The Canadian child welfare agencies, after all, have a just and national claim to consideration of their point of view in this matter. The whole field of national life and of social work in Canada has changed completely in the last twenty five years and recognition of this fact would undoubtedly contribute to a better understanding of the entire situation in this field.

Whitton was carving out an important role for the new profession in the national life of Canada. Her vision included women in new leadership positions contributing to the national strength and development of Canada. While her vision was anchored in imperial values, she also had a fierce belief in Canadian nationalism, which resulted in some inconsistencies in her position. She supported the imperial plan of white settlement across the Empire:

Since the argument for this type of immigration is partly that of the maintenance of preponderance of British stock, the preponderance should be of good British stock. Therefore, it is suggested the movement should be limited by quota; the quota to bear a proper ratio to the number of boys and girls coming under the auspices of the Canadian Government Training Scheme.

While Whitton supported the introduction of British stock she did not approve of the lower class destitute children as she considered these children bad stock even though they were British. Consequently, she entered into a position of conflict with the juvenile immigration agencies in Britain that she viewed as “dumping” unwanted and problem children in Canada. Her allegiance to Britain was tempered by her loyalty to Canada.

In March 1932, Whitton sent a confidential letter to the Child Welfare Council in Toronto stating that:

I have reason to believe that on March 23rd the Montclare docked at Montreal with thirty-six Barnardo children over fourteen and twenty-four Y.M.C.A. boys for placement on farms in Ontario. In view of the fact that the report of the Unemployment Relief Committee in Toronto showed that 12% of the men being cared for in hostels were British boys from sixteen to twenty, who were brought out from some of these schemes and that many of them were Barnardo boys. I do not believe that this should be allowed to go without comment and protest from the Toronto Child Protection services. I am therefore writing to suggest that your council should write officially to the

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Department of Immigration, asking whether passengers of this type were admitted to Canada at this time, under these circumstances and if so, that your Council should consider having a protest go forward from Toronto.  

This is an interesting window unto Whitton’s activism. Her crusade against child immigration was eugenically motivated as she was opposed to the introduction of low class British street children into Canada but she fought this on the grounds that children’s rights must be upheld and that these children were in need of protection. As a participant in the League of Nations, Whitton was aware of the Children’s Charter of Rights and she appealed to this progressive standard to support her position, using the rationale of child protection to spur the Child Welfare Council to action in this cause. Margaret Gould (see chapter 6), who was a strong supporter of the importance of children’s rights, backed Whitton’s appeal. She requested information from the Minister of Immigration and was informed that the Federal Government was not assisting these boys, but as she commented in her response letter to Whitton;

Even though, as the Minister states, these boys are not assisted in any way by the Federal Government, yet the Ontario Government is by virtue of their position, a party to the importation of juvenile farm labour . . . We will await your advice on the matter.  

Whitton responded by asking Gould and the Child Welfare Council to take up the problem with the Toronto Municipal Authorities and have them take the problem to the provincial authorities and the Premier. For her part Whitton would take the matter to the Federal authorities.

Under the aegis of the CCCW, Whitton publicized social problems such as child care and immigration. She used women’s conferences as well as labour and anti-philanthropy venues to promote her social reform agenda. Her trained social work professional staff used reports, surveys and questionnaires to mount a politicized lobby which promoted the CCCW to national attention. At the same time Whitton built her own career and influence. It was at this time that she began a correspondence with Frederick C. Blair, the Federal Deputy Minister for Immigration and Colonization. Blair shared Whitton’s imperial views on the preferred immigration of British subjects and the dangers and difficulties of receiving persons from non-preferred races into Canada. This relationship became longstanding and was an important part of Whitton’s political power network (see 4.4.1 section for further discussion on this).

87 LAC, CCSD Fonds, MG 28 I0 Vol. 10, File 137, Immigration 1932.  
88 LAC, CCSD Fonds, MG 28 I0 Vol. 10, File 137, Immigration 1932.
Whitton was appointed the investigator for the child welfare section of the Manitoba Royal Commission into Social Services from June to November 1928. She began as consultant with the Royal Commission on Social Welfare in 1928, and between 1929 and 1930 she reported on female juvenile delinquency and child caring agencies (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Whitton searched for Canadians to fill the posts that her work created. She believed that social products and institutional forms should reflect the community and the political reality of Canadian society. She wanted Canadians in the new key positions rather than Americans. Because the Toronto School of Social Work was the only institution graduating trained social workers in the 1920s, this created an east-west problem as the people in the west thought Whitton was favouring the east (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Despite this Whitton established a national reputation as a result of her work in Winnipeg and was called to Saskatchewan to consult with the commissioner for child protection. She was also asked to advise on the New Brunswick Children’s Protection Act and the New Brunswick Boys Industrial Schools. Finally she was asked to conduct a survey of the problems of youthful offenders in Canada (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Clearly, Whitton worked in many provinces across Canada.

4.3.5 Canadian Representative at the League of Nations (1926–1933)

Whitton discovered that the League of Nations planned to invite Canada to propose a candidate for a seat on the Child Welfare Committee of the League’s Advisory Commission on the Traffic in Women and Children – later re-named the Social and Opium Questions section. The original suggestion was that there be one representative for the entire Americas – South and Central America, the United States and Canada. Whitton pressured for three representatives and re-activated her connection with Grace Abbott (who succeeded Julia Lathrop) as head of the United States Children’s Bureau in Washington. She was successful on both counts and three assessors were appointed with Whitton as the Canadian representative (Rooke and Schnell 1987).

The first general-purpose international government organizations were the League of Nations (LN) and the International Labour Organisation (ILO) which were formed at the Paris Peace Conference and Treaty in 1919. The League of Nations invited women to serve as delegates and secretariat staff (no women were part of the LN Council). There were about 12 women among the 250 delegates, many of whom were leaders of national women’s organisations. Women were
commonly assigned to the Committee on Social and General Questions dealing with “women’s questions.” Several were on the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children. While most of the women held positions as secretaries and clerks, a notable exception was Dame Rachel Crowdy from the United Kingdom who headed the Social Section that shaped the advisory committee on Traffic in Women and Children (Winslow 1995). It was Dame Crowdy who was the chief of the Opium and Social question Committee when Whitton attended the meetings, and the two women locked horns almost immediately. Crowdy did not think that Whitton understood her place in the imperial scheme, and was of the opinion that Britain represented not only the mother country but also all of her Dominions; a representative from Canada was superfluous. These views were not shared by Whitton who saw herself as part of the vanguard of North American experts working to transform child welfare from the philanthropic model to the new scientific approach. Conflict developed between the new North American pragmatism and the old world approach (Rooke 1987, p. 75). Whitton was supported by the three strong United States representatives, Grace Abbott, Julia Lathrop and Katherine Lenroot who succeeded her. Julia Lathrop was the U.S. assessor representing the American National Conference on Social Work, and Grace Abbott was the head of the Children’s Bureau in the United States; both women worked at Hull House. Whitton was once again confronted with the conflict of loyalties between loyalty to Empire and British supremacy and loyalty to Canada, and American influences.

In preparation for her first League meeting, Whitton corresponded with Julia Lathrop and J.J. Kelso. She joined two subcommittees of the committee of child welfare – Child Immigration and Protection of Life and Health in Early Infancy. During her involvement at the League she contributed to reports on legislation, cinematographic performances, illegitimacy, guardianship, juvenile justice, institutional care for delinquents, children in moral and social danger, bi-lateral agreements regarding indigent minors, and the development of a library on child welfare in the Secretariat. In 1931 she pushed for full membership and wanted the League position to become a permanent position retained by the head of the Canadian Council of Child and Family Welfare. Whitton retained her position until the League collapsed in 1933 (Mullington 2010; Rooke and Schnell 1987).
4.3.6 The Council changes its name to Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare CCCFW (1929) and again to Canadian Welfare Council (1935)

Since Whitton began working as the Executive Director of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, the income of the CCCW had increased from $4,822.64 to $29,930.68 and its affiliates had grown nationally, provincially and locally (Rooke and Schnell 1987). It was at this time that the Depression years began which had a significant effect on social work. Beginning with the collapse of the stock market in 1929 and the drought and crop failure in the west, Canada began a period of unseen levels of unemployment, widespread poverty and economic crisis. The British North America Act designated relief for the unemployed as a provincial responsibility but the unprecedented levels of relief demands created a fiscal crisis at the provincial and local levels that could not sustain the costs. Pressure was brought on the Federal government to assist (Finkel 2007). The need for relief was so great that social workers who were in the frontlines of relief assessment were swamped. Ethel Parker, a friend of Whitton’s who worked in the Neighbourhood Workers Association of Toronto at this time, wrote an article published in Social Welfare

Many of us have grown a bit brittle and required “handling” as to our tempers. Can you see your cherished standards, one by one go to the board; can your sympathies be torn day after day by tragedies of which most of the rest of the city remain unheeding; can you stand day after day in the position of being the only person to whom these families have to turn and yet be absolutely unable to relieve their anxiety and suffering?”

As Ontario lacked a provincial public welfare structure for assessing and alleviating need, the economic circumstances of the Depression ignited a wide ranging debate on social obligation and the imperatives of a market economy (Struthers 1994). The services available for dispensing relief were quite inadequate to meet the unprecedented demand. In Toronto in 1930 the only two public relief agencies were the Division of Social Welfare and the House of Industry. The five private charities that were also dealing with relief casework tried to co-ordinate with the public services but this was not always successful. At this time there were only 400 to 500 trained social workers in all of Canada and most of these worked with private charities. It was this crisis that

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89 Parker(1930, Sept) Family casework goes through the deep waters of unemployment, Social Welfare, 166.

provoked public debate about the problem of widespread unemployment and the inadequacy of relief measures available.

In 1932 Whitton was appointed by the Bennett government to conduct a survey of relief. Bennett subsidized a western tour of Winnipeg, Weyburn, Brandon, Calgary, Swift Current, and Medicine Hat. Ethel Dodds Parker and Elizabeth King ran council affairs in Whitton’s absence (Rooke and Schnell 1987). In her report Whitton distinguished between traditional recipients of relief and victims of the “present emergency.” She suggested that for the traditional recipients the existing arrangement of voluntary, municipal and provincial response should continue. However federal aid should be given to the “truly” unemployed who were the people she saw as the victims of the Depression. She expressed skepticism about how many of these were truly destitute and advocated for professional social workers to assess and root out the ineligible claimants. Whitton promoted the idea of work camps for the able bodied as a way of mitigating the pressure for relief payments. Bennett decided to reduce federal relief payments and to set up work camps for able bodied unemployed men but to Whitton’s disappointment did not hire additional social workers to make assessments (Rooke and Schnell 1987). Struthers (1987) discussed this episode in a paper entitled “A Profession in Crisis, Charlotte Whitton and Canadian Social Work in the 1930s” and pointed out that this was the only survey which was commissioned by the Federal government at the time and therefore was of pivotal importance. He held her responsible for Bennett’s decision to reduce relief payments as her evidence supported the widespread existence of false claimants. Rooke (1987) disputed the degree of Whitton’s influence and pointed out that Bennett feared the financial collapse of the federal government if he committed to indiscriminate relief, and he would have made the same decision with or without Whitton’s report.

As a history major and as an afficianado of Elizabeth 1 Whitton was probably quite familiar with the Poor Law legislation. Her recommendations for the unemployment crisis are informed by the same ideas as the Poor Laws. Drafted at a time of unrest and economic crisis, the poor law of 1601, represented an attempt to maintain the feudal status quo but also to assume greater civil responsibility for poverty. Harsh standards for assessing need and “true” dependency were enacted with an expectation that families would assume full responsibility for themselves and that all able bodied citizens would work. Needy children were to be placed in apprenticeships, and only the incapacitated and the helpless (deserving poor) were considered worthy of relief.
payments. The principle of local responsibility was enshrined in the legislation and the secular civil position of the Overseer of the Poor was created to assess and dispense relief (Trattner 1984).

Whitton’s recommendations are consistent with poor law assumptions reflecting the principle of lesser eligibility (the idea that relief benefits should always remain below the amount the lowest paid worker could receive to ensure that receiving relief was not more attractive than working), and the classification into worthy and unworthy poor. Her recommendation that professional social workers would sort out the worthy claimants is reminiscent of the role of the Overseer of the Poor.

Whitton was mentored by Prime Minister Bennett, and his influence continued after he was defeated in 1935 and relocated to Britain as his permanent home. They shared conservative and imperial beliefs and values. Bennett was a staunch supporter of the IODE and in the March 1932 issue of Echoes, an anniversary message from Bennett, Prime Minister of Canada, was printed:

It is now thirty years since a small group of Canadian women, in the darkest period of the South African War, raised the standard of patriotic courage and hope, and established the first chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. This small group called upon their sisters throughout Canada for the mobilization of every effort in the furtherance of the ideal of Empire.

Through the intervening years the movement has grown until the name of Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire is known and honored in all parts of this Dominion. Its members have stood for service of a practical nature as well as for the nurturing of a deep sense of patriotism and empire relationships among our people. In peace and in war, for three decades now, this constantly growing movement has identified itself with practically every phase of good citizenship in this country and has extended its ramifications to India, to the West Indies, through many states of the United States, and to South Africa.

It is altogether fitting that at this time which most of us recognize as the dawn of a new and richer era of life for the British Empire, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire should take the initiative in a Dominion-wide effort that has as its object a broadening and deepening of the knowledge of that Empire and of the ways and means whereby its people can work more effectively together in their common cause. Every resource of the Empire is now being mobilized in the hope of united attainment of prosperity and peace. If these be attained for the one quarter of the world’s population contained within the Empire, this consummation must of itself contribute to the greater
well-being of peoples throughout the world. Come the world against us, Britain still shall stand.91

This rousing imperial pledge of allegiance to Dominion and Empire which speaks of the “dawn of a new and richer era of life for the British Empire” was written during the Depression years in 1931. It omits all mention of the economic crisis sweeping the Empire at that time. This is also characteristic of Whitton who acknowledged unprecedented levels of unemployment and poverty but argued that the professional application of social work principles of assessment could solve the problem and saw no need for a basic restructuring of the economic and social systems. Whitton viewed Federal involvement as an exceptional measure.

In 1933 the Minister of Pensions of the Bennett government met with Whitton to discuss the replacement of Dr. Helen McMurchy as chief of the Federal Child Welfare Division of the Child Welfare Department and negotiations began for Whitton’s Council to take over this Department. However, strong objections from the medical community led to the proposed merger falling through. Bennett continued to mentor Whitton and in 1934 he nominated her for a Commander of the British Empire CBE honours award (Rooke and Schnell 1987).

In 1936 the new King Government called for a National Employment Commission (NEC), and Whitton was hired to report on reforming the relief system. In her absence the Council was run by the Director of Toronto’s Public Welfare Department, Ethel Dodds Parker, assisted by Bessie Touzel and Marjorie Bradford. Whitton submitted a 194 page report that closely resembled her previous report for Bennett. Once again she argued that there was a need for professional social workers to identify those who were eligible for relief payments. She recommended that the Federal Government be responsible only for those who could work and should focus on getting them back to work. Unemployment relief administration should remain under local control to ensure that the rates remained below local wage rates (principle of lesser eligibility). Whitton was consistent in her views and recommendations even though she was reporting to a Liberal government. Fundamentally, they reflect her deeply held British imperial values and beliefs, and are not shaped to please or accommodate the political interests of the report recipient.

91 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo Magazine, Amicus 114363 (years 1902–1942), 1931.
With the removal of Bennett from Office, Whitton lost much of her political pull and although MacKenzie King appointed Whitton to the National Employment Council he was not invested in the Council. In 1937 he established a new federal division of maternal and child hygiene and a physician was appointed as chief. New social philosophies shaped by the Depression were taking hold and Whitton’s views which were unchanged became anachronistic. Increased Government controls and more public funding meant that employment opportunities for social workers were expanding. A new generation of male graduates with advanced university qualifications in labour and economics entered the field and displaced women from social planning. The new social philosophies based on the work of Keynes and Beveridge in Britain, and Marsh and Cassidy in Canada (see Chapter 5) called for state intervention particularly at the federal level. In 1937 Whitton refused to renew her membership with the Canadian Association of Social Workers who were suspicious of her employment by the NEC and her involvement with politicians. To the immense chagrin of Whitton, they suggested that she was not a trained social worker. Her relations with her Council’s Board of Governors became increasingly strained. She had recruited more business men onto the Board, and in 1939, the newly constituted Board rejected her budget and became unsympathetic to her autocratic style of leadership. This situation culminated with her resignation in 1941, which was immediately accepted by the Board. She felt that they would not be able to manage without her and declared at the time that she was going to break off all connection with Canadian social work (Rooke and Schnell 1987). This episode demonstrates Whitton’s misreading of the zeitgeist and her continued immersion in an imperial view of Canada. She mistakenly believed that the agency in which she had invested twenty hard working years of her life into building could not continue without her.

4.3.7 The Freelance Years

For the next ten years Whitton navigated short term employment opportunities, gave public lectures and worked on intermittent government commissions. She continued teaching as a sessional lecturer in the Department of Social Science at the University of Toronto until 1943. Pickles (2004) noted that Whitton was the driving force behind the IODE’s 1947 study of welfare in Alberta. The IODE report which Whitton generated alleged unprofessional child welfare activities, in particular “babies for export.” This led to the 1948–1949 Alberta Royal Commission on Child Welfare, which found that Whitton’s IODE report was correct. The death of Margaret Grier in 1947 and the hiatus in her career during this decade made these years
perhaps the most challenging of Whitton’s life. In the early 1950s she decided to run for the position of mayor in Ottawa and her success in this endeavour began a new career trajectory.

This concludes the outline of Whitton’s social work career path. After the transitional freelance years she launched a second career in local politics but I am choosing to restrict my investigation to her social work career path specifically as I am interested in considering how her imperial belief structure influenced her social work practice.

4.4 Fields of Practice

With a description of Whitton’s modest social location of her family of origin and a narrative of her education, her social work career path and her parallel participation in the national IODE completed, I will now analyse Whitton’s social work practice and her choice of location in the social work field. I will consider in greater depth how much this was influenced by her identity as a female imperialist and her participation in imperial discourses.

4.4.1 Immigrants, Newcomers, and the Nation

While Whitton ostensibly worked in the field of child welfare for the majority of her social work career, this study argues that her over-riding interest was in immigration and newcomers, and in building the Canadian national identity in the image of what she understood as the pinnacle of civilization, namely British imperial culture. In her early years she built her career upon her work in juvenile immigration where her interest was focused on the danger to Canada of unscreened lower class “bad stock” from Britain. In later years she expanded this screening function of social work to the arena of Jewish refugee children fleeing the Nazi holocaust. This section will examine Whitton’s work with the IODE and the intersection with the CCCW.

*National Convenor of the IODE Immigration Committee (1923–1931)*

Whitton served as the national Convenor of the immigration committee of the IODE for many years. In 1926 she moved that

the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire bring to the attention of the Government the necessity of keeping a preponderating British ratio in our immigration and that in the settlement of groups of immigrants of non-British stock, care be exercised to see that such communities do not settle in isolated
or segregated groups, cut off from contact with Canadian institutions, influence and customs.  

This motion was carried and represented the IODE position on immigration. Earlier in the same National executive meeting, Arnoldi called the attention of the membership to dangerous material that was in circulation, namely:

pamphlets issued by an organization known as the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism. She stated that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police had been consulted on the subject and the chief officer in Toronto had stated that very little could be done to stop this propaganda being disseminated throughout Canada although he had taken the matter up with the Dominion Government.  

Whitton moved and Arnoldi seconded that:

the National Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, having learned of the presence within Canada of the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, instruct the National Executive to direct the attention of the proper officials of the various Christian Churches in Canada to the existence and activities of this organization

The imperial vision of a Canadian Christian white settler society was seen as under threat from non-British newcomers. Arnoldi and Whitton concur in this. The IODE experienced this as a national threat and therefore the business of the RCMP. In 1926, in her new position as Executive Director of the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, Whitton entered into correspondence with the RCMP on the topic of revolutionary communistic schools in Canada.

I am writing to ask whether you would be good enough to supply me with a memorandum on the nature, extent, distribution of these schools in Canada for confidential consideration? The proposal which I would make would be that I divulge this information only to those members of the executive whose names I have previously given to you. My suggestion is also that we should not attempt to handle this question in any direct way, but that our Council should supply the information that you give me, telling the sources from which this comes, to the heads of the Churches of this country, so they may take such measures within the centres where the schools exist, as may be found effective

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in combatting what I am convinced is an insidious and dangerous propaganda.

Commissioner Starnes from the R.C.M.P. responded respectfully stating that he consulted with the Minister of Justice on the request and that the Minister responded adversely. Whitton responded that she would pass the matter to the Churches and that they would approach the Minister directly on the issue.\(^\text{96}\) Contained in the same file is a letter on official letterhead from the IODE, which noted that they had also received a similar letter from Commissioner Starnes.\(^\text{97}\) Whitton fused her work at C.C.C.W. with her work and position at the IODE. This is one piece of evidence that her identity as an imperial daughter informed her work in child welfare.

In the 1928 Annual Report of the IODE, Whitton submitted twelve recommendations from the IODE National Immigration Committee. These included a recommendation that immigration should currently be reduced; that the focus should be on quality not quantity; that immigration should be guided by:

- the maintenance in preponderance of population and influence of the basic stocks of this country and the expansion of national life in the flexible mould of British traditions and constitutional structures and practices;

- that the National Chapter strongly stresses the national advisability of a preponderance of agricultural workers or settlers in all immigration movements to Canada.\(^\text{98}\)

This insistence on British stock and British traditions as central in importance is consistent with the official imperial position. In the Imperial Conference of 1926 on the topic of overseas settlement it was stated that:

> The Conference is of the opinion that the problem of overseas settlement, which is that of the redistribution of the white population of the Empire in the best interests of the whole British Commonwealth, is one of paramount


\(^\text{96}\) LAC, CCSD Fonds, MG 28 I10, Vol.26, file 136 Revolutionary Schools (communistic) 1926. Correspondence.

\(^\text{97}\) LAC, CCSD Fonds, MG 28 I10, Vol.26, file 136 Revolutionary Schools (communistic) 1926. Letter The IODE

importance, especially as between Great Britain on the one hand and Canada, Australia, and New Zealand on the other. 99

The Imperial Conference also considered that the settlement of families overseas in rural locations was the ideal form of settlement as:

The 3,000 families scheme has been a conspicuous success in Canada, and it is proposed to take steps to promote the settlement of families on undeveloped Crown lands in that Dominion, and upon unoccupied farm lands in private ownership p. 168. 100

The IODE recommendation of rural settlement destinations is consistent with this imperial preference. As well it also reflects the fear of urban “chaos” and loose morals which the IODE believed would intensify with a higher proportion of newcomers in the city. The next recommendation urged that:

Canadian immigration policy should aim at more restrictive and selective processes in the control of the present undesirably high migration to Canada from continental countries, other than preferred countries. 101

Further Whitton stated that:

the National Council expresses no prejudice against the excellent citizens who have come to Canada from other than preferred countries, but wishes to stress the fact that if this country is to remain British, as well as Canadian, care must be exercised in the proportions and distribution of new settlement introduced into our national life. 102

While diplomatically couched this recommendation reiterated the commitment to a British white settler society in Canada. The final four recommendations all dealt with ways of increasing British immigration to Canada. These included supporting British family reunion and working with British immigration societies to support programs for British women to come to Canada. It was proposed that such measures could be further strengthened by establishing an arrival hostel and increasing the welcoming and support services for arriving immigrants. In addition, the

101 LAC, IODE Fonds, MG 28,1 17, vol. 12, pt 1,minutes of National Annual meetings 1916–1932, 1928, p.129
IODE would promote more flexible homesteading regulations and assistance in the migration of boys for agricultural work and girls for domestic service.  

In 1930, Whitton submitted an extensive twenty page report on the work of the national I.O.D.E immigration committee. This revealed an astonishingly comprehensive range of immigration services provided by the organization. These included Christmas initiatives such as friendly visiting, parties, picnics, and Christmas gift distribution. With an educational agenda study groups, summer school programs, Canadianization and foreign settlement groups were established and prizes were awarded for high achievement, and scholarships for further education were distributed. Greeting services were provided at ports and train stations and a certificate was to be given to the wives of new citizens – an attractive card of indestructible material, bearing the coat of arms of Britain, of Canada and of the Order with the name of the new citizen and the date of naturalization. It was recommended that conductresses be appointed for ocean voyages to accompany all single girls and women on the voyage. There was advocacy to increase British immigration by persuading the Dominion and Provincial governments to change the laws governing homesteading, making them equal for men and for women. A proposal for 5,000 Mennonite refugees from Russia to come to Canada was not recommended:

Whereas the present proposal is to move this migration into communities of their fellow-countrymen already in Canada, and it is an accepted fact that Canada’s gravest problems of assimilation have always been associated with block or group community settlement of citizens of non-preferred countries; be it resolved that this council on the immigration of women, in conference, respectfully urge that the Honourable Minister of Immigration that the Department does not accede to the request for the admission to Canada of this group.  

Further on in the report it is stated that:

the bulk movement of unaccompanied women from the non-preferred countries under the Railways agreement be entirely discontinued for the season of 1930, and that any renewal or extension of it be most carefully

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considered and rendered subject to the most detailed investigation of applications and verification of placements. 105

The accompaniment of women from non preferred countries was considered an essential service as these women were seen to have “loose morals” and to require supervision to ensure that their behavior was appropriate. The IODE actively sought to limit immigration of non-preferred countries and to increase British immigration. In 1931 the report reflected reduced immigration resulting from the economic conditions of the Depression.

**The Canadian Council on Child Welfare.** The primary mandate for the CCCW was child welfare in Canada. However the work which launched Whitton in the field was her activity in child labour and juvenile immigration, arenas where there was an intersection between child welfare and immigration issues. While Whitton held progressive views on child welfare, her views on immigration were conservative and imperial, and in the case of juvenile immigration her views were clearly biased against poorer people. She was very concerned that destitute children who were “poor breeding stock” were being dumped in Canada.

Whitton was in regular communication with Prime Minister Bennett and also communicated directly with the Department of Immigration and Colonization. In 1926, while F.C.Blair was the Assistant Deputy Minister of Immigration and Colonization, she corresponded with him in respect to her League of Nations work. This was the beginning of a working relationship which continued for the next twenty years. Frederick Charles Blair was twenty years older than Whitton and was from Carlisle Ontario, the son of Scottish parents, a devout Baptist Christian. He was a dedicated civil servant who had joined the Department of Agriculture in 1903 and two years later became an immigration officer. Over the years he worked his way to increasingly senior positions peaking in 1936 when he became the Director of Mines and Resources’ Immigration Branch, a position of considerable power from which he could issue special permits at his own discretion (Knowles 1997). Blair shared Whitton’s anti-immigration views and was pleased to receive anti-immigration “data” from Whitton to further “justify” his decisions.

A file on immigration in the CCSD fonds contains some early 1926 correspondence between Whitton and Blair. In one letter from Blair addressed to a third party he discussed Whitton:

I was much interested in Miss Whitton’s memorandum. I think she has covered splendidly the relating to our attitude to the proposed International Convention on repatriation. I had a note from Miss Whitton written at Basle giving some inside history of the discussions and the attitude of some members of the sub-committee. I think our next move will be to say that if these European countries who are so anxious to enter into conventions of this sort and at the same time to send their people to Canada, wish to complete a convention, it will have to be international in the sense that Canada and some other countries will stay outside. There is no doubt that one might call a domestic problem in Europe entirely separate and distinct from an oversea migration problem. The temporary movement of labour from one European state to another is sometimes much greater than the oversea migration, as for example, Poland and Italy have sent far more workers to France for employment there, than all Europe together has sent to Canada since the war.

Whitton provided Blair with a questionnaire which arose from the International Convention where she was the Canadian representative. The questionnaire concerned the repatriation of juvenile immigrants. Whitton informed Blair that she and Julia Lathrop recommended that he state that the cost of repatriation would be borne by the country of original residence as the current provisions required that the deporting country pay the expenses. She also stated that Blair should recommend that states issuing passports should insure that proper care be taken of any children left in the care of the state by the departure of their parents or guardians. She asked that casual guardianship by strangers during transportation be banned and that standards of custodial care be enforced when children were detained for reasons of health. Blair responded positively to this request and said that it would take some time to prepare the response.

On December 28, 1928 a letter was sent from Blair to Whitton requesting that she submit information that she had discovered in the course of investigating the child welfare section for the Manitoba Royal Commission into Social Services, which Whitton had disclosed to him in a previous conversation.

I wonder if you will be good enough to let us have for consideration a statement in sufficient detail to give us clues to the sources of information as well as the character of the evidence. I can well believe that you might not care to give this officially, since you have not had an opportunity to verify all

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the facts and if you prefer to let us have it confidentially, you may be assured that we will not publish the information you give, nor will we use it any way to embarrass you. When speaking with me the other day it occurred to me that there were about four lines of evidence in your possession, or perhaps I might say four channels. One had to do with the unmarried mothers record, which gives some lead as to the racial identity of many of the mothers, a second line had to do with orphanage records, a third with the criminal records of the province and the fourth with trafficking in women, who are supposed to have been routed through Montreal to Mexico.\textsuperscript{108}

In response to this request, Whitton submitted a confidential memorandum of 13 pages. She prefaced her response:

As I explained to you, these impressions which I am sending forward were turned back when I was ploughing a field for other grain. I was not seeking primarily for immigration material, but I cannot conscientiously ignore the “immigration significance” of the nasty soil atop some of the farrows. Some of this information I ascertained, while at work as a Royal Commissioner. This I am not free to use, but the bulk of it I have extracted from records of social agencies, or reports to which I may have access at any time. I would ask you, especially, not to allow this material to go to the Department files but to retain it for the information of the Minister, Mr. Egan, yourself and Miss Burnham.\textsuperscript{109}

Given the cautions and conditions of release which Whitton is attaching to her report, it is clear that this was not material which had been substantiated and could be part of an official document. Thus providing it to Government Ministers who would be informed by its contents and could then be influenced by it in subsequent decisions seems unethical and irresponsible to me. Whitton’s disclosure that she was not seeking this information and yet was unable to ignore it, suggests that as an imperial daughter, her beliefs and assumptions regarding race and purity shaped her behavior at all times. In this report she targeted “within the foreign-born group, the overwhelming proportion of cases were attributable to four or five groups of central Europeans of Slavic origin viz. the Ukranian (Bukovinian, Galician, Ruthenian, and Ukranian), the Polish, and the Russians.

\textsuperscript{108} LAC, Canadian Council for Social Development Fonds (CCSD),MG 28 I10, Vol.26, file 56, Department of Immigration and Colonization, December 1928.

The disparity is not a question of the poverty of European peasantry, and its depressing environment. It is something deeper, the inevitable chasm between advanced and backward peoples.¹¹⁰

In her report Whitton alleged that these foreign born were seeking to have their own people hired into health positions, to set up schools in their own languages and traditions, and to become members of the legislature. Whitton viewed such independent interest in the groups’ cultural heritage and traditions as a threat to the state as this was not consistent with the goal of assimilation and Canadianization of newcomers. She used statistics to claim that they absorbed an undue amount of child maintenance costs, and suggested that they were morally weak as they were over represented in illegitimacy statistics.

Some of the most ghastly cases of immorality and incest, with very young girls involved were encountered among these groups. The frankness with which the most disgusting relations were discussed by the people concerned, and by others of the same race in the district was appalling. Things known to exist were allowed to go on, taken for granted as they would be in the open sex life of a Russian village. Only when the British law stepped in was action taken, and then often, little or no co-operation was extended to the workers or police.¹¹¹

The sources of the information are unidentified and presumably anecdotal and there is no evidence for the claims she is making.

Cairine Wilson (1885–1962) was Canada’s first woman senator appointed in 1930 at the age of 45 by the government of Prime Minister Mackenzie King. She spearheaded the establishment of the Canadian National Committee of Refugees (CNCR) and took up the cause of opening Canada’s doors to the European refugees who were fleeing Nazi Germany. In 1938 there was widespread opposition to immigration in the wake of the Depression, and so Wilson had an uphill battle. It was F.C. Blair who made most of the immigration decisions and he disliked Jews considering them non-preferred immigrants. He was not at all receptive to accepting these refugees. Wilson and the CNCR organized a National conference on refugees to be held in December 1938 and numerous organizations were represented including Whitton and the Canadian Welfare Council. Whitton and Wilson had numerous heated arguments during the


conference. Whitton called for care and restraint and pointed to other refugees apart from Germany, from Spain, Poland, Italy, Russia and the Baltic States and insisted that the Committee should not address issues its members were not competent to handle. She warned against congregating refugees in large metropolitan centres and suggested that the Federal government set aside money to settle these people in other countries. Wilson strongly disagreed and called for Canada to act immediately. Later in 1940 Wilson and Whitton worked together when the CNCR became involved in organizing the evacuation of British children to Canada. Predictably Whitton was fully in support of this immigration scheme as introducing British children was consistent with her imperial values. In his account of Canada’s failure to respond to the pleas to assist and save European Jewish people from Nazi genocide, Abella and Troper (1982) record that Oscar Cohen from the Canadian Jewish Congress said that Whitton “almost broke up the inaugural meeting of the CNCR by her insistent opposition and her very apparent anti-semitism” p. 101. They reported that Whitton sent a memorandum to all the welfare councils in Canada warning of the dangers of admitting large numbers of non-British children, 80% of whom were Jewish. Quite possibly advised by Whitton, it was Blair who became the immovable obstacle to accepting the refugees, doggedly refusing to change his position (Abella and Troper 1982). It was an anonymous senior Canadian official who was quoted as responding to a journalist enquiry of how many Jews would be allowed into Canada after the war who responded “None is too many.” This became the title Irving Abella and Harold Troper used for their book which examined Canada and the Jews of Europe from 1933–1948. This could well have been a direct quote from Blair or from a civil servant who was mentored by him.

4.4.2 Children, Family and Welfare

Whitton was active in this field of practice throughout her social work career. She succeeded J.J. Kelso and worked at the national level through first, with the Social Services Council of Canada and later through the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, and internationally, with the League of Nations. She promoted national standards and systemic reform in child welfare legislation and service delivery. She called for the abolition of juvenile immigration, for reforms in child labour, and for the adoption of “new scientific approaches” based on the use of surveys to document and assess social conditions. While she promoted voluntary agencies and family responsibility for special care needs, at the same time she supported the professionalization of social work and the adoption of progressive methods and approaches. She was responsible for a vast number of
demographic surveys across Canada that contributed to the standardization of practice and paradoxically to increasing state oversight and control in Canadian child and family affairs.

Underlying her interest in child and family welfare was her imperial belief in the importance of this issue to the nation “more of the real problems of citizenship in one generation, are to be solved by an intelligent understanding of the child welfare problem of the preceding generation.”

The IODE entered into social service work by funding the kind of work which it deemed useful and initiated programs and services staffed by the volunteer work of the Daughters. In their mission statement its members pledged:

To promote unity between the motherland, the sister colonies and themselves; to promote loyalty to King and country; to forward every good work for the betterment of their country and people; to assist in the progress of art and literature; to draw women’s influence to the bettering of all things connected with the Empire and to instil into the youth of their country patriotism in its fullest sense.

The particular focus on instilling patriotism in the youth of the country is reflected in the Order’s commitment to working with families and children, an arena which increasingly became part of their social service work. Later in the same edition of Echoes, a summary of work being done in child welfare by the Order was published. In education it was providing libraries to schools, prizes for Empire-related scholarship, and supporting children of veterans in their educational pursuits. In health and relief, their contributions consisted in funding and implementing children’s services and institutions. The Order responded to the Halifax explosion disaster of December 1917 by sending funding to the chapter in the region, and the Halifax IODE chapter chose to set up a new institution for the “feeble minded” who were particularly traumatized by the disaster. As the National Convenor of the Child Welfare Committee of the IODE, Whitton set the direction for the entire organization in the field of child welfare for many years, monitoring and co-ordinating the work completed by each province. Her activity outside the I.O.D.E where she was already acknowledged as a leader in the field gave her authority within

113 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, June, 1907, p. 2.
the Order. Whitton circulated copies of the International Standards of Child Welfare, the bulletins issued by the Canadian Council of Child Welfare, the Historical and Statistical Survey of Education in Canada, and a copy of the Child Welfare Handbook for Canada to all IODE chapters. Each provincial Convenor was to be placed upon her provincial government’s mailing list and receive copies of proposed legislation to keep her members informed. In addition each provincial Convenor was given a detailed questionnaire, the results of which were later presented in the provincial reports (see appendix F). This questionnaire is remarkable in its thorough specificity of details in each of the categories considered. This would have provided Whitton with a rich source of nation-wide data on child welfare practices for each of the provinces, at the same time as it served to educate the IODE membership and raise awareness of the issues which Whitton judged to be critical.

4.4.2.1 The Shaping of Whitton’s Views on Children and Families

Child welfare became Whitton’s focus while she was working for the SSCC. It was in this early period that she began her own research in the field and produced a succession of reports on child labour, juvenile delinquency, unmarried parenthood, and juvenile immigration. Early editions of Social Welfare published while Whitton was its assistant editor contain articles by Dr. Helen MacMurchy and Dr. Hincks correlating “defect” with morality and attributing disability and lower intelligence to moral shortcoming of the lower classes and of immigrant populations. This eugenic thinking was widespread in Canada at this time, with the most vocal proponents of these ideas being members of the medical profession who believed that a better understanding of heredity could improve mental health. It was Galton who introduced the term eugenics by which he meant “the study of the agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally” (McLaren 1990, 15). The idea that mental “defectiveness” was innate and hereditary and caused social problems such as illegitimacy, delinquency, criminality, and alcoholism meant that the social solution to these problems was to ensure that “racial degeneration” be stopped, that the unfit did not reproduce, and that there be no immigration to Canada of the unfit (McLaren 1990). The methods for accomplishing this ranged from sterilization, institutionalization and segregation to screening measures applied to immigration. Many of these ideas were discarded in the mid to late 1920s by

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114 LAC, IODE Fonds, Echo magazine, Amicus 114363, March, 1921.
mental hygienists such as Hincks, however Whitton retained these ideas which were prevalent in imperial discourse and reflected in the documentation record of the IODE.

In her 1919 IODE report on child labour, Whitton argued for national unity in standards and legislation, for children remaining longer in school, and for higher wages. She suggested that low wages pushed families to send their children into the workforce prematurely. During World War 1 the number of women and children in the labour force rose dramatically and as a result child labour was very topical immediately after the war. The legal age of work was 14 but many younger children were granted work permits and left school to work in factories, enter trades and to perform agricultural work. She noted that families of foreign parentage were inclined to withdraw their children from school and send them to work so that they could retire. She was critical of charitable children’s institutions that sent children to work as soon as they were 14 years of age:

> Though the employment of children may appear to the casual observer to be in the interests of national production and hence prosperity, in the end it is false economy. The immediate economic return on the child’s life accrues at an earlier date, true enough, but its full payment matures in a proportionately, nay, disastrously, shorter time-premature death, physical breakdown, accidents, and all the related problems of dependency perch on the standard of the nation that exploits its little ones.  

In her 1919 report on Juvenile delinquency, Whitton began with an overview of the problem in other countries, with reported increases in England, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, the United States as well as in Canada. Whitton attributed child labour and delinquency to improper parenting and a lack of religious and moral training, and often linked these social problems with the immigrant community. On the topic of unmarried parenthood and illegitimacy, she was critical of legislation which placed the burden of proof of paternity on the mother concluding that “the mother is left to meet all the economic consequences of a joint social offence”( p. 184). Whitton attributed class and low intelligence as a cause of illegitimacy, and reported a positive occupational correlation with domestic service. This correlation was identified not only in Canada but also in Europe and the United States. She commented that:

> Specialists in mental hygiene claim that the subnormal individual drifts into a work where low mentality can survive, and consequently domestic service

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115 Social Welfare, March 1\textsuperscript{st}, 1919, p.144.

will reach a high record in an offence where subnormality is a strong predisposing factor. 117

Whitton attributed personality, “primitive promptings,” subnormality and moral degeneracy as the three primary individual causes of illegitimacy. On moral degeneracy she wrote:

Economic conditions have a very direct bearing, though, on the whole question of moral degeneracy. Low income means poor housing and home conditions. That means not only life in an environment of low living standards, but in over-crowded rooms, in filth, squalor, ignorance, and too frequently their outgrowth of vulgarity and obscenity. The boy and the girl reared in an atmosphere where reserve and modesty are a priggish jest, where marriage is regarded as a legalization of sexual intercourse only, where ideals of morality and life simply do not exist, and where indecency and loose morals are an everyday joke, is predisposed by the prevailing attitude, by the general type of jest, by the common conversation, by the sights and actions of daily life, to regard the whole question of sex immorality as one in which restraint is advisable only because of the unpleasant notoriety attaching to those who inadvertently meet its courted consequence. 118

This extended description of the life of the poor is revealing as it shows Whitton’s classist ideas about poverty. She identified the double standard of the burden of proof resting with illegitimate mothers when it was a “joint offence.” However, in spite of her acknowledgement of the inequity of holding fathers less accountable and responsible, she elaborated at length on the personal characteristics and social circumstances surrounding the women and made no comment on the characteristics of the fathers, further contributing to the double standard of accountability. She did however show that she had some sense of the effects of poor economic conditions.

Her 1923 report on child welfare is published both in the IODE national Annual General Report and in Echoes, so it would have been widely available to the entire membership across the country. She described children as “torch carriers in the race’s onward pilgrimage.” And on the topic of the mortality rate of children and of mothers in childbirth she stated that:

The vast percentage of deaths will be found to be due to ignorance and poor health habits, on the part of the parents; to low wages and poor living conditions; to bad housing, poor drainage and uncertified milk; to ignorance of the value of natural feeding, and in the preparation of substitutes; to a lax

public health service; to family troubles, break-up of home relations, and employment of the mother. 119

She urged the IODE membership to advocate for a decent living wage and improved living conditions, increased available services and public education. At the same time in a spirit of maternal feminism she opposed women working and implied that many child health problems were the result of inept mothering. She concluded this section of her report with the suggestion that to encourage birth registration the Order should issue engraved birth certificates to parents, and that there should be regular health examinations of children to promote early identification of health issues requiring treatment. 120

With respect to child labour she outlined the recommendations of the Conventions of the Peace Treaty, which called for 1) the abolition of child labour by raising the minimum legal age to sixteen years; 2) an eight-hour work day; and 3) a forty-eight-hour work week. Whitton noted the suicide of immigrant children and she called upon the members of the IODE and upon social workers to arouse the public to the necessity of the Federal and Provincial governments working together on this issue for the well-being of the children and for the future strength of Canada. She included a copy of The Children’s Charter, which declared the rights of children and issued a call to action (see Appendix G). She identified the needs for recreation and stated that “the saddest of all groups in child welfare, is the handicapped child or the child in need of special care” (p. 49).

She listed what she considered the primary categories of children in need of special care along with the relevant current legislation in place. These were the: neglected child (abandoned, ill-treated or illegitimate); dependent child (orphan, widow’s child, deserted wife’s child, child of invalid, child of prisoner); delinquent child and; defective child (physically and mentally defective or feeble minded). She urged the membership to:

use every means in their power to rouse public opinion to the nature and extent of the menace. Adequate provincial legislation, providing for survey, registration, segregation, education and supervision of the subnormal in our population alone gives any hope of getting the problem within bounds. 121


120 LAC, IODE Fonds, MG 28,1 17, vol. 12, pt 1, minutes of National Annual meetings 1916–1932, 1923.

121 LAC, IODE Fonds, MG 28,1 17, vol. 12, pt 1, minutes of National Annual meetings 1916–1932, 1923, p.50.
Before presenting the reports of the Child Welfare Convenors to each of the provinces, Whitton issued a cautionary instruction to the members:

In all this great group it is not wise nor desirable that the chapters should be urged to engage in the active, actual social work involved in case treatment. It is the responsibility of every member and every chapter, pretending to have child welfare interests at heart, to co-operate with existing social agencies in the field; to examine and know conditions within the community; to have some intelligent conception of the proper lines of remedial effort, either direct or by legislation, and to be ready to support or condemn . . . . Finally she must be tireless, and enthusiastic in enlisting the strength of her organization in bolstering up and reinforcing specialized social work, and existing organizations, whose work has been approved for the task it is seeking to perform, in the community, province or Dominion. 122

She carefully positions social workers as the experts, with the IODE volunteers as the foot soldiers for the social work profession, furthering the social reform goals and the education of the public and referring clients for expert case management.

4.4.3 Poverty and the Welfare State

Whitton’s views on poverty did not change over her working life. Her adherence to Elizabethan poor law principles remained steadfast and the themes of localized service provision, and the principles of the deserving and the undeserving poor with lesser eligibility pervade her thinking. She opposed the idea of universal rights and of a welfare state and advocated instead for a minimal needs-based system of relief to buttress voluntary philanthropic services. Surprisingly she was very supportive of universal health care and she also strongly supported fair and decent wages for workers. Her rationale was that individual initiative and responsibility should provide family and child requirements and an adequate wage would ensure the means to this end. In 1943 Whitton agreed to complete a comparative analysis of the Beveridge Report, with the “Marsh” Report and the Advisory Committee Report on Health Insurance for Canada (otherwise known as the “Heagerty” Report). She was commissioned by John Bracken of the Federal Conservative Government to complete this work, and its outcome was her publication of Dawn of Ampler Life. Some Aids to Social Security. She began her report with a Memo for Canada, which occupies the first half of the book. The second half is devoted to a critique of each of the other reports. In

Memo for Canada she defined security broadly and critiqued other reports for limiting the discussion to economic security

The structure of a fuller life, in a freer, better world cannot be built upon the one pier of freedom from want: it must rest upon the cornerstones of all four freedoms – with spiritual stability in freedom of worship, intellectual strength in freedom of speech, political growth in freedom from fear, and economic security in freedom from want (p. 1).

Central to her position is that all Canadians must earn a decent wage at a level that is consistent with “decency and human dignity.” She called for measures to ensure

- gainful occupation for all the population at the highest possible level, with
- continuity of work and remuneration in wages, prices for goods or in other return sufficient to assure reasonable self-support (p. 2).

Self-support is pivotal in Whitton’s analysis. She proposed that there should be a basic system of social utilities providing education, health and need-based welfare services through small organizations to be locally administered with active community involvement and voluntary services. She argued that the relationship between central government and the municipalities in Britain was paralleled in Canada by the relationship between the province and the municipalities. She argued that Britain was 90% industrialized where Canada was only about 66% so that these differences must be factored in when considering welfare planning. She was strongly opposed to increased federal power and centralised provincial systems. Overdependence on the state, she argued, reduced individual effort, and replaced human directed services with bureaucratic dehumanized services that would undermine the spirituality and moral fibre of community life. This perspective is informed by an imperial Christian ideology of service and a politically conservative position favouring a residual welfare state.

There are always instances and areas which in all their peculiar aspects, no statute nor regulation can ever anticipate, and for these, the co-operation of the flexible supplementary social agency is the only sure and economic complement to provide complete care (p. 71).

Whitton argued against a social minimum stating that Canada was too diverse and the mix of rural agricultural employment and industrialized employment made it inappropriate.

Whitton critiqued the Marsh Report as inappropriately mirroring the British Beveridge Report which was based on conditions in the United Kingdom which, Whitton argued, were very different in Canada. She opposed Marsh’s focus on social insurance and the role of the Federal government. In her view interruptions to income arose from individual causes such as sickness,
disability or premature death, and for this she recommended a dual system of social insurance and social assistance subject to a need assessment by professional social workers.

When family allowances were introduced in 1945 in accordance with the recommendations of the Marsh Report, Whitton again entered the public fray with a publication entitled *Baby Bonuses: Dollars or Sense?* In it she opposed the new Family Allowance legislation of 1944, describing the program as a reward for reproduction instead of production. Once again she promoted the importance of a decent living wage for workers and decried any program that was premised on what she viewed as unearned hand-outs. Predictably she expressed concern that rewarding reproduction would encourage the wrong kind of people to have children and would further weaken the fibre of Canada. This raised the ire of the French community who saw her position as an attack on Catholicism.123

Whitton identified two types of need, predictable (sickness, age, premature incapacitation, death) which she advocated be covered through contributory social insurance schemes, and unpredictable need which she described as unforeseen circumstances and disability: in this instance she said:

> Good social work further insists that the provision of help should be accompanied by every possible effort to effect the re-establishment of the person on a self supporting basis. Particularly where the person’s need is individual in cause or remedy, the procedure of diagnosing and meeting that need should be highly skilled and individualized. (Whitton 1939, 392)

Whitton believed that responding to poverty was a highly skilled social work task that involved screening for fraud and misrepresentation, and assisting people to resume economic productivity. As she saw poverty as an individual and local matter and not a responsibility of the state she was opposed to relief “hand outs,” except in cases of the “deserving poor.” Whitton argued for a mixed economy with private agencies and voluntary labour operating with government grants and government regulations.

In considering Whitton’s entire social work career, she devoted a minimal part of her practice to the field of poverty and welfare. In response to direct requests from Ministers she completed surveys and produced reports and recommendations. Work that was initiated by her was in the

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123 Whitton (1945) Canada Must Choose. Baby Bonuses: Dollars or Sense?
fields of immigration and immigration related child and family issues. For her, the existing residual welfare system required no improvement and she defended its usefulness. She did take a more progressive position on wages and advocated for wage levels that would promote family autonomy and minimize the need for public benefits.

4.5 Key Ideas and Practice Orientation

Having considered Whitton’s choices in practice location and profiled her approaches to practice both of which reflect the influence of imperial discourse, I now discuss her approach to the professionalization of social work, something in which she was highly invested. I then explore some of her ideas on the role of women focusing particularly on her identity as a female imperialist.

4.5.1 The Professionalization of Social Work

Whitton strongly supported the professionalization of social work, and actively promoted the profession by recommending the need for professional social workers in many of her reports. She became part of the new university educated graduates who entered the profession after World War I and adopted scientific methods using surveys and demographic studies to better understand the needs of the community. In 1934 she gave a speech at the CASW in Toronto entitled “Some forward glimpses in Canadian social work.” Speaking in the midst of the Depression she observed that every province had at least one official dealing with relief but most often it was not a social worker. She warned:

> Unemployment relief will continue as poor relief and will slip into its place as a state matter along with education, public health and other items. Social workers should work out principles and practices and be prepared to give the lead in this permanent organization\(^\text{124}\)

Whitton strove to raise the public profile of social work and wanted recognition of social work knowledge and practice. She saw the Depression as an opportunity for the profession to step forward:

> As it settles down the task becomes one of business-like organizations of relief. Many people today realize that human values are involved and they are turning to fresh and broader vision of the field. Excellent staff officers are emerging from the ranks of business men, engineers and other professions are

\(^{124}\) LAC, CASW Fonds MG 28, I441, Vol. 35, Toronto Branch minutes and Annual Reports 1931–1934, p.3.
giving fine leadership and will soon take their places with us as social work leaders. We are losing an opportunity for a large contribution professionally.\(^{125}\)

She concluded her presentation by saying:

There is a broader highway leading into a new vision of social services, public and private. This is a highway which many of us here tonight will have an opportunity of treading, and it leads forward to a vista of social work which will be all the finer if we accept our responsibilities and go forward with determination and courage.\(^ {126}\)

Whitton had a political vision of the social work profession advising the government on national policy issues and overseeing service delivery throughout the country. However Whitton’s political views and her views on social protection in the wake of the Depression were increasingly at variance with the majority opinion of the social work body. The executive of the CASW was suspicious of her political involvement in relief questions, her role in the National Employment Commission and her part in the transfer of the child welfare division (Whitton attempted to have the Child Welfare Division become part of the Canadian Welfare Council). It was suggested that she was not a “real” trained social worker as she had not completed any social work training courses. This resulted in Whitton declining to renew her membership in 1937 (Rooke and Schnell 1987). In an article she wrote entitled “The Social Worker Pleads for Faith” she said:

Is a man or woman of good intellect, sound character, proven capacity and experience who has spent the better part of his or her life in doing social work, recognized as such in the community, to be denied as a social worker and decried as an amateur or volunteer because he or she lacks training, a formal certificate, from some approved school, when at the time of his or her entry to social work there was no such schools, because he or she may even have helped to make the very school itself and evaluate its very training?\(^ {127}\)

Written at a time of disillusionment, nevertheless she raised some critical arguments around what makes a social worker. She supported a mixed economy and was in favour of local private agencies funded with government grants with the work shared between paid and voluntary social workers.

\(^{125}\) LAC, CASW Fonds MG 28, I441, Vol. 35, Toronto Branch minutes and Annual Reports 1931–1934, p.3.


The most deadly, the most undermining, the most fatal tendency in certain communities today the extent to which the professional workers get together, consult, discuss, confer, decide, and with very, very little fresh air from the lay point of view infiltrated into the atmosphere, and then agree that because they have so concurred, the problem is settled... the volunteer group would save us from our own “inbreeding.”

Whitton was the original architect of the Canada Welfare Council, which became one of the most influential national social work agencies and continues to operate today as the Canadian Council on Social Development. After her retirement, the Agency continued to thrive and became a staging work place for many prominent social workers such as Bessie Touzel, Dick Davis, George Davidson, George Hougham, Richard Splane and others (Splane 1996). Whitton was a part-time lecturer at University of Toronto Department of Social Science from 1930 to 1943 and contributed to the building of the profession as a social work teacher. She worked closely with Agnes MacGregor (twice the Head of the Department of Social Science between 1914 and 1944) and the CCSD archives have files of correspondence between them. Whitton hosted social work fieldwork placements at the Canada Welfare Council and was regarded by the faculty as an expert on immigration.

### 4.5.2 Feminism and the Role of Women

Whitton wrote several pieces for *Social Welfare* under the pseudonym Kit of the Kitchen. Her first article is what one might expect from such a pseudonym. In it she wrote about Christmas celebrations and all the myriad tasks that consume the time of women in cooking and preparing for this annual festive event. A poem called “A Tired Woman’s Epitaph” appeared in the final part of the piece along with some Christmas stories. The succeeding articles were very different and Kit of the Kitchen introduced them by saying that these were on Canadian problems of today and were an invitation for discussion. She discussed the role of women, industrial conditions, citizenship, social problems and immigration among other things. In her presentation of the role of women there was a mix of ideas, which today would perhaps be seen as incompatible. In the immediate post WWI years when women had just obtained the vote,
Whitton wrote about a woman’s right to power and the responsibility of power. Referring to the role women had during WWI she said:

If women were called in to aid to the fullness of her powers in those efforts, which were to result in some degree in the destruction of men, how much more necessary is her counsel and advice; nay how much wider the “scope of her usefulness” reconciliation and conservation of mankind. If the mind and soul and body of women were of value, on the eve of victory, they are indispensable on the dawn of peace. Out of the debris, new worlds are to be created, and creation is woman’s primal right and power.\(^{130}\)

In stating that creation is woman’s primal right she is presumably speaking of women as child-bearers, as creating new life but also in this context she seemed to be alluding to bringing forth new ideas and new social solutions. This assertion could be construed as a maternalist statement in which feminine qualities are seen as special and unique. She discussed how national women’s organizations had offered advice and been ignored, and then stated:

Only representation in the House of Commons and in the Senate will afford women direct contact with national action. For this the women of Canada must stand; for this they must strive, if they desire any other office than that of “Ladies Aid.”\(^{131}\)

This strong feminist statement that women should be represented at all levels of government and political decision-making is an equal rights position. She concluded the paragraph with:

There is no doubt that the present time of readjustment, and, let us hope, of resuming our life on newer finer planes, in the opportune moment for recognition of the equality of womankind.\(^{132}\)

Whitton had a Masters Degree in history and political science and her interest in the national political sphere was evident in all her thinking.

Never in any land has the need for intelligent womanhood been so great as it is in the Dominion of Canada today. And never has the opportunity for Women’s service been as wide and glorious as that offered to Canadian women at the present hour\(^{133}\)

Whitton observed that:

\(^{130}\) Social Welfare, May 1\(^{st}\) 1919, p. 200
\(^{131}\) Social Welfare, May 1\(^{st}\) 1919, p. 200
\(^{132}\) Social Welfare, May 1\(^{st}\) 1919, p. 200
\(^{133}\) Social Welfare, May 1\(^{st}\) 1919, p.200..
Fifty-five thousand men of Canada have passed for ever from the national life. To take their places, the Government of Canada has chosen 3,380,000 girls and women.\textsuperscript{134}

Whitton was clearly excited by this dawning opportunity for women and was invested in a political career herself. In her next piece by Kit of the Kitchen she addressed industrial work conditions for women in the factories and reproduced the rights of the woman worker as laid out by Mary Van Kleeck, the Head of Women in Industry Service in the United States. This statement included calling for an eight-hour work day, washrooms, meal breaks, paid overtime, half holiday on Saturdays, and equal wages for the same work irrespective of sex. Despite these positions Whitton subscribed to the male breadwinner ideal. She believed that women had an essential part to play as mothers and that it was in the interests of children for mothers to stay at home and devote full time to raising their children.

The betterment of home influences and home life, by better housing, better and more constructive education, better social standards, higher ideals of family life, and a nobler assumption of parental duties.\textsuperscript{135}

On the topic of domestic labour Whitton stated that it was a woman’s problem and

Women simply cannot be obtained for housework and domestic service, or if obtainable demand a wage, beyond the possibilities of the young mother with a small family – the woman in direst need of domestic service.\textsuperscript{136}

She seemed to be suggesting that women in domestic labour should accept low wages in order to supply an urgent social need. There is no suggestion in her writing that men should assume some parenting responsibility or that this was an issue of national and universal concern that required a communal solution. While Whitton argued that women needed to be able to earn a living wage and that women might also have dependents and family responsibilities, she seemed to support the idea that women must choose between a career or marriage and motherhood. In her speech at the CASW in Toronto in 1954 she stated:

I says, ‘Lord give us men’ speaking absolutely professionally. There are administrative problems which by their weight are beyond the nervous capacities of the average woman to carry for a long time.\textsuperscript{137}

\textsuperscript{134} Social Welfare, May 1\textsuperscript{st} 1919, p. 201
\textsuperscript{135} Social Welfare, June 1\textsuperscript{st} 1919, For Woman’s Thought. p. 228.
\textsuperscript{136} Social Welfare, June 1\textsuperscript{st} 1919, For Woman’s Thought. p. 228.
Whitton was the Mayor of Ottawa when she made this statement and I would assume that she does not consider herself an “average” woman. Nevertheless it is a revealing comment on her acceptance of current stereotypes of the differences between men and women. In a similar adherence to conventional ideas around gender she argued for the promotion of children’s recreational and educational opportunities. In her 1923 report on child welfare, she said that the member should

Capitalize the “gang” instinct in your boys, into athletic enterprise; the “boy foolishness” in your girls into preparation for housekeeping.\textsuperscript{138}

In her book \textit{Canadian Women in the War Effort}, Whitton emphasized the importance of women’s home responsibilities, the home front, as the most natural and useful place for women to contribute to the war effort through maternal work (Pickles 2002). Whitton is remembered as a feminist and is featured in collections on female pioneers. In her writing she showed a mix of progressive ideas and other notions that were part of the common public discourse of the time, but she also formulated ideas that were informed by a philosophy of female imperialism. She supported women taking a leadership position, women contributing to the nation and the national good, women active in the political sphere but, simultaneously women loyal to God, Monarch and Country subscribing to an imperial idea of race.

\section*{4.6 Discussion}

In her social work career this study has positioned Whitton as most active in the field of immigration, which is contrary to other analyses of her career that centre her work in child welfare. By considering her practice in light of her imperial belief system and her affiliation with the IODE, it became clear that the assemblage of eugenic ideas about the nature of social problems, namely that they were the result of genetic and hereditary “defectiveness,” translated into discriminatory action. In her child welfare work she was strongly influenced by progressive thinking on the rights of the child which emanated from her Hull House mentors and from her League of Nations colleagues and it is these influences that resulted in the work which has granted her a favourable legacy. However, even in this work, for example when conducting demographic surveys of social problems, she was guided unofficially by her eugenic ideas. She

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{138} LAC, IODE Fonds, MG 28.1 17, vol. 12, pt 1, minutes of National Annual meetings 1916–1932, National Annual Meeting, 1923, p.49.}
not only assembled information which reflected negatively on immigrant newcomer groups but used the information to influence national policy direction. This practice became more visible as her career advanced and in the World War II debate on providing asylum for Jewish refugees her opposition was public. Furthermore, it was her commitment to an imperial vision of a future Canada built on children who were “fit” and culturally steeped in British values that fuelled much of her work in child welfare.

For Whitton screening was central to social work practice and should be the backbone of the profession. This is a practice direction which derives directly from her imperial thinking. In the field of immigration the importance of ensuring that the “unfit” were kept out of Canada was central to her position. In the field of child welfare, she recommended nurturing future citizens but screening and segregating the unfit. Whitton viewed poverty as an outcome of individual failing and defined social work practice as the expert screening for false claimants and directing clients to become self-supporting and independent.

Whitton’s imperial eugenic approach to immigration and disability continues to be a source of recrimination today. Cossman and Kline (2005) enter a discussion of feminism and anti-Semitism that builds on two articles published in 1992. These articles discussed a feminist legal heroine Clara Brett Martin who was the first woman to be admitted to the bar in the British Empire, an appointment that constituted an important milestone for feminism. However it was “discovered” that she had written an anti-Semitic letter to the Attorney General in 1915, calling for anti-Semitic legislative action. In their article Cossman & Kline raised numerous questions about this problem. They argued that the fact that anti-Semitism was reflective of the dominant discourses of the day does not lessen the seriousness of this anti-Semitic activity. They pointed out that there was also resistance to these discourses and so her choice to perpetrate those oppressive ideas and conform to the dominant discourses, was not only her personal position but became a systemic institutional position. The same issues surround the career of Charlotte Whitton. My study shows that Whitton’s personal positioning as a female imperialist influenced her systemic actions and her social work practice. Whitton’s exclusionary approach to non-British newcomers, her anti-Semitism and her xenophobia had serious implications. This has marred her legacy significantly.
Whitton was a powerful and controversial figure in early Canadian social work, and her career has been well documented in a range of sources. Memories of her are polarized and continue to arouse controversy. The polarization perhaps reflects the fact that Whitton’s positions were an unexpected mix of female imperialism and progressive social reform. Veronica Strong-Boag (1995) in a paper on the development of Mothers Allowance in Canada characterised the social work profession as middle class women imposing their values and beliefs on working class women. Her identification of social work was drawn largely from some of the published writings and reports of Charlotte Whitton.

Strong-Boag traced “careers in family management” for social workers as beginning in the 1920s with the establishment of Mothers’ Allowance benefits that were conditional on assessment and compliance with moral and financial regulations of deservedness. She quoted a Whitton statement from the Manitoba Royal Commission in which Whitton is critical of mothers’ allowance: “If the mothers allowance administration does not gradually prepare her to stand on her own feet, it fails in one of its objectives” 139 This was Whitton as female imperialist and these ideas permeated her position on poverty and welfare. The Elizabethan poor laws informed her views on welfare and dependency and she retained these throughout her working life. For Whitton to be used by historians as universally representative of social work practice is problematic as not only is Whitton’s own practice a mix of some progressive and some imperial conservative ideas but her conservative views and authoritarian approach were contested by other social workers. She represents only one stream of ideas and social work practice was far more heterogenous as this study shows.

Katie Pickles (2002) said Charlotte Whitton considered women’s auxiliaries to be “the butterers of bread, the cutters of cake, the brewers of tea, folders of letters, lickers of stamps – generally the handmaidens of the social trivialities” and Pickles asserted that Whitton was exceptional, one of the policy makers at the IODE rather than a front-line worker greeting newcomers at ports. While I would agree that Whitton was an exceptional figure, when I examined the IODE archives I saw a sophisticated operation with an efficient hierarchical top-down organizational structure directing social service work throughout Canada. To construct and successfully manage

such an organisation would require many competent and dedicated women with administrative and managerial skill sets. While Whitton was perhaps more outstanding than most members I would surmise that there were many other highly skilled and dedicated women within the membership. A further example of this point from the limited sample of this study is Joan Arnoldi.

Whitton was a leader in the IODE at the same time as she led the Canada Welfare Council. The IODE operationalized sophisticated imperial agendas through numerous venues—immigration settlement work, child welfare work, presence in the schools, educational work—influencing public memory through memorials, scholarships, distribution of books and portraits of the monarchs. At the Canada Welfare Council, Whitton opposed juvenile immigration and child labour and fought to reduce juvenile delinquency and other “social problems” such as illegitimacy and inept parenting. She opposed the creation of a welfare state and while her advocacy for an improved working wage was progressive, her reasoning was conservative as she saw waged compensation as the means for families to provide for themselves even in times of greater need. Her inaction in social reconstruction ultimately became the issue that resulted in her ejection from the social work profession.
Chapter 5

Bessie Touzel lived to see almost the entire 20th century unfold within her lifetime. An early graduate of the Department of Social Service (later the Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work) at the University of Toronto, her social work career spanned forty years of dramatic change, including the creation and implementation of the welfare state in Canada. In her final years she witnessed the retrenchment of the welfare state and in her last public address at the 80th anniversary of the Faculty of Social Work she appealed to the next generation of social workers to fight for the retention and return of social protection. Known publically as feisty and outspoken Touzel was a shrewd pragmatist and strategist and a significant individual actor in Ontario social work history.

There are four biographical outlines of Touzel’s professional life contained in encyclopaedias (Bellamy 2013; Bradshaw 2005; Guyatt 2005; Johnstone 2013) and in her dissertation on social work in cold war Canada, Laurel Lewey provides a short biography and some further references (Lewey 2006). Numerous references to aspects of Touzel’s career are contained in accounts of the history of social welfare and social work in Canada. In her history of the social planning council of Toronto, Gayle Wills (1995) documented some of Touzel’s contributions while she was executive secretary at the Toronto Welfare Council of Toronto in the 1940s. Jennissen and Lundy (2011) reference Touzel’s work at different points of her career and provide some in-depth coverage of her contributions using archival sources. Social welfare historian, James Struthers, similarly provides detailed information in No Fault of their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State 1914–1941, on Touzel’s employment with the Ottawa Welfare Board. And in his study The Limits of Affluence. Welfare in Ontario, 1920–1970, he details her work with the Toronto Welfare Council in the 1940s and the Ontario Welfare Council in the 1950s. His account is based on archival sources as well as personal interviews, but the primary focus of the book is a macro institutional perspective of the Province (Struthers 1989, 1994). Nancy Christie makes passing references to Touzel in her feminist account of the breadwinner ideal in the Canadian welfare state (Christie 2000). In Proceedings of the Bessie Touzel Tribute, held at the Faculty of Social Work of the University of Toronto on September 15, 1998, a family
tribute is recorded from Touzel’s nephew John Patton. A lecture from James Struthers is recorded as well as a discussion by a panel of four prominent social activists. This was published as a booklet of which copies are held at the Robarts Library of the University of Toronto (Faculty of Social Work 1998).

This chapter introduces Touzel as an example of a social worker whose practice was shaped by radical left-leaning ideas. Touzel was introduced to socialist ideas early in her career and was confronted with dissonance between individual casework approaches and the reality of structural outcomes in people’s lives. How she reconciled these and how this question informed her practice is discussed within the narrative of her career trajectory. Following this I analyse her chosen field of practice and the development of her practice approach in relation to left-leaning discourses.

5.1 Social Location

Touzel was born on September 3, 1904 in Killaloe, Ontario in the Ottawa Valley. The Ottawa Valley was well known to the Iroquois, Algonquin and Mississauga First Nations peoples and the Ottawa River which bisected the region was part of a great canoe route across the North American continent. After occupation by British and French settlers the river became the dividing line between the provinces of Quebec and Ontario. The valley was covered in coniferous forest and became the site of a competitive lumber industry. The British government subsidized immigration to the region by sending immigrant settlers back on ships that delivered the lumber to Britain. The Canadian Shield which lay under Lanark, Renfrew, Pontiac and Gatineau made the land unsuitable for farming. Thus the lumber industry became the primary source of employment for the newly arriving settlers. It provided poorly paid seasonal work for those who were not owners and organisers. By 1911, 42% of its population were of French ancestry, 26% were Irish, 12% English and 10% Scottish. Of these 58% were Roman Catholic, 14% Presbyterian, 12% Anglican, and 9% Methodist (Lee 2006).

Touzel’s father was a staunch liberal supporter of William Lyon Mackenzie King, and built the family home himself, which suggests that he may have been an owner or organiser in the lumbertrade. In her retirement Touzel returned to Killaloe and restored the family home for herself and her sister to live in. One branch of Touzel’s family was Irish and after her retirement, she visited Ireland to conduct some ancestral research on her family history prior to their
emigration during the Irish potato famine in 1845–1846. She was astonished at the similarities between the Irish villages and her own childhood home. To record her visit, she took some photographs of her ancestral village and wrote on the back of one of them “Catholics on one side of the river, Protestants on the other. Just like Eganville.”

John Patton recalled that Touzel was a professed atheist, with an abhorrence of intolerance and the exclusionary practices of organized religion. Despite this, she had an avid interest in the practices and beliefs of major world religions, in particular Judaism. Her apartment was home to cherished religious objects and an extensive collection of books on religion.

During her childhood, Touzel made numerous trips to Toronto’s Hospital for Sick Kids where she underwent lengthy periods of surgery. Touzel was afflicted with poliomyelitis at the end of her first year of life. Otherwise known as infantile paralysis, this viral infection was endemic in North America prior to the sanitation improvements that occurred between 1880 and 1920. Even so, there were still polio epidemics before the mass immunization programs in the late 1950s finally halted the scourge (MacDougall 1990). While death and paralysis were often the outcomes of this illness, Touzel was taken to Toronto Hospital for Sick Kids for treatment, and after numerous lengthy hospital stays and painful surgeries, she reached adulthood with a distinctive limp which accompanied her throughout her life.

Raised as a Protestant, with high value placed on education and literacy, and often confined to bed, Touzel read voraciously and widely. As a teenager, while on a routine visit to her local library, she discovered a file of magazines of the English Rationalist Society which introduced her to “a completely different way of seeing life.” The English rationalist society was a group founded on humanistic principles which valued empirical knowledge and evidence, preferring a secular ethical approach to human affairs. Among its members were Julian Huxley and Mathew Arnold both well known as atheists. This discovery initiated a journey of intellectual discovery which led Touzel to consider ideas that were quite contrary to the conservative status quo of her home community. While she had aspired to a career in medicine throughout her high school

141 ibid.
142 Remembrance plaque on 4th Floor of Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto.
years, by 1926 at the age of 22, she was more interested in a “social approach to human needs” and decided to study at the University of Toronto’s Department of Social Service.\textsuperscript{144}

5.2 Education

The two year Social Service Diploma which Touzel completed, shared a faith in evolutionary social progress, with a curriculum that included social psychology and economics. The Director, J.A. Dale, was an Oxford graduate, who stated that graduates would be able to influence the policy of public and private institutions. He taught that by using empirical or scientific methodology, information could be gathered and used to satisfy moral purposes through the solving of social problems (Burke 1996). In her second year, Touzel was taught by E.J. Urwick and through him introduced to a moral vision of social work as a vocation committed to achieving the highest good through the service of the profession (Burke 1996). Urwick asserted that the moral and ethical imperative to serve the community beyond the interests of the individual would act to uplift individuals and at the same time contribute to social and community well-being. This approach would have coalesced well with the ideas of the English rationalists who sought a rational human solution to social problems guided by ethical principles rather than a faith-based approach. Urwick was the Director of two Departments, Social Service and Political Economy, and he taught the new scientific social science knowledge-based approaches as well as a structural political understanding of social problems (Burke 1996; Chambon 2012; Moffatt 2001). Touzel graduated with a strong belief in the value of philosophy as the source of the ethical principles that were to guide action, and the inseparable union of theory and practice. She wrote “the philosopher removed from life cannot provide that guidance and sense of direction that is his purpose as a philosopher.”\textsuperscript{145} When reflecting on her social work career at the age of 85, Touzel said that Urwick was a formative influence and remained a model and inspiration for her throughout her career.\textsuperscript{i}

The 1926–1927 Calendar of the University of Toronto stated in the introductory section of the Department of Social Services that: “in 1914 the University of Toronto established, in its

\textsuperscript{144} Interview with Bessie Touzel, 6 March, 1989. Christine Ball Ph.D thesis. 1994, The History of the Voice of Women, University of Toronto

\textsuperscript{145} Touzel, B. (1953). The moral foundations of social work. Lecture delivered at the 4\textsuperscript{th} Western Regional Conference of Social Work
Department of Social Service, the first university training school in Canada for social workers; and in 1920 it founded the first university chair of Social Science.” The program was intended for men and women with “a fair degree of maturity and education” and identified two categories of student – those completing the diploma course who intended to make social services a lifework, and those who were part-time and could attend lecture courses but would not be involved in the fieldwork part of the program. It was anticipated that the latter students would be volunteers active in the field, on Boards and in committees, who wished to learn more. Touzel entered the program as a full-time student in the Diploma program in 1927. The calendar described field work as mandatory, with frequent conferences with the Director of field work to discuss the relation between theory and practice. The practice choice was between family case work and community work. It was clearly stated in the calendar that all full-time students were admitted on probation and “any student who is, in the opinion of the staff, unlikely to succeed in social work, will be asked to withdraw” (p. 823). The program required that at some point at least one placement be in case work. Academically the curriculum taught economics, psychology and ethics in both years, with community organisation in the first year and social evolution in the second. Touzel did field work in settlement and family welfare agencies as part of her social work program.

Much later at the 1964 Fall convocation of the University of Toronto, Touzel received an honorary doctorate, in recognition of her unique contribution to welfare in Canada.  

5.3 Public Life in Social Work

Touzel began her social work career as a Renfrew County Children’s Aid Society Volunteer, working close to her childhood home of Killaloe. After she graduated with her Social Service Diploma, her first paid employment position was as a caseworker with the Neighbourhood Workers Association (NWA) in Toronto (1928–1933). Two years later she was promoted to a supervisory management position as a District Secretary of the Scarborough Region. In Toronto in the 1920s, relief was provided through private or semi-private welfare organizations, supplemented by public funds. Relief and casework were dispensed through eight separate

\[146\] POA, Ontario Welfare Council Archive, biographical data

\[147\] AO WEC newspaper clipping 1964.
agencies of which the NWA was one. The NWA was established in 1914, with the primary function of screening applicants for outdoor relief (non institutional assistance). The city asked that all organizations receiving city grants become members of the NWA to promote standardization in relief efforts (Wills 1995). The co-ordinating services were carried out by the District Secretaries of the NWA whose salaries were paid by the City. The NWA was originally a creation of the settlement house movement in Toronto and was seen as an alternative to the coerciveness of Associated Charities using a community approach combined with casework (Wills 1995).

Table 4

_Chronology of Touzel’s Work History_

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workplace</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood Workers Association (NWA), Toronto</td>
<td>1928–1933</td>
<td>First job. Employed as a frontline caseworker &amp; promoted to supervisor after 2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ottawa Public Welfare Department</td>
<td>1933–1936</td>
<td>Chief of Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Welfare Council</td>
<td>1936–1939</td>
<td>Secretary of Public Welfare Division. ED was Charlotte Whitton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welfare Council of Toronto</td>
<td>1940–1947</td>
<td>Executive Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Welfare Council</td>
<td>1948–1953</td>
<td>Assistant Director (ED Dick Davis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Welfare Council</td>
<td>1953–1964</td>
<td>Executive Director—retired in 1964</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania – UN contract</td>
<td>1964–1966</td>
<td>Contracted to assist Tanzanian government implement welfare policies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University of Toronto, School of Social Work</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Joined the faculty as a special lecturer in social policy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the Great Depression deepened in 1930, Ontario lacked a provincial public welfare structure for assessing and alleviating need. The public relief agencies were limited to the Division of Social Welfare and the House of Industry and five private charities which co-ordinated their activity with the public services (Struthers 1989). At this time there were only 400 to 500 trained social workers in all of Canada and most of these worked with private charities. Local governments received no extra funding to accommodate the increasing administrative expenses. The economic circumstances triggered a public debate on social protection and the adverse effects of a market economy. Indeed the Great depression disrupted many of the ‘poor law’ assumptions surrounding unemployment and poverty (Finkel 1979; Struthers 1994).
5.3.1 The 1936 Conflict in Ottawa

Selected as an experienced social worker, in 1933 Touzel accepted a new position as Chief of Staff for the City of Ottawa Welfare Board. In response to the fiscal demands of relief provision, the new federal government under MacKenzie King continued the Bennett policy of passing the costs of relief to the provinces and the municipalities. In Ontario the Hepburn administration declared that the municipalities would have to tighten up. The City of Ottawa led the way by creating a Public Welfare Board and became one of the first Canadian communities to employ professional social workers in the distribution of relief (Struthers 1989). This presented Touzel with an innovative opportunity to hone some of the social work principles she was developing as a result of her work in relief casework with NWA in Toronto. Touzel was in charge of forty female social workers who were engaged in relief casework across the city.

Over a period of three years Touzel supervised and trained her staff in a practice of careful distribution of relief funds and access to community resources to meet living and social needs. Her social workers gradually modified the income support program so that casual earnings were no longer deducted from the relief allowance and clothing was provided through the Ottawa Neighborhood Services. However grants in rent (Ottawa was a civil service society with high rent) and fuel (Ottawa was the second coldest capital city in the world) were the highest in Ontario. Ottawa ranked third overall per capita relief expenditure in Ontario (Struthers 1989). In recognition of her outstanding public service Touzel was a recipient of the Jubilee medal in 1935. Only 7,500 medals were issued in Canada, and it is interesting that this public honour was awarded just before the City’s Board of Control roundly condemned her work.148

In 1936, in response to criticism in the local press about the rising cost of relief and an increase in taxes, the City Council fired all of Touzel’s staff of forty women social workers from the Public Welfare Board and replaced them with eleven male detectives. The Council sought to quieten public criticism and reduce public relief costs by having eleven male non-social workers reinvestigate the Board’s caseload to root out “chisellers” or fraudulent claims. The Mayor of Ottawa announced that:

> It was the intention to divorce direct relief from social services; women were good for social service work but as far as the city was concerned, the social

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side would be looked after by Ottawa Welfare Bureau; the men investigators did better work than women; they were not interested in social service but in seeing that those on relief gave the city the right information and reported their earnings.\textsuperscript{149}

Touzel resigned in protest. She wrote a lengthy letter defending her staff and responding to the allegations made by the Mayor. She sent a copy of the letter to \textit{The Ottawa Citizen} newspaper where it was published, and also sent a copy to the Canadian Association of Social Workers (see appendix H). Her letter was directed at both the professional community and the broad public view of welfare. This protest precipitated a controversy within the social work community. The November 1936 edition of \textit{The Social Worker} was devoted to Touzel’s account of “What Happened in Ottawa.” Touzel described the rise of the Public Welfare Board and her work in both capacities as a social worker and a staff supervisor. A copy of her letter to \textit{The Citizen} entitled “A Social Worker’s Protest” was printed in full in \textit{The Social Worker}. She stated that “I do not believe that families on relief can continue with any reasonable assurance of health, or even the previous standard of living, at the present rate of assistance.”\textsuperscript{150} Demonstrating her political position in support of increased social protection, she challenged the existing standards of relief provision as inadequate but she also condemned the allegation that her social workers lacked competency. She condemned “the fact that employees who had given service of good quality were dismissed without any adequate examination of their suitability to their work.”\textsuperscript{151} She disputed the claim that their work was social work rather than relief assistance, and attacked the autocratic manner in which the decision had been made and imposed by Council. She declared: “A very important principle in our community life is challenged if employees of the corporation are to be dismissed in a wholesale manner, and a reorganization carried out without regard to the civil servants appointed to direct the department involved.”\textsuperscript{152}

Touzel’s public resignation became a talking point in the social work profession. The editor of \textit{The Social Worker} commended her action and invited responses: “We are forced to decide

\textsuperscript{149} \textit{The Social Worker}, November, 1936, p.3.

\textsuperscript{150} Touzel, (1936). What happened in Ottawa. \textit{The Social Worker}, 5,2,3

\textsuperscript{151} ibid.

\textsuperscript{152} ibid, 5.
whether we wish to make the professional association a force in its own field or not.” 153 In the following issue responses ranged from applauding Touzel’s stand to others taking a more cautious position, suggesting that she could have accomplished more by remaining Chief of Staff and calling for reform. It is the ongoing debate between social activism and incremental progressive reform that continues in social work to this day. Should social workers work within the system and seek incremental changes and improvements, or step outside, build new organisations and contribute to public education?

Following her resignation, Touzel was immediately offered employment with The Canadian Welfare Council, a federal agency pioneered by Charlotte Whitton in 1920. Originally established as a federal co-ordinating agency to organise child welfare in Canada, it had expanded its mandate to co-ordinate all welfare programs in the country. In The Social Worker (November 1936) it is reported that it was the Canadian Welfare Council that advocated for the new position at the Ottawa Public Welfare Council to be filled by a social worker, an advocacy position which Whitton pursued during the 1930s. It is possible then that Whitton was instrumental in the appointment of Touzel and offered her employment when she herself resigned. Touzel’s new position at the Canadian Welfare Council was as Secretary in the Public Welfare Division. She remained in this position for three years but experienced conflict in working for Whitton. Correspondence with Professor Harry Cassidy (ex-professor from the Department of Social Science at University of Toronto) in 1938 revealed that Touzel was not happy in that job. She appealed to Cassidy to keep her informed of employment opportunities and at a later point in their exchange she described the following scenario taking place at the Canada Welfare Council:

I was, for a time, of the opinion that the extreme ability of the director, coupled with the fact of a very dominant personality explained an apparent impatience and readiness to carry through without other people. This recent discussion described in the addenda to the last board minutes and going forward for approval of the Board on the 28th has matured my thinking. The way in which this matter was presented to me and discussed has convinced me that there is really no appreciation of another’s position on questions under discussion.

The adoption of the described policy would make a Greek chorus of the C.A.S.W. and limits our part in its committees to that of stool pigeons for the
CWC. This matter came up because of the report which my committee on service standards made last biennial meeting. The chief annoyance is over its support of a policy of cash relief. There is the claim that such embarrasses the Council. I offered, at the time, to have the report signed, “Convenor of Service Standards,” and not have my name appear. I said that the report had been adopted by the National Board and that my committee had made these findings and that even if I disapproved I could not make changes. Miss Whitton insisted that I could. This tale only by way of illustrating the difficulty . . . I feel that the event clarifies the situation and suggests that little Bessie move along.154

This revealing letter showed not only Touzel’s unwillingness to compromise her personal integrity but also her loyalty to the CASW, and her unwillingness to work in an autocratic organization where her own opinion and integrity were not respected. Judging from this incident, Whitton not only made no distinction between her own views and her organization but she was controlled the official position of the CASW so that there was total synchronicity between the CWC and CASW.

5.3.2 Return to Toronto

In 1940 when Touzel accepted the position of Executive Secretary at the Welfare Council of Toronto, she was skilled in public relations, networking, building alliances,. She used the media to her own advantage, and was visible in the public domain. Frequently quoted and noted in the local and national newspapers, she was in demand as a speaker, appeared in public debates, attended conferences, and was invited onto committees by Boards and City Council members including by the Mayor. The Toronto Welfare Council, set up in 1937 was, unlike the Federation for Community Service, exclusively a social planning body employing social workers, not donors or fundraisers (Wills 1995). It was the inability of private agencies to meet the financial needs of their clients in the 1930s that led to a wish to organise all private welfare agencies to collectively pressure the government and educate the public on the need for public unemployment assistance. The Toronto Department of Public Welfare had already been created in 1931 and this had augmented the need for co-ordination between public authorities and private agencies. After a series of meetings, conferences, and extensive debate between 1934 and 1937, it was agreed that the Child Welfare Council of Toronto would disband (refer to chapter 6) and a new Council be established as a planning organization to determine social needs and to suggest

methods of service. A large number of agencies participated in establishing a Board. Its executives and the new council began operation in 1937, three years before the appointment of Bessie Touzel.\footnote{City of Toronto Archives, Sc 40, Box 26, File 5, History of Social Work in Canada, History of the Welfare Council of Toronto and District}

5.3.2.1 Income, Relief, Cost of Living

In 1941, Theresa Falkner, president of the Women’s Electors of Toronto requested from the newly appointed Committee on Public Welfare of the City Council to re-evaluate the adequacy of the relief rates. The Committee asked the Welfare Council to prepare a brief, and Touzel headed the response. Struthers (1994) observed that WWII had a huge influence on the public climate of concern over nutrition and health. In 1939 there was a 40% rejection rate of the first recruits for the war effort due to medical reasons. This alerted the government and the people to the toll which depression diets had taken on working class health. The Globe and Mail reported on July 12, 1941 that round table conferences between Canada and the U.S. had revealed common issues and quoted Touzel as saying that “maintenance of good standards of health and public welfare in nations at war was stressed by delegates as of almost the same vital importance as bombs and bullets, bombers and battleships” (p4).

Touzel knew that the existing relief rate was based on the Campbell report. This report, prepared in 1932, was the first to provide a benchmark for uniform standards in relief provision with set amounts for food, shelter and clothing. Assembled by an advisory committee appointed by the provincial government, its members were prominent businessmen, with one representative from the social welfare community and the absence of doctors, public health workers, women or nutritionists. The standards set were maximum ceilings and the report called for standardized relief investigation and voucher forms, standardized residency requirements and a planned policy towards transients. There was no survey of needs and the amounts established were based on what the committee members thought were reasonable. They severely under-estimated the requirements for basic necessities (Struthers 1989,1994). Capitalizing on the public concern over health and nutrition, Touzel enlisted Dr. Alice Willard Ph.D. a nutritionist, and Professor in the Department of Household Sciences at the University of Toronto and Miss Marjorie Bell B.Sc, the Director of the Visiting Homemakers Association to conduct a study. They reported back to
the Public Welfare Committee that it was not possible to eat in a healthy manner on the relief amounts that were proposed and a subsequent study established the required amounts. This was presented to the City Council and a 20% increase in the rates was authorized. However the province refused to assist with the increased costs and an expanded committee was formed which added Dr. Tisdall, also a nutritionist at the University of Toronto. In 1941, the Tisdall-Willard-Bell report was prepared as the first scientific report of its kind to be presented to the Municipal Authorities. The Municipal Authorities voted in favour of the report and sent a delegation to the provincial Premier’s office, which was reported in the local newspapers. In response, Premier Hepburn was quoted in the *Globe* as saying “Certain members of the Council are putting a premium on idleness and if it is not stopped, I am prepared to recommend action be taken by the government.”  

This impasse between the municipality and the Province simmered for a further three years until a supplementary study commissioned by the Province and completed by another nutritionist Dr. McHendry, also recommended an increase in rates. In 1944 the Province adopted new rates based on the reports by Tisdall-Willard-Bell and by Dr. McHendry (Struthers 1994).

In the interim between the municipal adoption of the recommendations of the Tisdall-Willard-Bell report and the Provincial agreement to an increase in rates, Touzel ensured that the issue remained in the public domain by sending letters to the *Toronto Daily Star* and the *Globe and Mail* (see appendix I), by sending memos to government officials and professionals and also by producing a booklet called *The Cost of Living* based on the Tisdall-Willard-Bell Report that described adequate food standards for a moderate family budget. This study was useful for social workers, socially minded lawyers, and trade union officials who adopted it and began using it in wage negotiations. The demand for the booklet was such that TWC re-issued updated versions and the red cover led to it being nicknamed the ‘red book.’ This kept the public aware of the issues of the cost of living and minimum wages for a healthy lifestyle. The cost-of-living study had become a benchmark, a key document of reference. Memos were sent to both the municipal and provincial governments. Conferences and working committees updated the data with further studies and periodically a delegation directly addressed the provincial minister on this issue.

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156 City of Toronto Archives, SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Memorandum on history of relief standard discussions 1942–1943 by Bessie Touzel. p. 4.

157 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Memorandum to Dr. Feilding, April 7, 1943 by Bessie Touzel p. 4.
During this time Touzel worked closely with Dr. Stuart Jaffray from the University of Toronto, who was the Director of the Department of Social Science.\textsuperscript{158}

On March 18, 1944 at the meeting of the Board of Directors, Touzel reported that the supply of the cost of living booklets was down to 50 and raised the question of a re-printing. Miss Bell suggested that the information should be updated and it was agreed that a cost assessment would be completed.\textsuperscript{159} On July 16, 1944 it was reported that 5000 copies had been printed and were to be sold for 25¢ each and that the Workers Educational Association had already ordered 400 copies.\textsuperscript{160} Clearly the cost assessment was approved and the necessary updating resulted in a re-publication at that time. On October 30\textsuperscript{th}, 1947 a special meeting of the Board of Directors was held and it was reported that discussions with Mr. Burton, the Chairman of the Board, on the cost of living booklet had revealed the following: 1) Mr. Burton was unable to understand why the welfare council should interest itself in a study of this question at all. He said that he felt that if such were to be done, it should be by the Canadian Welfare Council or the government. 2) That the Red Book reported on a family of five. This he thought was misleading as a family of five was not the size of the average Canadian family, but rather that a family of three or with one child was the common one. And 3) that the information contained in the report was being used by labour organizations to support their case for increased wages. Touzel reviewed the history of the study for the Board and said that a family of five was a common one to social agencies who were assisting in budgeting and that the material from the red book could be used to develop budgets for any size of family. Further, that as the document prepared by staff would show, it was dangerous to talk about average families in talking of family needs. She reiterated that the budget reported in the red book was a minimal maintenance budget and did not provide for the creation of a home or the development of adequate retirement plans. A document was prepared to respond to the complaints from Mr. Burton.

The Board meeting then moved to a general discussion and debated the role of the Chest. The Community Chest had been established in Toronto in 1944, replacing the United Welfare Fund which was set up in 1943. This was a system of federated funding which united all the charity

\textsuperscript{158} CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities.

\textsuperscript{159} CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors March 18, 1944.

\textsuperscript{160} CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors July 16, 1944.
funding sources under one roof was an attempt to better co-ordinate the distribution of donated funds. The chest was largely organized and administered by businessmen with corporate and business efficiency agendas. Working with the Welfare Council, which primarily had a social planning function and was invested in promoting social protection, often became a source of tension and contestation. In addition there was a gendered aspect to this difficult collaboration as the Chest was made up mostly of business men and the welfare council of social work women (Tillotson 2008; Wills 1995). In the discussion it was agreed that this challenge from the business community represented a significant threat to the autonomy of the Council. There were no further minutes until December 11, 1947 when it was reported that there had been a lag between Miss Touzel leaving and a new person appointed, and there was a description of the reception that was held to honour Miss Touzel’s service to the agency. The Council had acceded to Mr. Burton’s request to discontinue the production of the cost of living booklet and Touzel had resigned in protest (Struthers 1994; Wills 1995). The cost of living budget research project was referred to the Canadian Welfare Council as a national issue.

On April 20, 1944 it was reported in the Board of Directors meeting that Touzel had recently returned from a visit to Detroit, Chicago and Cleveland to look at anti-delinquency programs, and the newspaper reported her observations in juxtaposition with comments from the Provincial Secretary from the Floor of the House. The Provincial Secretary claimed that a social worker whom he had fired when he was an Ottawa official was endeavouring to claim that delinquency was increasing, in order to annoy him. The Board discussed this reference to Touzel who was the Staff Supervisor at the Public Welfare Department in Ottawa when Mr. Dunbar was on the Board of Control. As described earlier, Touzel resigned in protest at the decisions made by the Board and was not dismissed. The Ottawa newspaper printed a correction to Mr. Dunbar’s claims to have dismissed the social worker.

161 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, minutes of meeting of Board of Directors October 30, 1947.
162 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, minutes of meeting of Board of Directors July 26, 1941.
163 PAC, CC SD, Box 414, CWC Survey Cost of Living, 194748, letter Sept.2, 1948 Margaret Gould to R.E.G. Davis.
164 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors April 20, 1944.
It was in her final years at the Welfare Council after 1944 and after the Community Chest was formed, that there seems to have been a reduction in Touzel’s activity on committees within the organisation. This time also corresponds with the end of World War II and the beginning of the cold war. It was in 1947 that the Community Chest withdrew its funding from The Dale Community Centre in Hamilton and that Mary Jenisson, a University of Toronto classmate, colleague and friend of Touzel, was fired from her position amidst community talk of her left-leaning communist affiliations (Jennissen and Lundy 2011). It was the Community Chest decision to discontinue the publication of the cost of living booklet which triggered Touzel’s abrupt resignation.165 As she had in Ottawa ten years earlier, Touzel resigned rather than capitulate to unacceptable demands.

Touzel then returned to the Canadian Welfare Council in 1947 as Assistant Executive Director. The CWC had a new Executive Director who hired Touzel, Dick Davis. Touzel undertook two special assignments during her second employment there: first, the direction of a major study of Provincial Welfare Services in New Brunswick for a Provincial Government Committee and second, the direction of the Welfare Services section of the Red Cross Disaster Operations at the time of the Manitoba flood.166 It is recorded in a report on the Red River flood disaster in Manitoba in May 1950 that Touzel developed a screening tool for assessing the needs of evacuees. This document was distributed to the field workers across the region and was reported to be effective in that people who needed help were successfully fed at a manageable cost to the Red Cross.167

The Toronto Reconstruction Council, TRC, was set up in 1943 as a postwar reconstruction initiative and involved 65 member organizations with almost 1000 individuals representing a cross section of Toronto. Many of the key personalities came from the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto and from the Welfare Council. Harry Cassidy (Director of the School of Social Work) was Vice-Chair of the TRC while Charles Hendry who was a leading expert on community organization (from the School of Social Work) and Albert Rose (research director at

165 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors.
166 PAO, Ontario Welfare Council Archive, biographical data.
the Welfare Council and faculty member at the School of Social Work) were all members (Brushett 1999). Touzel represented the Welfare Council on the TRC and continued her membership in it despite having changed her employment to the Canadian Welfare Council. The Committee to study community organisations chaired by Professor Hendry from the University of Toronto, School of Social Work, records her presence on January 12, 1948 as a representative of the Canadian Welfare Council, while previous correspondence regarding the same committee was addressed to Touzel at the Welfare Council of Toronto. In the meeting on January 12, 1948 Hendry stated that he wanted members representing metropolitan, provincial and federal agencies; thus Touzel now represented a federal agency on the committee. Touzel was asked to outline the history of the Toronto Reconstruction Council and its part in the community council movement. She recounted that during the war there was a lot of public discussion about reconstruction and in response to this concern City Council set up the Toronto Reconstruction Council which worked through committees, with research and community councils. The TRC council included business and commercial interests as well as welfare, recreation and health. For logistical reasons the city of Toronto was divided into regions with councils assigned accordingly, but this was proving complex as services were not so neatly organised.

A cost of living project was also on the table at CWC. A request was sent from Toronto that the CWC pick up this project and expand it to a national database. Margaret Gould supported Touzel’s protest at the cancellation of the “Red Book,” at the time when Touzel resigned from the Welfare Council, and wrote an editorial in the Toronto Star on September 2, 1948 entitled “Why was this service stopped?” In this article she praised the usefulness of this information to the public as a method of evaluating the adequacy of wage levels and income support benefits. A copy of this editorial as well as mimeographed typed copies of the piece were found in the “Cost of living” file of the CCSD archives with a note to have it distributed at the next Board meeting. A memo from Executive Director Dick Davis asked detailed questions about launching such a project had a handwritten “Bessie” across the top of the document and typed at the bottom “Bessie, There is a file downstairs, and in my desk drawer on this.” Davis appealed to Albert Rose, Assistant Professor in the School of Social Work at University of Toronto, and asked his opinion. Rose responded with an eight page memo outlining the work required. Again this memo

168 CTA SC 40, Box 80, File 15, Conferences, executive secretaries, minutes of meeting # 2 called for the purpose of organising a group for the study of community organization.
had a handwritten note “sent to BT.” Clearly Touzel was heavily involved in the cost of living project at the CWC.

In the 31st annual report of the CWC on June 1, 1951 Touzel reported on the work of the Council in the past year and noted in the conclusion that most of her time was devoted to administration and supervision as “the sheer complexity of our operations has made this co-ordinating job necessary” (p. 35). Richard Splane wrote a commemorative history of the CWC for the occasion of its 75th anniversary. He described the Davis years (1946–1963) as a time when the Council developed major program committee areas and attracted the top professionals in Canada. Splane observed that many of these top social workers were in mid career and working at the CWC pushed their careers forward. Touzel was listed as an example of such a person, and she gained six years experience in federal welfare planning at a time when new legislation in family allowances (1945) was followed by old age security (1951; Guest 1997).

5.3.3 Executive Director of the Ontario Welfare Council

Touzel accepted the position of Executive Director of the Ontario Welfare Council in 1953, moving back to Toronto to take up this new provincial position. In their account of the history of the Ontario Welfare Council (1959) Held, Jennison, and Henderson subitled the arrival of Touzel at the agency as “A New Era Begins” Touzel’s appointment resulted from a meeting in 1946 of the Toronto Welfare Council where the need for a provincial voice was raised – “an agency which could function as a social planning body on the provincial level” (p.14). The TWC set up a committee to explore this option. It was co-chaired by Dr. Harry Cassidy (Director of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto) and by Touzel. They took the issue to the First Canadian Conference on Social Welfare where it was agreed that the Community Welfare Council of Ontario should adopt this mandate.

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169 PAC, CC SD, Box 414, CWC Survey Cost of Living, 1947–1948, December 13, 1948 letter & memo Al Rose to Davis.


171 AO, Ontario Welfare Council Fonds, F837, Box 1, A Brief History of the Ontario Welfare Council 1908–1959 by Frieda held, Mary Jennison, Lillian Henderson, p. 16.

172 Ibid.
The roots of this organization go back to 1908 and the Social Service Council of Ontario which was the provincial branch of a national umbrella organisation called the Social Service Council of Canada. In 1929 the organisation’s name was changed to the Community Welfare Council of Ontario to reflect their shifting mandate from organising welfare services to a new focus on mental hygiene and community wellness. In 1930, the Ross Commission resulted in the creation of a Department of Public Welfare for Ontario. The Community Welfare Council of Ontario mobilized a small staff contingent of three commissionaires and a secretary, and visited agencies across Ontario. This resulted in a report which recommended better co-ordination among the multiple health, charitable and correctional organisations, and improved social work training. To accomplish this agenda, the Community Welfare Council of Ontario set up a cooperative program between the government and the University of Toronto, which resulted in the committee at the Welfare Council (Williams 1984).

Four years later Touzel was hired as the new Executive Director with a level of community experience and social service administration that would enable her to act on the objectives laid out in the conference of 1947. At the Council’s first Annual Meeting (1953) Touzel addressed the membership about “opportunities and plans.” She stressed the need for a Board of Directors and a membership that would accurately represent the province. She announced that the first major job she would undertake was to produce a document (which had been requested by the Board) to describe the welfare services in the Province, “out of which more intensive project work might be begun and through which the particular aspects of many questions might be flagged.” This document became *The Province of Ontario—Its Welfare Services*, a publication which was widely distributed and became a blueprint for numerous updated sequels over many years. Published in 1954, *The Province of Ontario—Its Welfare Services*, was a 94-page document, the first comprehensive overview of existing welfare services in Ontario. This was a critical document for the organization of welfare services in the Province. Beginning with an historical contextualization Touzel described the development of colonial responses to social problems with a succession of legislation designed to address problems such as unemployment, disability and poverty. She noted that while the English Poor Law was not officially adopted in

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Ontario, nevertheless the House of Industry closely resembled the English poor house. A demographic description of Ontario at the time concluded the introductory section of the document. Section 2 provided a detailed coverage of tax supported services which she described in relation to the three levels of government – Federal, Provincial and Municipal. Section 3 described voluntary services and provided a listing of the major voluntary organisations active in the province. Finally, in section 4 she addressed research services (Touzel 1954). With the publication of The Province of Ontario—Its Welfare Services, Touzel launched a new Council periodical called The Ontario Welfare Reporter, which was designed to disseminate to the general public information on new legislation, the activities of the Council, and news on welfare in the province with accompanying explanatory and analytic commentaries representing the views of the council. This broad based publication was a political tool to educate and mobilize the wider public.

In her 1954–1955 Annual Report, consistent with her philosophy of publically provided social protection, she declared that effective family welfare programs required good relief programs, and she addressed what she considered a gap in services—that of provisions for unemployed employable persons, noting that the failure to provide income support resulted in family breakdown and in child welfare problems. A province-wide conference was organised to address this question and the recommendations were forwarded to the provincial Minister of Welfare, the Canadian Association of Social Workers and to the Canadian Welfare Council as a first step towards federal involvement in the problem. Unlike her peers who examined eugenic solutions to disability, Touzel advocated for services to young ‘mentally defective’ children and announced a current study of rehabilitation services and needs in line with recent legislation. Ever practical and looking for solutions, Touzel organised conferences for group training, recognising that the vast distances between towns and cities in Ontario made co-operative and joint training very difficult. A conference was set up to provide a platform for scattered community chest programs to share ideas and experiences. In 1954, using funds from the Atkinson Charitable Foundation and in response to a request by the Council of Peel County, Touzel and two assistants completed a study of the existing services and recommended that the County use a combination of private and public services to provide and administer child and family services in the County. This is an example of Touzel’s pragmatic approach to obstacles. If she considered that a service was

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required she sought funding options to support it drawing on charitable sources as well as on government allowances and grants. She did not wait for an official funding option to be enacted but acted to immediately secure funding from available private sources no doubt continuing to lobby for a permanent government funding option at the same time.

Cognisant of the importance of inter-agency co-operation and dialogue between service providers, Touzel established annual conferences which drew together agencies and organisations across the province as well as ministry officials from the provincial and municipal levels to discuss current issues and concerns. This broad policy initiative brought the major players together to achieve a common policy agenda and ensure its implementation. In 1954–55 recruiting social workers was a key topic; in 1956 homemaker services; in 1957 children’s boarding homes; in 1958 the needs of the elderly, and in 1959 children’s institutions. The hospital insurance plan, problems of immigrants and services to foster the integration of newcomers were also topics addressed in 1959.176

In the 1961 Annual report Touzel outlined progress in the area of children’s institutions. She further reported that a brief on bed care in private homes for the aged had been completed with a recommendation for an increase in provincial per diem rates. This had been forwarded to the Minister of Welfare. Six local conferences were organised by the Council in Ontario. These included a workshop on personnel needs for social welfare agencies, a training program for childcare workers, and a workshop on tutoring services for unmarried mothers.

Touzel was active on numerous fronts simultaneously. While she supervised and expanded the initiatives of the Council, organized conferences to promote discussion, and disseminate information and new approaches, she was also very active with the newly created public welfare departments. Touzel participated in the Ontario Department of Public Welfare in-service training for municipal welfare officers. She had regular monthly appointments with the chief social worker in the Ontario Department of Health, and frequent interviews with the Deputy Minister of Welfare. The annual meeting and conference of the Council had become recognised as an

176 AO, Ontario Welfare Fonds, F837, Box 1, A brief history of the Ontario Welfare Council.
outstanding event in the field of social planning, and involved many months of planning with Council staff leading the sessions.\textsuperscript{177}

On June 1, 1964, Touzel left the Ontario Welfare Council to work on special assignments. During her last year with the Council she completed a study of the welfare services of York County.\textsuperscript{178} Subsequent to her retirement, she spent two years in Tanzania on a UN assignment as an advisor for setting up public welfare programs. Upon her return to Canada she became a special lecturer and consultant to the School of Social Work at University of Toronto. Honoured with a Coronation Medal, a Confederation Medal, and an Order of Ontario as well as a City of Toronto Award of Merit and two Social Work Awards for outstanding contribution, Touzel continued working until her death in 1997 at age 93.

5.4 \textbf{Fields of Practice}

I have discussed Touzel’s modest rural beginnings in the Ottawa Valley and her subsequent decision to register in the Social Service Program at the University of Toronto and I have then constructed a narrative following her career path from graduation to retirement and beyond. Much of her work has involved the domain of poverty and the establishment of a welfare state in Canada. In this section I delve deeper into that path and look at the formative left-leaning ideas which shaped her practice.

5.4.1 \textbf{Poverty and the Welfare State}

In an analysis of economic history, Karl Polanyi (1944) introduced the idea of a double movement. He argued that the outcome of applying economic liberalism in its ideal form with no government regulation of the market and a residual welfare system premised on the idea that individual responsibility should be assigned the first line of responsibility for any social problems that might occur would inevitably lead to a counter movement for government administered social protection. This counter movement would arise through social activism and popular dissent protesting the inevitable outcomes of economic liberalism, namely wealth disparity, unemployment and poverty, and that these two movements would form the double

\textsuperscript{177} AO, Ontario Welfare Fonds, F837, Box 8, Address of the President to the Annual Meeting June 6, 1961.

\textsuperscript{178} AO, Ontario Welfare Council Archive, Box 35, biographical data.
movement. Extrapolating from this model, Rice and Prince (2013) analysed the economic history of Canada and proposed that the period from the 1800s to the late 1930s was characterized by economic liberalism and a residual welfare system. Following the Great Depression the period from the 1940s until the 1970s was characterized by social protection which became the predominant policy direction resulting in the establishment of the welfare state. These broad patterns of policy change align with Polanyi’s analysis of a double movement (Rice and Prince 2013).

Touzel’s social work career unfolded during the period from the Great Depression till the end of the “golden years” of the welfare state. Her progression through formative social welfare organizations in the Ontario region is a chronicle of dramatic social change, the consolidation of social work as a profession and an account of the close working relationship which developed between the social work profession, and government administration. Touzel’s nephew, John Patton, reported in A Family Tribute: Proceedings of the Bessie Touzel Tribute (1998) that unemployment, absolute poverty, hunger and desperate need became daily encounters for Touzel in her work for the Neighbourhood Workers Association (NWA). He reported that Touzel considered that she honed her professional skills in those rookie years on the streets of the settlement areas of Toronto during the Depression. It was there that she realized that the welfare of children was interdependent with the welfare of their mothers. “The enabling and empowerment of these women who were often immigrant, typically uneducated and universally poor became a touchstone of her career” (p3). Ethel Parker who also worked in NWA at this time said:

Many of us have grown a bit brittle and required “handling” as to our tempers. Can you see your cherished standards, one by one go to the board; can your sympathies be torn day after day by tragedies of which most of the rest of the city remain unheeding; can you stand day after day in the position of being the only person to whom these families have to turn and yet be absolutely unable to relieve their anxiety and suffering?

In 1930, Touzel published a short article in Social Welfare which shows that she was grappling with similar issues. She appealed to social workers to remain calm and practical in their response to clients.

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179 John A Patton.
A harassed client does not come to discuss his problems with an equally harassed worker. He wants sound advice. When he arrives with a bailiff’s notice, gas and light bills, a notice of seizure from the Installment-Furniture-House and a story of a wife who threatens to leave him unless he gets a job, he has no desire to speak with a worker who will tear her hair and threaten to weep.  

Touzel was 26 years old, and her article revealed her struggle to synthesize her experience with her knowledge. She compared the situation to a medical professional dealing with an epidemic and noted that:

We find certain usual characteristics of work altered. First of all, the number of problems presented is greatly in excess of the usual. Secondly, the type of family coming for advice or assistance is often very different.

At this time in Toronto a debate began in the Canadian Association of Social Workers about whether social workers should become more politically involved. Unlike their American counterparts, social workers in Canada did not organise into anything like the rank and file movement (a group of social workers in the United States who adopted a left leaning position and viewed the problems created by the Depression as structurally caused and eschewed a clinical ‘pathologizing’ approach) (Jennissen and Lundy 2011). Nevertheless Toronto social workers most likely knew what was happening over the border. Mary Van Kleeck, the organiser of the rank and file movement in the United States was invited by the Canadian Association of Social Workers to make a presentation at the Federation for Community Service in Toronto in 1933. In 1935 she addressed social workers in Toronto again. Her speeches called for the profession to adopt social action as a platform (Lewey 2006). Touzel may well have attended these presentations and undoubtedly knew colleagues who did.

In her later years Touzel described Bertha Reynolds as a figure whom she admired and looked up to (Struther 2013). Bertha Reynolds was an American social worker who was blacklisted during the cold war years in the United States and became a stalwart defender of the radical Rank and File Movement (Reisch and Andrews 2002). The great Depression was described by Bertha Reynolds (1963) as an earthquake which shook social work to its core. Reflecting on her fifty years in the North American social work profession in the mid-1960s, Reynolds (1885–1975),

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182 ibid.
discussed how the Great Depression created a seismic change in her personal philosophy, disrupted and split the social work profession, and changed public opinion on poverty, unemployment and the government’s role in social protection (Reynolds 1963).

In 1931 Touzel participated in a three-day conference on social welfare and the unemployment problem organised by Harry Cassidy. Appointed in 1929 just as Touzel graduated, Cassidy (1900–1951) was a new addition to the social work faculty at University of Toronto. Committed to social reconstruction and social democracy, Cassidy was characterised by Irving’s biography as a “Canadian Fabian” (1995). Touzel may have known Cassidy prior to the conference of 1931 but this is the first concrete evidence of their association which was to continue until Cassidy’s premature death in 1951. At the 1931 conference Touzel presented on the “Social Effects of Unemployment on the Family” reporting her findings from a survey of unemployment relief administered by Toronto’s House of Industry. She demonstrated the dramatic increase in unemployment with survey statistics. She listed hopelessness, marital friction with desertion and non-support, poor nutrition, eviction and deteriorating health (both physical and mental) as the outcomes of the economic crisis created by the Depression (Touzel 1931). Touzel identified that the unemployed were a new group of clients who were different from the pre-Depression unemployed clients. She attributed the problem to structural systemic causes. Touzel appeared to be formulating a structural approach to social problems as her developing frame of justice. Her changing political and social views were influencing her work. At the same conference Cassidy presented a paper on the devastating impact of unemployment and urged social workers to address the roots of the problem in the political economy and the lack of social protection (Jennissen and Lundy 2011). This is a notable shift from the idea that unemployment and poverty is the result of personal idleness or moral failure.

In 1932, in response to the pressures on the existing relief systems across the country, the government appointed an advisory committee to “assist the government in dealing with the problems arising out of unemployment, including the distribution of relief to the needy” (Struthers 1994,84). The Campbell Committee reported the need for standardization of relief measures and recommended the creation of Public Welfare Boards in each Ontario community, staffed by appointees of the provincial government. A framework for a provincial welfare bureaucracy began to form in Ontario. Ceilings on relief contributions to the municipalities were
imposed and a network of district relief inspectors began supervising the new standards for food, shelter and other necessities (Struthers 1989).

5.4.1.1 Touzel and Left-Leaning Ideas

It was in her position as Chief of Staff for the City of Ottawa Welfare Board that Touzel further developed some of the casework principles she had been working on at the Neighbourhood Workers Association. Her training at the University of Toronto had been in social casework which presupposed a very different client population than the one facing the worker in the Depression years. In an article entitled “The Challenge to the Worker in the Transfer from Private to Public Service” published in The Social Worker in 1935, Touzel identified the new client, the new casework and the new philosophy. With respect to the new client she said:

She [the social worker] is meeting with clients who, most often, are not abnormal, personality or social problems, but people from a cross section of society, with all the talents of normal citizens facing economic dependence and an enormous sense of insecurity developed therefrom. p. 5.

In her article, Touzel included quantitative information from the casework files of her social workers and demonstrated how these “new” clients were unknown to caseworkers before the Depression as they had substantial employment records. She described how this change in client profile had required the development of a new kind of casework:

She knows that it is better that the client handle his own problems insofar as he is able, and that securities should be added to him insofar as the community and her agency can and will make this possible; but that the technique of digging and more intense study would probably do injury to this individual. (p.6)

In conclusion, Touzel structured her argument in very left leaning terms alluding to class interests and class conflict between the workers and the managers or business leaders and identified an ethical conflict between addressing the needs of clients and the opposing needs of an employer.

She is challenged to knowledgefully adjust her own philosophy, and to face her loyalties for social and economic re-organisation as she did in the case of individuals whom she served. The challenge arises from the fact of her knowledge that the interest of her client and the class he represents is diametrically opposed to that of the class who support her agency p. 6.
Touzel recalled that it was in Ottawa during the early 1930s that she first began to study Marxism and a socialist approach to social problems. The social problems that became evident during the Depression were very visible to Touzel who was engaged in frontline work. The problems created a dissonance for her between what she had learned in her social services training and the situation she saw around her and it was perhaps this dissonance that attracted her to the teachings of Marx.

The Communist Party was formed in Canada in 1921 and in its creation there was a covert aspect to its structure that allowed anonymous membership of public figures whose public membership could put them in jeopardy of their employment (Martin 2007). In an interview with Touzel in the final years of her life, Tom Reid, an archivist from the University of Toronto and Author of A Biographical Sketch of Robert S. Kenny, asked Touzel how it was that she knew so many communist party members and was so familiar with the inside politics of the leftist circle in Toronto. She replied that she was a secret member of the communist party and had been for a long time. This disclosure fits with other information on Touzel. While she did not acknowledge such an affiliation openly, as it was not an accepted part of the institutions which governed social work, nevertheless the social political positions of socialism are evident in her teachings and in her work. John Patton stated that Touzel became attracted to Marxism as a political position that addressed some of her burning issues on hunger, poverty, destitution and the working poor. He reported that this underpinned her worldview for the rest of her life.

There are other fragmentary pieces of information which also position Touzel on the left and support the argument that she was a socialist feminist. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book library has a copy of a Russian Novel, Heart and Soul, written by Elizar Maltsev, which was the winner of the Stalin Prize in 1949 and is a fictional account of young people living on collective farms in Altai Territory (in Siberia) during and immediately after World War II. In the front of the Fisher copy is an inscription: “Presentation from Tim Buck to Bess Touzel, in appreciation “for your

183 Interview Tom Reid, May, 2013.
184 Oral interview with Tom Reid, May 6, 2013.
185 Ibid A family tribute: John Patton.
comradely help during the 5th National Convention of our Party.”\textsuperscript{186} (Tim Buck was the General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1929 to 1962). John Patton recalled that he accompanied Touzel in the 1950s on visits to her friends Joe and Dora (nee Wilensky) Salsberg.\textsuperscript{187} Salsberg was a Jewish immigrant who was a labour activist and became an active member of the Communist Party in 1926. In 1938, Salsberg was elected Alderman on Toronto’s City Council and in 1943 he was elected in the downtown riding of St. Andrew as a Member of Provincial Parliament (MPP), representing the Labor-Progressive Party, as the Communist Party in Ontario was then known. He was instrumental in the introduction of the Racial Discrimination Act, 1944 which he proposed after notices were posted banning Jews and Blacks from various swimming pools in Toronto (Tulchinsky 2013). Patton recalled many visits with Touzel to Joe and Dora Salsberg’s home.\textsuperscript{188}

Henry Ferns (1983) also recalled that Touzel was good friends with the Salsbergs and in his book Reading from Left to Right. One Man’s Political History, he told the following story:

She was asleep in Joe Salsberg’s pajamas when the RCMP raided his home in Toronto to intern him under the Defence of Canada Regulations. Joe had wisely gone to Cuba, and Bessie was keeping Joe’s wife company. [Bessie] told the Mounties they could have Joe’s pajamas if they wanted (p. 191).

Patton reported that Touzel lived with her parents in an attic apartment of their triplex during the 30s and in the late 40s and early 50s (when she was employed at agencies in Ottawa) and he remembered that on one occasion:

She got an urgent call warning her that the RCMP would be raiding her apartment shortly. She immediately proceeded to stuff what could be considered incriminating documents through the trapdoor above her bed – lame leg and all. Grandpa heard the commotion and popped upstairs to check, “What are you doing child?” Bessie was blunt to the point “Father please leave. The police are going to be here soon and I don’t want you involved.” “Step aside” he replied, “this is no job for a woman,” and he proceeded to complete the work. The Mounties never did arrive.\textsuperscript{189}

\textsuperscript{186} Thomas Fisher Rare Book Maltsev, E. (1953) Heart and Soul. Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow.

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid A family tribute: John Patton.

\textsuperscript{188} Ibid A family tribute: John Patton.

\textsuperscript{189} A tribute in honour of the late Bessie Touzel, 1904–1997: A Family Tribute: John Patton, p. 4.
Building the Welfare State

During her seven years at the Welfare Council of Toronto, Touzel was at the forefront of an astonishing range of social protection initiatives in the areas of not only the cost of living and minimum benefits but also in labour reform, housing, daycare and the establishment of a Community Chest in Toronto. She led the production of the Directory of Welfare Resources published in 1942, and chaired the Committee on Public Welfare which conducted research, designed educational programs and presented policy briefs to the government on questions of food adequacy for relief families, and the adequacy of allowances for widows with children and old age pensioners. In 1942, Touzel was invited to serve on a committee appointed by the Federation of Mayors and Municipalities to make a study and report on the necessary public welfare services for the post-war period, a post which she accepted. On September 17, 1942 Touzel was asked by the Workers Educational Association to participate in a Round Table entitled “From war to peace,” where she would join Mr. Buckley of the Trades and Labour Council and Dr. Marsh, Secretary of the Reconstruction Committee in a round table discussion on social reconstruction. On March 1, 1944 The Globe and Mail reported Touzel speaking on the proposed new Family Allowances Act. She was reported as emphasizing that the proposed universal baby bonus payment would not act as a substitute for an adequate minimum wage.

Housing

Touzel began advocating for public housing and slum clearance early in her career. In 1935, Touzel participated in a survey of “slum clearance and low cost housing in Ottawa.” A total of 3,529 residences were studied. The results reported overcrowding and poor sanitation with over 30% in need of repair, 25% with no play area for the children and 18.5% infested with vermin. The report stated that:

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190 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Memorandum to Dr. Feilding, April 7, 1943 by Bessie Touzel. p. 4.
191 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors November 19, 1942.
192 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors September 17, 1942.
193 “Seek allowances to aid children” Globe and Mail, Wednesday, March 1, 1944.
Unfit housing is extremely costly in an economic sense and, directly or indirectly, has a bearing upon the per capita expense to the city for dealing with felonies, misdemeanours, juvenile delinquency, maintaining hospitals and sanitoria, caring for venereal diseases health clinics and nursing services, children’s and nursery services, distributing public relief, caring for insanity, extinguishing fires and maintaining family welfare generally.\(^{194}\)

In Toronto in 1941, Touzel conducted a similar survey of housing and documented overcrowding, and indefensibly high costs imposed on the poor. On July 9, 1942, after her survey was submitted to the Board of Control, she was reported in the *Globe and Mail* as identifying housing shortages for low income citizens and soldiers’ dependents, and noted that in her opinion private enterprise had not been interested in constructing low budget housing which resulted in housing shortages, higher rents and overcrowding. Touzel recommended federally sponsored public housing with the municipalities building multiple units.\(^{195}\)

On October 15, 1942 the Board of Directors of the Toronto Welfare Council discussed a request from the city for a study of available housing for families receiving relief or with an annual income of less than $1800. The Welfare Council appointed representatives from the School of Social Work, the Health League of Canada, and the local Council of Women to investigate this issue and the Board of Control voted to support the costs.\(^{196}\) On July 5, 1944 Touzel reported the creation of a Housing Committee formed as a result of a recent conference initiated by the Citizens Forum. The new committee was directed to prepare material on welfare and housing for another conference in the Fall.\(^{197}\) On May 13, 1946 it was reported that the first section of the study on housing conditions—that section relative to the research on the quantitative needs made by Mr. Humphrey Carver under the direction of the School of Social Work—had been released.\(^{198}\)

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\(^{196}\) CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors October 15, 1942.

\(^{197}\) CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors July 16, 1944.

\(^{198}\) CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors May 13, 1946.
**The Marsh Commission**

Touzel was granted leave twice while she was employed at the Welfare Council: first, to work for a Federal Government Cabinet Committee studying manpower needs in the special wartime situation; and second, to act as a collaborator with Leonard Marsh in the development of what would become the *Report on Social Security for Canada*, known also as The Marsh Report.\(^\text{199}\)

The cost of living report was a critical publication in use during the writing of the Marsh Report.\(^\text{200}\)

The knowledge Touzel had accumulated not only of welfare services and administration but also of the needs for social protection facing the people of Ontario were widely recognised and so it was not surprising that she was invited to become a part of an advisory committee on reconstruction in Canada. The Marsh Report (1943 [1975]) was submitted on February 17, 1943 to the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction in Ottawa. In his prefatory note to the published edition of the report, Marsh states:

> It is a pleasure to acknowledge the ready and helpful collaboration secured in the drawing up of this report, from: Dr. George F. Davidson, Executive Director of the Canadian Welfare Council; Dr. Stuart Jaffray, of the department of Social Science, University of Toronto; and Miss B. Touzel, Executive Director of the Toronto Welfare Council (Marsh 1943 [1975], p. 43).

On November 3, 1943, the Canadian Welfare Council and the Canadian Association of Social Workers, invited Touzel to participate in a conference on supply and demand in the social work field. This was to be in collaboration with persons concerned about the need for social work services in government departments as well as in industries and in private agencies. The conference occurred on December 6, 1943 and amongst the presenters was Leonard Marsh.\(^\text{201}\)

At the meeting Marsh spoke at length and said:

> Our resources for social welfare, and the number of people devoted to administering social services, have been pitifully inadequate. It is even yet not fully realized that, in the best conception of them, they are needed as a normal, not an abnormal, feature of our urban and rural institutions. It is not a question of providing relief or charity for a submerged tenth, or a dependent and defective minority; but of integrating social welfare concepts into all the

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199 Ontario Welfare Council Archive, POA, biographical data.

200 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Memorandum to Dr. Feilding, April 7, 1943 by Bessie Touzel. p. 4.

institutions on which a modern society depends for a higher and more equitable standard of living.

Marsh’s ideas represent a paradigm shift from a residual to an institutional welfare state. Following this conference, Touzel organised a committee at the Welfare Council which canvassed the major agencies in Toronto first, to identify the needs and support training in social work and second, to begin considering the schedule of salaries that would be appropriate remuneration for more highly trained professional personnel.\(^\text{202}\) Once again, Touzel anticipated the pragmatic steps that implementation of these new policies would require and initiated the necessary institutional arrangements.

The Marsh report was premised on social insurance, family allowances and national investment. Through social insurance, Marsh hoped to overturn the charity-tinged practice of public relief that had been in place, and replace it with a system that pooled risks and funds with mandatory contributions and/or general taxation. Marsh distinguished between employment risks and universal risks and proposed that employment risk benefits be related to wage levels and universal risks receive a flat payment. Family allowances were to be a universal benefit that would supplement the insurance scheme and achieve a national minimum for all. In a Keynesian spirit, Marsh recommended a national policy of social investment (in urban redevelopment, waste removal etc) to stimulate and build the economy (Rice and Prince 2013). While the Marsh report was critiqued at the time by Whitton and others (see chapter 4, pg.147) as being “Canada’s Beveridge report,” there were significant differences. The Beveridge report was more radical; it focussed on providing an assured minimum of income security and left many other questions such as health for further in-depth studies. Marsh’s report was more wide-ranging reflecting Canada’s less well developed social security system compared to Britain at the time (Guest 1997). While the Marsh report was more careful and cautious than the Beveridge report, it nevertheless represented a left-leaning shift towards social protection against employment risks as well as the universal risks of illness, aging and disability. The archive does not contain Touzel’s personal reflections on this report. Given that she was a collaborator and not the primary author, the report is more representative of the views and assessment of Marsh. However, clearly Touzel supported the report and actively mobilized to implement it. She crafted the following statement to be sent to the National Board of the CASW:

\(^{202}\) CTA, SC 40, Box 80, File 15, Conferences, executive secretaries, assorted correspondence.
That the CASW is seriously concerned with the necessity for adequate social security legislation and welcomes such planning as will lead to constructive action on this matter. While there has not yet been an opportunity to study Dr. Marsh’s report in detail and while we might feel more far reaching measures are desirable, yet we believe this report is an important step and wish to go on record to this effect.  

While this statement was one of support she suggested that more far reaching measures might be desirable which is consistent with what one would expect from someone who was left leaning and advocated for universal rights. In subsequent years there was extensive critique of the Canadian welfare state particularly from a feminist perspective as it was recognised that its construction and provisions were centred on the male-breadwinner and relegated women to a position of dependence and employment disadvantage (Christie 2000). In the 1940s left-leaning feminists were focussed on the issue of redistribution and the elimination of poverty rather than the recognition of women’s rights which became a more central concern in the 1970s (Fraser 2013).

**Federal Cabinet Committee on Manpower**

On July 25, 1941 it was reported in the Board of Directors of the Toronto Welfare Council that a request had been received from the Federal Minister of Labour to release Touzel for six weeks to aid in a study of potential labour supply for Canada. The work was to be carried out by a committee directed by Professor MacIntosh of Queens University and Mr. Alex Skelton of the research department of the Bank of Canada. It was decided that the Council should comply with the request as there were too few relationships between social work and government departments. In an undated report on “Women in industry and the care of their children” there is a detailed discussion of the ramifications of the wartime labour shortage and the implications of bringing women into the paid labour force. Many of the ideas in this paper were reflected in a paper Touzel delivered at the Canadian Conference of Social Work in 1942 where she spoke...
on “Women in Industry.” She reported that there had been a 46% increase of women in the workforce between 1931 and 1940 and she revealed that there were not enough single women to fill the employment demand. This had resulted in single and married women being brought in from other areas thus raising the issue of housing, recreation, and daycare. In addition, she tabled a range of labour issues such as hours of work (asking for 8 hour shifts and a maximum of forty hours per week), availability of toilets for women, rest periods, seating and safety protection from industrial poisons. On March 19, 1942 the Board of Directors approved Touzel’s name to stand as the recommended representative of the Business and Professional Women’s Club of Montreal on the Ontario Regional Committee of the Unemployment Commission.

The Cassidy archive contains correspondence exchanged between Touzel and Cassidy during this period. Cassidy had accepted a position as Head of the Social Work Department at the University of British Columbia. A collegial friendship had formed between them and they consulted one another on current issues. In 1944 there is a letter which asks Cassidy to consider returning to the Social Work Department at University of Toronto as Stuart Jaffray “has not been able to carry the load and although he has given excellent leadership in certain areas, he finds it impossible to carry a job including administrative responsibility.” Touzel discussed the forthcoming bills on healthcare, family allowance and old age insurance but expressed the concern that she and Leonard (Marsh) have about the future without comprehensive social security legislation. She appealed to Cassidy to return to Toronto and to the social work department to “interpret professional education and social work generally to the public.” This letter showed Touzel negotiating for the best employees in the country to come to Toronto and to the social work program. Through her ever expanding network of colleagues, she manoeuvred alliances, built coalitions, and sought to strengthen and support key organizations and initiatives. Her vision was now Canada-wide and she was in regular communication with the key figures in the establishment of a welfare state in Canada.

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207 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Board of Directors, March 14, 1942.
Daycare

It was during the war years that Touzel became involved in the fight for child daycare. Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century, the public discourse with respect to women in the paid workforce changed. During the wars, particularly World War II, women entered the workforce in unprecedented numbers as part of the war effort. Daycare, which had been in place since the turn of the century, was traditionally a service for women who were poor and needed to work. But during World War II there was an unprecedented need, and accordingly, large numbers of nurseries were established, only to be closed during the exit of women from the workforce following the end of the war (Finkel 1995).

At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Welfare Council of Toronto, on September 22, 1941, Touzel reported a meeting with representatives of the Federations about using public buildings for emergency crèches. She indicated that it was a problem that was beyond the resources of local communities and that they would need to extend the services of foster daycare to meet this need. 210 Touzel interviewed 106 mothers on the waiting list of the West End Crèche in Toronto, and discovered that most families functioned with a daily improvised system of daycare, and that in some cases children were left alone during the day (Prochner 2000). On March 14, 1942 she reported a visit to the Department of Labour in Ottawa to discuss the setup for day nursery care and a further conference was proposed for March 27. She reported that the school boards in Toronto had agreed to have schools used for daycare and that possible locations were being inspected. 211 On April 15, 1942, Touzel reported that the Department of Labour was aware of the building pressure on local services but had not yet come up with a resolution. Meanwhile Stuart Jaffray suggested that the Council request a representative from the Federal Department of Labour be invited to the next meeting. 212 On May 18, 1942, Touzel announced that an agreement between the provinces and the Federal government on cost sharing the

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210 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Board of Directors, September 22, 1941.
211 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Board of Directors March 14, 1942.
212 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Board of Directors April 15, 1942.
expenses of increased day nurseries was being organised. In 1942, Mayor Conboy established a Toronto committee on wartime day care services, and appointed Touzel as the head.

It was announced during the meeting of the Board of Directors on September 17, 1942 that an agreement for cost sharing had been signed between the Federal and Provincial Governments allowing for the establishment of pre-school nurseries, school age daycare centres in schools and foster daycare programs to meet the needs of working mothers. A Provincial Advisory Committee had been set up under the leadership of the Minister of Public Welfare and a handbook had been prepared. In 1943, The Globe and Mail reported Touzel as saying that through volunteer work at crèches or nurseries women get valuable training for motherhood while simultaneously performing a vitally important task in present-day community life.

Touzel was intimately involved in the daycare crisis in Toronto during World War II, and co-ordinated all the ministries involved in the issue to address the practical requirements for the sudden dramatic increase in daycare services. However, I did no find evidence of her continued activism in the daycare movement after the Second World War, especially following the federal withdrawal of funding.

The Community Chest

Community Chests were designed to replace the scattered and sometimes duplicitous fundraising initiatives which characterised the charity field. Earlier Financial Federations had attempted the same goals but with limited success (Wills 1995). Touzel participated in the creation of the Community Chest of Toronto, as a member of the committee that organised the initiative. In 1942 at the meeting of the Board of Directors it was agreed that Touzel would respond to an invitation to speak on the radio on the development of a community chest in Toronto. In 1943

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213 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Board of Directors May 18, 1942.
215 CTA,SC 40, Box 88 File 3, minutes of the Board of Directors Sept. 17, 1942.
217 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors November 19, 1942.
218 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors July 15, 1942.
the United Welfare Fund was created under the leadership of the Board of Trade with 18 organizations in Toronto as its members. On March 18, 1944 Touzel reported on recommendations for changes in the constitution of the recommended Chest – Touzel was the Chair on the Council Committee on Chest Constitution and Regulation. In 1944 the United Welfare Fund became the United Welfare Chest with the Welfare Council as the planning department of the chest. At this time 72 agencies including the Jewish Social Service Agencies and the Catholic Federation agreed to participate. On 30th March, 1944 the Community Chest of Greater Toronto was named in a Letters Patent under the Ontario Companies Act.

5.4.2 Children, Family and Welfare

While the development of the welfare state was the primary field of practice for Touzel in her long social work career, she maintained a continuing interest in children and families. John Patton described Touzel as a person whose:

love for and delight in children was absolutely boundless, whether in Toronto, Dar-Es-Salaam or Killaloe. During her last months, in the nursing home in Ottawa, nothing animated her more than the appearance of a child. Her favourite stories were almost always centred on children. She was the family “cookie person.” We could depend on her to listen, empathise and never ever to judge.

In an interview, her colleague from the Ontario Welfare Council, Don Bellamy had a similar memory and recounted that while she was in Tanzania she helped a young woman to get more schooling and maintained a relationship with her through correspondence after her return to Canada.

As Executive Director of the Ontario Welfare Council (see 5.3.3) in the 1950s she spearheaded a descriptive overview of children’s services throughout the province of Ontario. When the “Mom” Whyte affair (see below) blew up she took a lead position in supporting the Ministry of Social Services in the launching of the Children’s Boarding Home Act and in public statements

219 CTA SC 40, Box 89, File 1, Public Private Responsibilities, Meeting of the Board of Directors March 18, 1944.
222 Oral interview with Don Bellamy, May 1, 2013.
explaining and supporting the principles it was premised on – namely the principles of foster home care and individualised responses to the specific needs of each child rather than institutional warehousing.

5.4.2.1 The “Mom” Whyte Affair

Newspaper clippings and magazine articles recount how “Mom” Whyte, in the mid 1950s, began providing a home for children who “had nowhere else to go” and the number of children in this orphanage increased steadily until it was providing care for over a hundred children. Located in a farm property in Bowmanville, Ontario “Mom” Whyte did not have an adequate infrastructure to sustain such a large operation. However “Mom” Whyte had a considerable following of public support for her “selfless” operation. At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were many orphanages, some operated by private philanthropists such as ‘Mom Whyte’ and others by churches. Disease, poverty and premature death were common and so there were many orphans who had lost both parents as well as many widows or widowers who were unable to work and care for their children and consequently placed them in orphanages for varying lengths of time. When times were hard parents would use these institutions to temporarily house their children who were too young to work (Baines 1994; Bradbury 1993). In addition immigrant children arriving from Britain were often placed in these children’s institutions awaiting permanent placement (Rooke and Schnell 1983). ‘Mom Whyte’’s program was reminiscent of these institutions but was an anachronism by the mid-fifties.

New standards and regulations were promulgated to improve the conditions in children’s institutions and ‘Mom Whyte’ was charged under the new Children’s Boarding Home Act which precipitated a flurry of publicity and controversy. Representing the Ontario Welfare Council, Touzel issued a statement to the press outlining the key issues addressed by the Act. Her article unpacked the principles of child care which informed the legislation. “Mom” Whyte’s program failed to meet any of these guiding principles and Touzel used this conclusion as the foundation of her critique of ‘Mom Whyte’, carefully avoiding any personal or otherwise unrelated criticisms. Touzel and the Minister Louis Cecile became the centre of this controversy. Now Mayor of Ottawa, Charlotte Whitton wrote to Touzel offering her support, and drafted an article supporting the new standards and regulations which was published in the Ottawa Citizen newspaper. Finally, an outbreak of disease at “Mom” Whyte's home became the trigger that
resulted in direct state intervention, the removal of all the children and the closure of her home.

During the 1940s Touzel was deeply involved in the wartime daycare issues and in protective legislation for women in the war workforce. In the 1950s when Touzel was Director of the Ontario Welfare Council she worked extensively on child welfare issues. In her social work career, Touzel took up the issues which were current and used the wave of public interest and political receptiveness to push forward with her reform agenda. She had a canny political sense of timeliness and was quick to discern when to push certain policy proposals to the forefront. In 1955, Touzel produced *Children’s Institutional Needs and Required Standards. A Report to the Minister of Welfare*, a large and comprehensive 51 page document. A committee assembled the information for this report surveying all Children’s Aid Societies and Children’s Institutions as well as Family Welfare, Child Welfare, and Mental Health and planning agencies. Touzel described the major shift in children’s institutions between 1920 and 1954. When Touzel wrote the report in 1954 only one child in every thousand was orphaned. The public health success in eliminating major diseases, and the development of public assistance programs changed children’s services. A major adoption program shifted child welfare services into non institutional domains and increased services which assisted children within their own family structure resulting in more children remaining in their homes. At the time of writing her report, foster care was the primary approach to children separated from their families and adoption was preferred over long term institutionalization. As a result of these changes, Touzel portrayed what she saw as the current needs. She said:

> Increased knowledge gives greater validity to a prognosis of an extremely poor future for the children whose early life resembles many of these more permanent changes in child welfare services. It can be predicted without doubt that most will, without early and good professional service, populate our mental hospitals, reform and criminal institutions and become a substantial part of our dependent population. Their needs have little in common with those in care 30, 40 or 50 years ago. They need medical, psychological, and psychiatric social work services of a high order and in quantity and type depending on the degree of damage which the individual child may have suffered (p. 4).

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223 AO, Ontario Welfare Fonds, F837, Box 29, press releases, newspaper clippings, correspondence.

224 City of Toronto Archive, Touzel, Childrens Institutional needs and required standards.
While she promoted the importance of professional intervention from trained social workers using an individualised and clinical modality, she continued to couch this in a structural framework pointing out that inadequate social protection resulted in ‘damage’ to children who would then require professional assistance. In her historical contextualization she noted the impact of structural factors such as disease and depressed regions. In reviewing the circumstances at the time she focused on individual intrapsychic factors and attributed the shift in view to the change in the needs of children. In a later paragraph she said:

> All children are naturally dependent. A child who seems independent, who seems genuinely confident and happy, is a child who can afford to be independent and confident because he knows his needs are guaranteed by the responsible caring adults who consider him important. These “parenting” adults are smoothing the way for him so that he will have experiences appropriate to his age and development. They will protect him from physical and other dangers against which his own judgement is not sufficiently developed to protect himself. Healthy personality growth is usually automatic when these conditions pertain. p. 5

This analysis of the importance of good parenting normalised dependency and noted that protection from danger is a good parenting responsibility which presumably alluded to structural conditions. In a later part of the document Touzel identified what she considered basic in children’s services and placed the structural consideration of financial aid at the top of the list noting that this should be attended to in a respectful manner that does not degrade the recipient. She discussed maintaining children with their families through casework, homemakers and daycare, and finally she discussed the removal of children from their families into public wardship which could mean adoption or institutionalization.  

In 1957 Touzel was asked by the Ontario Minister of Welfare, the Honourable Mr. Louis Cecile, to advise on standards suitable for boarding home care for children. She was appointed to chair a committee to advise the Minister on institutional needs for children. Later that same year the Children’s Boarding Home Act was proclaimed which outlined minimal standards for the institutional care of children. In Clifford J. Williams 50th anniversary account of the history of the Ontario Ministry of Community and Social Services (1984), he described “The Mom Whyte Incident” as precipitating the Children’s Boarding Home Act (Williams 1984). The new social protection legislation and the rise of the welfare state in Canada changed the landscape of service

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225 City of Toronto Archive, Touzel, Childrens Institutional needs and required standards.
provision. Many services that had traditionally been private became public and new standards and regulations were promulgated across the country. In some instances these regulations acted to “coerce” private operations out of business as they were unable to generate the funds to meet the new standards. The convoluted story of ‘Mom Whyte’ told such a story.

Poverty and welfare were central to Touzel’s social work practice and dominated her work life. However, while children and families were a central part of her target group, most often they were not the central focus of her work. It was at the Ontario Welfare Council that her work revolved around child welfare more conspicuously, perhaps because in the 1950s the most significant features of the welfare state were already in place (Struthers 1989). She shifted her advocacy work to setting up the administrative infrastructures required to implement the new legislation. It was also a time of conservatism in Ontario and the cold war was in effect which given that she was a communist may have dampened her critical voice (Jennissen and Lundy 2011; Struthers 1994). Jennissen (2011) suggested that a further factor for social workers in the 1950s is that they have become an arm of the government through new positions created with the new welfare legislation making critique more difficult.

5.4.3 Immigrants, Newcomers, and the Nation

Touzel began her social work career with frontline work at the Neighbourhood Workers Association where she was working with many newcomer families in need of relief assistance. Her humanistic social work philosophy of universal rights meant that in practice she did not distinguish between newcomers and generational Canadians. A public debate on Canadian welfare between Touzel and T.W. Kent (Assistant President of Canadian Chemical & Cellulose Co. Ltd.) was staged in 1959 and reported in full in the September 15, 1959 issue of Canadian Welfare. T.W. Kent described immigration as “importing people” and identified newcomers as a source of trouble and well-known social tensions. He acknowledged that more vigorous immigration could contribute to building a sounder economy but then suggested that immigrants were more problem than they were worth, and that settlement services were inadequate and did not achieve Canadianization at a fast enough pace. Touzel countered that existing community services were inadequate for both Canadian born and for newer Canadians. On the topic of integration she said:

“The social process of healthy integration is not easy and does not come by happenstance. The integration of different cultures and the breakdown of old
mores is a social concomitant of large scale immigration. We disregard this at our peril. Not only are newcomers affected by these pressures but old-timers are caught up in the social interaction. Any assumption that we can merely put pressure on immigrants to “Canadianize” is false.

She described the process of integration as a two-way process between old-Canadians and new-Canadians and pointed to problems of public attitudes, to the Federal approach to immigration which assumed no responsibility after newcomers arrived in the country, to inadequate settlement services and to a lack of reciprocity between old and new Canadians. She called for:

Leadership directed to our educational institutions, our trade unions, our social welfare planners, our churches, women’s and other organisations, and designed to answer questions of these special groups and to interpret the values and the needs of our immigrant population to Canada is necessary to promote their fullest contribution and funds. Throughout all of this is the need for the fullest participation by the leaders of the ethnic groups themselves.  

Predictably her approach to immigration synchronised with her approach to welfare and she had no simple formulaic solution to this complex process. In an address on the moral foundations of social work in 1953, she spoke to the importance of tolerance, and a non-judgemental counselling approach as fundamental not only in a therapeutic social work approach, but also in overtly challenging values underlying racism and other discriminatory behaviours:

It must be acknowledged that all social relationships operate within a value context. We do contend that the worker should use social values, whenever possible as agents in the therapeutic process, rather than as standards by which the client stands adjudged and condemned. However we must also recognise the fact that certain of the existing social values, because of their destructive quality, cannot be used as positive forces in therapy; rather these factors can be causative factors in the individuals’s difficulty (e.g. attitude of racial superiority). In such instances social work has no role in helping the client to accept such value judgement but in helping him to understand why they exist and in building strength within himself and within others to change them.  

Touzel foreshadowed anti-oppressive practice principles in this articulation. In her final months at the Welfare Council of Toronto, Touzel raised the issue of the internment of Japanese Canadians and in her capacity as Executive Secretary she wrote a letter of protest to Prime


227 The moral foundations of social work, 1953, pp. 9–10.
Minister Mackenzie King (see appendix J). In the letter she noted that social and economic problems have resulted from this war-time policy which were persisting beyond that time. She urged that action should be taken to avert a sense of injustice as the inheritance of the future.\textsuperscript{228}

5.5 Key Ideas and Practice Orientations

With the fields of practice explored and discussion of how the practice approaches Touzel developed were shaped by left-leaning and radical directions such as the League for Social Reconstruction, the Toronto Reconstruction Council and the Marsh Commission, I will now consider her approach to the professionalization of social work and her ideas on the role of women and on feminism.

5.5.1 The Professionalization of Social Work

Touzel was a member of the Canadian Association of Social Work (CASW) from her graduation in 1928 until her death in 1997. Her membership location shifted with her employment relocations. She belonged to the Ottawa Branch in the 1930s and to the Toronto Branch for the rest of her career. From 1952 to 1954 she was the National President and she was also very involved in the International Federation of Social Workers. Throughout her years of membership she was active in committee work and her name appeared with regularity in the archival records of the organization. In 1953, in a President’s address to the Toronto Branch, she spoke to the issue of the purpose of a professional association. She dismissed the ongoing relevance of the founding objectives to promote professional standards and cultivate an informed public opinion about social work and stated that in her view there were four fundamental philosophical concepts which must form the cornerstone of the profession:

\begin{itemize}
\item The dignity, rights and worth of the individual.
\item The concept of mutual responsibility between the individual and the community for his welfare.
\item The belief that it is possible to secure progress by directing change.
\item The belief that there is a mutuality of influence between individuals and the society in which they live.\textsuperscript{229}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{228} LAC,MG 26-J1, W.L.MacKenzie King Papers, Primary correspondence, May 20, 1947, C11044, BT.
This four-principled stand speaks strongly to Touzel’s orientation as more ‘socialist’ in its objectives than regulatory and administrative. She was concerned about the transformation of society, and her vision went far beyond regulation and administration even though those were the daily requirements of her social work jobs. Touzel stated that she believed that it was the common philosophy of the members that made the organization potentially a “vital and important instrument in society,” and she declared that these philosophical positions needed to be frankly and clearly stated and then operationalized. 

Touzel stated that social work is yet to develop or codify a guiding philosophy or set of principles that will influence all its members and she urged the formulation of an agreed upon underlying philosophy to guide practice. Indeed many of these questions remain to this day, with debates about the relative importance of professional competencies versus the importance of guiding ethical principles and social action.

Touzel was very active in the CASW during the 1940s. As a member of an unemployment insurance committee in December 1940 she raised the question of promoting coverage for domestics and agricultural workers; in March, 1943 she spoke on the importance of close cooperation between teachers and social workers; and on March 26, 1943 she moved that the following motion be sent to the National Board:

That the CASW is seriously concerned with the necessity for adequate social security legislation and welcomes such planning as will lead to constructive action on this matter. While there has not yet been an opportunity to study Dr. Marsh’s report in detail and while we might feel more far reaching measures are desirable, yet we believe this report is an important step and wish to go on record to this effect. p. 2–3.

The National Board was then asked to release a statement to the Press and to send a formal resolution to Dr. Cyril James (chairman of Dr. Marsh’s Committee), Mr. MacKenzie King (Prime

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230 Ibid.


232 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes of general membership meeting, Dec 4, 1940.

233 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes of general membership meeting, Mar 26, 1943.
Minister), Mr. Ian Mackenzie, Mr. Bracken and Mr. Coldwell (leader of the C.C.F.). Miss Willensky asked that a committee be formed to study the report and on June 16, 1943 Touzel participated in a panel at the CASW meeting on the Marsh Report where she was joined by Dr. Stuart Jaffray, Ray Godfrey of University of Toronto School of Social Work, Mr. Cohen and Mr. Amos. As a participant on the Marsh Commission, Touzel was in a strong position to discuss and debate the issues that the Marsh Report brought forward. But more importantly, it can be seen that Touzel was invested in the social work profession supporting the Marsh Report and becoming more politicized in their identity and mission. To this end she organized activities that joined community spokespersons with the CASW and encouraged the CASW to issue public statements.

In October 1943 she participated in a committee on refugees and headed up a section advocating for unemployment assistance. In 1944 she worked on the underpayment of social workers, liaising between the CASW and the Welfare Council on the issue. In the same year she joined a committee which discussed social work and labour in which it was agreed that social workers and unions alike were striving to bring greater security to individuals, and there was joint agreement that they would strive to co-operate more closely. Touzel worked to align the CASW with labour issues and labour activism as well as to build support for better remuneration of social workers as their services became increasingly tied to the rising welfare state.

In her 1954 biennial address to the CASW at the end of her term as national president, Touzel began by applauding the program evaluation and planning study which had been completed by the organisation as well as a study on social work education which she noted as an equally important responsibility to the social work community. She then went on to say that:

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234 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes of general membership meeting, Dec 4, 1940.
235 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes of general membership meeting, June 16, 1943.
236 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes of general membership meeting, October 29, 1943.
237 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes, an emergency meeting, 1944.
238 LAC, MG 28, I441, CASW, Vol. 35. Toronto Branch CASW minutes of general membership meeting, Mar 12, 1943.
We should not long neglect concern with social conditions and the society in which we live. The history of social work is full of illustrations of community needs—national conference material, Canadian Conference material, international Conference material. But beware of the danger when excited about techniques that we pay too little attention to the times in which we live. There is as someone has said the danger of taking the “social” out of “social work.”

She addressed the unemployment situation and outlined the current shortcomings in coverage and eligibility. She admonished the social work community for its responsibility in this matter:

We know that unemployment is a devastating catalyst to further breakdown. It presents a challenge to us— it is not ours to solve, but we can play a part in the interpretation of what it means to families and individuals. Our experience gives us some status in talking of the problem and we should be thinking of what is our role, what are the social work implications in the administration of public assistance? There is too great a tendency for social workers generally to feel that we do nothing about it unless we are employed in the public assistance field.

Touzel lived her entire life as a professional social worker committed to a vision of a profession which had the power to guide, inspire, oversee and influence social reform in the direction of a welfare state of social protection and universal rights. This was a vision which fuelled her own work and commitment and also her view of professionalization. She was unremitting in this striving and that is apparent in all her speeches, presentations and writing. In her public addresses she consistently issues a call for action and reform.

### 5.5.2 Feminism and the Role of Women

As part of the first generation of women to enter adulthood with the newly won right to vote, Touzel was an equal rights feminist, and was active in women’s organizations as well as in her own professional associations. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a proliferation of women’s clubs and organizations in Canada. First wave feminist ideas, based on maternalism which saw women’s rights as based in difference and unique feminine qualities of nurturance and caring, were widespread at the time (Bacchi 1989). When she moved to Toronto, Touzel joined ZONTA, an organization for women in the professions and in business. The ZONTA club

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was formed in Toronto in 1927, modeled on an organization formed in 1920 in the United States. Its social visionary goals included peace, universal justice, and respect for human rights, improved status for women, and an objective to serve communities, nations and the universe.  

In 1945, the Toronto Star reported Touzel, a ZONTA club member, speaking on the current status of women:

> the war period ought to have laid to rest once and for all the feeling that women cannot do things equally as well as men. We will not fulfil the destiny that was planned in winning the ballot if we do not study the questions for the reforms and changes necessary at this period.

She participated in speaking and writing for the Association of Women Electors, a group that organised and attended all candidates meetings during civic elections in the city of Toronto Wards, and reported on the City Council and Board of Education meetings to interested citizens and their members. In 1960, she was one of five women in Toronto who founded the Voice of Women, a group committed to peace activism.

In her wartime paper, *Women and Industry* (1942), Touzel addressed the special needs of women who were entering the war industries in response to the war demands for labour, but her central thesis was the particular needs of women. Touzel promoted the importance of reliable and competent daycare facilities, and outlined the difficulties of shift work for women with children. She discussed accommodation needs for single or childless married women who might have to relocate to be close to their workplace. She also advocated for washrooms, seats for workers and reasonable hours and regular breaks in the work schedule. In general terms she reported that “women are relatively more attractive to employers because they cost less in wages . . . equal pay for equal work would tend to give the advantage to male workers . . . the male worker is likely to be preferred, all things being equal, because of an outlook of lesser turnover and lesser

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244 ibid.
When Touzel joined the Canadian Welfare Council in 1947 she was informed that her position as second in command in no way implied the second highest salary in the organization. “In order to secure the services of a particular man for the staff . . . it might be necessary to pay [him] a larger salary than you are receiving,” CWC Director R.E.G. Davis told Touzel in offering her the job. However he was sure this was a practical problem which . . . you and I can work out if and when the necessity arises.”

Struthers (1983) argued that:

> The position of women within social work also contained a special irony, however. Although from the profession’s earliest days as a form of paid employment in the post World War I era women had protested against the injustice of men, with less training, dominating the administrative hierarchy, they were in some ways protesting against an image that they had themselves helped to foster . . . At the same time, in order to attract men into social work as part of a campaign to enhance its prestige within society as a whole throughout the 1930s and the 1940s, women and men in the profession stressed that males were particularly needed to fill its enlarging administrative dimensions. As a consequence, employment patterns within social work simply mirrored the images of appropriate male and female spheres of work which the profession itself disseminated.

The newly forming profession was attempting to establish organisational actors and individual actors in an institutional field which was premised on the male breadwinner as the central player in the employment market (Christie 2000). The rules of the game were that men were more competent, particularly in work that required (male stereotyped) reason and objectivity and a higher skill level. Thus senior positions and administrative positions were awarded to men. In accordance with the privileging of the male breadwinner the man needed to earn more money to support his family (it was widely held that women were only producing a second inessential income – pin money) and, of course, he deserved more anyway because it was understood he was more competent and highly skilled. This institutional framework was a combination of formal and informal rules (Krook and Mackay 2011). There were formal rules at the time which permitted jobs to be advertised as male and female positions, that sanctioned different pay scales for men and women for the same positions. The University of Toronto overtly declared its

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agenda to make the social services program offered attractive to men, informally networking and mentoring favoured men. One of the results of this institutional framework was that the social work profession needed men to enhance its status and also that women—particularly successful women—were rewarded by conforming to this institutional framework.

Touzel, like Whitton, was a feminist pioneer who entered what was traditionally masculine space, namely senior administrative positions in public service, and sustained a forty-year career operating in the masculine sphere of political networking, policy development, and social governance.

5.6 Discussion

Touzel was an early graduate from the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto. She joined the Canadian Association of Social Work when it was a fledgling organization and retained membership in it throughout her life. Her personal and professional identities were so connected that although she retired in 1964 she continued to do social work until the end of her life. At her last public address at the 80th anniversary of the Faculty of Social Work of the University of Toronto, she stood with the help of her two canes and made a brief impassioned plea to the next generation:

The bread and butter programs are in grave danger and I am not asking you to consider them perfect. I am not asking you to give your support to the kind of thing altogether – that happened. But I am very afraid that the whole thing is going to scramble and fall. Don’t let them do it. Your turn is here and please defend the basic needs of human beings (Touzel 1994, 1).

Adrienne Chambon who was present described this presentation as brief but so powerful that the room became silent and thoughtful (Personal Communication, Chambon 2013). To the end Touzel was guided by her socialist vision of community interdependence with publically provided social protection buttressing the vagaries of a market economy. In 1994 she was witnessing the retrenchment of the welfare state. Always a social activist, when she spoke at the 80th Anniversary she gave no thought to congratulatory messages of the 80 years of social service of the Faculty but rather addressed the need most pressing – the future of the country and preserving the welfare state.

In the course of her career, Touzel drew upon the progressive changes taking place as a result of the Great Depression and of the new ideas of welfare which became commonplace in postwar
Canadian society. She was aware of the limits of the possible changes in social distribution, and fought strategically to obtain gains incrementally through alliances. Touzel’s career unfolded during the flourishing of radical ideas which occurred after the Depression. She connected with these currents of social change and pushed for social reform. In May 1953, Touzel presented a lecture, later published as a booklet, on *The Moral Foundations of Social Work* at the 4th Western Regional Conference of Social Work in Saskatoon. This lecture was written at a mature time of her life when she was 49 years old, and as she transitioned into her final career location at the Ontario Welfare Council. In the presentation she asserted that human dignity and worth and the universal rights of an individual, should drive social work:

> no human being should be hungry, uneducated, unnecessarily ill, ill without care, idle or in want; his treatment when in need should be towards his re-establishment just as far as skill and resources make this possible. (Touzel 1953, 7)

She insisted that public assistance was not just necessary but was a right, and warned of the demoralising corrosive effects of a climate infused with a fear of welfare fraud: “to give grudgingly is little better than not to give at all” (Touzel 1953, 11). Touzel reflected that change is inevitable; she identified social work as striving towards greater social justice; closing the gap between the rich and poor; and supporting “stimulated employment and income maintenance programs that are designed to modify change in such a way as to partially compensate for disadvantages” (Touzel 1953, 13). Interdependence, she argued, between individuals and society is such that unsolved health problems, lack of housing, unemployment, poor education and lack of adequate childcare affect everyone and create community problems. The failure to recognise these social imperatives and to structure a supportive welfare system is the real problem she declared, rather than the feared dependency of recipients. Consistent with her deep respect for the democratic principle of participation, she insisted that consulting those most affected by plans was of the utmost importance. Specifically, she emphasized, that this principle was as important in community organizing and policy planning as it was in individual and in group clinical work (Touzel 1953).

The cornerstone in the foundation of social work philosophy supports the main principles of the whole. It underlies the public opinion which supports social work, that accepts as public policy that no human being should be hungry, uneducated, unnecessarily ill or ill without care, idle or in want; that his treatment when in need should be towards his re-
establishment just as far as skill and resources make this possible, and as far as this philosophy permeates public conscience.\textsuperscript{247}

Touzel took issue with popular eugenic ideas of the day which claimed that competition and the principles of an unregulated market economy were consistent with biological “facts,” such as the survival of the fittest. She stated that the survival of the fittest “is not a law and is inappropriate to civilized society” (Touzel 1953, 17). She dismissed the idea that wealth or physical fitness were useful social goals or measures of success and asserted that responsible people must ensure that there are environments in which survival is maximized, and that selection in a civilized country is not natural but rather social and scientific. She urged social workers to use rehabilitation programs and client strengths as central practice principles (Touzel 1953).

Touzel’s most fundamental guiding beliefs were a blend of Marxist ideas about the distribution of wealth, the regulation of production and the treatment of the working class with the progressive reform movement and the vision of a Keynesian welfare state. Touzel was always a pragmatist and spent her working life moving her vision forward through action. She did not have a lot of time to devote to theoretical elaboration. The men in academia such as Cassidy and Marsh had the space, the time and the language for theorizing. Women such as Touzel worked in the public sector with all its demands on time and energy. In a recuperative histories such as this Touzel’s contribution is revealed. However, despite honours and awards during her lifetime the extent of her work was not fully visible at the time. While she often worked behind the scenes producing the material that academic scholars depended on, authorship for the resulting publications did not reflect her participation and contribution.

Touzel’s genius was to translate theory into action, to have the vision of what ideas and principles would look like on the ground and then to mobilize to make them happen. Most commonly she worked behind the scenes and those who knew her reported her as a quiet and thoughtful person who listened carefully and did not dominate in social situations (Bellamy 2013; Reid 2013; Struthers 2013). However, when she was confronted with injustice that offended her values she would become outspoken, assertive and take a strong stand such as her whistleblowing public expose of the Public Welfare Department in 1936 and her resignation in

\textsuperscript{247} Touzel, B. (1953). The moral foundations of social work. Lecture delivered at the 4\textsuperscript{th} Western Regional Conference of Social Work.
protest from the Welfare Council of Toronto when they stopped the publication of the cost-of-living booklet.

Touzel’s towering strength was as a strategic pragmatist. She had an extraordinary ability to understand not only what needed to be done but how to do it. She was able to take values and ideas and translate them into a plan of action, mobilizing people to follow her direction and establishing the networks, coalitions and administrative frameworks necessary to set new directions in motion. This was a process which she did not justify by political rhetoric but rather by human need. Thus she was known as a social worker rather than as affiliated to a political party or position. Her personal charisma and her undisputed competence won her many admirers but her success was also the outcome of a solid personal political commitment which she sharpened over the years. She became a communist in the 1930s and continued to adhere to a Marxist philosophy throughout her life. Even after World War II when the exposure of Stalin caused many party members to fall away, Touzel (who had never liked Stalin) was unshaken in her beliefs (Reid 2013). Her public persona was left-leaning and radical but most who knew her believed that she was a social democrat rather than a communist (Bellamy 2013). She focused her attention on her own lived experience and the lived experience of others which is a marxist approach to the world. She was concerned about the poverty suffered by families, children without parents and their quality of life, unemployed workers and making their ends meet and how people would keep warm during the winter months. Her vision was for a better life for the poor and for those who must deal with disability, relocation, unemployment and adversity. It wasn’t a vision that she defined through political dogma but rather by how best her practical vision could be realised. For her the Marxist principles of equal distribution of wealth and public regulation of social services, respect and just payment for the worker made more sense than an unbridled market economy. She could perhaps be viewed as an incremental Marxist.

As a social worker she poured her energy into the formation of the welfare state, working as a mediator between the leaders in ideas (such as Marsh and Cassidy) and existing social agencies, translating the ideas and new legislation into action. She was frequently consulted and in demand for her pragmatic expertise and working knowledge of social agencies and the clients they served. She worked almost exclusively at a senior executive level and yet she had an uncanny awareness of what was happening on the ground. She listened to her staff and designed ways for them to increase their effectiveness, and for the social work profession to move forward.
Chapter 6
Margaret Gould (1900–1981): A Passion for Justice

Margaret Gould was a contemporary of Bessie Touzel and part of a network of friends who shared a left leaning perspective, supported the rise of the welfare state, and spent a working lifetime fighting for social justice and universal rights for all. Gould was engaged in forms of social activism, some of which occurred in conventionally understood social work contexts but others extended to labour unions and journalism. The life and career of Gould has been documented in a fragmentary fashion in a number of sources including in some autobiographical pieces. The Toronto Reference Library has a Margaret Gould Fonds (S236), which contains 5 boxes of materials (1935–1990) including eight photos, fragments of autobiography, unfinished plays and short stories, personal correspondence, published pieces about Gould, and a collection of articles written by Gould and printed in the Toronto Star, letters about Gould printed in the Toronto Star, and a collection of editorials by Gould published in the Toronto Star (1937–1955). These were all organized by topic and date (approximately 1,050 editorial items). The University of Toronto Archives have a small collection of newspaper clippings regarding Gould. Gould’s radical role at the Child Welfare Council is described by Gale Wills in her study of the Social Planning Council (Wills 1995). Gould’s social work career is referenced a number of times in a recently published history of Canadian social work (Jennissen and Lundy 2011) and in a doctoral study of social work and the cold war (Lewey 2006). Gould is described briefly in a history of women and the left in Canada (Rifkind 2009; Sangster 1989). In his biography of Toronto Star founder J.E. Atkinson, Harkness also recounts some incidents in Gould’s editorial career (Harkness 1963).

This chapter continues the discussion of radical ideas and social work with a narrative of the life and work of Margaret Gould. Born into a radical tradition, Gould developed this further as her practice philosophy matured and she gained experience in the social work field. In this chapter I will introduce Gould by discussing her personal social location and then move on to a discussion of education, and a narrative of her career trajectory. I elaborate on her chosen field of practice and her practice approach. Finally I will consider her key ideas and practice orientation through a discussion of her participation in the professionalization of social work and her approach to the role of women.
6.1 Social Location

Leaving his wife and three children alone in their village near Minsk, Gould’s father left Russia for the New World in 1904. In her unfinished memoir Gould provided an account of the circumstances of the family’s move from the Russian Pale to Toronto. In her words:

Grandmother Deborah, Mama’s mother, paid for his escape across the Russian border into Germany, from service in the Czar’s army, then at war with Japan. He was a short, slight man with guileless laughing blue eyes, a finely chiselled face and wore a beard that made him resemble King George V. He had no employable skills, no money and nobody from whom to borrow. He was a Talmudic scholar, a colourful speaker with a good sense of humour. His melodic voice he used only for religious chants. None of this could bring income. His five years service in the czar’s army was no asset in Canada. When he married Mama in Odessa, his mother-in-law staked him to a small business from which the war-time pogroms forced him to flee. He was lucky to find a job in Toronto as a shipping clerk with the Rice Lewis & Co. Foundry at $7 per week. It was the only wage earning job he held in his lifetime, [sic] as soon as he began working, he somehow got a message through to grandmother to send Mama, Hinda, Baby Issac and I, to be met by my father at the Toronto Union Station (Gould 1987).

Baby Issac was still nursing when they crossed the Atlantic ocean as steerage passengers on an ocean liner. Gould described being smuggled out of Russia into Germany, and from there travelling by ship to New York, and finally by train to Toronto. Steamship companies had hundreds of agents working in Europe recruiting customers. The cost of immigrating was not just steerage and food costs while on board, but also paying governments, agents and hustlers at stopovers on route, and if the passage was part of an escape, then there were brokers and loan sharks to pay as well. Steerage passengers were packed in the hold like animals, poorly fed and denied access to fresh air on the upper decks, which were the domain of the wealthy passengers (Harney and Troper 1975).

After 1885, there was a huge flow of immigrants into Toronto from Eastern Europe and Italy, with the largest numbers coming from the Russian Pale, the western area where non-Russians including large numbers of Jews lived. In the 1880s new laws in Russia restricted Jews from owning property and attending school, and introduced conscription for twenty five years of military service. Tsarist authorities tacitly supported Christian minorities to conduct pogroms

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248 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.
(sudden violent anti-Semitic rampages of rape, murder and destruction) in the shtetls (the little Jewish towns of the Pale). The end of serfdom in Tsarist Russia during the 1860s created a Christian competition in the small trades which had traditionally been the employment domain for the Jews. This increased competition in turn triggered migration to the larger cities of the Pale or emigration (Harney and Troper 1975).

The Gould family’s first home was in the area of downtown Toronto known as The Ward. The family settled in the rear of a store on Elizabeth Street, but it wasn’t long before they moved to a two-room cottage with an outside toilet and no heating facility on nearby Chestnut Street. They had a grassy yard with this cottage, and Gould described in her memoir how her mama’s shirt froze to the damp cold wall one winter. 249 Like most new immigrants at the time, they moved often and each time they moved a little further north in the city.

Jane Jacobs (2011) defined slums as an urban phenomenon where a huge population increase in a particular area close to employment opportunities forces people to reside there. The successful people move out and so there is constantly a transient population, which then creates a perpetual slum. It is only when a community group become more settled and begins to network that unslumming begins to occur (Jacobs 2011). The Ward was one of a number of staging grounds for new Torontonians and as such was a perpetual slum in the early twentieth century. Charles Hastings, Toronto’s Medical Officer of Health, compiled a slum report in 1911. In it he identified contaminated water, overcrowding, windowless rooms, cesspools, narrow lanes and alleys piled high with garbage together with elevated rates of infectious disease as characteristic of these areas of the city. 250 City officials including some social workers saw immigrants as responsible for these conditions. When they saw the conditions in the Ward and noticed that the inhabitants were predominantly newcomers they concluded that these people were ignorant of how to create hygienic organised living spaces. They further traced poverty stemming from low wage labour and unemployment to laziness and personal shortcomings. They concluded that the slum conditions had been created by the occupants rather than through the city’s failure to provide services or control landlords (Harney and Troper 1975).

249 ibid.

250 City of Toronto Archives, RG-11, Box 2, Report of the Medical Health Officer on Slum Conditions in Toronto (Toronto 1911).
The family moved again to Duke St. (now Adelaide Street) and occupied a two-storey row house with five rooms and a porch. While they still had no indoor plumbing, they had more space and Gould’s mother took in boarders. Her father purchased a horse and wagon, and daily collected rags, bones and bottles, from which he derived a small income. He also organised the first union of peddlars in Toronto. As they were close to a factory, there was no shortage of persons seeking accommodation and her mother who was an inventive cook, sold lunches and snacks for the largely Portuguese factory workers. However, Gould recalled that this was not a Jewish community so the family felt isolated and exiled. Their move to Maria Street in The Junction was a rite of passage for the family as this property was purchased with her mother’s savings from the boarders of Duke Street. Located in a Jewish community, many of whom had come from a similar region in Russia, this house boasted a yard large enough for a vegetable garden, indoor plumbing, gas lighting and plastered walls where pictures could be hung. They converted the front room into a grocery store, and proudly the Goulds were the first to plant a tree on the street. In her memoir Gould pointed out that:

An outsider could see little reason for pride. Number 176 Maria Street was one of a row of semi-detached, cheaply built, two-storey houses with brick-faced fronts. Like all the others on the street (put up by a developer) ours had four small rooms, two upstairs and two downstairs, with a small “summer kitchen” tacked on the back. The street was narrow, the road unpaved, and our side of the street adjoined the CPR tracks. When the rains came out, our yard and the front road became seas of slimy mud. Being an extension of the railroad tracks not only kept us awake at nights, it covered the family wash with heavy soot. North of the railway tracks stood Toronto’s huge abattoirs wafting stench our way, especially on hot nights. Social workers would later classify our street as “under-privileged.” (Gould 1987)

Gould was the first born of twelve children of whom ten survived. As the eldest child she assumed a caretaking role in relation to her younger siblings. She wrote: “Older sisters in Maria Street always went with a younger child in tow or in arms, to schools, to play baseball, or for a walk.” Thus the young Gould was confronted with poverty, overcrowding, slum living conditions and the responsibilities of an oldest child in a large family, as well as to the stresses of being a newcomer in an urban setting and being Jewish in a society that was predominantly Christian. A significant shaping force in her life was education. Intellectually agile, curious, and exceptional in her performance, her experiences in this domain were always successful.

251 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.
6.2  Education

In recalling her education as a child Gould remembered that the Duke Street School was where she received her first book to read. But more memorable was the Maria Street School which Gould attended from the ages of 11 to 14. Maria Street had (and still has) a Synagogue, a Peretz School (National Radical School), and a Mission to the Jews run by an apostate Jew.\(^{252}\) The first Jewish National Radical School or Peretz School was opened in Toronto in 1911 and was the first of its type in North America. The founders were sympathetic to the working classes, communists, and committed to teaching the Yiddish language to preserve secular Jewish culture. Issac Matenko, a Russian-Jewish intellectual who emigrated in 1905, was a founder. The curriculum was Jewish history and Yiddish language with a socialist overlay (Speisman 2005). It was in the Peretz school that Gould was taught by Matenko who became a mentor and model to the young adolescent. Matenko was a clothing worker and labour organiser as well as a volunteer teacher in his spare time in The Junction community. She wrote:

Matenko, the “folk teacher” . . . no ordinary teacher. A man who loved the people; is of the people; who did not come to talk down to them; felt himself akin to them; saw the diamonds in the rough and plucked them from the mud . . . in old-time Russia, daughters of nobility, or higher classes, who felt idealistic, used to come to the villages, to become “folk teachers.” Then, later, the village folk themselves, brought forth their own folk teachers. Matenko was one of the people, who, though he earned a living by working in a factory in day time, spent evenings, weekends, holidays, teaching in the Maria Street Shule, and in a downtown one. He told me Maria Street is part of his heart; the most proud part of his life.

The Shoola changed the children’s career at school . . . after it came, children did better at school, they knew literature, in some cases better than the teachers. He taught them “Yoisha” respect for parents and the past. There was conflict between Shoola and Chaider because Matenko taught without a hat [This meant he was secular, non religious or even anti-religious]. We discovered High Park with Matenko.

Gould wrote that the Peretz Schule were a group of “free thinkers” who wanted to raise children in the “socialistic spirit” and had to combat parents who wanted only religious orthodox education.

The Peretz Schule awoke children and mothers, to culture; opened windows to their minds, gave them pride in their past, invited examination of their past

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\(^{252}\) Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.
and future; brought the entire street along to higher standards. . . . The Peretz Schule was paid for by pennies and dimes, mostly by women for their daughters. The occasional father came to listen and a few others helped, to repair, paint etc. . . . On Saturday evenings in Maria Street, the Peretz Shoola had special parties, readings, discussions, concerts. Parents and teachers were “verknipt and verbinden” as they were not in the city school. . . . Matenko could dance a Sholam Eleichem dance with mothers in Maria Street as he could not do in the city. To him came mothers asking to be taught how to sign their names, and he would take their grimy careworn hands and help them to learn to guide pencils over paper. 253

Gould attributed the Maria Street Peretz school as the place where she learned to think independently. She gave the example of a student voting against Matenko when he was running for delegate to the first Jewish Congress. This dissension was debated in class and accepted unconditionally by Matenko. 254 So to Gould, being free to not follow the teacher and to publically exercise independent judgement was an important lesson. Gould commented that most of the girls “went left” through these schools, and learned the principles of universal humanity, integrity, and pride in origin, and she asked rhetorically “where else should a working girl go but left?” 255 Gould commented that when the students left the Maria St. School they took the messages with them. Her sister, Hinda, laughed at the memories but Gould said she learned the values that guided her life there.

Gould’s writing career began in elementary school when she won prizes for essays. She reported that in elementary school she took “immeasurable pleasure in writing.” She recounted that “at high school and college, I was captivated by two interests: writing and social science, especially the skills for helping to improve the quality of life for disadvantaged people.” 256 Education was such a central part of what was meaningful in her young life that she dreamed of going to college and university, but her station in life did not provide such a life choice. She revealed this dream to her mother and in a short published memoir she described the following scenario:

One day, on the stoop of our Maria St. House, I confided my secret desire to go to college. It had to be a secret from my father for he would see only the difficulties: indeed most parents on the street would think it a wild idea. When

253 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.
254 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.
255 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.
256 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 1.
I said: “Mama, I want to go to college,” she turned on me her soft brown eyes, her warm loving smile and replied: “why not?” There and then together we conspired on a plan that took me through the University of Toronto. Four years later, (1923) Mama and Papa were walking shyly on the university’s green lawn and into Simcoe Hall to watch me receive the B.A. Diploma (Gould 1987).

The plan that she and her mother devised was multi-stepped and took a number of years to complete. The family moved yet again to a house on Willcocks Street which was only one block away from the campus, near the Conservatory of Music. From this house Gould and eventually her brothers and sisters graduated from school and university. In the unpublished fragments of autobiography in the Gould fonds, she described the educational plan:

> With Mama’s solid trust, I executed the scheme we had hatched: I took a night course in bookkeeping and typing, thus got a job to work at night and attend classes by day, yet continue to support the family. The first year’s fees were borrowed from a friend, an unexpected source. Before long came time for mother and father to attend my graduation – and before long, graduation of others in our family now practicing medicine, law, home economics, etc.257

After graduating from the University of Toronto with a B.A. in Political and Social Science, she entered the workforce for a number of years before winning a Laura Spellman Rockefeller fellowship in research in sociology at Stanford University in California. She became a member of a research team studying economic and social adjustment of Japanese in Northern California. In 1928 she graduated from Stanford with a Master of Arts Degree. 258 Gould married later in life at the age of 53 but had no children.

### 6.3 Public Life in Social Work

Frontline immigration work in New York was the starting point for Gould’s employment career in 1924, a return to the port where she, her mother, and siblings had arrived in North America. However this job was short lived and after less than a year she accepted a position working for the Toronto branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. As her first job was in New York, it may be that she wished to return to Toronto where her family was located. She played an important role in her family as the eldest child, always supporting her mother.

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257 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5.

258 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5(letter to Margaret Ritterband, class in writing for publication); resume; Gould, 1944.
Table 5

*Chronology of Gould’s Education and Work History*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Workplace</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Graduated University of Toronto B.A.</td>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Completed B.A. in political science, economics, social science and philosophy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York Immigrant Arrivals</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Worked for 9 months as immigration port receptionist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toronto Branch of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor of Family Welfare Department of Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in Toronto</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Director, Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees</td>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Made cost of living study across Canada for use in wage negotiations; prepared briefs for wages agreements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rockefeller Fellowship, Stanford University, California. Graduated 1928</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Member of research team studying economic and social adjustment of Japanese in California. Completed M.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of The League for Social Reconstruction</td>
<td>1932–1942</td>
<td>Member of a research team for study of social insurance in Canada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editor of <em>New Frontier</em></td>
<td>April 1936</td>
<td>A left wing journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Association of Social Work</td>
<td>1929–1957</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child Welfare Council of Toronto</td>
<td>1929–1936</td>
<td>Executive Secretary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecturer at University of Toronto</td>
<td>1929–1936</td>
<td>Sessional lecturer to medical students (relationship between public health and social services in a community. To Social Science Students (social security programs—theory, philosophy and practice).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature and Editorial writer for <em>The Toronto Daily Star</em> and <em>The Toronto Star Weekly</em></td>
<td>1937–1955</td>
<td>Served as specialist in social legislation, social and public health services, status of women, labour standards and global social change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Reporter for <em>The Toronto Star</em></td>
<td>1936, April 10–June 20</td>
<td>Travelled, studying and writing front page features on status of women, services and conditions of mothers and children as well as social security programs in Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Russia, England, United States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freelance writer and traveller</td>
<td>1957–1980</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gould took on some of the parenting function in her family of origin assisting her mother to take care of her siblings emotionally, and after she began working, economically as well. However it may also be that she was exploring vocational options with her political science degree and was interested in operating in a field that was beyond individual casework one that linked with her
political sense of social justice and social reform. The labour movement was part of her Jewish roots in Toronto where she had been influenced by Isaac Matenko, the Peretz School, and socialist ideas. Between 1910 and 1920 the Jewish needle trade in Toronto became more organised and manufacturers and unions began to appear. Matenko, Gould’s adolescent Peretz school teacher was one of the founders of the United Garment Workers Union, local 83, which collapsed during the Eaton’s strike of 1912. Nevertheless it was these union members who in 1915 re-formed into the Toronto branch of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. And in the following fifteen years, this union became a leading representative of labour interests in Ontario for both Jewish and gentile workers (Shapiro 2010). It was at this time that Gould accepted a position in the organization. Again it was short lived, and it was followed by another short-lived senior position as a Supervisor at the Family Welfare Department of Toronto’s Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. Her most settled job in this period was working as the Research Director at the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. She remained there until she returned to school for postgraduate work. Her cost of living study across Canada (more detailed discussion follows in section 6:1:2) was used in wage negotiations and was published by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Industrial Relations in 1926 (Gould 1945).

After graduating from Stanford University with an M.A., Gould was hired as the Executive Secretary for the Child Welfare Council of Toronto in 1929. This meant that she became part of an executive team of four who managed the organization. Formed in 1918, the Child Welfare Council was a federation of 82 organisations actively engaged in child welfare work in Toronto. As Gould described to an annual meeting in 1935, the Council was founded to unify and coordinate child welfare work, to eliminate duplication, but also to pool experience and thinking on the topic. Gould described the Council as operating through committees. Member agencies would bring forward problems. Committees were then formed with council staff and representatives from the other agencies in the community, which then used public educational meetings, research activities, and special conferences to develop the issues. The years when Gould worked at the Child Welfare Council were busy years with adjacent work in the community, lecturing at the University of Toronto, being an active member of the Canadian

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259 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File3, Annual Reports 1921–1946, Report of Executive Secretary 1935.
Association of Social Work and a member of the League for Social Reconstruction (described in Section 6:4:2). \(^{260}\)

### 6.3.1 The Parker Inquiry

In 1934, the York County Children’s Aid Society carried responsibility for a number of municipalities and townships that surrounded the City of Toronto. Many caseworkers became convinced that the Superintendent was responsible for the abusive treatment of children in his care. Workers began to refuse to refer children who were living in the county and in need of protection. Despite numerous efforts to evoke action from the CAS Board and the County Council, the problem persisted. The Child Welfare Council organised a coalition of child caring organisations and women’s organisations. They formally petitioned the Ontario cabinet for a public inquiry into the administration of the York County Children’s Aid Society. Subsequently this became known as the Parker Inquiry (Wills 1995).

Gould was one of the members of the Child Welfare Council who advocated for the Parker Inquiry. In her annual report of 1935, Gould proposed that one of the purposes of the Council was to be “a vigilant body against bad standards and a crusader for good ones.” \(^{261}\) In illustration of this Gould described a former campaign for Children’s Aid standards which occurred in 1933. In this case, the Protestant Children’s Home had complained about low standards and lack of care at the York County Children’s Aid Society. In response, a committee was formed which worked on a solution to the problem for eight months. However, in the face of little progress, the committee and the Council decided to launch a public probe. This resulted in a re-organisation of the York County Society. Afterwards, the Minister of Public Welfare consulted with the Council to set up new regulations and standards governing children’s work in the Province. \(^{262}\)

The public probe that the Child Welfare Council ordered in 1934 became a focus of controversy. Called the Parker Inquiry after the name of the presiding Judge, the inquiry revealed that Colonel George Little, the superintendent at York County Children’s Aid Society, was frequently

\(^{260}\) Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5, Margaret Gould Wechsler, resume; Social Welfare, August 1926.


\(^{262}\) CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc., Report of Executive Secretary 1935.
intoxicated on the job and was responsible for serious incompetence and omission of duty. The chairman of the Board at the time was Ontario’s former premier Mr. Henry and, in his ruling, the Judge noted that Henry had ignored complaints and showed poor ethics and bad political strategy. In a report on the progress of the investigation in the Toronto Star of September 14, 1934 the Judge is quoted as saying “The officials on the Child Welfare Council are to be congratulated on the persistence with which they urged an enquiry until Mr. Henry’s reluctance was overcome” (p. 4). On September 22, 1934 it was reported that all the members of the Board had resigned except for Mr. Henry who could not be found as he was out of town on holiday. The premier David Croll was reported as saying that housecleaning would be occurring at the York County Children’s Aid Society. Colonel Little was fired.

The results of the investigation were poorly received by men in public administrative positions and even by some social workers. The inquiry was seen as an unnecessary public airing of dirty laundry that should have been dealt with in-house and behind closed doors. The divisive responses to the inquiry impacted Gould heavily as rumours of her communist sympathies and unsuitability for the Council began to circulate (Wills 1995). She became a target as her senior position in the Council and her public stand on the importance of taking action and being a “vigilant body against bad standards and a crusader for good one” was not well received by men in powerful public administrative positions. As Gould’s actions were not illegal and were morally untouchable, animosity surfaced as rumour and unofficial censure. There was a resurgence of interest in establishing a welfare council in Toronto and the discussion turned to terminating the Child Welfare Council and replacing it with the new organisation. This provided a venue whereby Gould could be “let go” during the transition, as there were no grounds for official termination.

6.3.2 The Termination of the Child Welfare Council

The development of social organization in Toronto has a long history. In 1914 the Neighbourhood Workers Association was formed to improve social welfare organization in the city and established itself as a council of agencies. The Federation for Community Social Services was formed shortly afterwards and out of this organization the Child Welfare Council was formed. In 1927, Mr. Francis McLean conducted an investigation of the organization of social services in Toronto and he identified three field council groups – the Neighbourhood
Workers Association, the Child Welfare Council and the Federation of Settlements. Following this a committee was formed—the committee on a council of social agencies—which followed a mandate of exploring ways to improve the centralization of services and agencies in the city. This committee met intermittently for eight years, but in 1935 it was reconstituted and began discussing the issues with a fresh commitment to some resolution. A debate formed between those who thought that the existing Child Welfare Council could be used as a seed organization, by expanding its current mandate and governance structure to meet the needs of a more broadly based organization, and those who thought that an entirely new organization was needed with a new form and governance.\textsuperscript{263}

On March 31\textsuperscript{st} 1937, a planning committee, which included members of the Child Welfare Council, was formed to decide on how to proceed. Margaret Gould and Joan Arnoldi were both members of this committee as well as numerous prominent social workers across the city, including Frank Stapleford from NWA, Robert Mills from CAS, and Professor Edward Johns Urwick from the University of Toronto’s Department of Social Service. In early May 1937 it was decided that a new Council of Social Agencies would be formed and the Child Welfare Council would be terminated with its active portfolios handed on to the new council.\textsuperscript{264} On May 31\textsuperscript{st} elections were held to select a Board of Directors for the new Council of Social Agencies. Margaret Gould and Joan Arnoldi were among the nominees. Minutes from a meeting of the membership committee of July 6, 1937 recorded that Arnoldi was appointed chairman and Gould was secretary. This committee reviewed all the social agencies in Toronto and made decisions about membership in the newly forming council. On April 8, 1938 it was announced that a letter had been received from Joan Arnoldi resigning from her position of chairman of the membership committee. No explanation was given.\textsuperscript{265}

Gould was a member of the social policy committee during the early months of 1937 and was also a member of the interpretation and publicity committee beginning in the latter part of 1937.

\textsuperscript{263} CTA, SC40, Box 88, File 9, Organizations executive secretaries, Committee studying the establishment of Social Services 1934–1937, Reason for presenting outline to group.


\textsuperscript{265} CTA, SC 40, Box 33, File 3, minutes of executive secretaries 1938–1944,1947, minutes of the membership committee April 8, 1938.
She was still attending meetings in the middle months of 1939. With the termination of the Child Welfare Council in 1937, Gould lost her position as executive secretary. She remained affiliated however as her involvement with the new replacement Council of Social Agencies continued after the end of the Child Welfare Council and overlapped with her new employment position at *The Toronto Star*.

### 6.3.3 The Toronto Star

It was Joseph E. Atkinson who purchased the newspaper in 1899 that was to become *The Toronto Star*, and directed it to become one of Canada’s greatest newspapers. In its rise to prominence, it was dedicated to the welfare of the working man and was marketed as “A paper for the people.” It was the only newspaper in Toronto to have a union, and Atkinson pledged to present non partisan news. Born in rural Ontario in 1865, Atkinson was the youngest of eight children. He was only six months old when his father was killed walking home from work along the railway tracks. His mother, a staunch Methodist, was left without a breadwinner and raised her children alone dependent on the charity and goodwill of the church and her local community. To help make ends meet she took in boarders and whatever home-based employment she could glean to support the growing needs of her family. From these beginnings, Atkinson became a deeply religious man, committed to abstinence (having seen many drunken boarders while growing up) and to a left-leaning political persuasion, advocating for social protection legislation, the rights of the poor and the working man, and promoting the public provision of social services (Harkness 1963). Atkinson chose as his audience target “the industrial workers and the “little people” who had no other spokesperson, tailoring the news to their taste and fighting their battles in the editorial columns” (p. 41). As the owner of *The Toronto Star*, he became wealthy as the newspaper became increasingly popular, and Atkinson became an important Toronto philanthropist. What became The Star Fresh Air Fund was organized in 1888 by J.J. Kelso and J.E. Atkinson (who were both journalists at *The World* at the time). They coordinated the support of all the Toronto newspapers to provide picnics, excursions and vacations camps for poor children. While initially popular, this initiative faded and ended in disuse. A heat wave in 1901 revived interest and Atkinson mobilized *The Star* to organize a funding campaign,

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266 CTA, SC 40, Box 33, File 2, minutes of executive secretary’s interpretation and publicity committee 1937–1940.
which became The Star Fresh Air Fund. Initially the focus was on day trips for mothers and their children to the lake or the country, but by the 1930s it became camps in the country where the children could go for two to three weeks. In 1906, the Star Santa Claus Fund was started. It provided Christmas gifts and Christmas dinners to poor women and children (Harkness 1963).

Atkinson sent reporters all over the world to cover world events and stories of international importance. During the 1930s the Toronto Star was dubbed the “Red Star of Toronto” as it was known to be sympathetic to Russia and to communism. When in 1931 Prime Minister Bennett ordered a crackdown on communism, the Star opposed fascism but declared that the way to defeat communism was to provide “unemployment insurance, health insurance, minimum wages and maximum hours of work for men, old age pensions at sixty-five, a national works program, and a federally administered relief system” (Harness 1963, p.296). The Star maintained this stance throughout the years leading up to World War II unlike many other newspapers such as The Globe and the Catholic Register that viewed the communists as atheists and supported Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco as the saviours of Christian civilization (Harkness 1963).

In 1935 the Soviet Union was admitted to the League of Nations and this precipitated a renewed interest in Russia and the changes that had occurred since the revolution in 1917. Atkinson had met Gould in the course of her work at the Child Welfare Council and the two had formed an immediate bond, a shared interest in social reform and the rights of the “common man.” Atkinson contracted with Gould to tour the Soviet Union and investigate the welfare programs there and write articles for The Star reporting on her observations and experiences. As she spoke Russian and still had relatives in Russia, this was a proposition which Gould eagerly accepted.

Gould’s professional life embraced two careers, first as a social worker in an executive position, and subsequently as a feature editorial writer for The Toronto Star. Her formal position as a social worker was concluded after her resignation from the Child Welfare Council. However, these career trajectories form a continuous path in Gould’s intellectual and political development. She transitioned from a social work agency to The Toronto Star as a source of paid employment but continued her vocational trajectory of translating social reform initiatives into a consciousness-raising educational format that would elicit support from the voting public. Public education was a clearly discernible part of her work at the Child Welfare Council (elaborated further in section 6.4.1), and as an editorial writer it became her full-time occupation. In 1936
she travelled to the Soviet Union and to Eastern Europe inspecting social welfare programs, and wrote a series of articles for the *Toronto Star* which were later published as a book. In her editorial work she networked with social workers, political figures, and university professors on social policies and legislative initiatives for social protection, wrote editorials and articles for the *Toronto Star*, and participated in public debates and public lectures. In her resumé, Gould described her editorial work for *The Toronto Star* as specialised reporting on social legislation, social and public health services, status of women, labour standards and global social change. In this editorial capacity she became a social critic advocating for social legislation on a wide range of welfare issues, discussing discrimination and human rights, aboriginal affairs, and topics related to international relations. Throughout this vast range of social commentary she followed the same left leaning values that mobilized her social work career. Her passion for social justice and a form of governance which supported universal social protection, underlay her commentaries. The Margaret Gould fonds at The Toronto Reference Library contain a collection of articles written by Gould and published in the *Toronto Star*. The fonds were deposited by her sister, Hinda, in 1992 and contain numerous notations by her including the information that she published under the *noms de plume* Ruth Ritchie and her married name Margaret Wechsler (married in 1953). As vast as this collection is, it is incomplete; most of the pieces were written in the 1950s and Gould was also a full-time editorial writer at the *Toronto Star* throughout the 1940s. Many of these pieces from the 1940s were printed without her authorship directly acknowledged.

**Gould as Public Speaker**

During the 1940s Gould became a well-known public figure in Toronto and was invited to speak at a range of public venues. For example, in a series of educational discussions on vocational guidance sponsored by the Rosedale United Church, Gould opened the program speaking on journalism. She described the function of the press as complex, embracing education, commerce, and an evaluative role reporting news but also providing some points of view. Later, that same year, Gould addressed the Junior Samaritan Club using the title, Social Work in the

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267. Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5, Margaret Gould Wechsler, resume.

Democratic Way, for her talk. She stated that all social welfare work began with small steps in the work of private agencies. She commended the work of voluntary workers and women in the voluntary sector, and pointed out that this work laid the foundations for public welfare provision. In 1942, she spoke on women’s role in aid of victory at a meeting of the Women’s Branches and Cultural Committee of the Labour League. She was the guest speaker at a youth organization rally to be held on behalf of refugee children in Palestine in March 1942. Gould joined the Congress of Women when a branch opened in Toronto in 1947.

6.3.4 Communism in Canada

When the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia in 1917 and the Soviet Union was created, communism became a topic of worldwide interest and concern. In Canada at the end of the First World War there was growing discontent among workers (e.g. the Winnipeg General Strike 1919) and the Russian Revolution did inspire radicalism. By the late 1920s most of the members of the Communist Party of Canada were non-Anglo-Protestants, with 80–90 percent of the membership represented by Ukrainians, Finns, and Jews (Hewitt 2002). Public opinion held that foreigners equalled radicals and that there was a “treasonous” relationship between the Canadian Communist Party (begun in 1921) and the Soviet Union. After World War I, Canada began collecting extensive information on labour ethnic and immigrant organizations and radicals including those connected with the universities in the 1920s (Hewitt 2002). This was performed by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) until 1985 when the Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) was set up. Radicalism increased during the Depression years in the 1930s. Then World War II created a polarization between those who supported the war and Canada’s imperial connection with Britain, and those who were opposed and were seen as communist, radical, atheist or anti-Canadian. The Gouzenko affair in 1945, triggered an increase in anti-communist measures. A clerk named Gouzenko who worked at the Soviet embassy in Ottawa defected with his family. Many pages of top secret files became public documents and a

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269 *Toronto Star*: Pages of the Past, Junior Samaritans hear talk on T-B., November 16, 1940, p. 27.

270 *Toronto Star*: Pages of the Past, Miss Gould to speak, March 6, 1942, p. 26.

271 *Toronto Star*: Pages of the Past, Margaret Gould will be speaker, March 7, 1942, 27.

communist spy-ring in the Western world was revealed which included members of the Communist Party of Canada (Hewitt 2002).

As a Russian Jewish immigrant with a university education, Gould would have been a “natural” target of anti-communist surveillance. In addition she openly participated in communist and Russian-identified organisations. Gould belonged to the Civil Liberties Association of Toronto, which was a human rights organization vigorously opposed to anti-communist legislation. They opposed the Padlock Act, passed in Quebec in 1937, which authorized the suspension of all civil liberties if communism was suspected. They opposed the government’s ‘reactionary’ handling of the defection of Gouzenko in 1945. They also opposed the deportation of Japanese Canadians during World War II. The Civil Liberties Association aligned with the Jewish Labour Committee to lobby for anti-discrimination legislation (Lambertson 2005). In 1942 Gould spoke at The Allied War Exhibit which was on display at Eaton’s Department Store, and commended the bravery and sacrifice of the Russians. She quoted Churchill who said that help in the form of donations should be sent “as a token of the veneration we all feel for the glorious defence of all our liberties, made possible by the Russian people” (p. 11). Gould concluded with a plea for generous donations as the Russians were fighting for “the liberation of mankind from the Nazis and Fascists.” p. 11 273 Gould was an executive member of the Canadian Aid to Russia fund and was shown in a picture in The Star receiving a donation cheque in 1943. 274 Jennissen and Lundy (2011) noted in their book’s section on the cold war in Canada that red-baiting of social workers was common. CSIS records from the RCMP at the National Archives of Canada revealed 3,171 pages of surveillance documentation on Mary Jennison, a radical social worker who was a friend of Gould’s. It is noted in the same source that there is also a surveillance file on Gould (NAC, Records of CSIS, RG 146, Vol 108, Jennison files, p. 312), a revelation which is unsurprising.

When J.E. Atkinson senior died in 1948, the newspaper was taken over jointly by his son, J. S. Atkinson, and his son-in-law Harry Hindmarsh. This was a period when fear of communism and Soviet hostility was pervasive. Gould had been mentored by J.E. Atkinson senior (see details in 6.4.2.4) and thus his death had a significant effect on workplace dynamics for Gould. Once again, Gould became a target of red-baiting. Newsweek magazine reported in 1949:

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273 *Toronto Star*: Pages of the Past, Aid Heroic Russians Miss Gould Pleads, September 1, 1942 p. 11.

274 *Toronto Star*: Pages of the Past, Continuing a Program, March 2, 1943, 8.
In the years from 1937 to 1948, when J.E. (Holy Joe) Atkinson was publisher of the Toronto Daily Star, his fair haired girl was a brunette ex-social worker named Margaret Sarah Gould. She was only a part-timer Star writer until Atkinson had her send back stories from a pre-war trip to her native Russia. “We materialistic Americans need to revive our sense of value” she wrote from the USSR “Over the Russian family’s bread does not hang the deadly sword of fear . . . of insecurity, sickness, incapacitation, old age.” Atkinson made her an editorial writer when she got back.

The Star was editorially sympathetic to the Kremlin. The paper, by far Canada’s biggest, supported candidates of the labour progressive (communist) Party for municipal and even for federal Parliament.

The Toronto Star was nicknamed the Red Star during the 1940s, and in the late 1930s promoted Joe Salsberg and Stewart Smith (both members of the Communist Party of Canada) in their respective runs for Toronto City Council, and MPP in the Ontario legislature (Harkness 1963).

The Newsweek article continued:

Margaret Gould herself a soft spoken drably dressed woman who needled her petit point in the office, was a busy bee in organizations like the National Council for Canadian-Soviet friendship and the Canadian Peace Movement. More important she was Joe Atkinson’s advisor and close companion. She moved from a shoddy neighbourhood into a big house only a few doors from the widower Atkinson’s own mansion in Forest Hill.

This representation of Gould as “drably dressed” is typical of the RCMP/CSIS reporting on suspected female communists (personal communication, Jennissen 2013).

Last year the Star took an about turn to the right. Atkinson died. The Daily’s new bosses, his son and son-in-law, young Joe Atkinson and Harry Hindmarsh, were more conservative politically. Nor was it a secret that they disliked Miss Gould. Once, in old Joe’s time, they had unmasked her as the M. Gould who had been fined for scribbling a leftish motto on a Niagara Falls wall. Holy Joe’s answer was to erase their names from the Star’s masthead. After he died last year they whittled down Miss Gould’s editorial big stick to twig size. Nonetheless, they assigned her to a round-the-world trip, to begin in New York.

Undoubtedly the death of Atkinson senior in 1948 was very significant for Gould. J.S. Atkinson (junior) and Harry Hindmarsh were undoubtedly adjusting to their new role as owners of The Star and the attempt to send Gould on a world trip may have been an attempt to distance her. Newsweek reported on her refused entry to the United States:

But when she asked for a visa last March, United States immigration men turned thumbs down. Her presence in the U.S. would be prejudicial to the
public interest. The arch-rival *Toronto Telegram* happily shouted the news under an 8 column streamer and *The Globe and Mail* ran it on page 1. *The Star* remained silent.

Two weeks ago the word leaked out that the U.S. Immigration Service had made permanent its ban on the 49 year old newswoman, and last week, though it still had printed nothing on the case, *The Star* quietly called off her trip. “There seems to be so much hysteria in the United States,” Margaret Gould remarked. 275

The University of Toronto archives kept a collection of newspaper clippings on alumni until approximately 1950. In the collection on Gould there are copies of the front page *Telegram* article with the headline “U.S. Bars Writer for Star. U.S. Closes Doors to Margaret Gould. It’s News To Her.” It recounts her refused admission as well as comments on how she is well known to have views that are sympathetic towards Russia. An article in the *Globe and Mail* headlined “Recommend US Permanently Bar Margaret Gould,” stated that an investigation indicated that Gould’s entry would be “deemed prejudicial to the best interests of the United States and that “The law on which the finding is based provides for exclusion of members and former members of organizations which advocate or teach overthrow of the government by force.” They described her as a journalist and editorial writer and a native of Russia. 276

Despite the predictions in these articles that Gould would soon be out of a job, she in fact continued unchanged in her editorial position until 1957, the year Hindmarsh died. There was no noticeable change in her political position during that time. Her articles became longer and were all printed with her authorship attached. An obituary published in the *Star* at the time of her death noted that she was a *Star* writer for 20 years and was best known for “her columns on social issues. Her concern for the unemployed and the under-privileged stemmed from her involvement in social agencies before joining the *Star.” In the same article it is noted that she married Jack Wechsler a real estate and mortgage investor in 1953 and retired in 1957. 277 In a centennial anniversary article about the *Toronto Star* in 1992, Gould is listed under First Ladies as editorial writers. 278

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276 University of Toronto Archives, alumni newspaper clippings, Margaret Gould.
277 *Toronto Star*: Pages of the Past, Margaret Gould, Star Writer for 20 years, November 18, 1981, 11.
6.4 Fields of Practice

I have described how Gould was immersed in radical ideas and left-leaning thinking from a young age. She continued to expand this direction in her formal education, through her work location choices and also through independent travel and membership with left-leaning social groups. Integral to her identity and her social work practice, Gould applied radical ideas within each of her chosen practice locations. In this section I explore in greater depth how these radical ideas influenced her practice.

6.4.1 Children, Family and Welfare

Commitment to mothers and children was central to Gould’s advocacy and social activism. Her work at the Child Welfare Council of Toronto was marked by successive campaigns to improve maternal childbirth mortality followed by extended advocacy for daycare and children’s rights. Advocacy in many of the same areas continued when she began work with The Toronto Star.

6.4.1.1 Child Welfare Council of Toronto

In her first annual report to the Child Welfare Council on May 26, 1930 Gould wrote of ‘stocktaking’ of the ideals of the council, what they had done and what they had achieved since its inception. To this end, she reviewed all the annual reports from the Council’s beginning, stating in the introduction to her report that:

> We are deeply concerned with changes in mental attitude and in social criteria. We are not selling bricks for a temporal building; we are consciously trying to fashion and to sell bricks and the structural steel works and the furnishings of that abode called “a happier world for children.” Therefore our annual stocktaking can never have that finality about it, as does a report about the manufacture and sale of red and grey bricks . . . our prosperity also, cannot be defined in the ordinary sense of the word, for it is not the prosperity as evidenced by material possessions, but the prosperity as evidenced by the possession of ideals.²⁷⁹

Gould reviewed the work of the Council since it was organised in 1918, and identified four main areas of endeavour: health, education recreation and industry, dependency, and delinquency. Her report revealed a scholarly approach which was evident as she not only summarised what had

gone before but she analysed and organised the material into relevant categories for discussion. After a detailed yearly review, she provided a summary of the major accomplishments the organization had made including the establishment of pre-school child health centres, a research and public education program on maternal health, the national dissemination of a questionnaire on child-placement records, the beginning of a study on the ‘out of town girl’ who becomes an unmarried mother when she settles in the city, and collaboration on provincial child welfare legislation. The sweep of her report is impressive as she painted the picture of a progressive agency for which the work for child welfare was rooted in the new scientific approach to children. Rather than a paternalistic charity based approach for placing children in institutions or handing out relief cheques to needy families, the new approach used sociological methodology and conducted surveys, collected data and made recommendations for change accordingly.

Gould stated that research is a ‘sacred responsibility’ (p. 8) as it is a crucial tool for ensuring that new and improved services are inaugurated. She noted that cost and time make this difficult to carry out but in “the daily work of social agencies valuable social data is being accumulated” (p. 5). Children were viewed as having rights and entitlements beyond the need for food and shelter.

Gould cited the 1909 United States White House Conference on Child Protection which outlined the fundamental rights of childhood as: a) the right to a normal home life; b) the right to opportunities for education, recreation, and vocational preparation for life; and c) the right to have access to the educational and spiritual agencies by which these rights of the child are normally safeguarded. Gould advocated that these rights guide all child welfare programs in Canada. The identification of child rights was and remains a significant move away from the charity approach to children. The charity approach assumed a paternalistic interest in taking care of children but did not see them as having rights or entitlements that adults should honour. Gould outlined seven pages of standards in child welfare derived from the White House Conference beginning with maternal care and then itemizing chronologically the standards of care through the life stages of a child. She began with infant care which included many public health

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280 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of the Secretary, annual meeting May 28, 1930.

281 City of Toronto Archives, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of Executive Secretary 1935.
provisions. The she discussed school care which included extensive healthcare provisions as well as playground and recreational facilities, nutrition and mental hygiene. She described adolescence as a time needing vocational education, recreational guidance and legal protection from exploitation, vice and drug habits. The topic of child employment was addressed with recommended adjustments to the labour law to increase the quality of life. It was recommended that there be labour employment restrictions on age: 14 to 16 during school vacation and otherwise 16 to 18 depending on the occupation. Restrictions on the hours of labour, a minimum wage, and collaboration between schools and employers on supervisory arrangements were also recommended.

Gould identified two types of children—normal and handicapped—and from this distinction raised the fundamental importance for the protection of expectant mothers. The special needs of handicapped children were enumerated. These ranged from assistance to mothers who were caring for these children in their own homes to standards in institutions. Delinquent children were to be treated differently from adult offenders and dealt with in children’s courts. They were to be approached by social workers according to casework principles.

Written in retrospect, and entitled “Birth of the Child Welfare Council” with a handwritten note attached saying that it was written in 1952 by Gould, is the fragment of a play which evolves into a history of female activism on the issue of maternal deaths in the city of Toronto. This choice of genre is characteristic of Gould’s interest in public opinion and public education, where uppermost is how to communicate the essence of what occurred in a way that will be palatable and entertaining, but at the same time informative for public opinion. This is in keeping with the method of activism practised by Nellie McClung who wrote entertaining plays as part of her suffrage campaigns (Prentice et al. 1988). The play begins in the Mayor’s office, and a comic figure Herb, the mayor’s secretary, is telling the Mayor that “the women’s delegation is here again.” The Mayor bumbles and obfuscates instructing Herb to keep them waiting, to which Herb anxiously informs him that they have a Doctor with them this time. Reluctantly the Mayor agrees to see them. The narrator informs the audience that:

This is not the first time the delegation from the Child Welfare Council has come to talk with the Mayor. Many visits to many Mayors, and to controllers and aldermen, and to meetings of the Board of Control and Board of Health

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has this delegation made. It has one request: Do something to curb maternal deaths.

Gould described the years of struggle and the extensive public education campaign which ensued to ensure that mothers received safe home deliveries with a paid doctor, visiting nurse, visiting homemaker, and special diet and layette (p. 4). She identified delegations, mass meetings, and speakers and items in *The Toronto Star* as significant strategies used in this struggle. Later in the document Gould said:

> It was 1929 when I joined the Child Welfare Council in Toronto, and there inherited a committee to combat maternal deaths. Then I met Dr. MacMurchy. She was a tiny woman, a wisp of a woman, with soft brown eyes, hair simply smoothed in a tiny bun at the nape, a soft voice but firm precise in speech. She said “too many women are losing their lives in the performance of their maternal function. This need not be. More than 60% could be saved if we applied the knowledge we possess in medicine and public health. Mothers’ lives are infinitely more important than other things we cherish. Hundreds of children are annually being orphaned, homes are broken up. The remedy is simple.

Writing was Gould’s forté, but her vision was to bring change through public education and the voluminous output across her lifetime is testament to this. In fact, it wasn’t until the mid 1950s that there was a significant drop in the rate of maternal deaths in Canada (the time that Gould is writing this piece). While Gould documented the problem of maternal deaths that haunted early twentieth century Toronto, she also addressed the question of social change and how to introduce reform. She stated that:

> most people think advances in the world come about by themselves. This, of course, is not so. Our life span is now longer, that diseases have declined in threat or vanished, that children are taller, that slavery is declining, is due not to natural forces but to the efforts of dedicated men and women. Due largely to organised efforts of small, determined groups. What they lacked in numbers they made up in dogged persistence. Usually action was sparked by one or two individuals who never let their energies flag, despite opposition and hardship, gathering followers until enough people were convinced to push through a law. In Canada, a particularly exciting example of this process was the campaign to combat maternal mortality.\(^{283}\)

In the Council’s 1931 annual report Gould discussed the maternal welfare campaign which featured in her play on the Council. The work was initiated with a public study of the problem which revealed that the Toronto maternal death rate was higher than that of the rest of Ontario or

\(^{283}\) Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5, plays 1930–1950, p. 9.
even Canada. The Council formed a coalition with the local council of women and together they launched a program of public education in which they disseminated information and connected Mother’s Day with maternal health awareness. They held public meetings with expert speakers, prepared pamphlets summarising their findings, and approached the press for support. These efforts were successful and requests were received for a presentation on maternal welfare for the following Mother’s Day. In her report Gould noted that this was an issue which required full community team work and she predicted that an ongoing campaign was needed to keep the matter high in public awareness.\footnote{284} As her later publication indicated she was correct in this prediction.

### 6.4.1.2 Committee Work

Gould reported in 1935 that there were seven active committees operating in the Council. These were on day nurseries, illegitimacy, public health services, standards in children’s institutions, feeble minded children, recreation services, and out-patient clinics for children.\footnote{285} Under the heading “relief is not enough,” Gould described how children in need of protection and children with special needs were cared for through children’s services and were receiving the best that could be offered. However she stated:

> it is obvious that the child in the household on relief is today less protected than the child who is legally considered neglected. . . . It seems to be nobody’s business if the relief recipients or the child of low-wage earners in the community has defects uncleared, or if he sleeps on torn broken beds, or if he shivers in a damp sunless house. Thousands of these children are growing up without the knowledge of decent standards of living. . . . You can’t feed children skimmed milk this year and make up by giving them cream next year. It is unfortunately true that you can never make up to children for what they have lost in childhood. . . . We are concerned with the efficiency of the community to provide protection for children who need it.\footnote{286}

In this statement Gould differentiated between what was considered child neglect prior to the Depression, but had become commonplace because of widespread unemployment, poverty and privation. Gould reported that parents were often unable to provide satisfactorily for their

\footnote{284}{CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.}
\footnote{285}{CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of Executive Secretary 1935.}
\footnote{286}{CT A, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of Executive Secretary 1935, pp. 8–9.
children and that this had resulted in a community which could not adequately protect its children. She stated that the relief provided was insufficient for adequate care to be given.

6.4.1.3 Daycare

Gould promoted daycare as beneficial for children and for women and families. In a 1931 report she outlined recent changes in daycare from being a “dumping ground” to keep children off the streets while their mothers worked, to being a place where habit training, health teaching, spiritual and mental guidance were provided. She applauded the nursery school as the one institution which promoted the unity of the family by allowing mothers to retain their sense of independence by going out to earn a livelihood for their families while being secure in the knowledge that their children were cared for and enriched by healthcare and training. Gould advocated for nutrition and the distribution of professional dietitian services to the crèches.287 In this early report Gould expressed a reformist stance towards childcare but after visiting Britain, where she was exposed to the work of British daycare advocate Margaret MacMillan, she became more committed to the importance of daycare as a state-provided service to facilitate mothers in the workforce as well as a venue to provide children with a chance to gain social and cultural capital through education.

On November 18, 1936, Gould was a guest speaker at the Annual General Meeting of the West End Crèche in Toronto.288 She made her presentation just six months after her return from travelling to the Soviet Union, Scandinavia, England and Europe, and her topic was Nursery Schools in Britain. She began with an outline of child health and education reform initiatives in Britain from early nineteenth century to the early twentieth century leading up to a discussion of the open air nursery school system which was initiated in Britain through the work of Margaret MacMillan.289 Born in New York in 1860, MacMillan spent the majority of her life living in Scotland and in the early 20th century became a member of the Independent Labour Party as well as an elected school board representative. She became an advocate for medical care for school children and theorized that the class advantages of the wealthy were embodied through

287 C T A, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.
288 AO, West End Creche Papers, F4336-3-0-40, West End Crèche Annual Reports, 1928–1938, Box 6.
289 AO, West End Creche Papers, F43361-0-20, reports 1912–1953, Nursery Schools in Great Britain.
cleanliness, warmth, nourishing food, sports, and education. In 1914 she started an Open Air Nursery and Training Centre in the slums of London where she concentrated on fresh air, nature, gardens, and space. She bought property and designed gardens and buildings where children could move freely inside and out. She structured discovery learning opportunities using educational toys and trained teachers. This was a social justice initiative as she believed that through this educational opportunity some of the disparities between the wealthy and the poor could be reduced (Ross 2007). Gould described the open air nursery movement in Britain which was supported by some major funders. She contrasted this with a description of how in the United States childcare had been picked up by psychology departments with the child study movement. She then described how these two movements had been synthesized with psychological expertise developed alongside a social political action agenda. She commented:

The West End Crèche is an example of the synthesis I spoke of, between the English and American nursery school experience. The crèche has used the knowledge and methods as developed in the St George’s School for Child Study, and applied them to the most needy children. And now, as in Great Britain, you are ready to push this service on to the wider field, the community. If there is such a thing as a psychological moment, for the beginning of social movements, perhaps this is one. You say that nursery schools should become part of the educational system in our community . . . A campaign could not be started without a demonstration and training centre. The West End Crèche is just such a centre. It has already done yeoman work in the field. If this movement is to succeed, the West End Crèche must take a leading part in it. I believe you can do for Toronto what the MacMillan Nursery school did for the nursery school movement in Britain.290

Here Gould linked the scientific advances in education, childcare and psychology with the social movement in Britain for not only open air nurseries but also for a proactive program to address the class differences in capitalist society, and to provide assistance to the poor and marginalized. As an editorial journalist at the Toronto Star Gould continued her advocacy for daycare and regularly published articles which stressed the importance of this service for children and for women.

6.4.1.4 Delinquency

Delinquency was a topic which Gould reported on throughout her editorial career, arguing that structural shortcomings and a lack of social protection resulted in children choosing a life of

290 AO, West End Creche Papers, F43361-0-20, reports 1912–1953, Nursery Schools in Great Britain, p.7.
antisocial or criminal behaviour. She was a staunch advocate of playgrounds, children’s clubs, and recreational opportunities for children, as well as a promoter of better living conditions, and employment and education for families. Gould viewed delinquency as a social problem rather than evidence of character flaws or personal inadequacy and looked to social solutions rather than weighing in with moral judgement.

6.4.1.5 Child placement records

As new services were developing and public services replaced private services, duplication of services became a serious concern. Part of the mandate of the Council was to co-ordinate and negotiate between agencies in the city. Gould reported a project to standardize child-placement records between public health nurses and child placement social workers. This project was requested by the Canadian Council on Child Welfare (see chapter 4) who sent out Canada-wide questionnaires to gather information on what was required. Gould expressed enthusiasm for the usefulness of dovetailing procedures and working co-operatively to eliminate duplication. Gould reported in 1935 a successful project standardizing records among children’s agencies. This work was completed by the Council with new face sheets and medical record sheets designed and printed by the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare. The new sheets were to be instituted in all child placement agencies across Canada. It was planned to perform the same service for day nursery work. Through standardization, it was hoped, would come greater efficiency as well as portability of services. Duplication of services was the cry of the philanthropists who funded the residual welfare state with the fear that more would be provided than was necessary. This initiative while it might have satisfied the “old guard” was also part of a modern professionalising approach to service delivery in which competency and program evaluation were considered important.

6.4.1.6 Public education

The importance of public education for Gould is reflected throughout her reports. She not only devoted a large section of her reports to the initiatives and work of the Council in the area of public education, it was clear that for her this was a guiding principle in her approach to the

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291 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc., Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.

Council’s work. As a way of bringing new ideas and issues to the table, General Council meetings were open to all member agencies. Discussion, contestation, and public debate were the prelude to action. In 1931 much of the discussion in these meetings revolved around the Royal Commission on Public Welfare. A special committee was set up to examine delinquency workers and the needs of corrective institutions. An entire meeting discussed vocational guidance. As a result of public debate among member agencies, the Council brought forward submissions asking for better administration of social welfare legislation through such measures as the Juvenile Delinquency Act and the Child Protection Act. They called for a Department of Public Welfare which would centralize existing legislation, a Director of Social Welfare who would strengthen social work in the Province, and a Department of Public Welfare staffed with trained social workers. By using this democratic style of leadership and a collaborative sharing of ideas, the needs in the community were identified and solutions generated.

In 1935 Gould dedicated an entire page of her nine-page annual report to discussing the work of the Council in public education. She detailed a five pronged approach. First, there were council meetings established where guest speakers were brought in to introduce ideas from the community and to debate them with council members. Second, special conferences and mass meetings were set up. Next, she used the press to disseminate information. Gould reported that the Council had a weekly column on child welfare work in the Saturday issue of the Toronto Daily Star. In addition, the radio was used as a tool for the Council’s public health campaign, and the Council conducted a regular Sunday evening forum on child welfare topics. Council members participated in the Canadian National Exhibition, working collaboratively with Charlotte Whitton and the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare. From 1930 to 1933 they mounted an exhibition on child welfare services and problems. Gould reported in 1935 that for the past two years, the Council had been unable to continue such activity due to the lack of funds and the pressure from other work. She reiterated how this was an important form of social work publicity and she hoped to resume their participation.

293 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc., Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.
294 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc., Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.
295 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc., Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.
296 City of Toronto Archives, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc., Report of Executive Secretary 1935.
In a co-operative venture with the Canadian Council on Child and Family Welfare and the National Council of Women, Gould and the Toronto Child Welfare Council exhibited in the Woman’s Building of the Canadian National Exhibition in 1929. These women-led organisations came together as a coalition and used theatrical performance as a way to communicate their message thus turning a national festive event into the occasion for education and a discussion of social issues of concern. They presented “The right of the child to homecare.” The following year in 1930, “Organised social work in a community” was the topic. Through seven four-feet-square and five-feet-high illuminated stages, peopled by photographic cut-outs, the story was told of the meaning of family welfare work, health services, prevention of delinquency, child protection, recreation, special training classes, and services to the physically handicapped child. To augment the exhibit the Council handed out prepared pamphlets on the display topics. Gould reported that the public took the exhibit very seriously. Many came to consult on specific problems with the attending Council members and referrals were made to appropriate agencies. In addition, out-of-town nurses, teachers, and clubwomen came and studied the exhibition very closely often leaving with samples of the literature. It was hoped that some of the ideas that had been implemented in Toronto would be introduced to rural settings. The Council approached the Toronto Board of Education and suggested the Board mount a similar exhibition showcasing special education work. At the end of the exhibition the display went to the storefront of Simpsons for four days and then to another store on Bloor St. for a week.²⁹⁷

In that same year Gould, Mary Jennisson of the Federation for Community Services in Toronto, and Mr. Sharpe from the Big Brother movement worked collaboratively to make eleven broadcasts. They invented a family called The Newcomes with 10 children. Each week, they would explore a social problem that the Newcomes were experiencing. These programs were very successful and wrapping a social issue into a story proved a useful public education tool.²⁹⁸

In 1931, The Child Welfare Council collaborated with the Toronto Home and School Council in a public education campaign to promote regular health testing for pre-school children. An opportunity arose to participate in Dr.Guest’s “Health Day” program at the Canadian National Exhibition. The Council wrote a playlet entitled “The Toddler’s Rights,” which gave a health

²⁹⁷ CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. , Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.
²⁹⁸ CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. , Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.
lesson in a toddler’s rights and needs. It was performed in many Ontario venues. Through the pictorial exhibit in the Women’s Building, parents were urged to take their children for regular check-ups. A radio address on the same topic was organised and delivered by the Council immediately prior to the Christmas holidays. A broad public health campaign was organised by the Council with information disseminated through leaflets, radio, public addresses, and through the assistance of clergy in their holiday addresses. 299

6.4.2 Poverty and the Welfare State

When she was in her late seventies Gould began writing her memoirs. In her outline notes she wrote that she felt she had “two books in her”; one, an account of growing up in Toronto in the early 1900s in “a Canadian shtetl,” which she thought would make a contribution to the literature of Canadiana; and the other an account of the growth of the welfare state in Canada, a process which she helped to promote, develop, and publicize throughout her professional life. 300 In a letter of introduction to the instructor of a writing class, which Gould attended in her final years, she described her initial employment with The Toronto Star thus:

In 1935, I was invited to join the staff of The Toronto Star, specifically to carry on the interpretive writing I had done in the children’s council. My first commission was to survey and report such problems in Europe and Russia. My feature articles from abroad ran on the front page (with by-line) for three months. For two years such features on Canadian conditions were published. I believe these helped the adoption of health and welfare legislation. In 1938, I was promoted to the editorial page where I worked until 1960. 301

6.4.2.1 The Labour Movement and Unionization

Gould began working in the field of labour early in her working life with her position at the Toronto Branch of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America in 1924. This was followed in 1926 with a position as Research Director for the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees. The CBRE was a national union. In the 1920s it was the third largest union in Canada and had its headquarters in Ottawa. Its president, Aaron Mosher, was left-leaning and became the president

299 CTA, SC 40, Box 79, File 3, Annual Reports 1921–1946 inc. ,Report of Executive Secretary, May 27, 1931.

300 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5, autobiographical articles c1980s.

301 Toronto Reference Library, Baldwin Room S236, Margaret Gould Fonds, Box 5 (letter to Margaret Ritterband, class in writing for publication).
of the All Canadian Congress which was committed to independence from American control over trade unions. Mosher was a social democrat but he worked in alliance with the Communist Party of Canada and the Co-operative Commonwealth of Canada (Thompson and Seager 1985). While in their employ Gould completed a cost of living study across Canada for use in wage negotiations, and prepared briefs for wage agreements.

6.4.2.2 The Cost of Living Study

In an article published in *Social Welfare*, Gould described how she travelled to ten cities across Canada and visited local retail stores to record the prices of necessary items for a family budget (food, clothing, cleaning materials, essential sundries). From this she established a Decency Budget for Canada, which she compared with the average wages in the principal trades and industries in the country. The report that was published by the House of Commons Standing Committee on Industrial Relations stated that some workers were being seriously underpaid and were unable to maintain a decent standard of living as a result. She recommended a minimum wage be introduced, and a provincial dominion conference be called to discuss labour conditions across Canada (Gould 1926).

6.4.2.3 The League for Social Reconstruction

Gould was a member of The League for Social Reconstruction. Her name is on the membership lists which are held at the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library at the University of Toronto. The League for Social Reconstruction existed for a decade from 1932 to 1942. It began during the Depression and was led by Frank Underhill, a history professor from the University of Toronto. He predicted that the economic breakdown and mass unemployment of the Depression would stimulate political protest in Canada. He saw that there was a need for a thorough analysis of the workings of capitalism from which to define the social goals for new political directions (LSR 1935). By assembling a group of intellectuals, from the Universities and several ex-clergymen who were active in radical politics, notably J.S. Woodsworth and William Irvine, the group began to meet and debate the issues. From their work they collectively published a book *Social Planning for Canada*. The main authors were Frank Scott, Leonard Marsh, Graham Spry, King Gordon, Eugene Forsey, Frank Underhill & J.S. Parkinson. While he didn’t publish in this book, Harry Cassidy was also a participant in the League and his extensive study of unemployment which he published as a separate book, *Unemployment and Relief*, came out of his work with the
League (Horn 1980). The League for Social Reconstruction sought to centralise Canada economically and have unemployment relief federally controlled. Its members opposed the imperial tie, as well as war, and the international obligations that came with membership in the League of Nations. Horn (1980) observed that during the 19th century radicalism was linked to republicanism, democracy, and pro-Americanism. However, by the end of the Great War it was linked to Bolshevism and the Soviet Union. Underhill described imperial loyalty as a red herring that distracted Canadians from the economic, social, and political problems facing the country. The League’s anti-war position led to serious trouble with the outbreak of World War II as their opposition was seen as “treasonable” and the League’s pro-Soviet allegiance was viewed as disloyalty which might discourage young people from signing up and supporting the war effort. Based on such views, Underhill was called into a special meeting at the University of Toronto in 1941 and asked to resign, or remain and be fired. He decided to remain and fight and the University withdrew from its threat of dismissal. Although Underhill continued employment with the university the threat had successfully silenced him. He was so shaken by this brush with the spectre of permanent unemployment that he withdrew from the League and became more circumspect in his role as a public intellectual (Horn 1980). The League for Social Reconstruction was committed to social democracy and was a forerunner to the rise of the welfare state in Canada.

6.4.2.4 I Visit the Soviets

On April 10, 1936 Gould and two colleagues, Kathleen Gorrie (Executive Secretary of the Protestant Children’s Homes) and Dora Wilensky (Executive Secretary of the Jewish Family Welfare Bureau and wife of the communist M.P.P. in Toronto Joe Salsberg), set out on a ten week trip to visit Scandinavia (Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland) because “of their early leadership in social legislation and reform,” followed by England (the mother country), and the Soviet Union because “it is the latest frontier in social development” (Gould 1937 p. 1.). Gould reported in her book I Visit the Soviets (a compilation of Toronto Star articles on her trip, supplemented with new writing) that when she returned she was in demand to talk about her experiences in the Soviet Union because what was happening there was new and unlike Scandinavia and England, social developments had just begun there.

It is the world’s first laboratory where plans for human betterment are being put into practice by and for the whole population, on a national scale and according to a national plan. We saw modern services in public health, child
training, technical education, nutrition, housing and community recreation supplied to all their people as a matter of human right, on the basis of work and earnings and not charity. We did not see many new techniques in social services, but an entirely new system of making these available to all citizens, regardless of race, color, class or creed. (Gould 1937, iii)

In this statement Gould highlighted the systemic changes noting that she didn’t see differences in methods or in practice approaches. Casework principles and family work methods were similar to those used in North America. The differences she noted were in the services available and in their accessibility. There was not only a wider range of services available to people as their right but there were more of them, making help more accessible. In disseminating information about these differences, Gould was bringing forth a new comprehensive vision of welfare responses, that of a different society. When Gould returned to Toronto she began writing an article a day for The Toronto Star, reporting highlights from her trip and commenting on social welfare issues from an international, comparative perspective. The first article was published on June 24, 1936 on the front page of the paper accompanied by a photograph of Gould with the following introduction:

The writer of the following article is the Executive Secretary of the Child Welfare Council of Toronto. She is touring several countries including Russia, Finland, Denmark, Sweden and England to study social conditions and social services. Writing of Russia, Miss Gould says “We had absolute freedom to go where we wanted to and to talk to whom we wanted. People gave us their criticisms freely, perhaps because of my ability to speak their language but not entirely that.\textsuperscript{302}

In her first article, headlined \textit{Finds Barb-Wire Symbolic of Finns, Russian Policy}, Gould recounted how her touring party was part of a larger group that included a party of American trade unionists. They had entered Russia by train from Finland. Expecting an invisible boundary such as between Canada and the U.S. they were surprised when a fence strung with barbed wire came into view and then a bridge half white and half red. The train then drew to a halt in the middle. Gould reported that there was an uneasy relationship between the two countries. Russian soldiers climbed aboard and inspected passports and when the train proceeded, the tension was broken with cheering and song. Gould described the Russian train station as clean and well provided, customs as less austere than she was expecting, although one arriving visitor had fashion magazines confiscated. On arriving in Leningrad a brass band welcomed the American

\footnotesize\textsuperscript{302} Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, June 24, 1936, p. 1.
unionists. This introductory article was exclusively a travel piece written in a flowing conversational style, designed to capture the interest of readers. It became the first in a 3 month series of articles which were published daily each beginning on the front page of the paper with the same photograph and introductory caption. The succeeding articles covered a detailed discussion of the social services in Russia. They discussed education, recreation, nutrition, and housing, the family, women and children. Gould personalized the pieces with travel anecdotes and explanations of the circumstances of her visit, and comparisons with Canada. She covered Russia almost exclusively for the duration of the three months and concluded with articles on Sweden where she discussed its response to illegitimate children, Denmark about which she discussed their comprehensive social security package, and Britain of which she discussed the Open Air Nursery movement.

On September 1, 1937, she was hired as a reporter by The Star and on February 24, 1938 she was appointed editorial writer. The following day, Mr. Atkinson sent her to Prime Minister Mackenzie King with a letter of introduction (Harkness 1963). The letter is preserved in the MacKenzie King fonds:

Miss Margaret Gould will be in Ottawa for the Week-end in connection with some social service meeting in which she is interested. She has recently been appointed one of our writers of editorials and if you can possibly find time during one of these busy days to see her for five minutes she would be very glad and I too. She is a graduate of Toronto University and for ten years before joining the Star staff a year ago was engaged in social service work as the executive of the Toronto Child Welfare Council. I think you will consider you have made the acquaintance of an exceptionally brilliant young woman. I am asking her to take this letter to be sent in to you wherever she is fortunate to find you.

You know I seldom go to Ottawa during a meeting of Parliament but often wish to do so. However, everyone is always so busy that it is too bad to take

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303 Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, June 24, 1936, pp. 1, 2.
304 Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, June 24–August 27, 1936.
305 Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, August 28, 1936.
306 Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, August 29, 1936.
307 Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, September 1, 1936.
up their time and I do what I can to keep myself informed of what goes on in the House. 308

Joe Atkinson became a lifelong friend and mentor to Gould, not only supporting her editorial work at *The Star* but also supporting the issues that were important to her. Atkinson recognised her intelligence and abilities as well as her passion for social justice. Gould was one of the first woman journalists to be appointed to such a senior position at the Star.

6.4.2.5 Editorial articles

As an editorial writer, Gould specialized in social protection and social welfare topics covering a gamut of issues from local, provincial, and national standpoints. Whatever was topical or under discussion would be unpacked for the public through her articles. She mobilized her network through social work agencies, and requested copies of briefs in advance of submission so she could write preparatory articles or be very well prepared when changes were proposed. The Canadian Welfare Council archives contain a file on the Cost of Living (1947–1948) with an exchange of letters between Gould, Touzel, and Dick Davis (the Executive Director) sharing briefs and discussing upcoming initiatives. Included in this file are clippings from subsequent Gould articles published in *The Star*. 309

The Rowell-Sirois Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial relations more commonly referred to as the Rowell-Sirois Report, was conducted from 1937 to 1940. Following the Depression, Manitoba and Saskatchewan were unable to provide essential social services. The commission investigated the constitutional allocation of revenue sources and the burdens respectively placed on the federal and on the provincial governments. The commission argued that Canada should remain a federated state and recommended a national standard for social programs, and a national system for fiscal equity between the provinces. The report noted that insufficient spending on education or in social services would have serious implications for Canada’s national future (Rice and Prince 2013). On April 8, 1938 Gould published an article on the Rowell-Sirois Commission under the heading “Teachers Speak for the Children.” Her introductory paragraphs documented the wide discrepancy between the provinces and between

308 LAC, MG26-J1, Atkinson to King, February 25–March 1, 1938, C 3731.
urban and rural locations. She showed how the salary of teachers, the availability of public libraries, and the resulting standards of education were at variance. She argued that education is very important in a democratic industrial world. She pointed out that with migration these poorly educated children could end up anywhere in Canada and declared that education must be standardized across the country. She concluded by endorsing the recommendations of the Rowell-Sirois Commission. The Rowell-Sirois report was broad in its social recommendations but Gould selected to place her primary focus on education to illustrate her point. She found a way to address a wide audience and illustrate the key issue of the Rowell-Sirois Report; federalism and the importance of public finance for social services. The recommendations of the commission were formative in the rise of the welfare state (Rice and Prince 2013) and in supporting their position, Gould was supporting the formation of a welfare state.

In an article entitled *Health Good and Good Luck* published on April 26, 1938 Gould discussed in detail many of the recent medical advances and breakthroughs which had changed the face of medical practice. She concluded by pointing out lingering health problems where medical knowledge and skills were not universally applied. She stated that poverty among the masses of people resulted in improper care of the body and in poor living standards which prevented the application of this new knowledge:

> The Doctor needs to turn his skilful attention to the causes of economic disability, as he did to the causes of physical disease. He needs to link his science with social sciences. The full triumph of medicine may then be more fully realised.  

Earlier in the article she outlined the importance of hygiene and good nutrition for preserving good health. She pointed out that it was the deliberate application of knowledge rather than good fortune that protected health.

Gould brought a social and economic analysis to bear when discussing the facts of social issues. On May 13, 1938 in an article entitled *Actions Speak Louder than Words*, Gould wrote in support of the cost of living campaign led by Touzel at the Welfare Council of Toronto. Introduced by a short paragraph on Marie Antoinette and her famous elite ignorance of hunger, Gould attacked the Campbell Commission, led by a group of business men who established the relief rates on the eve of the Depression based on what they thought were reasonable rates:

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310 *Toronto Daily Star*, Tuesday April 26, 1938, p. 4.
The Toronto Welfare Council showed the Rowell Commission the other week that the prospect for children who are fed on this relief schedule is “faulty bone formation, bad teeth, lower resistance to disease and general lack of well-being. For the girls there is also the danger of a high death rate when they reach the child bearing age, because of faulty formation of the pelvic bones. The situation is even more menacing in the case of a woman bearing or nursing a child. She should have plenty of protein and protective foods to supply the material for the growing baby. There is generally no special provision in the relief diets for her necessities.” From various sources came evidence that mothers and children are seriously underweight, teeth in children and young adults are decaying and nervous disorders are rising.  

Gould’s anti-poverty message was illustrated with concrete health details which showed the inadequacy of the relief allowance. She further supported the Rowell-Sirois report that had urged national standards for social policy and equalization payments between the provinces so that an adequate standard of living could be established throughout Canada.

In an article entitled Let’s Look at Father, Gould tackled labour conditions and the Workman’s Compensation Act. She began by noting that thus far there had been no success in gaining “fathers day” and she noted that “although father is the protector of the family, he needs some protection himself.” She then examined major mining and chemical industries in some detail and described the serious associated health risks in these occupations. In this way she raised the issue of work conditions, workers’ rights to protection and compensation, and the deliberate shunning of such responsibility by the employers. She demonstrated the need for legislation and uncovered the structural basis of these workplace problems. She further honed in on her point with a case example in which a diagnosis of work-related injury was compounded by a diagnosis of tuberculosis resulting in the dying worker being denied workman’s compensation assistance. Gould said:

What is happening to the workmen? They are thrown on the labor scrap-heaps, they have to go on relief, they lose their grip on life. There are about 650,000 male children in Ontario. These are potential fathers and heads of families. Need we say more?  

In an article entitled Looking at Both Sides Gould tackled the issue of housing and slums. She identified the problem of affordable housing and provided a detailed case study of an

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311 Toronto Daily Star, Tuesday May 13, 1938, p. 6.
312 Toronto Daily Star, Tuesday May 27, 1938, p. 4.
unemployed breadwinner with a sick wife and children. She illustrated the concrete realities of their slum living conditions and connected these with the relief housing rates paid at the time. She noted that new bylaws had required landlords to improve slum condition housing. Unfortunately the corollary of the resulting improvements was increased rents with no equivalent increase in relief rates so the improved housing was not affordable:

To keep to a low rental, the unemployed must seek houses of low tax values. Hence the unemployed must go into even lower than substandard places. The by-law which was supposed to “fix up” the slums is actually causing misery to the people on relief and low wages. Which shows that a plaster won’t cure a fever. And the question still remains Why do they do it this way? 313

With this piece, Gould illustrated that “a plaster won’t cure a fever” by showing how a piecemeal gesture such as a bylaw is quite inadequate as a way to address a problem such as affordable housing. By using a case example Gould brought the social issue down to common understanding and by “looking at both sides” she showed how neither tenant nor landlord were in a position to resolve the problem. Once again the structural or systemic dimensions of the issue were exposed to public view.

Some of her articles tackled broad attitudes and public beliefs such as a piece entitled *An Unwarranted Definition* in which she challenged the commonly expressed idea that “social security is robbing the poor for the benefits of the lazy.” Once again she used case examples from the Old Age Pension, unemployment insurance, workman’s compensation, and family allowance to make her arguments and concluded:

What nonsense is it then to define social security as “robbing the poor for the benefit of the lazy.” It is the poor and the low-income people who benefit most. And they are, the great majority of them, not lazy at all. The definition which uses that word is an insult to a host of hard-working thrifty and respectable people. 314

After World War II she wrote a piece on veteran allowances which explained in detail what benefits were provided for veterans and their families. She noted that the benefits were not lavish but nevertheless made a significant difference to recipients, and she ended with the comment that


“it is tangible recognition that ex-members of the armed forces are entitled to special consideration from the nation.”

6.4.3 Immigrants, Newcomers and the Nation

Gould began her working career in immigration, returning to her own port of entry in New York. Her stay was short and it remains unknown as to the details of her employment there. It is one of the few frontline positions she accepted, and it was away from home. Her career did not return directly to the immigration field but her views are apparent in her writing. As would be expected, she was sensitive to the settlement issues for newcomers and opposed all forms of discrimination and marginalization. In her editorial work she supported the universal declaration of human rights and drew attention to legislation that failed to represent universal rights and promoted oppression.

For example, on March 29, 1950 Gould wrote an article entitled “Discrimination against Chinese.” In it she discussed legislation PC2115 which required Chinese citizens to become naturalised before they could send for their family. Furthermore only children under 18 years of age were admissible. Gould illustrated her argument of the injustice of such legislation with a case example. She described the situation of a Chinese Canadian citizen who wished to bring his family over but had several children, the eldest of whom was 20 years old. This meant that the father was confronted with the dilemma of bringing his family over and abandoning his eldest child or splitting his family. Gould challenged the legislation as contravening humanity and democracy, and even the Citizenship Act, which proclaimed that all citizens to be equal. Gould listed all the groups who had opposed the Act and noted that Canada’s international reputation would be enhanced with its repeal. She quoted Prime Minister Nehru on visit in Ottawa saying that the peoples of Asia deeply resent the racial superiority which is insolently exhibited by Westerners towards Africa and Asia. She quoted the following speech:

The so-called revolt of Asia is a striving of the legitimate pride of ancient peoples against the arrogance of certain Western nations. Racial discrimination is still evidenced in some countries and there is still not enough realisation of the importance of Asia in the councils of the world.

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A year later, on November 23, 1951, Gould reported on a speech made by Eleanor Roosevelt who said that when she was chairman of the United Nations human rights commission she experienced constant embarrassment over the discrimination and racial intolerance towards blacks in the United States, and it made her the target from delegates from the Soviet Union. Gould reported her words:

Racial discrimination is now an international problem. Each account of discrimination, segregation, disenfranchisement or lynching discredits us abroad. Racial discrimination is the weak spot in our democracy. We must re-examine ourselves and work out a solution as soon as possible.

Gould followed this up by addressing Canada, and stated that the same problem is in Canada where despite legislation which outlaws racial and religious discrimination, incidents continue to occur. She then documented a recent occurrence of a black Canadian being refused service in a restaurant. She stated

The hope for peaceful progress by mankind is greatly dependent upon the application of democratic principles. Chief among them is the right of everyone to freedom and equality of opportunity, regardless of race, creed, colour, sex, religion, political or other opinion, property, birth or other status.  

She argued in an article she called “the white man’s burden” that the removal of racial tensions was vitally important in a shrinking world. She stated that whites were outnumbered two to one in the world and that they were at risk of being smashed into nonentity if the non-white people of the world should rise up. But more importantly she reported that the doctrine of white supremacy had no scientific validity, and referenced a recently published report completed by a committee of scientists that showed that no-one in the races of mankind was superior in mental capacity, and further that the idea of race itself had no biological foundation but was rather a social myth.

On April 22, 1952 Gould reported that the Lawyers Club of Toronto had removed the requirements of white and Christian from its admission criteria. Although they continued to exclude women she commended them for opening the doors to all men. Gould applauded this decision as a sign of compliance with the newly acclaimed Universal Declaration of Human

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318 Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, the white man’s burden, December 1, 1953, p. 6.
Rights. She noted that the Ontario Fair Employment Act which had been introduced a year earlier was adopted in response to the organised protests of over 80 organizations that declared it was contrary to public policy to discriminate against anyone seeking employment on the grounds of religion, race, or place of birth.\(^3\) She reported that two restaurant owners in Dresden, Ontario, were found guilty of violating Ontario’s Fair Accommodation Practices Act when they refused service to two black men, and were each fined the maximum amount allowed. Gould celebrated this application of the new act and stated that “the fact of a racial snub is an assault on human dignity, and it is to protect people against such injury that the legislation was adopted by modern progressive nations in recent years.” She concluded her piece by reinforcing the importance of public education on these issues.\(^2\) Earlier, in an article entitled “A course on human rights,” Gould reported the introduction of a critical course on human rights at the Harvard Law School as the first of its kind. Gould noted that this was not only timely in terms of human history but could be fruitfully introduced to the Canadian school curriculum particularly as the modernization of the constitution was being under discussion.\(^2\)

6.5 Key Ideas and Practice Orientation

Finally I conclude my discussion of Gould and radical social work ideas by looking at her key ideas about the professionalization of social work and the influence of left leaning thinking on these ideas. From this discussion I take up the topic of the role of women and feminism and consider how her thinking on this topic was shaped.

6.5.1 The Professionalization of Social Work

In an article published in 1934, Gould issued a call for social justice. She offered a critique of the typical middle-of-the-road position of social workers, and advocated instead that social workers establish what they stood for and thereby gain the confidence of the public:

> We haven’t their confidence because we have not shown them what we really stand for. Politicians have no use for us because they think we are impractical, sentimental “uplifters” and “busybodies.” The unemployed put up with us in silent disdain as a necessary evil. Other professionals charge us with

\(^{3}\)Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, Reducing Discrimination, April 22, 1952, p. 6.


\(^{1}\)Toronto Star. Pages of the Past, June 1, 1950, p. 6.
hypocrisy and self-interest. Those interested in social issues call us fence straddlers. We have made no impression on the general public because we move among them in a colourless spineless sort of way. What is the matter? Is it that we do not know ourselves what we are and what is our mission? Have we a mission? (Gould 1934, p. 3)

Gould’s membership in the Canadian Association of Social Workers (CASW) began early in the association’s history (CASW was established in Toronto in 1926) and corresponded with her appointment as Executive Secretary of the Child Welfare Council of Toronto in 1929. The CASW executive committee meeting minutes of November 1931 recorded that Gould was retiring from the executive position of secretary for the Association. However as chairman of the Program Committee she proposed that the next meeting be devoted to a discussion of the relationship of the politics of the social worker to the political field, either as private individuals or as a professional body. Gould observed that at the time social workers had no public voice. On January 29, 1932, the minutes documented an argument put forward, that the older professions were not allied with any political party. There was disagreement as to whether or not social work should participate in the political arena. It was proposed that social reform recommendations should be passed through the existing venue of the Department of Public Welfare. The idea of actually sponsoring a social reform party was mooted. The drawback identified was that if the party wasn’t elected then social reform initiatives would be interrupted. There was some consensus that advocacy with existing political representatives would be more effective.

A discussion of conflict of interest considered difficulties for social workers who sat on Boards and worked in another organisation if there were divergent political affiliations. This was teased out more explicitly in a discussion of the conflict inherent in the fact that capitalist organisations fund social work to help those who are “under privileged.” This means that organised support of political causes that are unpopular with these groups could be “dangerous” to social work as funding could be stopped. There was some agreement that the time for active political engagement was not ripe, and that the safest method was a process of gradual education:

There have been drastic reforms in the last hundred years and we cannot afford to move too quickly. The safest method is by a process of gradual education. It is the responsibility of each individual to talk on the effects of social lacks, change the attitude of public opinion, ask for legislation on the

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322 LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Executive Committee Meeting November 9, 1931.
merits of the case. Do not bring up issues which have not yet become apparent to the public at large.\footnote{323}{LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Executive Committee Meeting January 29, 1932.}

Though the discussion was initiated by Gould, there was no record of her contribution. The views expressed do not accord with hers and perhaps she remained silent or perhaps her ideas were unrepresentative of the group and were not recorded in the minutes. In the same meeting Gould moved a motion to approach Ontario universities about including courses on ethics, sociology, and economics as part of a degree in Arts that would be preparatory to the social science diploma required for social workers.\footnote{324}{LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Executive Committee Meeting January 29, 1932.} This request clearly reflected Gould’s structural perspective, and her linkage to ethics is telling. The recommendation suggests that she thought that these were subject areas in which social workers needed further education to develop political awareness and engagement.

On February 16, 1932 the minutes reported that Gould was the convenor of the Program Committee studying the recruitment and training of social workers.\footnote{325}{LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Executive Committee Meeting February 16, 1932.} On November 8, 1933 Gould became a member of a committee on social policy committed to conducting studies of employment standards, professional standards, belief standards, prison reform, social legislation, and the constructive use of leisure time.\footnote{326}{LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Executive Committee Meeting November 8, 1933.} This was a wide swath of issues of great importance that touch on numerous policies and structural social issues. In 1935 a vigilance committee was formed by the CASW executive, probably spearheaded by Gould, with the function of watching “whatever was printed or said concerning social work or social workers in the community.” In a 1937 executive meeting Gould who was the convenor of the committee (and probably its creator) reported on the work of the vigilance committee since its inception. She reported that all the candidates for municipal elections were sent information on housing needs, relief rates, and food vouchers. The committee then issued a public statement to the Press and sent a letter to each city councillor asking for a survey of civic welfare administration. This piece of social activism led by Gould was directed at politicians and at the media, which shaped public opinion. A series of letters to the editor were published in the \textit{Globe and Mail} giving a professional viewpoint on
civic welfare activities. Support was given to a citizen’s committee investigating hostel
conditions in the City. Finally they attempted to have an article published in Macleans magazine,
which would counter an article previously published in that newspaper denigrating relief
recipients. 327 The reports from the vigilance committee were always from Gould and in her
absence, there were statements to the effect that the committee did not know how to proceed
without her. Gould was probably ahead of her committee, and the other participating members
were not as clear-minded or perhaps not as committed to her strategies. This showed her strength
and analytic strategic intelligence but also her vulnerability to isolation and to being singled out.
On January 20, 1937 there was a presentation on housing at the executive committee meeting by
Professor Urwick (Director of Department of Social Sciences). Afterwards two letters from
Gould were entered into the discussion. These provided detailed results from a survey completed
by the vigilance committee with information on the standards in existing homes, and a
cataloguing of problems such as delinquency in rent payments, tenants occupying condemned
houses as they are “rent free,” shortage of housing, overcrowding, inadequate plumbing, and
poor heating. 328 Gould was active on committees evaluating relief rates, nutrition, industrial
work conditions for women in industry, i.e., in all major aspects of daily living.

On November 23, 1936 Gould addressed the situation in Ottawa with respect to Touzel’s
resignation. She said:

The Ottawa situation was only indicative of what might happen elsewhere. Has social work the places we thought it had? Social workers had ideals for the small group of handicapped – a now steadily growing group. The social worker thought she had what were the essentials in human welfare. Now, the financial, not the essential aspect is stressed. We no longer are the guardian of things being done in our name. Public health may condemn the hovel but what is being done about housing? If standards mean nothing have we any right to remain in our jobs? 329

In this statement, Gould made provocative challenges to what she calls “the middle-of-the-road
social worker,” the social worker who straddles the fence and who doesn’t stand up, take a

328 LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Toronto Branch Minutes 1930–1933, Executive Committee Meeting January 20, 1957.
329 LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 4, Executive Committee Meeting November 23, 1936.
political position and demand social changes. She seemed to be calling for a social movement or some form of collective resistance from professional social workers.

On December 12, 1937, it was recorded in the minutes that a letter had been received from Gould resigning from the vigilance committee, and the ensuing discussion was reported:

> It was felt that not only would it be difficult to replace Miss Gould as convenor of the committee, but that her absence would also be a serious loss to the executive. There was a fairly general agreement that the resignation should be accepted, in as much as her continuance as convenor was apt to prove hampering in her work and might also complicate any newspaper publicity for the CASW. The possibility of keeping her on the executive in some other capacity was discussed . . . there was a consensus of opinion that Miss Gould was doing great things for social work and that the executive should back her up in every way.\(^{330}\)

Gould was very active in the CASW during the years she was employed at the Child Welfare Council of Toronto. She joined numerous committees and consistently worked on the structural issues affecting social work – poverty, labour conditions, housing, relief rates. She advocated strongly for the profession to become politically active and to take a public political position. Perhaps her most notable work was with the vigilance committee where she followed the representation of the profession in the public domain and the promotion of public education. Once she was employed as an editorial writer, her presence in the CASW disappeared but she continued to support the social work profession and particularly social action, social reconstruction, and the establishment of a welfare state.

### 6.5.2 Feminism and the Role of Women

Gould addressed all dimensions of social welfare issues on a local, provincial, and Federal level drawing international comparison and consistently promulgating her left-wing political beliefs in public social service provision, maximum social protection legislation, and an equitable distribution of wealth through fair wages and progressive tax policies. However, her particular interest in mothers and children and the role of women in a capitalist democracy was reflected in her work at the Child Welfare Council of Toronto and in the large number of articles and editorials that she devoted to this topic.

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\(^{330}\) LAC, CASW fonds, Box 35, File 7, Toronto Branch 1936–1938, executive minutes, December 13, 1957.
6.5.2.1 Women and Welfare

Women, families and children were a central focus of Gould throughout her life and she fought passionately for welfare initiatives which would improve their lives. Long a supporter of Mothers Allowance, which was introduced in 1920, Gould promoted the Family Allowance Act of 1945, writing a lengthy tract in support of the new benefit.

In 1954 she reported that the Family Allowance Act had not resulted in the outcomes which had been predicted by its detractors when it was introduced. She documented how only 371 instances of fraud had occurred in 2 million cheques issued; that there was no evidence supporting a decrease in employment rates; and that there had been improvement in school attendance rates (cheques were not issued when children failed to attend school). In 1955 she reported that new Gallup polls showed that the support for Family Allowances was steadily increasing, having doubled from when it was introduced. She took the Ontario Conservative government to task for its dire predictions that the Family Allowance Act would drain the nation’s economy and promote unemployment and over population. Gould stated that:

At no time does it appear that Conservatives have understood or appreciated the true nature of family allowances viz. that it is a means of redistributing the national income and of strengthening purchasing power. Family allowances were proposed as a fiscal measure to help cushion postwar economic readjustment. As such they have two distinct benefits. They help low income families provide a better living for their growing children and thus help maintain employment.

Clearly Gould was in favour of redistribution as a policy choice and she did not hesitate to castigate the Conservative Party’s position.

6.5.2.2 Women and Work

*Silk Hose and Waves put in a Girl’s Budget* was the title of an editorial on the budgetary needs of a single working woman in 1938. Gould reported on a recently published budget for the working girl from the New York State Labour Department. This budget was devised from a survey of the needs of working women in New York and was intended to guide the State Minimum Wage Board in their decision making. Gould argued that self-supporting modern women required an

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income that they could live from, which included paying for recreation and for the clothing and grooming requirements of the workplace. She defended the apparently frivolous wearing of silk hose and attention to hair fashion as the necessary accoutrements of a working woman. The common idea of the time that women work for pin money and luxuries was matched with a working woman’s budget which included money for rent, food, fuel, clothing and other basic necessities as well as recreation, insurance, and savings:

The first group of labor boards to begin considering new minimum wage rates for women are for laundries, beauty parlours, candy factories, retail stores and restaurants. The new budget is used as a guide. It will be interesting to see how closely they approach the self-support standard. There is a neat point in this budget. It expects the working girl to entertain and have a good time at her own expense. On this budget she is expected to take turns in feeding the boyfriend after the theatre, instead of “sponging” on him. This is good, don’t you think, both for the girl and the boyfriend.  

By drawing attention to this event in New York, Gould skilfully used it as a platform to raise issues about women – social roles, rates of pay and status in the workforce. In a further exploration of this topic entitled *This Is Not All A Man’s World*, Gould identified that during economic crises there tends to be an outcry against the employment of women with a claim that women are taking men’s jobs. However, she pointed out, the rate of pay for men is what sends many women into the workforce. She then identified the low-wage system as the common enemy:

Attacking the married woman worker only beclouds the issue. It will solve nothing. What is needed is vigorous attention to the forces which cause periodic unemployment crises, the forces which harass both men and women at home and at work.  

Here she attacked the larger issue of the recurrent booms and busts of capitalism that structurally lead to unemployment and low pay. Her critique rests on a macro-level perspective. Given the role that women shouldered during World War II she prophetically concluded her piece with the declaration that:

There is also another side. In this country where industry, science, education, art are on the threshold of development, where a small population is dotted over a huge expanse of land, the energy and intelligence of women are of vital importance. In a pioneering democratic land women are equal partners with

334 *The Toronto Daily Star*, Friday, October 28, 1938, p. 4.
men. Were the throttle removed from our national economic engine, there would be a serious shortage of human labor. We would consider ourselves fortunate to have a supply of educated trained women, capable of engaging in the nation’s work as well as building the nation’s home.\textsuperscript{335}

This statement reflects Gould’s strong socialist feminist position. Gould stated that married women preferred not to work as they were left with the double burden of creating and maintaining a home along with the responsibility of being in the paid workforce. While she identified this double burden as a problem for women, she didn’t challenge it as a problem of role stereotype or question women’s assumption of responsibility for the home. This is consistent with the maternalist view of women, which was part of first wave socialist feminism. Seventeen years later in 1955 she wrote an article entitled \textit{The Vanishing Domestic}, in which she discussed the dramatic decrease in the number of women employed in domestic work. While the demand for domestic workers had increased corresponding with the increase of women in the paid workforce, there remained a shortage in supply. She discussed the increase of women working in the clerical and financial occupations but did not examine the decrease in domestic workers in greater detail i.e. she didn’t examine the exploitation, low wages, long hours, and constrained workplace as reasons women exited domestic work at the first opportunity. Instead she commented on the revolution in housing and merchandising, noting that the dining room was disappearing from new homes and furniture was being designed with “easy cleaning” in mind. She noted the availability of dehydrated, fast-frozen, pre-cooked washed and chopped foods, and observed that in Sweden they have co-operative apartment houses with communal kitchens and day nurseries.\textsuperscript{336} The double burden is a recurrent theme in her writing on women and work in the fifties. In \textit{Help for Working Mothers}, she noted that in 1931 there were 87,000 working wives and in 1951 there were 350,000. She identified this as a trend in industrial development. She reported the outcomes of a conference sponsored by the International Labour Organization on the social problems associated with women in the workforce. They identified the double burden and recommended maternity benefits, daycare centres, school meals, and domestic aides.\textsuperscript{337} New rights, new resources, and status for the working woman was Gould’s fight. This was typical of the approach by socialist feminists to the domestic sphere. They explored ways that the burden

\textsuperscript{335} \textit{The Toronto Daily Star}, Friday, October 28, 1938, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{336} \textit{The Toronto Daily Star}, June 21, 1955.

\textsuperscript{337} \textit{The Toronto Daily Star}, August 16, 1954.
could be lessened and promoted collective solutions to social provisioning. She saw the working woman as equal to the working man, and equally as deserving in social support.

On the topic of equal pay Gould reported the defeat of a private bill for equal pay for women employed in federal industries. During the war the government instituted equal pay for men and women in the armed services as well as in the federal civil services. Moreover Canada signed the United Nations Charter of Human Rights which included the clause “everyone without discrimination has the right to equal pay for equal work,” and both Ontario and Saskatchewan introduced legislation to prohibit discrimination against women in the economic field. 338 Gould reported on “The Fair Remuneration Female Employees Act” which was at its second reading in the Ontario legislature in 1951. She noted that it would establish a Canadian first in the British Commonwealth if it was passed. 339 Gould advocated for minimum labour standards for rates of pay and working conditions including nutrition, health, efficiency, security and employee morale. Furthermore she argued that these should apply to all workers without discrimination. 340

6.5.2.3 Women’s Rights: An International Perspective

Gould reported frequently during the 1950s on women’s rights drawing information from the UN women’s commission and reporting international comparisons in changes of status and progress towards equality in political representation and in economic recognition. 341

In 1954 Gould reported the appointment of Marion Royce M.A. as the new Director of the Women’s Bureau in the Department of Labour. With an impressive work history including social work, teaching, and involvement with the International Labor Organization and the United Nations as well as post graduate research experience in social science, Gould celebrated the appointment of a competent woman to head the newly created Women’s Bureau and predicted that this would lead to an increasing recognition of the importance of women in the national labour force. 342

In 1955 Gould reported on the United Nations Women’s Commission and chronicled the political gains of women worldwide. She noted that in Canada there were four women in the House of Commons and five on the Senate. Furthermore the UN’s Women’s Commission reported that political gains were continually being made by women around the world. In August 1955 Gould suggested that Canadian women were edging forward in political participation but she noted that Canadian women lagged behind other nations such as Israel, China, India, and the United States in this domain.

Gould monitored the acquisition of women’s rights worldwide and reported her findings. In 1957 she announced that in Greece women exercised the franchise for the first time and she quoted UN statistics that 21 governments had granted women full political rights since the end of World War II. In addition she noted that women had been appointed to high cabinet positions in Israel, India, China, Poland, Britain and Denmark. She reported a growing feminist movement in Egypt where the Egyptian Women’s Rights Association was asking for changes from the right to vote to changes in labour and divorce laws.

Gould was a strong supporter of equal rights for women and followed local developments as well as international advances. She was interested in political representation and participation, women and work, and in social protection measures which would increase the quality of life for women such as daycare, maternity leave, and family allowances. Her interest in women’s health including childbirth and maternal mortality were areas of activism for her long before she became a reporter.

### 6.6 Discussion

Gould was introduced to a radical path at a young age. As an immigrant Canadian, growing up in The Ward in Toronto and several years later in The Junction, she was familiar with poverty, hardship, overcrowding, maternal death, hunger, and unemployment. As an adolescent she was taught by Isaac Matenko of the Peretz School and she readily absorbed the social justice imperative of Marxism. She recognised the value of education and later as a student at the

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University of Toronto she majored in political science, economics, and social sciences which deepened her understanding of the social political landscape she inhabited. From early employment in immigration reception services, she became involved in labour activism. She was hired to conduct research on the cost of living which would provide the unions with concrete data for wage negotiations. This was followed by the completion of a research M.A. at Stanford University. Gould was already radical in her outlook when she accepted a social work position as executive secretary for the Child Welfare Council of Toronto. In this position she advocated for maternal health issues particularly physician involvement in childbirth and for children’s rights. Women, children and families were central to her social work practice, which is consistent with a socialist feminist position. While she shared the maternalist focus on women and their domestic child-centred role, she sought radical socialist solutions to the domestic issues confronting women. This is very clear in many of her editorials on women where she discussed new technological inventions that would expedite domestic chores. She also raised questions about equal pay for equal work and advocated for the independent financial status of women.

Over time she became increasingly involved in the area of public education. As a member of the Canadian Association of Social Workers she pursued her radical agenda and advocated for the social work profession to become more politicized. She promoted public education as a venue for raising public awareness and understanding. She saw public education as a vehicle for social workers to raise awareness of the need for public social protection to counter the vagaries of unregulated capitalism. Gould joined the League for Social Reconstruction, became the co-editor of the left-leaning magazine *The New Frontier* and was a member of the Communist Party. Her political position was very public and unapologetic. In social work she was never a front line worker involved in casework. Indeed she had no training in that area. She was an executive administrator and her vision was socio-political and community based. With her keen intelligence and radical perspective she promoted social reconstruction in Canada and the formation of a welfare state – as a member of the League for Social Reconstruction she was familiar with the ideas and plans of key Canadian thinkers such as Marsh and Cassidy. In addition, she taught at the University of Toronto, School of Social Work so was familiar with the academic ideas that were being debated. Her international trip to the Soviet Union, Scandinavia, Britain and Europe, accompanied by three social work colleagues, was planned as an international comparative evaluative study of different welfare programs. Her move to
journalism came by degree as she was involved with occasional writing for *The Star* prior to being contracted to write a series of articles of her trip.

Said (1996) described a public intellectual as someone who represents a standpoint and who continues to present this despite opposition and barriers. This description is particularly pertinent to Gould as during her final years at the Child Welfare Council she had become the target of red-baiting and was publically criticized for her social values. Undeterred however in her capacity as editorial writer, Gould mobilized her Marxist political position and social work frame of justice to become a social critic advocating for social protection legislation and the public provision of services. Said (1996) cites Gramsci who identified organic intellectuals as persons who are actively involved in society and in a democratic society struggle to change minds and gain voter approval. Gould exemplified this description, living her life in accordance with her core beliefs, which remained consistent, and using the media as a conduit for her vision of social justice. Gould was networked with other women on the left many of whom were also social workers such as Dorothy Livesay (Livesay 1977; Moffatt 2001), Bessie Touzel, Mary Jennison and Kay Gorrie (Jennissen and Lundy 2011; Lewey 2006; Rifkind 2009).

Gould described newspaper journalism as complex, embracing education, commerce and an evaluative role, reporting news but also providing some points of view:

> Because the influence of the printed word is so powerful the daily press is often a crusader for social reform. It is able to bring to the attention of millions of people the existence of social evils and at the same time to solicit sympathy for the sufferers and measures to correct the conditions.\(^{346}\)

She said that sometimes a newspaper can start a social movement but that more commonly it supports existing agencies in their social reform work. She argued that men and women who were admired as public benefactors like Charles Dickens, Lincoln Steffens, John Ruskin, Octavia Hill and Jane Addams all worked through the press. She listed examples of social struggles which have been aided by the press such as child labour, slums, long working hours, unsafe working conditions, and prisons. She addressed the commercial competitive nature of the newspaper business and identified that sometimes this produced a conflict of interest. Gould argued that at times the newspaper must forgo revenue to remain consistent to its guiding principles. With respect to *The Star* she said:

\(^{346}\) *Toronto Star: Pages from the Past, Press social mirror states star writer, January 23, 1940, p.10.*
The Star has espoused principles which entailed losses of revenue. Those who enter the vocation with the attitude of performing a social service find in it a satisfying experience. 347

Gould had an extraordinary ability to condense complex ideas into simple clear, understandable and straightforward language. This gift is very apparent in all her writing. Perhaps because of her life experience, or perhaps because she had a keen and sensitive intelligence, she was able to draw examples or case studies from everyday life and use them as tools to unmask social injustice and expose the structural causes behind social ailments. She was always clear and to the point, She was able to explain complex legislation in simple terms, and format her explanation in a manner that made it accessible. It was this talent that she took to her editorial work for The Star where she wrote for twenty years on the welfare state as a social critic and interpreter. Gould became a well-known public intellectual who was consulted on matters of social science and social reform. Often invited to speak she was a talented public speaker as well as a writer and an active member of radical groups seeking social improvement.

347 Pages of the Past, Press Social Mirror, states Star writer, January 23, 1940, p. 10.
Chapter 7  
Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this chapter is to gather together all the conclusions from each of the four previous chapters and to discuss and analyze these in relation to my research questions. When I began this study I had three broad objectives that guided my initial inquiry 1) To document the lives of some key women who contributed to the formation of Ontario social work. 2) To show that not only were there multiple theoretical strands both philosophic and ideological in the formative years of the social work profession, but there were hotly contested differences and debates and 3) To apply a feminist historical approach, a postcolonial perspective and a Foucauldian analysis of practice to the early history of Canadian Social Work.

The chapter is structured in four parts. I begin by summarising my research findings focusing on the two categories of the selection of the figures, socialist and imperial. Beginning with an overview of the category I then follow up with a specific discussion of each figure. While there are commonalities and shared perspectives within the sub groupings of the figures there are also important differences which an individual discussion allows space for. This section concludes with a discussion of the methodological contributions of this thesis. Secondly I discuss two wider theoretical ideas which cut across the specific levels of analysis (as noted above) and briefly discuss the traces of imperialism in social work today. This section includes a brief discussion of starting assumptions and expectations that were supported and other results that were surprising. Thirdly, I follow with a discussion of the application of the theoretical framework looking at what was achieved and what was not and some limitations of the study are noted. Finally I conclude with a discussion of some of the implications of the study for social work, and questions for future research.

7.1 Research Findings

Most commonly histories of Canadian social work have documented the path of the profession through the lens of organisations and thus provided a history that notes the contributions of individual actors but with a central narrative which is institutional. Individual actors appear as minor players in the narrative, and institutions are the measure of social and political change. Notably, recent developments in the field of institutional analysis have raised the question of
individual agency and informal cultural factors as important causative factors, and these analytic angles have become part of the “new” institutionalism (Lawrence, Suddaby, and Leca 2009). In order to avoid the fixed perspective of established history and to bridge the division between institutional structure and personal agency, this study considered both life histories and organizational practice as it unfolded in selected key agencies.

The study centred on the social work careers of four women. The selection of figures was deliberate with firstly all the figures being women. Social work is a female dominated profession (in numbers not in senior positions) and has been since its inception. However, many of the social work figures who have become part of the historical record are men. This study sought to contribute to balancing the views and voices of women who dominated the field while at the same time illuminating and identifying some of the influences, debates, values and tensions that intersected in the early history of social work. The sampling was purposive and two figures were chosen as variations of left leaning socialist practice and two figures were chosen as variations of conservative imperial practice. Personal variants such as Canadian-born and immigrant; urban and rural in origin; professional and voluntary practice; faith-based and secular value bases and divergent political positions were also represented. While the original selection had the women placed in these broadly polarized categories of imperial and socialist thinking, the reality was less clear and more complicated. There were some contradictory and unexpected assemblages showing that the field of practice was complex and the paths taken by individual actors were not always predictable. Looking at individual lives revealed how people navigate and negotiate the structures they live with, and exposed the contradictions and messiness of living, which trouble broad historical categories. This study was partly a recovery feminist project which elaborated some unknown and less known female lives and contributions to Canadian social work history. The study used original archival material as the primary data source and a post structural inquiry which was not confined to traditional divisions such as clinical practice versus community development or casework agency versus settlement house. This is a new practice for social work historiography, and thus a methodological contribution that this dissertation makes to the literature.

In this study, individual social work actors were studied in conjunction with their chosen practice in the field of social work. A Foucauldian focus on practice was deliberately chosen as particularly pertinent in a study of applied knowledge such as social work. While the ideas,
beliefs and ideology of each figure were identified, the primary analysis was of what they actually did. A close-up analysis of each figure was completed of the details of actions and accomplishments as well as attention to the methods employed to achieve the desired goals. In order to represent the field of social work, three broad categories (fields) of practice were identified. These were 1) poverty and the welfare state (or welfare); 2) children, family and child welfare; and 3) immigrants, newcomers and the nation. In addition key ideas and practice orientation were illuminated through an examination of the approach of each figure to the professionalization of social work, and to feminism and the role of women. This analytic structure produced interesting results as it became clear that the socialist left leaning social workers in the time period under study (1900–1950) chose to work primarily in the field of poverty and welfare, focusing their attention and energy on postwar social reconstruction and the creation of a welfare state. In contrast, the imperial social workers operated primarily on the practice arena of immigration, newcomers and the nation with a goal of protecting the Anglo-Protestant fibre of Canadian national identity. It appeared that the target client group of the latter was different as was their aim, namely to preserve the status quo of a British Canadian identity and to serve the elite interests that were associated with the status quo. In contrast to this the socialist social workers target client group was the poor and the working poor and the quest for universal benefits was intended to equalize wealth and improve the standard of living for the poorer classes.

7.1.1 Imperial Social Workers

This study expands the research on female imperialism which is a recent but growing scholarship that has not been widely applied to the history of social work in Canada. Female imperialism is a conservative, patriotic set of ideas, steeped in loyalty to Britain and Empire, enacted primarily by middle and upper class women. The fledgling fields of genetics, eugenics, anthropology and psychology spawned a new science of measuring intelligence and comparing groups of people which supported social Darwinism, racial metaphors and civilizing tropes. These new knowledges were swept into the cause of Empire and are part of the fabric of imperial thinking (Chilton 2007; Henderson 2003; Mills 2001; Pickles 2002; Pickles and Rutherford 2005).

In Canada in the early twentieth century there were many women who subscribed to imperial ideas and formed clubs and associations based on this shared ideology. Furthermore many of
these clubs extended their activities into social service provision and sought to contribute to the
development of the Canadian nation through political advocacy, voluntary labour and financial
fundraising support. Feminism and reform are usually considered in the local context of
women’s voluntary charity work and not considered as part of nation building. But female
imperialism was a set of ideas that was highly invested in the national context and in its
Canadian form was fiercely patriotic with an allegiance to the white settler colony becoming a
strong and proud part of the British Empire. This study examined the intersection between
imperialism and the emergence of social work in Canada, by focussing on a national Canadian
imperial woman’s club, Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and selecting for
study, two figures, Joan Arnoldi and Charlotte Whitton, who were members of this club and also
social workers active in social service organisations in Ontario.

I will examine the findings for each of these women separately as even though they shared the
ideology of imperialism, their career trajectories were unique and the differences highlight the
variations such a broad category of orientation can encompass.

7.1.1.1 Joan Arnoldi: In Service of God, Monarch, and Country

Joan Arnoldi was part of the large group of anonymous women who became involved in public
life and the social reform movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. Arnoldi was a
female imperialist who was a founding member of the IODE and became its national president
after World War I. There were two distinct and yet also related facets to her public life. Firstly,
her participation in a national organization with breadth of vision such as the IODE and secondly
her local concrete involvement in a model Crèche in Toronto. Both of these ventures were rooted
in the field of practice with immigrants, newcomers and the nation. It was her focus on retaining
the British Anglo-Protestant fibre of Canada that led her to believe that the most pressing issues
on a national level were immigration policy and practice and on a local level were the quality of
services for managing newcomers. It was these two directions that became her life’s work.

Surprisingly, given that she was part of the voluntary labour contingent and had no social work
education, on a local level Arnoldi led the professionalization of the childcare program at the
WEC. Exploring this unexpected development revealed that it was social work networks which
operating locally, nationally and internationally which facilitated knowledge exchange, and
enabled Arnoldi to cross boundaries. Arnoldi worked simultaneously with voluntary social
workers and with the new professional social workers. She consulted equally with social work scholars and organizational directors. This same process allowed apparently incompatible ideas to be employed together. Progressive new ideas about children, premised on the notion of children’s rights and new ideas about child development were adopted by Arnoldi and implemented at the WEC, in service of her imperial ideas about race homogeneity and the Canadianization of newcomers. Instituting a rights-based practice at the crèche did not change Arnoldi’s paternalistic approach to services. She hired young graduate professional social workers to work side-by-side with existing staff who held conflicting views on childcare, and Arnoldi negotiated their contested ideas and approaches.

On a national level at the IODE Arnoldi worked with other women’s clubs sharing ideas and approaches and co-ordinating service delivery to ensure that there was not duplication of services and with a view to expand and improve existing services. Her network from the IODE extended into political circles and she worked actively with the Ministry of Immigration in setting up programs for female immigration and female immigration services. She organised a British schoolgirl tour of Canada in an effort to increase British migration. While Arnoldi was active in the field of children, families and welfare, this work was informed by the field of immigration and newcomers as it was newcomer families that she was concerned about.

Arnoldi formed part of the pre-welfare voluntary group of social workers who identified gaps in service and community needs and mobilized to set the service in place. Her local agency was connected to the early federated funding initiatives and service delivery co-ordination networks in the city. She mobilized government funding initiatives to supplement the charity-based funding that sustained the WEC (Johnstone, Chambon and Lightman 2014). It was these local agencies which became part of the foundation of the welfare state as it was from these places that experienced staff were hired to assume organizational and administrative posts in the emerging public service organizations. These agencies also became the sites for field work practice for developing social work education programs, and often became the models for state-run services in some instances being taken over by the state. The immigration services which were created by the IODE became models for approaches to government immigration services. The rigorous screening measures, Canadianization, English-as-a-second language classes and employment brokerage practices that are elements in current approaches to immigration, have their roots in these early IODE models (Iacovetta 1992; Knowles 1997).
Arnoldi’s involvement in social reform work grew out of her imperial framework and was a feminine extension of her father’s world. Moral authority was exercised by women in their performance of voluntary charity work which was widely legitimized by a discourse of maternal feminism whereas a new professional authority hinged on competence and rights with entry into the masculine domain of commerce attached to paid work. Arnoldi was a woman who entered masculine spaces such as active service in World War I and leadership roles in the public sphere in the context of women’s clubs. As a woman without property rights, and without recognition as a person under the law, and even before the granting of suffrage, Joan Arnoldi had a strong Anglo-Protestant female voice. She identified herself as a daughter of the empire and associated her feminist project as part of her imperial project. This identification gave her a claim to British “racial and cultural superiority” and as such she did not seem to experience diminishment as a woman.

7.1.1.2 Charlotte Whitton: Imperial Feminist and Social Reformer

Throughout her working life, Whitton remained a female imperialist. While her social work career was heavily involved in the area of child and family welfare, inserted into that field of practice was the imperial agenda of maintaining a British Anglo-Protestant presence in Canada. Whitton was the convenor of the immigration committee at the national level of the IODE for many years, practicing directly in the field of immigrants, newcomers and the nation. In this imperial setting she honed her ideas and practice approach. Whitton understood the importance of networking and whereas Arnoldi participated in social work networks, Whitton engineered connections. She strategically used personal friendship circles, social work journals, pamphlets, conferences, club memberships and political alliances to promote her imperial agenda. Through her membership at The League of Nations, she was able to extend her networks transnationally and participate in an exchange of ideas with women from the United States, Britain and Europe. This shows her ambition to become a national Canadian figure. This exposed her to progressive thinking on child welfare and immigration, and also to information on what other countries were doing in these areas. She incorporated ideas on progressive child welfare into her practice but on the topic of immigration she chose to use some of this information for political leverage by sharing what she learned unofficially with the conservative Canadian Minister of Immigration.
To launch her career in the late 1920s, Whitton addressed the practice of juvenile immigration and child labour, which were long standing practice arenas in Canada. Her approach illustrates how her imperial agenda intersects with the progressive child welfare reforms for which she advocated. She crafted a case based on progressive ideas about the rights of children and argued that the children immigrating to Canada should be subject to the child welfare laws of protection just like Canadian children. However she was strongly opposed to juvenile immigration as the children were often street children and paupers and Whitton believed that these children were poor candidates for Canadian citizenship and would weaken the Canadian gene pool. The latter eugenic idea was uppermost in her approach to immigration, but on the issue of juvenile immigration she front-ended progressive ideas on child protection to sell the idea. This provides an example of a contradictory and unexpected assemblage as her otherwise paternalistic approach to family welfare would be consistent with a needs-based approach to children rather than a rights-based approach. The issue of juvenile immigration brought two fields of practice together, that of children and families and that of immigration and produced a philosophical collision of Whitton’s views. She appeared to have resolved this by using one position to service the other and was keenly aware that appealing to children’s rights could mobilize her newcomer agenda.

Whitton was a leader in both the IODE and the Canada Welfare Council at the same time and her work in the two organizations was intertwined. The official position of the Council and the IODE were very similar. Research surveys generated reports which she disseminated in both organizations. Child welfare work was enmeshed with immigration work and imperial ideology was apparent in her practice in both fields. In the field of poverty and the welfare state Whitton was a vocal opponent to the creation of a welfare state and remained supportive of a minimalist needs based approach to social support. While her advocacy for an improved working wage was progressive, her reasoning was conservative as she saw wages as a way families could provide for themselves even in times of need. Her inaction in social reconstruction ultimately became the issue that resulted in her ejection from the social work profession.

Whitton is remembered today as a strident feminist who became the first female mayor of a large city in Canada while her earlier social work career is less well known (Prentice et al. 1988). Social historians often portray Whitton as a conservative figure without much attention to her contradictions (Christie 2000; Struthers 1983). Her position on women was infused with the
ideas of first wave maternalism as well as female imperialism. She had a strong belief that women were equal to men, but she also had the maternalist belief that married women should prioritize reproductive work and remain at home. Her choice to remain unmarried and devote her life to the “manly” sphere of work was a testament to this belief and also part of the maternalist ethos of her time where women had to choose between two distinct life paths. She was a strong supporter of the professionalization of social work but her vision for the profession was imperial. She envisaged a profession which would be expert in citizenship and immigration and would develop and employ screening and assessment procedures to maintain a strong Anglo-Protestant society. In her vision, the profession would also assist in a similar fashion with assessment and screening for welfare provision which would be minimalist. Individual responsibility and private sector social services would be the primary means in the provision of care and social workers would have a co-ordinating overseeing role.

Arnoldi and Whitton had different access routes to imperialism. Arnoldi was born into a Canadian elite imperialist family tradition and continued on that path whereas Whitton had much more modest beginnings and although there were imperial strands in her family background, it was a direction that she pursued independently and adopted as a conscious choice. For both women it was a lifetime direction but for Arnoldi there were numerous resignations and absences from participation in the public arenas of service. Perhaps this was partly a reflection of the voluntary base of her work, but in contrast Whitton sustained a continuous presence in the workplace and was economically dependent on her earnings. Both women practiced primarily in the arena of immigration, the nation and newcomers and both targeted the wider public good as the purpose of their work. Their practice approaches were similar as both used gatekeeping, screening and assimilation as methods to achieve their goals but both women also adopted some parts of progressive practice as other objectives in their agendas.

7.1.2 Socialist Social Workers

Socialist/radical social work in Canada is under researched and elusive in the literature with definitions of socialist social work used by different scholars that are not uniform and shift within a range of conditions (Lewey 2006; Jennissen and Lundy 2011; Moffatt 2001; Mullaly 1997). For the purpose of this study a broad definition was adopted which included all social workers who were left leaning in their political affiliation, aware of class divisions and
supportive of labour activism and structural reform and social reconstruction in the direction of universal rights based public social services. Social workers who showed an awareness of the structural dimensions of social problems and sought a social political solution were included in this group. Although the sample for the study was small (2) it was evident that attaching this category to a person as a lone identifier is problematic as some actions and positions can be deemed more radical than others. There is a range of philosophical differences between those who are strictly Marxist and those who are more reform oriented socialists.

During the years of this study (1900–1950), there was a shift in public opinion as the two world wars and the economic events of the stock market crash and the Depression disrupted public confidence in the liberal order and gave rise to a public belief that things could be different, that there might be a better social configuration possible. Immediately preceding the establishment of the CASW in 1926, the Communist Party of Canada was established in 1921, labour activism increased momentum, and in the West the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) was formed. The 1930s which was the first decade of professional social work coincided with the Depression years and social reconstruction groups including the League for Social Reconstruction formed in urban locations. This wider public debate was mirrored in the debates in the CASW in the corresponding years. Socialist social workers such as Gould and Touzel advocated for the profession of social work to adopt a vibrant political platform calling for radical change, while the more traditional social workers wanted to focus on case work and gradual reform.

For the purposes of this study, two socialist social work figures, Bessie Touzel and Margaret Gould, were selected who had successively worked in executive leadership positions in the early days of the Social Planning Council. Little else was known about them by the author at that time beyond their ideological positioning as radical left-leaning and some scattered biographical information. Like the imperialist social workers, further study revealed unique career trajectories and particular insights unique to each figure which necessitated individual presentations. This study supports the existence of a network of radical social workers, connected through shared values, who knew one another and remained in regular communication. Lewey (2006) reported a “radical circle of friends” in her doctoral research on cold war social work in Canada and this research supports her finding. This friendship circle was an informal alliance and is only evident by connecting numerous fragmentary items in the archives. It was these social workers who were
actively instrumental on the ground in the creation of the welfare state in Canada. They were members of social reconstruction groups, promoted anti-poverty initiatives, supported trade unionism and fought for a universal rights based welfare state.

7.1.2.1 Bessie Touzel: Visionary, Social Activist, Pragmatist

For Touzel, social work was about social justice, closing the gap between the rich and poor, and she understood that interdependence between individuals and society is such that unsolved health problems, lack of housing, unemployment, poor education and lack of adequate childcare affects everyone and creates community problems. Politically she was guided by her left leaning vision of a welfare state founded on universal rights and universal benefits. Her primary field of practice was poverty and extending welfare provisions and ultimately the creation of a welfare state. In her early work she focussed heavily on anti-poverty initiatives, first in her position of Chief of Staff for the Public Welfare Board in Ottawa (1936) where she developed a structural social work approach to relief provision and later at the Welfare Council of Toronto (1939–1947) where she co-ordinated the production of the cost-of-living booklet. During the 1940s her career became tightly linked with the formation of the welfare state in Canada, as a consultant on the Marsh Committee on Social Reconstruction for Canada, as a mediator between the leaders in ideas (such as Marsh and Cassidy) and existing social agencies, and as a leader in translating the ideas and new legislation into action. Her work was from the ground up and was not always visible in the public eye or in the resulting historical record. Through studying agency archives, her contribution can clearly be seen in her ubiquitous presence on commissions, committees, conferences, coalitions, reports and in keynote addresses. While Touzel was active in the field of children and families with respect to child welfare and held progressive views on immigrants and newcomers her chosen area throughout her career was poverty and the welfare state.

Touzel’s formal career extended for forty years but her identity as a social worker was lifelong. While her early career was characterized by bold anti-poverty initiatives and overt resistance when her position was contested, later she solidified an approach that I have called strategic pragmatism. In this she was still guided by radical ideas, but she adopted a method of supporting incremental changes in the broadly desired direction of change. In this way she was able to mobilize reforms that connected with prevailing political currents and social issues that were under popular scrutiny. An example of this is her work regarding children’s institutions in the
1950s when she promoted the standardization of programs. This coincided with the agenda of the Province, but at the same time she continued her anti-poverty advocacy and highlighted how poverty interferes with good parenting. Touzel’s pragmatic participation in mainstream politics blurs her radical identity because within such actions her guiding ideology becomes less visible. However her longevity as a professional social worker is unique among the four figures in this study and perhaps a testament to her political intelligence.

Touzel was active in promoting the professionalization of social work, working to establish a politicized identity. Don’t take the “social” out of social work was key to her philosophy of a profession which participated in the broader social dimensions, took a public stand on issues of social importance while simultaneously providing particularized assistance. Consistent with her deep respect for the democratic principle of participation, she insisted on consulting those most affected by plans and emphasized, that this principle was as important in community organizing and policy planning as in individual and group clinical work. Touzel was a very political person as her lifetime membership in the CPC demonstrated and this structural awareness of the macro perspective percolated her practice. Touzel supported universal rights including the rights of women but mobilized her energy for all of humanity rather than focussing exclusively on women.

### 7.1.2.2 Margaret Gould: A Passion for Justice

While Gould began her social work career with immigration reception services at the port of entry in New York, she did not remain long in this position and quickly moved into radical activism and labor unionism. Like Touzel, she engaged in anti-poverty cost-of-living research which became part of the labour movement for wage equity and social minima. In her executive position at the Child Welfare Council, child and family welfare was her central focus but broad social policy issues and political advocacy characterised her work. Consistent with a socialist feminist approach to women’s issues, she advocated for improved maternal health particularly physician involvement in childbirth and for children’s rights more generally.

Gould was actively involved but in the field of poverty and the welfare state throughout her career but in a different way from Touzel. Gould was a member of the Communist Party, the labour movement and the League for Social Reconstruction throughout the 1930s, which meant that she too participated in the debates led by social work actors such as Cassidy and Marsh. In
1935, her international trip to the Soviet Union, Scandinavia, Britain and Europe accompanied by three social work colleagues, was a bold statement of her commitment to progressive politics and her desire for changes in Canada in line with what was occurring in countries with more developed welfare systems. Public education and advocacy became her primary method in this field of practice when she began employment as an editorial journalist. Gould said that sometimes a newspaper can start a social movement but that more commonly it supported existing agencies in their social reform work. She noted that men and women who were admired as public reform agents such as Charles Dickens, Lincoln Steffens, John Ruskin, Octavia Hill and Jane Addams all worked through the press. In Canadian welfare history the name Margaret Gould could be added to a list of public reform agents who worked through the press to bring about a welfare state.

In her capacity as an editorial writer, Gould became a social critic advocating for social protection legislation and the public provision of services, using the media as a tool to disseminate her vision of social justice. Gould specialized in social protection and social welfare topics covering a wide gamut of topics from local, provincial and national standpoints. As new legislation was debated and then introduced, she would unpack the implications providing a clear left-wing critique using concrete examples and narrative accounts so the reading public could appreciate the relevance and practical advantages of these new measures. Through her socialist journalism she provided a counterpoint to the oppositional discourses which elaborated cost, unaffordability and a challenge to the freedom of the employee to spend as she chose. The debate around Family Allowances in 1944 found both Gould and Whitton in opposition to one another, each writing a substantial tract in a series called Canada Must Choose, which debated the value of family allowances and universal benefits (Gould 1945; Silcox 1945; Whitton 1945).

As a member of the Canadian Association of Social Workers, Gould advocated for the social work profession to become more politicized and to move into public education as a venue for raising public awareness and understanding. Her unusual combination of action-based and visionary approach to social work set her apart from her peers and although she had support for her ideas, once she resigned from the CASW, its members were unable to continue her initiatives in her absence. Gould supported a universal rights based approach to the welfare state and this is reflected in all her editorial writing. She was a strong rights based supporter of women and women’s issues.
Gould followed a dual career path, first in social work direct practice at the Child Welfare Council but subsequently as an editorial journalist. Her path in radical politics was established when she was young during her youthful exposure to the socialist ideas of Isaac Matenko and the Jewish radical school system. This became a pivotal part of her adult identity. In her work as an editorial journalist she fine-tuned her political views and her passion for raising public awareness into a role as a public intellectual whereby she unpacked and popularised progressive legislative change. This latter part of her career was directly connected to her social work beginnings as she continued to network with social workers and worked collaboratively with them on the same agenda of social reform.

7.1.3 Interpersonal and Institutional Social Work Networks

In this study four social work lives were considered in conjunction with one another and this foregrounded the importance of interpersonal relationships in social work history. It became increasingly evident that a web of networked relationships animated the field of social work practice and contributed to a developing social work knowledge base that was intellectual and applied. These networks operated in local, national and transnational spheres and hosted connections that crossed differences in values, education, social location and place. Personal travelling, personal consultation, academic scholarship, conferences, public lectures, journals, newspapers and clubs, social service institutions and individual actors were all vehicles in creating and maintaining these networks. These networks operated between institutions and among personal actors as well as between actors and institutions. This connectivity which was established through multiple interactions endured beyond the particular history of an agency or actor.

Social service provision in Canada has been constitutionally designated as a local and provincial responsibility and as a result local initiatives such as the formation of the WEC have characterized the early history of social work. However my research shows that these apparently unrelated local initiatives did not occur in isolation and were instead part of a complex constellation of wider social events, institutional change and personal agency. In the case of the creation of the WEC, it could be viewed as the narrative of two young women who decided to set up a crèche to provide childcare services for newcomer women. In the life of Arnoldi it could be represented as an initiative that she co-created and nurtured with the help of the WEC club of
women whom she assembled to launch and maintain the program. A wider lens however reveals that there was a network of crèche creation occurring in Toronto at that time which in turn was part of an international European and British crèche network (Chambon, Johnstone, and Winckler 2011). Similarly in the development of the professional program at the crèche, it was Arnoldi who wanted a model crèche that would train child educators for Canada but the ideas she mobilized were already circulating in academic institutions, were present in internationally located model agencies and were being debated in conferences and published in books. Arnoldi networked locally with the University of Toronto and became an early participant in field placement education for social workers and nursery school teachers. She travelled internationally and visited innovative childcare programs which became models for the changes she instituted at the WEC. From her position as a voluntary social worker and member of a social service agency, Arnoldi was able to cross boundaries between professional and voluntary, academic and community-based, secular and faith-based, private and public by using multiple existing social work networks and creating new connections of her own. Networking among women was important to retain feminist ideas and initiatives as their numbers in leadership positions was small compared to men. Women networked across ideological differences, united in a shared feminist agenda. These connections were sometimes between two institutions and sometimes between institutions and actors and sometimes between two actors. Thus, a much wider horizon is needed to make sense of social work practice and transformations. Intellectual, cultural as well as socioeconomic history and a wider canvas that encompasses transnational influences which are already in the early history of social work need to be examined and considered in relation to one another.

7.1.3.1 Personal Networks

Whitton also participated actively in the web of social work connections that existed. But my research shows that Whitton also became a strategic creator of networks and throughout her career she cultivated and expanded an interpersonal web of social work relationships. Whitton had a personal network of like-minded women professional associates which is very apparent in the Whitton Papers and the CCSD Fonds. She cultivated female connections among social workers who shared a protestant and moderate or conservative political ideology. She frequently hosted gatherings at her cottage on Lake MacGregor, where invitations were issued to select female social workers. She diligently maintained contact through the use of short notes which
offered support or recognized work done by favoured friends and religiously sent out greeting cards, thank you cards and brief notes. It was women from this circle of friends and colleagues, who were appointed to senior positions in the Canadian Welfare Council and were able to access influential senior positions in other agencies on the recommendation of Whitton. Some of the women who were in Whitton’s circle of friends were members of the IODE but this was a broader gathering of like-minded women. Early in my study I deliberately sought material on Whitton which reflected her affinity with imperialism and her social relationships did not appear relevant to the study. However, in this latter stage of reflection on patterns common to all or subsets of the figures under study this aspect of her relationships becomes quite relevant.

A similar informal network of female socialist social workers also existed during these early years of the profession. Some met in the Department of Social Service at the University of Toronto and others met at shared workplaces. Touzel and Gould were members of this group along with a number of other women. These women were all in support of a universal rights based welfare state and wanted to see the profession of social work develop with a politicized structural identity. Some were members of the communist party openly or clandestinely and these women were multi faith based in their beliefs as well as atheist and agnostic. They met socially and had collegial working relationships which surface in the archival record in the form of letters and shared committee membership. A striking example of their shared activities was in 1936 when three members of this group set off on an international tour to investigate varying approaches to welfare provision in key countries. This was led by Margaret Gould, who was accompanied by Dora Wilensky and Kay Gorrie who were friends and social work colleagues but who also shared feminist socialist political views with Gould.

These personal friendship groups which clustered around ideological commonality are visible in the social work landscape of the first half of the twentieth century. They form a part of a much larger web of interpersonal relationships and social work networks that were often influenced by political convictions. These political affiliations spanned local, national and international boundaries and which served as a crossroads between institutional actors and personal actors. While the social actors studied here were aware of these contrasting positions and approaches nevertheless they worked side by side sometimes in the same organization. This was not always without disagreement however as the example of Touzel working under the direction of Whitton testifies. Touzel chose to change her place of work rather than compromise her values.
The history of social work has looked at either institutional history or biographical history largely in isolation from one another as two separate lines of development. However this study suggests that these historical events are intertwined and that examining these elements in tandem illuminates connections and relationships that are formative and might otherwise be invisible.

7.1.4 Institutions and Personal Agency: The Idea of Stewardship

This study offers insight into the relationships between institutions and personal agency. Whitton’s career biography offers an interesting case study of the interplay between these factors. Whitton devoted twenty working years to forming and building the Canadian Welfare Council into a national agency of considerable stature. She began as the sole staff member on a voluntary basis for the first six years and later assumed the position of paid Executive Director. Over time she broadened the mandate of the agency from child welfare to general welfare renaming the organization the Canada Welfare Council. Her personal and professional identities were entwined and she regarded the Council as her creation. When her contestation of values and mission with the Board erupted, she resigned in the belief that they would not accept her resignation and furthermore that the agency could not exist in her absence. In fact, she underestimated the importance and social significance of the agency which she had contributed so much to. The Board happily accepted her resignation and the agency continued to flourish without her. Whitton’s role at the agency was one of stewardship. Even though she had contributed twenty hardworking years to building up the organization, she was not in fact the sole creator of that institution. Not only was there a committee-based decision of its founding but the agency flourished because it successfully meshed with the dominant social needs of the time and so accessed community support. A successful institution/agency is bigger than a person and will only continue to flourish if it is addressing viable community needs. It is not possible for an individual actor to own such a social configuration. Even though Whitton poured her life and soul into the agency, this was an institution which was a product of the times and reflected the national need for a co-ordinating body to monitor and evaluate social service delivery across the country. Whitton seems to have mistaken her individual role as one of ownership and believed that without her it would not continue, whereas the institutional importance of the organization guaranteed its continuance.
This study shows that personal agency is an important factor in social change and an individual can “make a difference” and yet at the same time agencies and organizations are also powerful vehicles of change and represent a collective social will. In addition, individual actors and institutional actors are part of a wider social and political context which will inevitably also be part of the resulting mix of person and institution. The interrelationships are complex and not always visible and sometimes include the co-operation of “unlikely bedfellows.” This study supports the existence of a complex web of informal relationships in the social work field that weave personal actors and institutions into coalitions and action agendas that span local, national and international boundaries. This interpersonal part of social work history has not been widely studied and troubles the centrality of institutions and also troubles the centrality of ideology.

7.1.5 Social Work and the Formation of the Welfare State in Canada

This study found two aspects to the role of social work and the creation of the welfare state in Canada. First, in studying the biography and work of Joan Arnoldi the pre-welfare role of philanthropy in setting the stage for a welfare state was suggested. Second, the work of the two socialist social workers, Bessie Touzel and Margaret Gould pointed to a direct participation in the creation and in the implementation of the welfare state and raises the question of the role of left leaning social workers in Canada’s social welfare history. I will discuss each of these points in turn.

Reviewing public social work careers in the field of welfare raises the question of whether the welfare state emerged from the top down or from the bottom up. The top down view of the creation of the welfare state in Canada is understood in terms of visionary political leaders or political parties who introduced a welfare state. This is seen as a political response to economic and cultural conditions emanating from the Great Depression, the two world wars and the growing dissatisfaction with widespread unemployment and unacceptable labour conditions. Intellectual credit is given to figures such as Beveridge, Marsh, and Cassidy and to social movements such as Fabianism, the League for Social Reconstruction and to labour movements such as the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and the political party of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (Finkel 1979). These explanations elide the history of women in the pre-welfare years, women who advocated for child welfare reform, for the reduction of maternal
and infant mortality, the end of child labour, the institution of a minimum wage, for improved workplace conditions, and for benefits and programs to support women who were raising families alone including for daycare. Social workers were in the vanguard of this groundwork for the welfare state. A bottom up view of state formation examines the role of such groundswell activity which often occurred on a local level rather than nationally or even provincially and so is easily omitted as an explanatory factor of national change. Conversely, my findings also show that some of these figures were active at both local and national levels, making them formidable social actors. Documenting the careers of four early social workers amply illustrates the role these women took in setting the stage for change and reform. They were a significant part of the groundswell which moved public opinion towards the need for state involvement.

The history of charities and philanthropic social service provision is similarly divorced from a history of the welfare state. This woman-based movement is traditionally seen as a service which is restricted to responding only to pressing needs, steeped in the poor law thinking of pre-welfare state provision of services, where benefits are dispensed locally, funded by charity and delivered through the volunteer labour of charity workers. In contrast, the welfare state is seen as built on assumptions of universal human rights with universal coverage which is dispensed through a mix of federal legislation and provincial administration by paid professionals, with a complete set of programs to provide benefits for all. However, considering the histories of women such as Arnoldi, it can be seen that female volunteerism, advocacy for new social policies such as improved health services and childcare provision, and the graduated government involvement began well before the beginning welfare state of the 1940s. The efforts of women volunteers at the WEC required more funding than could be gleaned from local Toronto philanthropic sources and they sought additional funding from the municipal government, which was available in the form of grants (Johnstone, Chambon, and Lightman In press). The process of petitioning municipal government officials for funding to help programs for women, children and newcomers, connected government recognition with numerous women-led welfare programs such as the WEC, created and staffed by the voluntary unpaid labor force provided by women such as Arnoldi. A new generation of professional women, who had increased rights with suffrage and access to education entered the agencies that had been created by volunteers. This required even greater funding and when macro events such as the two world wars and the Great
Depression occurred the funding sources expanded from the municipal to the provincial and national levels.

7.1.5.1 State Formation from the Ground Up: Left-Leaning Social Workers and the Welfare State

Left-leaning social workers were inspired by a vision of a different world in which social justice, equality and wealth were the social foundations of the state, and they channeled their energy into contributing towards this dream. Touzel and a handful of other left-wing social workers were fired up to promote social change as an approach to the social problems that they tackled. Touzel was actively involved in all the phases of the formation of the welfare state in Canada – envisioning, planning, legislat ing and implementing – and yet this participation is not widely reported in welfare history.

Gould was also actively involved but in a different way from Touzel. Gould actively participated in the intellectual “think tanks” such as the League for Social Reconstruction as well the Communist Party and the labour movement. She was active in trade unionism and labour activism and subsequently led social activist initiatives during her employment with the Child Welfare Council. Journalism became a vehicle for resistance and public education even before she became a full-time editorial journalist. Play acting, public exhibitions, radio shows were all part of her toolkit.

Gould became a social critic advocating for social protection legislation and the public provision of services, using the media as a tool to disseminate her vision of social justice. Through this medium she provided a counterpoint to oppositional discourses which warned about cost, unaffordability and public taxation as a challenge to freedom.

While the lives of Gould and Touzel are but a small selection from the number of social workers who were active during these years, it is evident from their work histories that social workers were significantly involved in the groundwork which became the foundation for the welfare state. Once the legislation was introduced their involvement continued into the implementation phase and much of the important work in establishing the administrative and bureaucratic scaffolding to support the new initiatives depended on the social work networks, existing agencies which had been established through volunteer labour and initiative, and the experience
of the generation of new professional social workers such as Touzel who had been active in this work.

7.1.6 Social Work and Imperialism

The theoretical lens of postcolonialism and imperialism were helpful tools to trace the path of British imperial ideas in early Canadian social work. The influence of the more left-leaning, progressive socialist stream of ideas on social reform, the settlement house movement emanating from Toynbee Hall with the leading work of figures such as Charles Booth and his study of poverty are more fully documented. However, the darker side of imperial thinking which includes “othering” and eugenic ideas have not been examined as fully. More than simply conservative these ideas were linked to the global politics of the day. The national Canadian imperial woman’s club, IODE, make the connection between these ideas and social work come more clearly into view. British Anglo-Protestant hegemony was central to many of the practices which developed and were largely practiced in the field of immigration and newcomers. Practices such as assessment, screening, profiling and data collection through surveys were used for gatekeeping and to influence immigration patterns. In the IODE a great deal of energy was expended refining these practices and exploring strategies to influence significant political actors. Programs to hasten assimilation, Canadianization and to ensure the dominance of the English language were uppermost in all their newcomer support programs. Screening was a specialized social work practice which was employed to distinguish the suitable from the unsuitable and was developed for immigration work as well as for distinguishing the deserving poor from the undeserving poor in welfare work. These practices were all intended to benefit the wider community. Imperial social work was focussed on “helping” the community or the nation rather than the individual client. The outcome of these practices was othering as those who were identified and excluded through such screening were socially labelled and stigmatised.

More insidiously, the undercurrent of this work was the belief that British Civilization represented the most advanced point of development that mankind had ever reached and so it was unquestionable that, in the best interests of every person they be assisted to reach this pinnacle. This belief made Anglo-Protestant conformity common sense. When I was researched the Whitton files I was astonished that she would file and keep records of her unethical behavior passing uncorroborated material to the Minister of Immigration. However on reflection I realized
that she probably felt that what she was doing was in the service of Canada as she was assisting the imperial agenda. She perhaps even thought that some day these files would be seen as evidence of her commitment to the nation. Her racist and anti-Semitic beliefs were very much a part of her practice and a part of the field of social work and of mainstream society at that time.

I believe that traces of this legacy continue today. Welfare services and immigration services continue to use screening and gatekeeping measures as a central part of their practice. The “othering” practices which were evident at the beginning of the twentieth century persist with a new constellations of actors. Current radicalism in social work has focused on othering as an urgent problem but appears to be less concerned about the economic threats to the welfare system. In the period under study in this dissertation (1900–1950) the focus was inverted with radical social workers putting all their energy into social reconstruction and the establishment of a welfare state. Those social workers were committed to universal equal rights and they did not focus their energy on the specific needs of particular marginalized subgroups. However the target population for radical social workers was the poor and the marginalised. They were very concerned about the equal distribution of wealth, the elimination of poverty and improving the quality of life for the poor and the working poor. This was at the heart of their advocacy for a welfare state.

7.2 Reflections on Study Findings: Expectations, Assumptions, and Surprises

In this section I will consider my study findings in light of my research objectives, implied expectations and assumptions at the outset of this study. The initial thrust of this study was to explore the scope of contrasting ideologies in early social work history using the polarised dimensions of socialist thought and imperial thought as predicted sites of contestation. I decided to use a dual approach of public or professional biography in combination with a study of institutional practice as a method and hoped that documenting public lives, social work practice and key ideas would reveal what conditions, organizations and practices shaped and positioned social work as a profession, in its formative years. I will discuss the outcomes of three expectations I began with when I embarked on this study.

First, I expected that the women would be clustered in personal alliances and in agencies based on their values and that there would be limited contact between the contradictory ideologies. The
findings of the study show that this is in part true but it is not the whole story. There were informal social friendship rings which were based on common political affiliations and which were probably influential in the field as these women actively networked and shared knowledges within their groups. In the case of Whitton, she promoted the careers of women in her circle. But this is a simplification. These women knew one another, on occasion worked in the same agencies, and worked jointly on committees; they also met at conferences and in the public sphere. Most were members of the CASW and it is in this organization that the debate is most evident. Diverging opinions characterize the discussions and polarized values act as a foil for debating the purpose and methods of the fledgling profession. By looking at an individual life such as that of Joan Arnoldi it became clear that categories such as professional and voluntary are not discrete and separate but rather are fields of practice which are open to negotiation and overlap. I assumed that voluntary social work and paid professional social work would operate in separate streams but the study revealed that the reality was much more complex and voluntary social workers remained in leadership roles employing the new generation of professional social workers as they graduated. The public and private demarcation is also intertwined and difficult to distinguish as these intersect in people’s lives. Second wave feminism explored the intersection of the personal and the political and challenged the separation of the public and the private which permeates western theory. Thus the hidden worlds of my sample of women is to be expected as their activism was viewed as part of their domestic field of action. However their lives were doubly informed by both the personal and the political and their social activism was embedded in the political sphere. This study has revealed the inter-relationship between the personal and the public political lives of women.

Second, I expected a scattered participation in the arenas of practice which I identified for analysis. As social work is a discipline in applied knowledge I wanted to penetrate beyond ideas into the domain of practice and explore how these variables interacted. I was surprised to find a striking demarcation in the results. There was no material found at all which connected Arnoldi ideologically to the creation of a welfare state even though I argue that paradoxically her work at the WEC actually became part of the of the foundation for the welfare state. Whitton’s involvement was as an oppositional critic and she was quite vocal in this role. The practice focus for both these women was clearly immigration and newcomer adjustment. Whitton appears to be a more complicated person than Arnoldi (there is a great deal more material available on her),
with a more complex analysis of issues and so her contradictions show more clearly. It was clear that the target population to be helped by these imperial women was the wider society. They did not concern themselves with individual advocacy or with the plight of those that were “screened out.” In contrast, the two radical social workers were focused on poverty and the creation of a welfare state and had almost no involvement in immigration and newcomers. These social workers were passionate about the impact of social problems on the poor and the dispossessed and their tireless advocacy for social change was for the benefit of this population. All of the women were involved in the field of families and children but for very differently motivated reasons which resulted in significant practice differences. The mixed heritage of social work history was apparent as the range of imperialist thinking as well as a similar spectrum of socialist ideas were both present in the early days of the profession.

Third, I expected the study to be largely biographical and I was interested in considering the history of social work and individual agency. However with the exception of Whitton, I had to investigate institutional archives to discover the personal histories of the figures I was interested in. In this process I discovered a complex world of personal and institutional connections and the separation between individual and institutional actors was not always clear. Methodologically, the public biographical material concerning women leaders is often to be found in institutional records and the biography is entwined with the history of the institution. Many other names kept reappearing in the record whetting my curiosity further about the interpersonal history of social work and also about the relationship of individual actors and institutions.

The biggest surprise was discovering the depth of the involvement of female social workers in the creation and implementation of the welfare state and the ideas on which it is based. I had always understood it as a top down masculine phenomenon with important players such as Beveridge, Marsh, and Cassidy filtering the ideas and translating them into legislative initiatives. I was surprised to discover the depth of Touzel’s involvement in every stage of the process. Similarly I was surprised to discover that Gould became a public intellectual who used socialist social work ideas as the backbone of her editorial career.
7.2.1 The Relevance and Limitations of the Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The original theoretical design for the study was to apply a feminist historical approach, a postcolonial perspective and a Foucauldian history-of-the-present method to the early history of Canadian Social Work. The feminist restorative goal of documenting the lives of some key women who contributed to the formation of Ontario social work, but have been largely forgotten was part of the objective. It was hoped that a post-structuralist approach would show that not only were there multiple philosophical strands in the formative years of the social work profession, but there were hotly contested differences and debates. Most historical studies focus on either biography or organizations but this study attempted to do both which presented challenges in the conduct of the study.

My principal methodology was historical archival research and as my primary interest was institutional biography my main source of data was the agency archives where these women worked. When I began my data collection only Charlotte Whitton had personal fonds available but I later located a Margaret Gould Fonds at the Reference Library in Toronto and Arnoldi Family Fonds at Library and Archives Canada. Kadar (2001) has noted that before the 1970s, many documents associated with women were not saved by family members or were not considered important to archivists who vetoed the acceptance of material for archiving. In addition she noted that the texts of childless women without direct heirs were at a higher risk of being lost, as it is often the children who assume the role of family archivist and retain personal papers. All of the four women I chose for study were childless. Nevertheless there was an abundance of agency archival material available which required time consuming sifting and sorting and subsequent piecing together to create a coherent narrative of the career path of each figure. The limitation in archival work is always the availability of data as there may be silences and gaps in the record which sometimes can be filled through a complementary source but may remain unknown.

Organizationally I decided to devote a chapter to each figure and to divide the chapter into an initial biographical narrative which included a summary of the career path and then an analytic section which addressed firstly the practice field of social work and then the key ideas and practice orientation. I used this framework as a blueprint and wrote each chapter with identical
headings. When writing up my archival data into a narrative I found this framework to be functional as it assisted me to organize my material and provided me with a ready-made comparison between the figures. This juxtaposition of biography and the field of practice provided a useful platform for the initial analysis of the findings.

The study mobilized a feminist historical restorative approach throughout and this was a sensitive tool for documenting women’s lives. Foucault’s approach to the close empirical examination of practices was used as an analytic tool and this effectively facilitated considering the practice of each woman. It was this focus on practice which produced the most significant findings as this distinguished the major differences between the two groups of women. Discourse analysis is very effective when considering implicit and sub-textual regimes of truth but this study had an abundance of overtly stated and manifest examples of the ideological positioning of the figures so discourse analysis was not employed. The material drawn on was largely from archival sources and a post-structural appreciation of multiplicity, contradiction and an adherence to considering the archival evidence independently from traditional historical categories were followed. A postcolonial theoretical framework was a useful guide to considering imperial social workers and the significance of an organization such as the IODE.

Data analysis was completed by using an inductive approach which produced multiple concepts and dimensions which were loosely organized within the framework already described. However this framework did not in itself define the relations between the dimensions or account for the multiplicity of meanings and possible interpretations of the findings. The analytical challenge was to account for the multiplicity of meanings and possible interpretations in a manner which would reflect the findings under consideration. The theories which informed the study in conjunction with the organization of the findings into a biographical narrative followed by an examination of subfields of practice were used to deduct meaningful patterns and trends. These conclusions were then considered in the context of what is already known about the history of social work and the wider social and political history of the time period under study.

Study limitations are attached to the exploratory nature of the study; a small sample of four women was used which is not in itself representative of all social workers; and purposive sampling which was both its limitation and also its strength. However, there were more socialist left-leaning social workers such as Kay Gorrie, Dora Wilensky, Frieda Held, Dorothy Livesay,
Mary Jennissen and more ‘imperial’ affiliated social workers such as Ethel Parker Dodds, Margaret Grier and Dorothy King. However I was able, I believe to document and discuss commonalities and differences in positions and strategies with the sample I selected. The findings in this study are intended to provide a frame of reference for further research and to provoke a reconsideration of social work history as a more complex set of circumstances, multiple agency, and contradiction than has traditionally been depicted.

7.3 Implications for Social Work

The findings from this study are of importance in three social work domains; in the history of social work in Ontario, in social work education and in the practice of activism, advocacy and community work. I will address each of these domains in turn.

It is expected that this study will contribute substantively to social work historical scholarship and to feminist history of the service professions by providing documentation of the social work lives of three early female figures, Arnoldi, Touzel and Gould who were little known and some new material on a social worker Whitton about whom much has been written. It is hoped that this will contribute towards equalizing the voices of women with the voices of men in the history of social work. The study enhanced understanding of radical social work in the welfare state era which is a largely neglected area of research. In addition the study opened up the topic of imperialism and social work which has not been looked at historically until now. This remains very relevant today as we examine the continuing effects of Canada’s white settler heritage. The IODE has not been looked at within social work history even though many of its activities overlap with those that occurred in social reform clubs of the period which have been studied. The absence or silence around the IODE in social work has precluded asking some of the questions I have raised. In order to broaden the scope of social work it was essential to look at the actual practices and discourses that were taking place in a wider variety of social work institutions. The employment of a comparative approach between the figures and the dual mobilization of biography and historical institutionalism facilitated additional insights into the nature of change and the relative importance of collective and individual action.

There is currently a paucity of social work history in social work education and a lack of awareness of social workers of the history of their profession. There is a need to reconsider the history as a more complex set of circumstances, multiple agency, and contestation (Johnstone
This thesis contributes to social work history by providing accounts of divergent views and by providing a fresh examination of historical occurrences and personalities through a feminist and postcolonial lens. The public lives and ideas of some little known and unknown early female social work pioneers have been documented, considered and compared. This is material that is valuable for social work pedagogy and could sustain debate and discussion if inserted into the standard curricula. A full historical course would be a valuable addition to the mandatory curriculum and as well it can be presented contextually with existing curriculums in all areas of study. By examining some of the divergent, contested and uncontested ideas and practices that permeated early Canadian social work, it becomes evident that there was a correlation between values and chosen fields of practice and this has pedagogical implications.

The question of the fundamental role of the profession whether it should be rooted in political/social advocacy, public education and awareness raising or it should be concerned about standardization of practice interventions and individual clinical ways of helping people is a debate that raged throughout the first century of the profession and arguably continues. In the years between 1940–1960 (and the ideas were percolating with the Great Depression as my study shows) there was a flowering of socialist ideas in the wider social sphere leading to the establishment of the welfare state in Canada. These were also years when socialist social workers in Canada formed part of the significant agitation for change which came from the ground up. This created a climate in which there was state-based resistance which resulted in the oppression of left wing social workers (1947–1970). In light of our present economic climate of retrenchment and cutbacks considering our shared social work history of resistance and advocacy seems timely. It is hoped that this study of the past will offer some illumination of the present and the findings from this study could form part of a discussion of activism, advocacy and community involvement in social work for the present times and for the future.

7.4 What’s Next? Questions for Future Research

This study set out to document the lives of some early female social work figures who have been largely forgotten and to explore the diverging strands of debate and contestation in the formative years of the profession. As this was an exploratory study, limited in sample and location, it was not expected that it would provide definitive answers to the guiding questions. Further research of other social work figures who appeared frequently in the archives could enrich and
substantiate my findings and this could be expanded even further by similar archival studies in other Canadian locations to discern regional differences or similarities.

In the course of this research there were a number of specific questions which were outside the scope of the present work that pointed to areas for further exploration. It is often claimed that social work has no intellectual history as it is a practice field of applied knowledge with no theoretical roots. However in my research I became curious about this claim and I think that further research on this topic is warranted. Gould became a social work public intellectual and she built on the work of other social work scholars in economics, social welfare, capitalism and democracy and socialism. Applied knowledge in the professions has a history and this has not been well researched. Further study could illuminate the relationship between theory and practice.

In the course of my study I was surprised to discover that the IODE was not only an ideological organisation but its members were significant actors in social service delivery particularly in the area of immigration. Their conservative views infused their approach to the work and I became curious to do a comparative study with the settlement movement which was operating at the same time and is putatively more progressively radical in its approach. A comparison of the two service providers would be instructive to establish commonality and difference. In turn this could be traced to present immigration services and to current approaches and policies to better understand the ideological roots of practice.

Political activism and advocacy have been a contested role for social work since its beginning. As noted in the introductory chapter of this study, a left-leaning radical/activist stream of social work activity has always been present in social work and has served as a spur to discussion and debate even if it has never been accepted as an official position. A detailed study of the shift which occurred after the period boundaries of this study is warranted and this could contribute to a better understanding of possible future directions for radicalism and activism in social work.

I hope that this thesis has opened up new questions and approaches for the history of social work and has shown within the scope of the study the importance and relevance of a critical historiography in social work. This thesis is in the new trend of scholarship that aims to re-discover, rewrite, rethink the multiple strands of the past and their influence on the present and perhaps the future.
References


Chilton, Lisa. 2007. *Agents of Empire: British Female Migration to Canada and Australia, 1860s–1930*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.


Williams, Raymond. 1983. Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society. New York: Oxford University Press.


Appendices
Appendix A

Contact Email for Key Informant Interviews

Key Informant: Telephone/Email script for recruiting potential study participants

Dear [ name of the potential study participant]:

I am Marjorie Johnstone, a PhD candidate at the University of Toronto Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work. My doctoral research is entitled “Diverging and contested feminisms in early Ontario social work.” The purpose of my study is to examine the public social work lives of four early social work pioneers (Joan Arnoldi, Charlotte Whitton, Margaret Gould & Bessie Touzel) and the social service agencies in which they worked. From this I will map out some of the debates and contested ideas that animated early social work in Ontario, Canada.

This study is primarily historical archival work. However, I wish to also interview key informants who knew one or more of the women under study. I have identified three main ways in which they might have known the women: as family members, as work colleagues, or as academic scholars who might have interviewed or otherwise known the person(s). In one of these capacities, you are invited to share your memories and thoughts about this person(s) with the interviewer. The interview would take from 45 minutes to 2 hours. Participation in the study is completely voluntary. If you agree to participate in the study, we will meet for an interview, at a place and time convenient to you.

There is no financial, in-kind, or any other compensation for your participation in this study. If you wish the material you provide to be recognized I will acknowledge you in the recording, and if you prefer to be rendered anonymous through identification in one of the three categories of participant interviewees, then that is also an option.

If you are interested in this study or if you need additional information, please contact me (Marjorie Johnstone) at 905-436-1632 or email: marjorie.johnstone@utoronto.ca
Appendix B

Letter of Information for Key Informant Interview

Key Informant: A Letter of information

University of Toronto Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work
Title: Contested Feminisms in early Ontario Social Work.

Principal Investigator: Marjorie Johnstone, M.Ed, MSW, PhD Candidate
Thesis Supervisor: Dr. Adrienne Chambon, MSW, PhD

Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work
University of Toronto
Tel: (416) 795-3004
E-mail: marjorie.johnstone@utoronto.ca

Purpose of the Study
My name is Marjorie Johnstone and I am a doctoral student at the Factor-Inwentash Faculty of Social Work, University of Toronto. I would like to invite you to participate in my doctoral research study entitled **Contested Feminisms in early Ontario Social Work**. The overall purpose of this study is to find out more about early social work in Ontario, in particular to look at diverging and contested ideas which became part of the weave of social work as it formed and reformed. I am using the public lives of selected early women social workers and their associated agencies to examine closely the circulation and application of ideas. The women I have chosen are Joan Arnoldi, Charlotte Whitton, Margaret Gould and Bessie Touzel.

Participation
You are invited to participate in an interview to discuss your knowledge with regard to one or more of these early women social workers whom you have known or have written about. The interview would take about 1-2 hours of your time. We can arrange a meeting time and place at your convenience to discuss these issues. If you agree, the interview will be audio-taped, but if you prefer not to be audio-recorded, I will be taking notes during the interview.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Even if you agree to take part in the study, you have the right to withdraw from the study at any point: prior to the interview, during the interview, or after the interview. Your decision not to participate or to withdraw from the study will carry no negative consequences. You may skip any question that you do not wish to answer and you may end your participation at any time.

Confidentiality
You can choose whether or not you want recognition for your interview responses. Your name will be attached to any material you provide which is used in my dissertation. Alternatively, if you wish, you can be rendered anonymous within one of the three categories of persons I am interviewing. Namely, relatives of the early social worker, work colleagues of the early social worker or academic scholars who interviewed or met with the early social worker. Your responses and interview notes will be kept on the principal investigator’s (Marjorie Johnstone) computer at her home office and notes and consent forms in a locked cabinet.

If you choose to withdraw from the study, at any time, all data gathered about you will be immediately destroyed (electronic files will be permanently deleted, hard copies of consent forms will be shredded, and audio recordings will be deleted).

Potential Risks and Benefits
Participating in this research poses no risk to your well being. Please remember that you may end your participation at any time and you have the choice of recognition or anonymity in any publication of the material you provide to the researcher.
There is no financial, in-kind, or any other compensation for your participation in this study. The benefits of the study are further illuminating the roles played by the subjects selected for this study in the early development of social work in Ontario. In addition this study will increase our understanding of the contribution of women to the formative stage of social work, which is yet to be fully documented. For family members it might serve as a source of pride in their past family members and perhaps increase the family’s knowledge of this person.

**Additional Information**

Upon completion a copy of the PhD dissertation will be stored in the library of the University of Toronto. If you have any questions about this study please ask the principal investigator, Marjorie Johnstone, at (905) 436-1632 or e-mail her at marjorie.johnstone@utoronto.ca.

If you wish to discuss your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office of Research Ethics at ethics.review@utoronto.ca or (416) 946-3273.
Appendix C

Consent Form for Key Informant Interviews

Key Informant: Consent Form

**Informed Consent for Participation by Key Informants**

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read and understood the Letter of Information. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research, which were answered to my satisfaction. Any risks or benefits that might arise out of my participation have also been explained to my satisfaction. I understand that I can see a copy of the transcript of our conversation once it is completed.

I understand that participation in this study is completely voluntary. I understand that I may refuse to answer any questions, stop the interview at any time, or withdraw from the study without any consequences. I understand that I can choose whether or not to have my responses recognized or rendered anonymous in identification of a category of interviewee, namely, relative, work colleague or academic scholar.

**Please check the appropriate boxes:**

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<th>Option</th>
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<tr>
<td>I consent that my name can be mentioned/referred to in any material communicating study results to the public (e.g. thesis, publications, and presentations)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to remain anonymous in any material communicating study results to the public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not mind if the name of my organization is used in any material communicating study results to the public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I consent to be audio-taped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I prefer not to be audio-taped</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I would like to see a copy of the transcript</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participant’s Name:

Participant’s Signature:

Date and Place:

I confirm that I explained the purpose of the nature of this study and have answered the questions of research participants before they consent to participate.

Name of the investigator Signature Date

**Communication of Study Findings**

Study findings will be used for publications and presentations to different audiences. As a study participant you will be welcome to attend or read any of these. You may also obtain a summary of the findings from the principal investigator or her thesis supervisor using the contact information provided above.
Appendix D

Interview Guide for Key Informant Interview

Key Informant: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Introduction:

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<td>Time:</td>
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<td>Length of interview:</td>
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<td>Name of interviewee:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Category of interviewee:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name of interviewer:</td>
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Semi structured interview questions:

A. Relatives of social worker
   1. What is your relationship to [selected social worker]?
   2. What do you remember about her?
   3. Are there family stories about her that you know?
   4. How much about her public social work life do you know?
   5. What accomplishments was she proud of?
   6. What influence do you think she had on her family? On people in her life? On society?
   7. What values did she hold dear?
   8. What ideas were important to her?
   9. What people influenced her? Did she have mentors?
10. Do you know what she liked to read?

11. Did she belong to any clubs or organizations?

12. Was she a strong supporter of women? Of children? Of immigrants? Of the poor?

13. Did she have “pet peeves”? Were there some issues, ideas or occurrences that she was opposed to?

14. Do you have any photos or memorabilia associated with her?

15. How is she remembered by the family?

16. Are there other family historians that might have memories or knowledge of her
B. Work colleagues of social worker

1. What was your relationship/position in relation to . . . ?
2. What do you remember about her?
3. Are there organizational/agency stories about her that you know?
4. What was your impression of her when you were working with her?
5. How would you describe her? If you were introducing her at a conference what would you say about her?
6. What accomplishments was she proud of?
7. What values did she hold dear?
8. What ideas were important to her? Who else shared her ideas?
9. What people were important to her?
10. Did she have mentors?
12. What influence did she have on the organization? On her colleagues?
13. What was her leadership style? How did she respond to conflict?
14. Did she have “pet peeves”? Were there things that she was passionately opposed to?
15. What clubs or organizations did she belong to?
16. What was different about her?
17. Do you know other work colleagues of hers that might have something to add?
Appendix E

Joan Arnoldi Letter: What It Means to Be a Daughter of the Empire

Joan Arnoldi Letter What it means to be a Daughter of the Empire

The question has been asked me – what is your idea of the term Daughter of the Empire, by which I take it is meant a member of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. I shall answer this as best I can and can only plead my legal upbringing if my answer is circumlocutory and indirect.

First and foremost I would say that any woman seriously desiring to become a member of the order, is one who realizes the importance and value of her country’s birthright, - mark you, I say her country’s, not her own, and is determined that it shall not be exchanged for a mess of pottage. She recognises that the “pottage agents” are amongst us and that organised effort is necessary for the guidance and guardianship of our young nation. She realizes that it is necessary to keep ever before her the greatness and value of our traditions, our share in British history and the value to mankind of British civilization.

There has been and still is, a feeling sometimes openly expressed in Canada that the IODE is an organisation of “jingo” type, that its aims are not truly Canadian. This is of course utterly and manifestly untrue. The IODE is a Canadian organisation devoted to the best interests of Canada, and firmly convinced that its best interests lie in the direction of Canada’s natural and national development within the commonwealth of the nations of her own race.

The members in our Order in our own branch are Canadians, and their premier interest is in the upbuilding of Canada in her material progress, where possible, but more particularly is it the sphere of the members to help in the spiritual development of our people.

The National Conference on Education held recently in Toronto, and which was such a glorious inspiration to all who attended it, emphasized this point as vital above all others, the necessity for a spiritual development in national life and education.
In all thoughtful utterances today, will be found the echo of this theme. Cohesion amongst our own countrymen is an end for which we must all work. Nothing is more important in our national life than the drawing together of our provinces in bonds of mutual understanding and interest, and the inculcation of a spirit to give and take so necessary in all big families.

Our present relative conditions of geography and population are unparalleled and will require great wisdom in our guides and governors. Here is where the individual responsibility of the citizen comes in. Do not forget the fact that if the members of the government fail to fulfil their obligations, we the people are responsible for having put them into office. Canada is a democracy, and far too rarely has the word democracy been translated into terms of individual responsibility. A realization of the responsibility will bring a knowledge of the duty of service, that service to mankind which has been an underlying motive of British history for many centuries, and which every thinking individual must recognise despite the harangues of carping critics and the accusations of hypocrisy which are sometimes hurled at our mother country by other nations.

We daughters of the Empire have in our hands the shaping of our future citizens both men and women. We should try to realize that the whole outlook of the world could be changed in one generation by the training of the children. Think for a moment what our world would be if every child between the ages of five and eighteen could be trained in the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Many times, in my much valued opportunities of speaking to the members of the Order, I have said that our responsibility as citizens was a double one, for we have our traditional responsibility and also the responsibility that we assume by our voluntary membership in the order, and if both of these are realised to the full, we will be able to impress them upon others. If every member could be imbued with this idea and could convince others of the high ideals of our service, we should be able to add every Canadian woman to our ranks.

“What is your idea of the term a Daughter of the Empire?”

I think an ideal Daughter of the Empire is an ideal citizen. You see in the end I am committed to a direct answer after all.

Signed. Joan L. Arnoldi (Nat. honorary Vice-President IODE) p. 17
Appendix F

Survey Questionnaire Used by Charlotte Whitton

**Questionnaire** *Children’s diseases* - statistics of infant mortality. (compare death rate in institutions with that in normal homes). Still births? Are all births immediately reported? Who is in charge of birth registration? Are there milk stations, clinics, health nurses and special classes for pre-natal instruction? Instruction in care of children? Are diseases of early infancy reportable? Is ophthalmia neonatorum reportable as infectious? Is there hospital or dispensary care for it?

What are the chief causes of infant deaths? (see MOH report) Examine contributory causes in relation to community conditions in each field. What is the maternal death rate? What does your MOH consider the chief contributory causes?

**Child labor** – what are the ages permitting the employment of children working in factories, shops etc.? What regulations govern work in out-of-school hours, holidays, Saturdays etc.? What industries are prohibited for children? What regulations govern street trading, night work, messenger service etc.? What are the conditions relating to rural child labor in the district? Are children leaving school permanently to engage in farm work at home? Are children being hired out on farms? Comment on the enforcement of law in the above. What regulations govern the issuance of work certificates? Is there any test of literacy before the child is able to leave school? What truancy acts exist? Are there physical or education requirements for work permits? Are the number of permits increasing? What reasons are given for exemption? Are reports made regularly to government departments? Are educational regulations enforced? Give the statistics of children in employment, comparing with total number of children in the community. Is it poverty, greed, ignorance, indifference, on the part of the parents that sends the children to work? How do the respective causes compare? How do the groups of boy and girl workers compare? How do the school records of children in employment compare with those of children still at school? Do the local educational facilities seem adequate for the demands of the children? Is there any system of vocational guidance? Is there any provision for assisting deserving pupils to remain in school?
*Neglected children* – what agencies exist for the care of neglected or dependent children? Has the community any provision for the care of the same, either separately or in a Children’s Aid scheme? Is any state aid given, either for home or institutional care? Is anyone responsible for the removal of children from undesirable surroundings? What investigations are made before such removals? Is the Chapter represented on the Board of Local Child Caring Institutions? If so, what education, medical care, recreation etc., is provided for the little inmates? Is the Parish assuming its full share of responsibility in providing these, and such other requisites as may be wanted? What assistance is granted other workers in home-finding, in placing-out children, in supervising, when desired?

*Recreation* – the responsibility of the community for supplying adequate recreation has increased since the gradual elimination of the bare and saloon and the extension of the shorter working day.

Facilities for Play. Are there playgrounds? Are they open in the evenings, on holidays, vacations etc.? Where are they situated? (Give relative situation). What supervision is provided? How many children use them? What children are these? Are there play zones in the streets? What is the community attitude towards them? Is the unimproved land of the community free for play purposes? Is there any unimproved land which should be acquired for this purpose, especially in view of possible expansion? Is there any gardening for the children? Are there excursions, summer vacations for them? Are there public parks? Where are they situated? What supervision regulations and policing exists? What is the nature of any amusement provided there? How many children go there? Are there any swimming pools or public baths?

*Recreation for Adults* – what interest does the chapter evince in providing recreation? Are its rooms open to young and adult alike? Under what regulations or restrictions? Are there any organizations such as young people’s clubs, dramatic clubs etc.? what is the nature of the programs offered in these clubs? Are they popular? What sections (both age and “classes”) of the community are represented in the membership of these clubs? Is there any provision for the recreation of young people in lodging houses? What commercial amusements exist, i.e. theatres, movies etc.? What is the nature of the entertainments usually offered? What are the restrictions governing the attendance of children? How many dance halls, pool rooms, etc. are there? Are
there furnished rooms, liquor supplies, etc. in the vicinity of or in connection with these places? What are the regulations governing these? p. 52-54. 348

Appendix G

Children’s Charter of Rights

The child must be given the means requisite for its normal development, both materially and spiritually.

The child that is hungry must be fed, that child that is sick must be nursed, the child that is backward must be helped, the delinquent child must be reclaimed, and the orphan and the waif must be sheltered and succoured.

The child must be the first to receive relief in times of distress

The child must be put in a position to earn a livelihood, and must be protected against every form of exploitation.

The child must be brought up in the consciousness that its talents must be devoted to the service of its fellow men.
Appendix H
Letter to Ottawa Citizen: A Social Worker’s Protest

Rigidity Deplored

There is obviously a good deal of confusion in the mind of the public as to the issues in regard to this altered administration. As I have said in discussion with you I favour the development to scrip or cash provided increased allowances are made. I do not believe that families on relief can continue with any reasonable assurance of health, or even the previous standard of living, at the present rate of assistance in scrip. This is still further complicated by the fact that additional allowances for milk to families where there are children, have been discontinued. I do, however, favour that improvement in the relief recipient’s condition which scrip, or preferably cash, gives him. The lack of adjustability in this new policy is going to make for suffering and a demand on the citizens of Ottawa for additional household needs which is beyond reason.

The discussion as to whether male or female investigation is preferable is also – I believe – in large part misunderstood. There is a question in the minds of most relief administrators of any length of experience, over the preference of male over female investigation. My objection is to the fact that the employees who have given service of good quality were dismissed without any adequate examination of their suitability to their work.

Active Social Work Limited

In regard to the claim that too much social work has been done in the Department, I would say that this indicates a lack of knowledge of the Department’s real functioning. No social work program has been adopted for the Public Welfare Board’s staff. The extent of social work interpretation has been that members of the staff know the resources of the community thoroughly; that they understand the type of problem to be referred to each resource; and that they give assistance and co-operation to these other agencies. The Social Services Department proper, of course, has responsibility under the statutes for children’s protection. For grants to institutions, for burials, hospitalizations, etc. this Department and its services existed long before there was a Public Welfare Board, as you know, and has little closer relationship to the work of the Public Welfare Board’s staff than other separate agencies in the community.
Adequate Administration Acceptable

I have not in any way objected to the improved business administration within the office, and was interested and encouraged by the plan drawn up by Mr. Gordon and Mr. Milne two years ago. We waited the implementing of these recommendations; but the Board of Control has never made a decision in regard to the report. There is a good deal to be gained in any office from the sort of labour-saving direction that be given by a man of Mr. Lazier’s experience. However, the almost complete change in staff in the division of investigation and records makes for a situation which is little less than chaotic. The fact that these people secured their positions without any application to the department, and that on numerous occasions they refer to their political contacts, makes for a situation in supervision that is impossible. The original upheaval in staff, followed by our notification 2 days ago of the removal of the intake office staff, and a notice in yesterdays paper to the effect that another eight will go, all these and other alterations without any consultation with us – yet with the apparent intention of holding us responsible for the work of the Department – makes for a situation which is untenable.

A very important principle in our community life is challenged if employees of the corporation are to be dismissed in a wholesale manner, and a re-organisation carried out without regard to the civic servants appointed to direct the department involved.

I would, therefore, ask the Board of Control to accept my resignation, to date from October 15th, 1936.
Appendix I

Letter to Mr. Kirby, Also Published in the *Toronto Star* and the *Globe and Mail*, January 19, 1943

Dear Mr. Kirby,

We note in the Globe and Mail of January 23, that you have announced that “Food budgets of persons on relief and of pensioners will be placed under immediate survey to determine a proper diet built on those foods which actually can be purchased under the rationing program. Professor McHenry of the School of Hygiene, University of Toronto, has been asked to review the dietary budgets of relief recipients and pensioners in the light of present and possible future food rationing.”

At the meeting of the Executive of the Welfare Council of Toronto, on Thursday February 4th, the members expressed themselves as gratified that this study is to be made. I was directed to suggest that, in a matter of such importance, it would be desirable to not have only the scientific experience regarding nutrition which Dr. McHenry will so ably represent, but also the assistance and experience of someone not only skilled in nutrition but also familiar with the application of the theoretical material to the practical problems arising in the feeding of people living on low income. Restrictions of equipment, storage space and heating appliances all should be considered in making such a study.

I was also directed to suggest that the body of experience gained during the recent study made by Dr. Frederick Tisdall, Dr. Alice Willard, and Miss Marjorie Bell in Toronto should not be wasted and that, on that account, one or more members of that committee should be associated with Dr. McHenry on this new survey.

Yours very sincerely,

Bessie Touzel

Executive Secretary
Appendix J

Bessie Touzel Letter to Prime Minister Objecting to the Policies Regarding Japanese Canadians, May 20, 1947

Welfare Council Department, May 20, 1947

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

Over the past year, this Council and certain member agencies have been greatly concerned about the possible social and economic problems that will arise out of wartime policy relating to the living and working condition of Japanese Canadians. We have made representations at earlier dates regarding the restrictions placed upon these Canadians.

In this present period, when the special problems of a wartime period are no longer with us, we are still greatly concerned about the persisting reports regarding the methods of handling the property of Japanese Canadians, who, during the war period, were moved from the West Coast.

At a meeting of the Board of Directors at this Council, held on Thursday May 15, I was instructed to write to you urging that the property losses of the Japanese Canadians be fully investigated through the appointment of a commission with authority to enquire into all losses incurred by reason of the evacuation orders and to arrive at fair and equitable compensation to those concerned. During the period of our interest in this question, we have repeatedly come to the conclusion that the American government was able to handle the problems concerned with greater social safeguards than was the case in Canada. We urge that in this period when we may finally meet a part of our responsibility to these people, that we do no less than that which the United States government is proposing to do in regard to the problem. At this time, when problems of race relations are more acute in Canada than perhaps at any time in our history, we consider it of vital concern that no unnecessary sense of injustice should be left as an inheritance to the future.

Yours sincerely,

Bessie Touzel, Executive Secretary