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[See table of contents](#)

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Article abstract

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Articles

‘Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow’: Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930*

Diana Pedersen

Résumé/Abstract

Au début du 20e siècle, les organisations féminines jouent un rôle actif au sein du mouvement nord-américain de réforme urbaine. Les femmes réformistes ont une vision spécifique de la ville et élaborent leur propre définition de la réforme urbaine. Cependant, elles doivent composer et collaborer avec leurs confrères masculins. Dénuées de capitaux et de pouvoir politique réel, les femmes dépendent du soutien des réformistes masculins et doivent par le fait même endosser les intérêts de ces derniers. Cet article examine les relations établies entre la Young Women's Christian Association et les hommes d'affaires canadiens dans le cadre de plusieurs campagnes de collecte de fonds fructueuses au profit des édifices du YWCA, menées entre 1850 et 1930. Les femmes du YWCA présentent leur projet aux hommes d'affaires comme un solide investissement et le fait d'y contribuer comme un excellent moyen de rehausser leur réputation de chef de file au sein d'une société moderne et progressiste.

Women's organizations played an active part in the Progressive movement for the reform of North American cities in the early twentieth century. Women reformers could and did cooperate with men but had their own distinct perception of the city and their own definition of urban reform. Lacking capital and political power, however, women were forced to depend on the support of male reformers and had to address themselves to the men's concerns. This study examines the relationship between the Young Women's Christian Association and Canadian businessmen as it was manifested in a number of successful fund-raising campaigns for YWCA buildings in Canadian cities between 1890 and 1930. YWCA women "sold" their building to the business community as a sound investment and an asset that would reflect well on the reputations of enterprising business leaders and a modern progressive community.

During the four decades from 1890 to 1930, an extensive process of fund-raising and construction resulted in the appearance of Young Women's Christian Association buildings in cities across Canada. A YWCA building typically

featured a large boarding home with kitchen, parlour, dining room and bedrooms, in addition to a reading room or library, classrooms, clubrooms and possibly a gymnasium, cafeteria or swimming pool. The entire facility was managed and controlled by women and was designed for the exclusive use of women. As such, the YWCA building constituted one of the more dramatic instances of women's response to and participation in the process of urbanization. Along with women's clubs, settlement houses, women's colleges, and organizations such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Women's Trade Union League, the YWCA formed part of the phenomenon that Estelle Freedman has christened "female institution building," a separatist strategy charac-

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FIGURE 1. The Vancouver YWCA constructed its first building in 1906 at the corner of Dunsmuir at Burrard on three lots purchased at a special reduced price from the CPR.

SOURCE: Photograph by Philip Timms, 190?. Courtesy Vancouver Public Archives, 7727.

teristic of the women's movement in the transitional period from the 1870s to the 1920s.¹ Within this separate female public sphere, women derived considerable strength from shared female values and an intense network of friendships and interpersonal relations that frequently enabled them to challenge successfully the discrimination they faced in the male-dominated public sphere.² Separate female institutions, however, suffered from certain limitations, not the least of which was the fact that, as Freedman has observed, men's institutions retained the real power. The case of the YWCA illustrates clearly the limited capacity of female institutions to influence the course of urban growth and development given their ultimate dependence on the support of men. Lacking direct access to capital and political power, YWCA women who undertook to finance and construct their own elaborate and expensive facilities had no choice but to court and cooperate with local businessmen and politicians, and in so doing to address themselves to the men's concerns, frequently different from their own. This paper will explore the nature and implications of the relationship between the YWCA and local businessmen and boosters in Canadian cities between 1890 and 1930 as it was manifested in a number of successful fund-raising campaigns for YWCA buildings.

While Canadian and American urban historians have devoted considerable study to the involvement of businessmen in urban reform movements, they have paid scant attention to the role of women's organizations. In fact, women have been conspicuous in the literature on urban history

mainly by their absence. Linda Richter has suggested that the recent preoccupation with the process of urbanization, as opposed to an earlier broad focus on activities taking place in the city, has been central to the exclusion of women. Where urban history emphasizes patterns of growth, land speculation, transportation, and the growth of municipal services, women tend to be overlooked.³ Popular tradition, as well as a large body of literature by social scientists, holds that women played no significant political role in cities until the 1960s.⁴ Challenging this view, Paula Baker has recently argued that American women and men in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries participated in separate female and male political cultures, and that we must expand our definition of urban "politics" accordingly to take into account the activities of women.⁵ Denied the opportunity to participate directly in the political life of the city, middle-class women used the voluntary association as a channel for their interests and ambitions, playing a prominent part in the Progressive movement for the reform of North American cities in the early decades of this century. Their quest for a solution to the problem of the city led to their active involvement in crusades for free public kindergartens, urban parks and playgrounds, settlement houses, temperance and anti-vice legislation, public health services, improved housing standards, a separate legal process for juveniles, domestic science education, and laws governing the employment of women and children.⁶ They perceived their activities as an attempt to inject the virtues and high standards of morality assigned to women and confined to the home by the Victorian "cult of domesticity" into the larger urban community where they would change the character of that community

in the interests of women, children and family life. They intended, by “domesticating” the city, to make the urban physical and social environment conform to the demands of an ideal home environment.⁷ They fervently believed that such activities were in the interests of all women.

Despite the fact that female Progressive reformers belonged to the same social class, and frequently the same families, as male urban reformers, it does not follow that their concerns and objectives were identical.⁸ As women, their perspectives on the city and their experiences of the urban environment differed from those of men, and their vision of the city, and of the ideal city in particular, reflected that experience.⁹ Marlene Stein Wortman has observed that most studies of Progressive reform, by focusing on male reformers, have equated Progressivism with a drive for efficiency and professionalization, and have ignored the feminine components of the Progressive ideology, which account for many of its apparent contradictions. “Despite the similarities in the outlooks of progressive men and women, there were important differences in their conceptions about the city which became translated into differences in policy orientation. Domestic reformers wanted to make the city a home and a social community [while] corporate and professional progressives conceived of the city as primarily a business and cultural center.”¹⁰ Notwithstanding their differences, male and female urban reformers could and did cooperate, although the nature of this cooperative relationship has yet to be explored thoroughly. In Canada, only Carol Bacchi in her study of the English-Canadian suffragists has addressed this important issue directly. Bacchi, however, concludes that “as members of the same social elite, the women shared the same fears and generally favoured the same reforms as the men.”¹¹ In this study of the YWCA’s relationship with businessmen and boosters in Canadian cities, it will be argued that despite a shared fundamental support for the class structure underlying the emerging urban order, and for their own privileged position in it, these men and women differed in their vision of the city, in their ideas about women’s place in the city, and in their understanding of the purpose of a YWCA building. While businessmen and boosters could support the idea of such a facility because it was compatible with their commitment to progress, growth, and obtaining maximum returns for the investment of charitable dollars, YWCA women viewed their building as a female refuge from an inhospitable male environment and a base from which they could attempt to modify that environment in the interests of women. Yet to win the support of the businessman, the YWCA had to present itself as sharing his concerns for “efficiency” and “sound business management,” downplaying its critique of male sexuality and its commitment to a cooperative commonwealth that required the “Christianizing” of Canadian businessmen. YWCA leaders believed that young women, being equally important to the future of the urban community, were entitled to the same services and assistance provided to young men, but they were forced to appeal to male chivalry and self-interest to achieve their

goals. Their relationship with Canadian businessmen and boosters thus suggests the dangers inherent in assuming an identity of interests between male and female urban reformers in the early twentieth century. It also demonstrates some of the limitations of “female separatism” as an effective strategy for bringing about substantial reform of the urban environment.

Young Women’s Christian Associations originated in Britain in 1855 and spread within five years to the United States on a wave of religious enthusiasm that swept the Protestant churches. Evangelicalism provided many women with the motivation and the strength to associate with one another in female voluntary organizations that ministered primarily to the needs of other women and children.¹² First appearing in major Canadian centres in the 1870s, YWCAs were a response to the “problem” of the young single woman arriving in the city from overseas or from the country districts in search of employment or educational opportunities.¹³ YWCA policies and objectives reflected the concerns and convictions of its female leadership — members of Protestant evangelical churches and of the families of prominent business and professional men — who were apprehensive about the changed social conditions that had resulted in large numbers of young single women living independently, unsupported and unsupervised by family, community and church. YWCA leaders hoped that by banding together in an interdenominational organization with the resources to undertake a work too expensive for any one church (and with greater autonomy than women were allowed in church-controlled denominational organizations), they could provide a substitute for parental and religious influences through practical assistance offered in a wholesome Christian setting.¹⁴ In its first annual report, the Toronto YWCA explained that could the young women arriving from the country to seek employment be “gathered into Christian homes, there would be no necessity for the present institution.” Its mandate was “to seek out young women taking up their residence in Toronto, and endeavour to bring them under moral and religious influences, by introducing them to the members and privileges of this Association, securing their attendance at some place of worship, and by every means in their power surrounding them with Christian associates.”¹⁵ To this end, Canadian YWCAs over the next several decades developed a wide range of programs and facilities for working women, including boarding houses, employment bureau, educational classes, clubs and social functions, cafeterias, Travellers Aid, recreational facilities such as summer camps, gymnasiums and swimming pools and, of course, religious instruction. By 1900, fourteen branches had been established in cities across Canada and by 1930, the total had reached thirty-nine.¹⁶

YWCA programs and facilities did respond to genuine needs and problems experienced by single working women in Canadian cities between 1890 and 1930. Young women workers were generally paid low wages on the assumption that they lived at home and were partially supported by their



FIGURE 2. The Ottawa YWCA at Metcalfe and Maria (now Laurier) was, in 1894, one of the earliest Canadian buildings constructed for the use of a YWCA. The partially-obscured sign in the window advertises a "Public Reading Room for Women."

SOURCE: Photograph by W.J. Topley, 1905. Courtesy Public Archives of Canada, PAC 33950.

families. For those who lived independently, however, survival could be difficult indeed.¹⁷ Canadian cities generally, but particularly the exploding centres of Western Canada, lacked an adequate supply of decent and inexpensive housing. Every YWCA located in a major urban centre reported turning away applicants for boarding house accommodation on a regular basis during these years. The housing problem was aggravated by an apparently widespread practice of discrimination against women tenants on the grounds that they required a sitting room in which to entertain guests, stayed at home more, and were generally regarded as more trouble for landladies.¹⁸ Women who worked in factories, stores and offices often had no option but to eat their lunch in a hot, stuffy workroom and many could not afford to eat lunch at all. YWCA cafeterias were often the only place for many working women to socialize in each other's company and obtain an inexpensive and nourishing meal. Office and sales workers were expected to dress well despite their low wages and thus had to resort to trimming their own hats and making their own shirtwaists, skills they could acquire in YWCA classes. Working women often lacked access to evening classes that would allow them to augment their education or upgrade their job qualifications. YWCA libraries were accessible to working women at a time when many cities lacked a free library system, and YWCA night classes in

stenography preceded those offered by boards of education in most Canadian cities.¹⁹ In 1907, a national staff member claimed that "in Canada there are more young women enrolled in the educational classes than there are in our universities, in fact [the YWCA] is an evening college for business young women."²⁰

YWCA's also functioned as a type of "women's centre" in turn-of-the-century Canadian cities. The Vancouver YWCA reported in 1919:

The secretaries in charge of the desk have hundreds of telephone calls daily, besides scores of enquiries over the counter. They are an information bureau for the women and girls of the city. Some of the enquiries are for dentists, physicians, dress-makers, music teachers, reliable employment bureaux, directions to various parts of the city, respectable boarding houses or rooms, swimming pools, cooking lessons, language teachers, time of the day, times of arrivals of trains and boats, names of denominational ministers and churches, baggage, etc.²¹

Of paramount concern to the YWCA was the fact that working women, particularly those who wished to appear "respectable" by avoiding saloons, movie houses, and public dance halls, lacked access to "wholesome" and affordable

recreational opportunities. YWCA Social and Physical Departments did offer such opportunities to thousands of Canadian working women during these decades. One study of women's sports in Toronto between 1910 and 1920 has demonstrated that the YWCA was the only place in the city where working women who could not afford membership in a private athletic club could learn to swim or participate in organized team sports.²² Similarly, the editors of the Peterborough *Evening Examiner* observed in 1918 that the YWCA's new pool provided "the first opportunity that the girls and young women have been given of learning the useful art of swimming. It is a shameful confession to make that it has been necessary to wait until the enterprise of the Y.W.C.A. could provide an indoor bath before such an opportunity was given"²³

The YWCA's objective of surrounding young working women with Christian influences and providing them with wholesome alternatives to the temptations of city life resulted in the construction of attractive facilities that would draw working women and create an opportunity to exert influence. Membership fees were an important source of revenue that helped to cover the costs of operation and maintenance and kept the YWCA from drowning in debt. Thus working women were able to exert an important indirect influence on YWCA policy and on the nature of the facilities constructed. Cafeterias, gymnasias, and swimming pools proved most popular, drawing in hundreds of members in many centres and helping to subsidize the less remunerative programs such as Travellers' Aid. Working women made it clear, however, that they would participate only on their own terms. Attendance statistics consistently demonstrated their preference for gymnasium and swimming classes over Bible study.²⁴ The reports of YWCAs in large American cities suggested that where working women were presented with a range of housing alternatives, they preferred to forego the supervision of a YWCA boarding home. The Victoria YWCA actually closed a home in 1901, being unable to induce working women to board there. At the opening of a new home in 1908, it was admitted that "former efforts to establish such an association had failed, perhaps through too rigid discipline. The girls should feel that the rooms were a home where they were free to enjoy themselves in any innocent way."²⁵ While the most popular facilities were generally open to non-members, those who used them were strongly urged to take out a membership and join a YWCA club. Associate membership in the YWCA was open to any young woman "of good character," including non-Protestants, although this did not include the right to vote or hold office. Despite the fact that the most popular programs were intended to serve as "bait" that would help to recruit new YWCA members, many working women proved willing to make use of the facilities without ever taking out a membership.

The objectives of YWCA programs thus reflected, despite some important input from working women, the concerns of

the active or voting membership, required by the constitution to be full communicants of Protestant evangelical churches.²⁶ The YWCA's attack on the problem of the young woman in the city derived from its evangelical founders' deep suspicion of the urban environment and its growing dominance in Canadian society. YWCA women viewed with some nostalgia the decline of rural life, which they equated with the virtues of industry, thrift, sobriety, simplicity and piety. The protection of the "country girl," they argued, was critical to the preservation of these values throughout Canadian society. While they acknowledged that the city offered daughters and young female immigrants real opportunities to improve their standing in the world, YWCA women were also convinced that the urban environment offered more temptations than those with few resources, limited experience and perhaps a weak moral fibre could conceivably withstand. The strong evangelical convictions of the YWCA's leadership encouraged a definition of the dangers of city life as primarily moral dangers and led to a focus on the problem of the new commercialized recreations.²⁷ Dance halls, brothels, movie theatres and saloons abounded in the city, compounding the problem of the generally high levels of immorality already believed to be associated with poverty, unemployment and overcrowding. As urban growth accelerated in the early twentieth century, Canadian YWCA leaders observed with interest the progress and problems of their sister American branches, studied carefully the investigative reports of American Progressive reformers and viewed with alarm newspaper headlines which proclaimed the triumph of vice and corruption in American cities.²⁸ The reports of social surveys and vice commissions boded ill for the future in Canada.²⁹

YWCA leaders perceived the Canadian city as an environment that was particularly inhospitable to women and threatening to women's moral and physical well-being. Travel for unescorted young women, growing numbers of whom were arriving in Canadian ports and travelling from city to city by rail, was viewed as an exercise fraught with peril by YWCA Travellers' Aid workers, hired to meet incoming ships and trains.

Unforeseen circumstances over which they have no control are frequently encountered by travellers; connections are missed and, having to remain overnight, they may not know of a respectable place to stay at a moderate rate; they have left home with wrong addresses or none at all; money runs short unexpectedly; friends or relatives fail to meet them; difficulties are encountered with tickets or luggage; it may be late at night and it is necessary to cross a strange city to another station; there is often hunger and weariness and lack of sufficient funds to pay for that which will satisfy either; and last, but by no means least, dangerous acquaintances are made on the journey.³⁰

Behind the YWCA's more generalized fear that the experience of independence in the city was eroding women's traditional ties to home, family and church, lurked the spectre

of prostitution. Most sizable Canadian cities during these years, particularly in the West with its large population of young single men, featured flourishing red light districts.³¹ YWCA women believed that without follow-up to see that appropriate accommodation was secured and suitable new friends made, young women could conceivably find themselves resident in such a district, perhaps quite unwittingly. According to an account by Nellie McClung, prominent Alberta suffragist and reformer, the Edmonton YWCA was once sent a message by a local prostitute who first entered a brothel as a result of being turned away from the YWCA because of a lack of space.

... it's too late for me; don't bother about any of us here, we're dead — but go back and tell the matron never to let a girl leave, even if she has to let her sleep in a chair; or sit on the steps or stand up all night. Tell her never, never, never to let a girl go; and tell the women to get bigger places, to shelter the girls; they need it so badly. Surely if the women knew they would do something!³²

YWCA leaders were haunted by the prospect that hundreds of young women, new to the city and without resources or friends, might be drawn into prostitution out of ignorance, loneliness or desperation. Such fears helped to shape the types of programs offered by YWCAs in cities across Canada.

The YWCA building constituted a safe female environment, a woman-controlled space within the city. The establishment of such a sanctuary was a corollary of the YWCA's belief that the ultimate source of the threat to women posed by urban dangers ranging from public parks, dance halls and ice cream parlours to misleading advertisements for interesting and well-paid jobs was uncontrolled male sexuality. The YWCA's protection of working women constituted, in part, a veiled critique of the prevailing acceptance of male sexual irresponsibility, attributed to men's supposedly uncontrollable biological urges.³³ Working women, YWCA leaders argued, were handicapped by the combination of low wages and an unfair double standard that curtailed their activities and led, in higher social circles at least, to the association of working women with immorality. Young women who wished to appear respectable were not at liberty to frequent the saloons, pool halls, movie theatres and dance halls that abounded in early twentieth-century Canadian cities. One male observer who moved to Regina after the First World War recently recalled that "there were no girls. They were just starting to work in offices, they operated the telephones, worked in cafes and in some of the stores. But they disappeared out of circulation at 6 o'clock and you never saw them again until the next day. Talk about a man's world!"³⁴ YWCA women argued that such a situation was most unfair, that the respectable young working woman deserved both opportunities for recreation and the support of Christians in her community.

... many evenings, uncomfortable as her lodging house is, she is compelled to remain in or take the chance of sacrificing her self-respect. A girl's latitude is far more restricted than a boy's; she must observe the most rigid conventions. To do otherwise is to endanger her good name. ... What the average person of means does not seem to realize is that the girl who wants to be nice, is very much restricted in her habits of life. A boy is not half so much shackled by the social conventions. He can go and pick up acquaintances with people he had never seen before, and nothing is thought of it. But a girl can take no such chances. If she did she would soon be marked ...³⁵

A young woman earning only five dollars a week was faced, according to YWCA workers, with "the question of which is better, a clean life without relaxation or pleasure obtained in a way which is bound to soil the soul and wipe out ideals."³⁶ The "shallow-minded woman of idleness" would not be equal to the strain, they argued. "To earn for oneself for eight, ten, twelve, fifteen years of a lifetime, and through those years, despite the evils that on every hand clutch at one with smirching fingers, to preserve one's soul upright and clean, requires all the optimism, the strength and fortitude of which womanhood is capable."³⁷ Supporters of the YWCA argued that for too long Canadian cities had offered generous assistance to young men, who were less disadvantaged. Rev. Dr. Duval, a well-known figure in Winnipeg reform circles, in addressing a meeting of the local YWCA, observed that there was "far greater need in modern cities for institutions like the Y.W.C.A. than for the young men's associations. The world was a hard place for girls, who were handicapped all along the line, and had few of the privileges granted to young men." He personally was "tired of mollycoddling young men."³⁸

Although the YWCA's primary concern was the young working woman, its leaders intended that their facility should serve a larger constituency of women. In most cities, the YWCA building was the central meeting place of local club women, being the only location to meet the criteria of affordability and respectability. Organizations such as Local Councils of Women, chapters of the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, and various other women's service, literary and religious organizations frequently made use of the YWCA building and expressed their support by furnishing its rooms or stocking the shelves of the library or the linen cupboard. College students and "young ladies of leisure" were invited to volunteer their services at the YWCA, typically to assist with organizing social activities for working women. It was the fond hope of more visionary YWCA leaders that women brought together in their own building, sharing a common religious faith, would be able to overcome differences based on social class. Although the constitutions of local YWCAs ensured that decision-making power remained securely in the hands of the older middle-class volunteers who served on the boards of directors, YWCA rhetoric during these decades stressed that women had much



FIGURE 3. The McGill Street YWCA in Toronto was remodelled in 1924, following the successful Jubilee Campaign, and its new features included a cafeteria that seated 200 women.

SOURCE: Public Archives of Canada, PAC 123616.

to offer each other. Working women, it was argued, stood to benefit from exposure to the education, leadership abilities and Christian training of the volunteer who, in her turn, would be made aware of the problems facing working women, rescued from a selfish, idle existence and encouraged to fulfill the obligations of her position by informing herself on labour questions and supporting needed legislative reforms.³⁹ YWCA leaders hoped to mobilize working women as their allies in attacking the double standard and male sexual privilege and in working toward the coming of “Christ’s Kingdom on Earth.” These dual objectives involved the YWCA in activities extending beyond the provision of a safe environment within the confines of the YWCA building. Increasingly its leadership called for the “Christianizing” of Canadian employers, protective labour legislation, perhaps even trades unions for women, and social hygiene measures such as sex education and volunteer street patrols of women to enforce the equal moral standard for men and women. All these measures were perceived by the YWCA as attempts to reform the urban environment in the interests of women.

Despite the social prominence of the women who served on YWCA boards of directors, many of whom were married to the community’s leading business and professional men, they were not, as women, at liberty to act on their vision of urban reform without assistance. Few of these women had

large amounts of capital at their personal disposal. Unlike many nineteenth-century benevolent women’s organizations that engaged in activities such as prison visitation or tract distribution, the YWCA, with its wide range of programs and elaborate facilities, required substantial financial support. While working women’s fees did help established programs to be run on a self-supporting basis, they could not begin to cover the enormous costs involved in the purchase of property and the construction and maintenance of buildings.⁴⁰ The YWCA and its objectives thus had to be “sold” to those who would foot a substantial part of the bill for its activities — business leaders and local politicians. While a minority of business leaders, as evangelicals themselves, did share some of the YWCA’s concerns about raising the moral standards of the community, most were preoccupied with making the city a better place to do business. Particularly in Western Canada, boosters “directed their efforts toward encouraging rapid and sustained growth in their cities at the expense of virtually all other considerations,”⁴¹ and did not rank the protection and material assistance of working women or the control of male sexuality high on their list of priorities. The necessity of defining the YWCA’s work in new terms with which businessmen could identify led to the forging of close ties in many Canadian cities between the YWCA, the YMCA, and a select group of supportive businessmen who assisted with fund-raising campaigns. In these

campaigns the YWCA was “sold” to businessmen and local boosters as a sound business investment, and as an asset that would reflect well on the community and on the reputation of its enterprising male leaders.

In the two decades between 1870 and 1890, YWCAs were established in a number of Canadian cities but none of these were located in a building designed and constructed according to YWCA specifications. Instead they used inadequate rented or purchased premises that frequently hampered the work of the organization. In the decades after 1890, when many new branches of the YWCA were established, each new branch strove to erect its own specially constructed facility as quickly as possible, reflecting an important shift in the mandate of the YWCA. From 1870 to 1890, most Canadian YWCAs confined their activities on behalf of working women to the running of a boarding house and an educational department featuring a library and classes in subjects such as geography and bookkeeping. Programs for young women were combined at this time with more traditional benevolent work such as prison and hospital visitation, “friendly visiting” of the poor, day nurseries and diet dispensaries.⁴² For these purposes, a rented or purchased facility was employed, perhaps a converted boarding house or orphanage, with rented rooms over a store for holding classes. The era of YWCA building began after 1890 as Canadian branches, drawing heavily on the experience of YWCAs in American cities, redefined their mandate to focus more exclusively on the provision of social services to the “self-respecting” and “self-supporting” young woman between the ages of approximately seventeen and twenty-five. A new program emphasizing the “four-fold development” of the young woman required provision for her physical, social and intellectual, as well as spiritual, well-being. The facilities in use appeared increasingly inadequate as YWCA leaders found themselves with parlours too small for club meetings, dining rooms too small to serve non-boarders, basements too small for construction of the much-desired gymnasium or school of domestic science, and an insufficient supply of bedrooms to meet the growing demand for accommodation at the boarding house. The complaint of the Montreal YWCA in its 1889 annual report was typical of most branches of the time: “We have greatly felt the need of more commodious quarters. . . . Extensive alterations and repairs are needed — to quote the words of one of our fellow-workers, ‘We want the front wall thrown out, we want more room at the back, and we want the very roof raised for more rooms nearer Heaven.’”⁴³ It was not long before Canadian YWCAs decided to follow the example of their sister American branches, opting for construction rather than renovation.

As well as a special building, the YWCA’s new mandate required the additional expense of a centrally-located property, convenient to “white-blouse” workers in the downtown business district, who, along with domestic servants lacking a “situation,” occupied the bulk of the YWCA’s attention

at this time. The Ottawa YWCA, for example, advertised its new rooms at 98 Albert Street as “centrally located, being almost opposite to the City Hall and but five minutes walk from the Parliament Buildings, Normal School and Post Office.”⁴⁴ In 1890 the Toronto YWCA became the first branch in Canada to undertake the construction of its own building, purchasing an Elm Street lot for \$9,400 and embarking on a project estimated to cost \$36,000. The new facility was intended to allow for a major expansion of activities.

... in addition to our boarding house there will be a pleasant reading-room and library with a large parlor for the use of all young women who are earning their own living. There will be also a class formed for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, sewing, dressmaking and cutting by chart. A gymnasium will be fitted up for the use of those who need the exercise as a rest, or for physical development. We also hope to form a class for singing.⁴⁵

When opened in 1892, the impressive three-storey brick structure featured classrooms, meeting rooms, parlour, gymnasium and dressing room, dining room and kitchen, laundry, offices and about fifty bedrooms.⁴⁶ Construction of similar facilities began in other centres such as Ottawa and Montreal during the 1890s. As the YWCA broadened its mandate to include the “industrial girl” after the turn of the century, extension branches were also established in the factory districts of some larger cities. The rate of construction increased gradually until 1913, came to a temporary halt during the war, and resumed in the 1920s with a ten-year “boom” in the construction of buildings, extensions, new wings, gymnasias and swimming pools in cities across the country.⁴⁷ The history of some branches during these years is virtually a record of their struggle to finance and construct their own building. The Victoria YWCA, reorganized in 1907, was for two decades so preoccupied with raising funds to construct its own building, finally erected in 1927, that in 1922 a visiting national staff member felt obliged to recommend that members of its board of directors refresh their memories regarding the history and larger objectives of the YWCA.⁴⁸ Achieving the goal of a specially constructed building did not mean that the work was over. In 1908, less than two years after the Vancouver YWCA opened its new facility, its president told supporters at the annual meeting: “I would like to bring before you all our great need for the extension of our building. For this we shall need from \$15,000 to \$18,000. We require more dormitories, more classrooms and a gymnasium to bring our association up to the standard existing in even less prosperous towns than Vancouver.”⁴⁹ The process of fund-raising and construction during these four decades was thus virtually unending, until in most cities such activities were finally halted by the onset of the Depression.

So great was the scale of construction that nineteenth-century methods of fund-raising were no longer adequate.

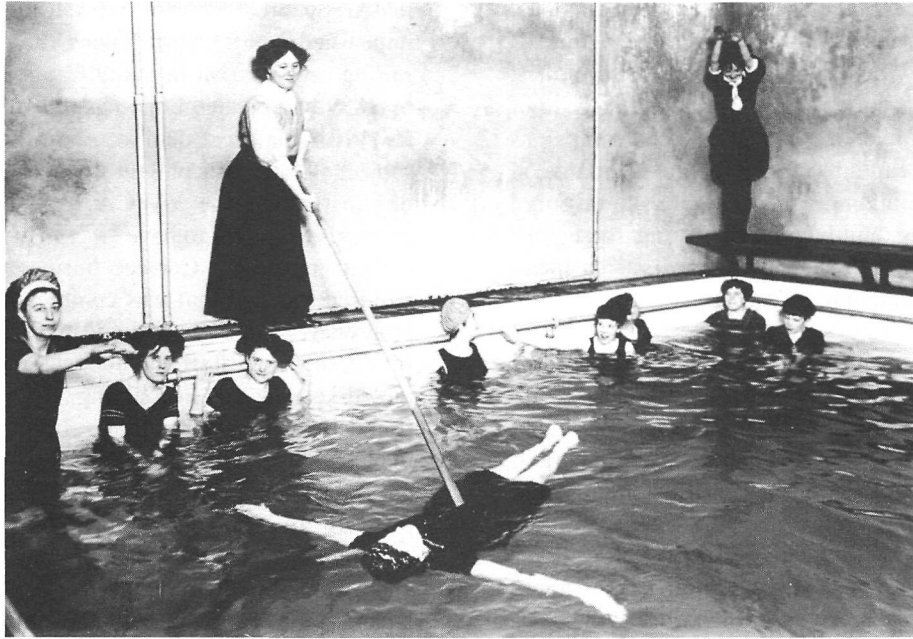


FIGURE 4. In 1910, Mary Beaton of Scotland, holder of a diploma from the Royal Life Saving Society and author of *The Complete Swimmer*, was hired as an instructor by the Toronto YWCA. Her popular classes featured swimming, waterpolo, life saving and fancy diving.

SOURCE: Photograph by William James, ca. 1910. Courtesy City of Toronto Archives, 2558.

Early branches were financed largely through the efforts of the boards of directors, chosen for their personal prestige and social contacts, who collected subscriptions of small amounts ranging from one dollar to ten dollars.⁵⁰ Their duties included the regular canvassing of local businesses, neighbourhoods, and the individual members of congregations of local evangelical churches. This tedious work was carried on quietly, without publicity, and on a year-round basis. It was supplemented by innumerable bazaars, teas, garden parties, lectures, musicals and rummage sales. When all else failed, a member of the board of directors, or her husband, could usually be counted on to rescue the YWCA from financial embarrassment in a temporary crisis. Such methods of fund-raising were characteristic of female philanthropy in the nineteenth century and were capable of generating surprisingly large sums of money.⁵¹ Despite the success of their efforts, however, women often expressed their ambivalence about engaging in such activity. In 1890, the convener of the Montreal YWCA's Educational and Entertainment Committee referred with some embarrassment to a "most brilliant and (alas, that I must write it) *paying* entertainment held in this hall a week since." She continued: "It would be such a pleasure if one could do work in which the element of gain need not appear. I surmise, however, that as long as there are women on the face of the earth there will be a need for money, now much greater when they band together in unions

and associations to put that money to the best possible use the heart of liberal woman can devise!"⁵²

During these transitional decades between the demise of traditional religious philanthropy and the rise of the Community Chest movement, charity remained in private hands but relied increasingly on support from the corporate sector, as the churches lacked the resources to cope with large-scale urban social problems, and municipal authorities were reluctant to undertake direct involvement in welfare and relief work.⁵³ New methods of fund-raising were pioneered in these years and the YWCA, drawing heavily on the experience of the Young Men's Christian Association, was one of the first to make use of techniques later adopted by most other voluntary agencies and the Community Chest movement. Outstanding among these new techniques was the short-term financial campaign under the direction of leading businessmen, a method pioneered by the YMCA in 1905.⁵⁴ Following the successful and much publicized Canadian Patriotic Fund and Victory Loan campaigns during the war, short-term financial campaigns became the accepted means of fund-raising for local charities. The short-term or "whirlwind" financial campaign was a city-wide blitz that relied heavily on the support of the local press and was "characterized by the careful organization of teams of canvassers to collect the money, the selection of prospective

contributors, their cultivation by means of carefully planned publicity, their solicitation over a short period of time — usually a week — daily meetings for reports of canvassers, and the use of skilful tactics to keep up the enthusiasm of public and canvassers alike.”⁵⁵ YWCA financial campaigns with slogans such as “Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow” or “A Building for Her” were the favoured method of augmenting building funds during these four decades and succeeded with the support of local businessmen, boosters and the daily press.⁵⁶

The participation of leading businessmen in these campaigns was part of a broader movement to separate philanthropy from religion and to make it more “business-like,” “efficient,” and “scientific,” that is, to avoid waste and duplication of efforts and to emphasize measures that would prevent, rather than relieve, pauperism.⁵⁷ Some of these businessmen were themselves members of Protestant evangelical churches, sharing the YWCA’s religious objectives, and acting out of strong convictions of their duty to the community.⁵⁸ For such men, wealth implied Christian stewardship and an obligation to prove themselves worthy of the privileges they enjoyed. Support for philanthropic endeavours was a way to demonstrate publicly their worthiness. It was also a way to discourage government involvement, and by the 1920s and 1930s, many businessmen “looked on private philanthropy as an important bulwark of the system of free enterprise for, if charity became the prerogative of the government, it would mean the welfare state or socialism.”⁵⁹ Participation in fund-raising campaigns for local charities gradually became obligatory for the heads of leading firms and was enforced by a variety of pressures exerted by family, friends, business associates and social peers. Such worthy activity could also be highly advantageous, as businessmen learned during these years, because it could facilitate the career of the individual and provide valuable free publicity for the firm. Philanthropic activity provided a means for the upwardly mobile to make valuable business and social contacts and also provided local firms with a chance to evaluate the talents of some of their junior men. As the number of agencies seeking assistance for their particular cause multiplied, businessmen had an interest in becoming involved in philanthropy in order to coordinate it. One of their concerns was to eliminate overlap and duplication of efforts, thereby reducing the demands made upon their own pocketbooks. Philanthropic businessmen encouraged a “scientific” approach to giving that fostered “self-dependence” rather than further “pauperizing” the poor. Unlike the earlier ideology of religious charity, which promised that the giver would be rewarded in the next world, the attitude of the businessman was determined by his expectation of some benefit in the present.

In its attempt to present itself as an enterprise worthy of the support of the philanthropic businessman, the YWCA relied heavily on its “elder brother,” the YMCA, for advice that was freely dispensed and invaluable. The YMCA, dom-

inated by prominent business leaders, “enjoyed the not unjustified reputation of having the most effective money-raising organization in many Canadian communities” and by 1889 had erected buildings in twenty-one Canadian cities.⁶⁰ It had a great deal to say to its younger sister on the subject of “scientific philanthropy.” One YMCA staff member instructed the YWCA that, like any commercial enterprise, it ought to have “a clearly apprehended and well defined purpose.” Correct business methods, he noted, required a policy that was comprehensive, practicable and progressive, a definite and adequate plan, thorough organization, sufficient staff and budget, and a complete system of record-keeping and accounting. Disapproving of the traditional female approach to fund-raising, he advised that “‘rumage[sic] sales’, ‘pink teas’, or ‘fowl suppers’ are not the right way,” and that a YWCA ought more appropriately to rely on “membership fees, rentals and contributions from interested persons in response to a direct appeal for liberal support of a worthy organization doing effective work.”⁶¹ The best way to raise money, in other words, was to ask for it.

YWCA leaders conceded that asking for money was often the hardest thing for women to do, and more traditional means of fund-raising continued in use, particularly in smaller communities, until well into the twentieth century. Nonetheless, the bulk of YWCA building funds were raised through financial campaigns. A typical YWCA building campaign was launched by the Edmonton branch in May 1920, following years of complaints about insufficient accommodation for travellers and working women and inadequate meeting facilities for local club women.⁶² In announcing the impending campaign for \$150,000, the *Edmonton Journal* proclaimed “Men Get Real Opportunity to Help the Girls.” A complete description of the proposed “Castle in the Air” was published and, for good measure, several photographs of Edmonton’s decrepit facilities, which included a converted barn, were contrasted with the fine new building of the Calgary YWCA. The *Journal* featured articles on the inadequate housing of working women and the work of the YWCA staff, as well as detailed coverage of the daily progress of the campaign. The Edmonton campaign was launched with a “YWCA Sunday” at the local churches and a major public rally featuring “‘real’ speaking” by James Ramsay, M.L.A., Mrs. Nellie McClung, Mrs. Arthur Murphy, and Hon. George P. Smith on the value of young women to the community and on the dangers that beset them in Edmonton. Under the direction of campaign manager Will J. Green, General Secretary of the Edmonton YMCA, the city was divided into forty districts to be covered by teams of male and female canvassers, the latter responsible for the residential areas, the former for the business district. Seventy of Edmonton’s most prominent citizens — team captains, members of the campaign committee and the YWCA board — posed for a *Journal* photographer following an organizational luncheon. The illustrious gathering included some of Edmonton’s most active clubwomen and

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years of service in the
Toronto Girl.

The Toronto Girl is
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dends in priceless ser-
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**"Invest in the
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FIGURE 5. The Toronto YWCA's Jubilee Campaign was the most ambitious financial campaign ever undertaken by a Canadian YWCA.

SOURCE: *The Globe*, 16 May 1923, 3.

female reformers, and wives of the city's leading professionals, businessmen and politicians. The male campaign workers included several mayors of Edmonton, a former premier of Alberta, a former Lieutenant Governor, the city health officer, the director of the YMCA, members of the Rotary Club, Chamber of Commerce, Board of Trade and school board, a bank manager, a president of a grain company, and businessmen who were prominent in real estate and wholesale or retail trade.⁶³ The highlight of the first day of canvassing was a flight in an airplane by Mrs. G.H.V. Bulyea, President of the Edmonton YWCA and wife of the former Lieutenant Governor, who dropped twelve free memberships over the city. Several benefits were also held. The Rotarians and Kiwanians challenged the advertising section of the Board of Trade to a baseball game whose proceeds were donated to the YWCA fund, and the Hudson's Bay Company staged five performances of its historical pageant "The Romance of the Hudson's Bay Co. From 1670 to 1920," featuring "full-blooded treaty Indians." As a result of this campaign, Edmonton's "Building for Her" was opened in 1922, and

fulfillment of this YWCA's "long cherished dream" was achieved in 1926 when Lord and Lady Allenby opened its new gymnasium and swimming pool.⁶⁴

The backing of the local press was obviously crucial to the success of YWCA building campaigns and it was generally forthcoming. YWCA annual meetings, conferences, entertainments, and public meetings featuring out-of-town speakers were regularly covered in the press, sometimes with copy supplied by the YWCA itself. During building campaigns in particular, extensive coverage of the organization, its history and its work supplemented accounts of the dangers that life in the city posed for women. Editorials with titles such as "The Y.W.C.A. Enterprise," "The Claims of the Y.W.C.A.," and "A Worthy Appeal" were a regular feature of campaign coverage.⁶⁵ The increasingly supportive stance of the press during these decades was perhaps best illustrated by the *Hamilton Spectator*. In a small 1889 item headed "Chippie Chasers Beware," the *Spectator* warned the (male) citizens of Hamilton that one hundred ladies interested in organizing "a sort of feminine Y.M.C.A." had recently met at the YMCA building to sing "Rescue the Perishing" and to "take into consideration what action can be taken to counteract the alarming prevalence of immorality among young girls in the city as the result of the flourishing dance halls, etc." In 1918, however, the *Spectator's* editorial "Help the Y.W.C.A.," advising support for a \$40,000 debt-clearing campaign, called the YWCA a "noble cause" that was "of direct benefit to the welfare of our own city and citizens."⁶⁶

The considerable newspaper coverage that YWCA fundraising campaigns generated in the early decades of this century constitutes, for the most part, the only remaining direct evidence of campaign activities.⁶⁷ Analysis of this coverage reveals that YWCAs, with the aid of the YMCA and a select group of supportive businessmen, developed a strategy to "sell" their objectives to the business community. Certain aspects of the YWCA's work, those that were consistent with its presentation as a "community service," were emphasized at the expense of others. Although a conservative faction within the YWCA's leadership still regarded the primary purpose of their organization as the saving of souls, such rhetoric never appeared in campaign literature. The Protestant evangelical underpinning of YWCA programs were downplayed and campaigners presented the YWCA's mandate as the provision of practical assistance and services to all young women, and the upholding of a model of "true Christian womanhood" that promised to benefit the entire community. Addressing the businessman's distrust of religious charities, the campaign coverage stressed that YWCA practices conformed to the standards of sound business management, and indeed, that the YWCA was not a religious charity at all. YWCA campaigns responded to the prejudice of many businessmen against funding any sort of program or service for women, pointing out that not only could an enterprise such as the YWCA be managed suc-

cessfully by women, but that it was to the advantage of businessmen to support it. These and other themes were common to campaigns waged across the country and throughout these four decades for the construction, expansion or extension of YWCA facilities.

One of the first tasks of YWCA campaign workers was to deal with the businessman's ignorance of the YWCA and skepticism about its purpose. Many who were unfamiliar with the YWCA regarded it as simply another obscure and transient local charity, no more worthy of their support than the ladies' aid society of a local church. YWCAs were urged to combat this misapprehension that their organization was a "local equipment only."

In this age of wide publicity and scientific advertising, it has become a problem for the local Association . . . to place before the businessmen of a community a large enough conception of the Young Women's Christian Association as a movement. Busy businessmen will give attention to large things that appeal to them, based on a conception of a national or international programme, and will give but superficial attention to an organization that presents a purely local appeal. We must advertise the Association as such⁶⁸

To assist in this objective, one of the Dominion Council's staff of national organizing secretaries was often sent to help a local branch undertaking a major financial campaign. Her task was not only to assist with the work of campaign organization but also to present the YWCA in a series of addresses at public meetings as having a long history and as forming part of a national and international movement of women. The implication was that no progressive community would want its young women to be left out of such a movement.

YWCA campaign workers stressed that their organization represented the best in modern scientific philanthropy, having a specific mandate and field of expertise, encouraging respectable young women to become and remain self-supporting, rather than a drain on the community, and promising to elevate the religious and moral standards of the entire city. To those who did not believe in supporting charities, it was argued that despite the YWCA's need to appeal for funds, "it is not to be understood that it is a charitable organization. That is to say, the hundreds of girls and women who use the Y.W.C.A. pay their own way."⁶⁹ In a somewhat contradictory fashion, however, the campaign literature also claimed that the YWCA would never turn away a young woman who was destitute and genuinely in need of protection. The net effect of the YWCA's programs, it was said, was to encourage "self-dependence" on the part of working women, and not to "pauperize" or encourage dependence on the public purse. Campaign workers stressed that the YWCA sought help with capital expenditures, not operating costs. "The money is not wanted as a stop-gap. It is not asked with the idea of doing the same thing over again next year and

the next. . . . As a business concern it is conducted on business principles and it pays."⁷⁰ Campaign literature addressed itself directly to the businessman's obsession with the state of the YWCA's finances by publishing statistics on the value of the property, the amount owing on the mortgage, sources of income, outstanding debts and similar details. Businessmen were advised not to assume, despite the fact that the YWCA was managed and operated by women, that its financial appeals were in any way the result of inefficiency or bad business practices. Supporters, in fact, frequently expressed their amazement at the administrative competence of the YWCA ladies. The YWCA, the campaign literature reiterated, was "a good business proposition."

One theme that recurred in every speech and every advertisement during a YWCA campaign was the vital role that women played in determining the moral standards of the community. Young working women required protection and deserved assistance above all because they were future wives and mothers. Stressing women's moral influence was a strategy frequently employed by women reformers because it justified many of their own activities.⁷¹ In YWCA campaigns businessmen were encouraged to think of their contributions as an investment in the future of the community. "Can there be any better investment of money than that which will provide the best conditions for the upbuilding of true Christian womanhood?"⁷²

Girls and women are a city's biggest asset. Their standards and ideals determine the character of home, school and business. Their value to the community cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents. Girls of today are the mothers of tomorrow. All problems revert to the home, and the mother is the important factor in the home. We cannot put a price on the mother or the wife, on the sister or the daughter. . . .⁷³

Rev. Murdoch McKinnon of Knox Church, Regina, gave the most eloquent expression to this argument in a sermon supporting the local YWCA building campaign in 1911. "Money invested in a Christian institution making for health, comfort and development of our young women and for the welfare of future homes will give better and more lasting dividends than the best turn over that real estate can effect."⁷⁴

Despite its efforts to emphasize the value of young women to the community, the YWCA faced a widespread public reluctance to fund facilities and services for women, especially working women. Many middle-class people who were quite ready to spend money on behalf of young men, the future leaders of the community, failed to see any reason for similar support for young women, and argued that a young woman who "fell" merited her fate because a "good girl" was quite capable of taking care of herself. Attitudes such as these contributed to the consistently greater support received in most Canadian cities by the YMCA and forced the YWCA to adopt such expedients as holding physical

culture classes in the dining room, accommodating transients in the library, and turning the gymnasium into a summer dormitory. It also led in many communities to the YWCA's dependence on the YMCA's generosity, which was not always forthcoming, for the use of the latter's gymnasium and swimming pool. Indeed, YWCA workers exhibited a certain jealousy of the lavish facilities and large budgets at the disposal of the men's organization. The General Secretary of the Ottawa YWCA commented in 1906:

... I believe that the time is coming when men *and women* shall be as ready to help the young woman ... as all the world is to help the young man. We congratulate the Young Men's Christian Association on their splendid success in providing for the young men of our city. But we believe the time is coming when the thinking public will no longer expect the Young Women's Christian Association to do the work of the Physical Department without a gymnasium, nor the work of the Educational Department in one small classroom.⁷⁵

The argument that young women, as a matter of justice and principle, deserved the same services and facilities as were available to young men was not, YWCA leaders were well aware, likely to carry much weight with potential corporate supporters. Hence the essence of the YWCA financial campaign was an appeal to male chivalry and to the self-interest of businessmen, and campaign workers were compelled to stress not what they believed were the actual needs of working women but the possible dangers to the community that might result from not funding the YWCA.

The branch of YWCA work that received the most sympathetic press coverage during financial campaigns was its Travellers Aid and Immigration Department. Of all the YWCA's activities, this was the most consistently praised as "an essential community service." In cities such as Vancouver and Victoria, the YWCA received occasional tax grants and direct money contributions from the city council and provincial government in recognition of its Travellers Aid services.⁷⁶ While YWCA women were particularly interested in the possibility of "Canadianizing" the new immigrant and perhaps winning her to Christianity while she was susceptible to good (or bad) influence, it was the contribution of Travellers Aid to the prevention of the white slave trade that attracted the attention of the press and that was stressed in financial campaigns. YWCA Travellers Aid workers claimed to be among the front ranks of those actively working in cooperation with police and railroad and steamship authorities to curb the operations of the White Slave trade in Canadian cities.⁷⁷ According to many middle-class reformers with an interest in social purity, agents of the notorious traffic in women frequented railroad stations and ports of entry in order to take advantage of the confusion of the new arrival, and operated as part of an organized global network that kidnapped young women for the purposes of prostitution.⁷⁸ Canada, as "the Mecca of the immigrant from

all lands" was thought to provide "the slaver's golden opportunity."⁷⁹ The activities of the local YWCA were commended by the *Hamilton Spectator* following a report by "two lady detectives employed by the government" who declared that there was "more white slave trafficking in Hamilton than in any other city of its size in the whole of America — not Canada, but America."⁸⁰ For its efforts to prevent white slavery, the YWCA was viewed by the press and civic officials as deserving of public support.

YWCA women were genuinely concerned about the existence of the white slave trade, but during the course of their regular work they generally limited themselves to discreet references to "the dangers that beset young women in cities." Coverage of this work during financial campaigns, however, tended to be somewhat more dramatic. A lurid editorial published in the *Hamilton Times* in 1913, at the height of the white slave scare and during a \$75,000 YWCA building campaign, predicted dire consequences if the shortage of accommodation at the YWCA, which was reportedly forced to turn away at least ten women a week, was not remedied. According to the editors of the *Times*, a young woman left alone to wander the streets, waylaid by a white slaver, was doomed to become

... a slave of the most heartlessly cruel taskmasters that ever the world has seen. She is merely an atom among the seething millions of the cold, cold world: and the monster who so artfully has enticed her into his web, grins sardonically and waxes fat on the price of her soul's ruin. Picture a girl who has left the old country, landing in Canada — this fair country of ours — hoping to make a way for herself in life, sucked into the abyss of degradation and torturing despair, just because the Christians of our country have not spared a few dollars to aid such an organization. . . .⁸¹

YWCA women were not unaware of the relationship between prostitution and low wages but it was the need to combat white slavery that was stressed during their financial campaigns undoubtedly because this was an issue that businessmen could more comfortably support. Accounts of white slavery tended to portray the villain as an immigrant working-class male, thus absolving the community's "leading citizens" from any responsibility for the existence of prostitution in their city. The broader critique of male sexuality and the double standard that appeared in other YWCA literature tended to be muted during its fundraising campaigns. Instead, the campaign ads appealed to male chivalry and encouraged the businessman to reflect upon the fact that the woman safeguarded by the YWCA could be someone dear to him personally. "Every man who has made good . . . owes it to his mother, wife or sister, and it is his duty to guard the womanhood of the nation. . . ."⁸²

To encourage the businessman to contribute his dollars to the YWCA, campaign supporters also stressed that young

working women were playing an increasingly productive role in the economy. Typically, a Winnipeg columnist observed in 1920, "More and more women workers are coming to the city — all to meet the need of industrial and business expansion. To a very considerable extent the immediate prosperity of the city depends upon these women."⁸³ The *Moncton Daily Times* called young women "a big economic factor" who required, to assist them in shouldering their responsibility for "developing the nation's resources":

Right living conditions
Good food
Knowledge and training in the laws of health
Real recreation
Friends
Training in citizenship
International relationships
Leadership
Co-operation.⁸⁴

The YWCA supported welfare measures in the workplace, under the direct supervision of its own staff where possible, and campaigners argued that it was in the interest of businessmen to support its efforts on behalf of their employees, given that it was "far too well established to need argument that welfare work among employees pays their firms in actual dollars."⁸⁵ Toronto businessmen were urged to regard the YWCA's Jubilee Campaign as a "wise investment." "Factory, shop, office and home make heavy demands upon the health, minds and spirits of the girls and women of Toronto. This expended energy must be renewed. And the Y.W.C.A. stands ready to do that service for girls of every occupation, nationality and belief. Your part is to help provide the 'plant'."⁸⁶

Businessmen were also encouraged to support the YWCA, particularly in the years after the First World War, because of the important role it could play in mediating the "great conflict between capital and labour." The YWCA's staff of industrial secretaries, strongly influenced by the teachings of the Social Gospel, promoted the idea of a co-operative Christian social order, characterized by harmony between capital and labour and a recognition of their common interests and mutual interdependence.⁸⁷ The presentation of these ideas took an extraordinary form during the Toronto Jubilee Campaign in 1923 when the YWCA presented a gigantic pageant at Massey Hall. According to *The Globe*, "Through the Centuries" depicted six periods in the industrial life of the women of Canada. "Primitive women" and Indian women were succeeded by pioneer women, who appeared as the Spirit of Co-operation ousted the Spirit of Obedience. With the advent of the era of machinery, "all alike surrendered to the deadly monotony of toil under the compulsion of Economic Need."

In bewildering succession came Industrial Expansion and her attendants, the Spirit of Manufacture, the Spirit of Commerce, modern industrial workers — Steam, Elec-

tricity, Blue Waters, the ghouls of Industrial Unrest that threw into confusion the women in industry, the Spirit of Compassion, and many other characters who played their respective parts leading up to the triumph of Co-operation, and the singing of the Hymn of Allegiance in which all pledged their loyalty to her. The grand climax was reached when the spirit of the Y.W.C.A. appeared and the great company united in a hymn of praise to God for past progress and future hopes.⁸⁸

The YWCA, particularly during the 1920s, supported the industrial council movement and protective labour legislation, yet fund-raising campaigns tended to emphasize that the main thrust of the YWCA's programs encouraged an individual approach to the improvement of the position of women workers. Campaigners stressed the ways in which membership in the YWCA's working women's clubs could foster diligence, honesty, punctuality and other virtues that all businessmen valued in their employees.

From time to time during these decades YWCA financial campaigns failed to win the enthusiastic support of the business community. Winnipeg campaigners in 1920 reported "an apathy on the part of some of the larger firms in the city, even those which employ many young women, that is rather disheartening."⁸⁹ More often than not, however, the YWCA's appeal elicited substantial contributions from local firms. Contributors to the Toronto Jubilee Campaign in 1923 included the estate of W.A. Kemp (\$15,000); T. Eaton Co. (\$10,000); Chester D. Massey (\$10,000); G.H. Wood and J.H. Gundy (\$10,000); Christie, Brown & Co. (\$5,000); Sir Joseph Flavelle (\$3,000); R. Simpson Co. (\$2,500); Massey-Harris Co. (\$2,000); Imperial Oil (\$2,000); Canada Loan & Savings Co. (\$1,000); Toronto Star (\$1,000) and many others.⁹⁰ Nor were donations necessarily confined to the occasion of a building campaign. A committee of Hamilton businessmen presented a surprise gift of \$4,000 in 1927 to the YWCA's Blue Triangle Club for working women. The *Hamilton Herald* observed: "... perhaps the most interesting aspect of the entire episode is that which indicates that the business men of Hamilton are realizing, to the extent of putting their hands in their pockets, the real need for the Y.W.C.A. as a potent influence for good among their girl workers. This is a case of enlightened self-interest."⁹¹ Perhaps the most noteworthy instance of cooperation between the YWCA and local businessmen was a joint venture by the Toronto branch and the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, the latter having rejected a plan to build its own residence for employees in favour of supporting the YWCA. A joint campaign raised \$66,000 and the Alexandra Park YWCA, accommodating one hundred young women, was opened in 1912, its purpose being "always to take in all who come to the city to look for employment of any kind, where possible find them employment and help them to get into suitable boarding houses."⁹²

Finally, YWCA campaign workers directed an apparently successful appeal to local boosters who were advised to

consider what would happen to their reputations and to the reputation of their community should they fail to support the YWCA. It was noted in the "Building and Real Estate News" of the *Manitoba Free Press* in 1908 that the growth of charitable institutions such as the YWCA indicated the prosperity of a city: "... the financial standing of the city is in a healthy state when busy men can devote a great deal of time, in addition to much money, to matters entirely beyond the realm of business activity."⁹³ YWCA supporters agreed wholeheartedly with the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia who, on opening the new Victoria YWCA in 1927, observed that the possession of a YWCA building was "a good advertisement for any city."⁹⁴ Sensible businessmen would surely not wish their community to be embarrassed by its lack of a splendid facility for its young women. "No association in western Canada offers as poor accommodation to the business girls and the women travelling as our Edmonton association."⁹⁵ "Toronto has a world-wide reputation for making a success of worthy undertakings, and it would be too bad if the city's record in this respect were to be lowered by a failure to provide the funds for so necessary a work as the proposed Y.W.C.A. extensions."⁹⁶ "Winnipeg will not justify its claim to be a city of large and liberal outlook unless it measures up to the demands of the ladies."⁹⁷ An Edmonton columnist observed astutely about the proposed "Building for Her": "The board of trade will probably have it depicted in its 'Boost Edmonton' literature, and it will be a noble addition to the lists of sights we have already compiled — the government buildings, the university, the Macdonald hotel, office buildings, schools, churches, memorial hall, and packing plant."⁹⁸ The laying of the cornerstone or the official opening of a new YWCA building was a major public event, given full coverage by the press and honoured by the presence of prominent business leaders, municipal and provincial politicians and visiting dignitaries.⁹⁹ All agreed with the sentiments of Hon. J.R. Stratton who, on opening the new Peterborough YWCA in 1905, observed typically: "It should be a matter of great pride to our citizens to have in their midst such an Association and such a building. . . . We all . . . desire Peterborough to take its place in future amongst the best cities in the Dominion, and the Y.W.C.A. building [will] remain as a monument to its enterprise and progressiveness."¹⁰⁰ Alan Artibise has argued that an important component of the booster ethos during these decades was a myth of a shared sense of community that promoted "the notion that all classes and groups could be united on the basis of faith in the city, belief in its destiny, and commitment to its growth."¹⁰¹ The YWCA and its supporters appealed to this myth by claiming that their building heralded a new phase in the development of the urban community, indicating its prosperity, growing maturity and increased consciousness of its responsibility to all its citizens.

In conclusion, the appearance of YWCA buildings in cities across Canada was an important manifestation of the contribution of women to urban reform in the early decades of this century. The successful financial campaigns that

resulted in the construction of these buildings constitute an illuminating example of the ways in which women reformers sometimes cooperated with the men of their class to achieve their ends, and also of the women's ultimate dependence on the men given their lack of access to capital and political influence. Although the men and women of the city's elite were able to agree on the need for a YWCA building, and to cooperate in making it happen, the completed structure represented their two different approaches to the reform of the city. For YWCA women, their building was an attempt to counter the corruption of women, children and the family order by the urban environment, to provide a female alternative to the masculine culture of turn-of-the-century Canadian cities, and to create a base from which they could promote values conducive to the protection of women's physical, moral and spiritual purity, the Protestant evangelical ideal of family life, and the ideology of separate spheres. For the majority of the businessmen and boosters who supported the YWCA, however, their dollars were being invested in a structure that ensured philanthropy was conducted according to business principles, that fostered growth, stability, and a productive workforce, and that advertised both their own and their community's enterprise and progressiveness. As a strategy for transforming the urban environment, "female institution building" had its limitations. Given women's lack of power to act on their own vision of urban reform, it was to the businessman's vision that YWCA fund-raising campaigns appealed and it was the support of the businessman that ultimately made possible the construction of a YWCA building in virtually every sizable Canadian city during these four decades.

NOTES

1. Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5(3/1979): 512-529.
2. Blanche Wiesen Cook, "Female Support Networks and Political Activism: Lillian Wald, Crystal Eastman, Emma Goldman," in *A Heritage of Her Own: Toward a New Social History of American Women*, ed. Nancy F. Cott and Elizabeth H. Pleck (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 412-444; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977); Patricia T. Rooke, "Public Figure, Private Woman: Same-Sex Support Structures in the Life of Charlotte Whitton," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 6(5/1983): 412-428; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1(1/1975): 1-29.
3. Linda Richter, "The Ephemeral Female: Women in Urban Histories," *International Journal of Women's Studies* 5(4/1982): 312-328.
4. Marilyn Gittell and Teresa Shtob, "Changing Women's Roles in Political Volunteerism and Reform of the City," in *Women and the American City*, ed. Catharine R. Stimpson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 64-75.
5. Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89(3/1984): 620-647.

6. For Canadian examples, see Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1979); T.R. Morrison, "Their Proper Sphere": Feminism, the Family, and Child-centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," *Ontario History* 68 (1976): 45-74; Diana Pedersen, "The Scientific Training of Mothers': The Campaign for Domestic Science in Ontario Schools, 1890-1913" in *Critical Issues in the History of Canadian Science, Technology and Medicine*, ed. Richard A. Jarrell and Arnold E. Roos (Ottawa and Thornhill: HSTC Publications, 1983), 178-194; Christina Simmons, "'Helping the Poorer Sisters': The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945," *Acadiensis* 14 (Autumn 1984): 3-27; Veronica Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929* (Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1976); and John D. Thomas, "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926," *Canadian Historical Review* 65 (September 1984): 371-395.
7. Marlene Stein Wortman, "Domesticating the Nineteenth-Century American City," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies* 3 (1977): 531-572.
8. For a useful discussion of the problems which follow from ascribing to women a class position and class interests identical to those of their husbands, see Lee Comer, "The Question of Women and Class," *Women's Studies International Quarterly* 1(2/1978): 165-178.
9. See Gerda R. Wekerle, "Women in the Urban Environment," and Dolores Hayden, "What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like? Speculations on Housing, Urban Design, and Human Work," both in Stimpson, *Women and the American City*.
10. Wortman, "Domesticating the Nineteenth-Century American City," 563.
11. Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred*, 105.
12. Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States, 1780-1860* (London: Macmillan, 1985), Chapter 3.
13. The first Canadian branch of the YWCA, a short-lived affair, was established in Saint John in 1870, with permanent organizations following in Toronto (1873), Montreal (1874), Quebec (1875) and Halifax (1875). A Dominion Council of YWCAs of Canada was organized in 1895. On the history of the YWCA in Canada, see Josephine Perfect Harshaw, *When Women Work Together: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966); Mary Quayle Innis, *Unfold the Years: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1949); Wendy Mitchinson, "The YWCA and Reform in the Nineteenth Century," *Histoire sociale/Social History* XII (November 1979): 368-384; and Diana Pedersen, "'Keeping Our Good Girls Good': The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920" (M.A. thesis, Carleton University, 1981).
14. Mrs. R.A. Falconer, "The Y.W.C.A. and the Church," *Woman's Century*, July 1916, 5; Una M. Saunders, *The Work of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada*, undated pamphlet, ca. 1918-1919, 1-2.
15. Archives of Ontario, Toronto YWCA Records, *Annual Report*, 1874.
16. For a useful table of dates of organization, see Innis, *Unfold the Years*, 227-8.
17. Alice Klein and Wayne Roberts, "Besieged Innocence: The 'Problem' and Problems of Working Women — Toronto, 1896-1914," in *Women at Work: Ontario, 1850-1930*, ed. Janice Acton et al. (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974), 211-259.
18. For example, *Hamilton Times*, 11 September 1912; Winnipeg, *Manitoba Free Press*, 10 April 1920, 14; *Edmonton Journal*, 24 April 1920, 10, 11; *Edmonton Journal*, 15 May 1920, 11.
19. Susan R. Witter, "YWCA and Adult Education in Canada, 1870-1978," *Learning* (Spring 1978): 5-9.
20. Victoria, *Daily Colonist*, 3 August 1907, 11.
21. University of British Columbia Library, Special Collections, Vancouver YWCA Records, *Annual Report*, 1919, 6.
22. M.I. Pitters-Caswell, "Woman's Participation in Sporting Activities as an Indicator of Femininity and Cultural Evolution in Toronto, 1910 to 1920" (M.H.K. thesis, University of Windsor, 1975), 98, 101, 117.
23. 31 May 1918.
24. These statistics can be found in tables in the YWCA magazine published under a variety of titles by the Dominion Council between 1900 and 1920. Public Archives of Canada, MG 28I 198, YWCA of Canada Records, v. 46.
25. *Daily Colonist*, 20 January 1901; 5 March 1908, 7.
26. The evangelicals emphasized the importance of the conversion experience and the belief that only by accepting Christ as one's personal saviour could salvation be achieved. Such a conviction implied an obligation to provide others with the opportunity to be saved in a like manner. See Goldwin French, "The Evangelical Creed in Canada," in *The Shield of Achilles: Aspects of Canada in the Victorian Age*, ed. W.L. Morton (Toronto/Montreal: McClelland and Stewart, 1968); Robert T. Handy, *A History of the Churches in the United States and Canada* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), Chapters 9 and 11; and D.C. Masters, "The Anglican Evangelicals in Toronto, 1870-1900," *Journal of the Canadian Church Historical Society* 20 (3-4/1978): 51-66.
27. For a useful discussion of concern about the potentially dangerous influence of the movies, see Elizabeth Ewen, "City Lights: Immigrant Women and the Rise of the Movies," in Stimpson, *Women and the American City*, 42-63.
28. For example, Upton Sinclair, "Women's Tragic Life in Packingtown," Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 19 June 1906, 7; "Traffic in White Girls in Seattle," *Edmonton Journal*, 5 November 1907, 3; "Amazing Growth of Immorality: Lutheran Council at Minneapolis Protests Against Conditions in States," *Manitoba Free Press*, 15 September 1909, 1; "Police Probe Reveals N.Y. as Greatest Vice Centre in History of the World," *Winnipeg Tribune*, 1 April 1920, 3. See also John H. Thompson, "American Muckrakers and Western Canadian Reform," *Journal of Popular Culture* 4(4/1971): 1060-1070.
29. F.B. DuVal, *The Problem of Social Vice in Winnipeg* (Winnipeg: Moral and Social Reform Committee, 1910); Moral and Social Reform Council of British Columbia, *Social Vice in Vancouver* (Vancouver: James F. Morris, Co., 1912); J.S. Woodsworth, *Social Surveys in Canada* (Toronto: 1914); Committee of Sixteen, *Some Facts Regarding Toleration, Regulation, Segregation and Repression of Commercialized Vice* (Montreal: Southam Press, 1919).
30. YWCA of Canada Records, v. 46, *Association Outlook*, January 1920, "Travellers Aid," 12. See also *Montreal Daily Star*, 21 October 1897, 3; Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 15 June 1909, 10; Victoria, *Daily Times*, 23 March 1916; 12 April 1924, 6; *Vancouver Sunday Province*, 27 April 1930, 1.
31. Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), Chapter 14; Judy Bedford, "Prostitution in Calgary 1905-1914," *Alberta History* 29(2/1981): 1-11; James H. Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971); Deborah Nilssen, "The 'Social Evil': Prostitution in Vancouver, 1900-1920," in *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.*, ed. Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980), 205-228; and Lori Rotenberg, "The Wayward Worker: Toronto's Prostitute at the Turn of the Century" in Acton, *Women at Work*, 33-69. For personal insights into the limited options that could make prostitution appealing to working women as well as an account of a home for former prostitutes in Montreal during the First World War, see Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson, eds., *The Maimie Papers*, with an introduction by Ruth Rosen (London: Virago Limited, 1979).
32. *Woman's Century*, December 1917, 17. See also *Edmonton Journal*, 11 May 1920, 1.
33. See Sheila Jeffreys, "'Free from All Uninvited Touch of Man': Women's Campaigns Around Sexuality, 1880-1914," *Women's*

- Studies International Forum* 5(6/1982): 629-645; Jean Lawrence L'Esperance, "Woman's Mission to Woman: Explorations in the Operation of the Double Standard and Female Solidarity in Nineteenth Century England," *Histoire sociale/Social History* XII (November 1979): 316-338; Elizabeth Pleck, "Feminist Responses to 'Crimes Against Women', 1868-1896," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 8(3/1983): 451-470; and Martha Vicinus, "Sexuality and Power: A Review of Current Work in the History of Sexuality," *Feminist Studies* 8(1/1982): 133-156.
34. Quoted in Gray, *Red Lights on the Prairies*, 76.
 35. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax YWCA Records, MG 20, v. 776, Clippings, "What is the Y.W.C.A. of Halifax," 1920.
 36. *Ibid.*, "Fix the Responsibility," November 1917.
 37. Hamilton YWCA Records, Clippings, "For Working Girls," 1915.
 38. *Manitoba Free Press*, 30 May 1908, 8.
 39. Pedersen, " 'Keeping Our Good Girls Good,' " Chapter 7.
 40. I would like to acknowledge my debt to Arnold Ross who first made me aware that my early work on the YWCA failed to take into account both the existence and requirements of the physical plant, and their important implications for the organization. By introducing me to systems theory, he stimulated several completely new (for me) trains of thought. This paper is one result.
 41. Alan F.J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities, 1871-1913," in *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), 213.
 42. On the charitable work of the Toronto YWCA during this early period, see Mitchinson, "The YWCA and Reform"; Morrison, " 'Their Proper Sphere' "; and Joey Noble, " 'Classifying' the Poor: Toronto Charities, 1850-1880," *Studies in Political Economy* 2 (Autumn 1979): 109-128.
 43. Public Archives of Canada, MG 28 I 240, Montreal YWCA Records, v. 38, *Annual Report*, 1889, 9.
 44. Ottawa YWCA Records, *Annual Report*, 1892-3.
 45. Toronto YWCA Records, *Annual Report*, 1890 11.
 46. *Ibid.*, 14-16. See also *The Globe*, 11 July 1890, 8 and 8 April 1892, 8.
 47. The value of real property held by local YWCAs grew to be considerable. The following were the largest holdings reported to the 1919 conference of Canadian YWCAs: Toronto (\$291,000), Montreal (\$237,000), Quebec (\$103,000), Hamilton (\$103,000), Ottawa (\$88,600), Regina (\$88,510), Moose Jaw (\$81,301), Winnipeg (\$68,499), Calgary (\$63,802), Halifax (\$60,000), and Vancouver (\$57,500). YWCA of Canada Records, v. 46, *Association Outlook*, January 1920, 24.
 48. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria YWCA Records, Board of Directors Minute Books, Vol. III, 13 October 1922.
 49. Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 21 February 1908, 7.
 50. See, for example, the detailed statements of contributions to the building fund in the annual reports of the Montreal YWCA, 1870s-1890s. Montreal YWCA Records, v. 38.
 51. For a valuable analysis of the charity bazaar, see F.K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).
 52. Montreal YWCA Records, *Annual Report*, 1890, 15.
 53. A relevant study of the status of charity in nineteenth-century Toronto is Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony: Voluntary vs Public Poor Relief in Nineteenth Century Toronto," *Ontario History* 65(1/1973): 32-49.
 54. The YWCA and YMCA were and still are entirely separate organizations although they do share facilities in some modern communities. The YMCA began in England in 1844, and its first North American branch was established in Montreal in 1851. On its activities in Canada, see David MacLeod, "A Live Vaccine: The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada, 1870-1920," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11 (May 1978): 5-25; and Murray G. Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada: The Chronicle of a Century* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1951). On the early financial campaigns, see Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada*, 307-9.
 55. Aileen D. Ross, "Organized Philanthropy in an Urban Community," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 18(4/1952): 474-486. I have relied heavily for my understanding of the participation of upper and middle-class men and women in local philanthropic endeavours, the ideology behind this participation, the benefits that accrued to participants, and the social pressures that encouraged their involvement, on this and three other articles by the same author. All are based on a study of philanthropy and short-term financial campaigns in "Wellsville," an Eastern Canadian community, between 1909 and 1950. See "The Social Control of Philanthropy," *American Journal of Sociology* 58(5/1953): 451-460; "Philanthropic Activity and the Business Career," *Social Forces* 32 (March 1954): 274-280; and "Control and Leadership in Women's Groups: An Analysis of Philanthropic Money-Raising Activity," *Social Forces* 37(2/1958): 124-131. I am grateful to John Taylor for these references.
 56. These slogans were employed, respectively, in Victoria (1924) and Edmonton (1920).
 57. Robert Bremner, " 'Scientific Philanthropy', 1873-93," *Social Service Review* 30(2 1956): 168-173.
 58. A fascinating portrait of one such Canadian businessman is Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Business Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1978). Flavelle contributed to YWCA financial campaigns, and his wife, Clara, served on the Dominion Council of YWCAs during the First World War.
 59. Aileen D. Ross, "Organized Philanthropy," 483.
 60. Murray G. Ross, *The Y.M.C.A. in Canada*, 95, 309.
 61. YWCA of Canada Records, v. 46, *The Young Women of Canada*, "Business Administration of a City Association," February 1910, 190-191.
 62. Details of this campaign appeared in the *Edmonton Journal*, 24 April-7 June 1920.
 63. I am very grateful to Rebecca Coulter for generously undertaking to identify for me the principal participants in the Edmonton campaign.
 64. *Edmonton Journal*, 24 October 1921, 12, 16; 1 April 1922, 7; 5 April 1922, 9; 13 March 1926, 6.
 65. Regina, *The Leader*, 14 March 1911, 4; *Hamilton Times*, 29 November 1913; *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, 5 April 1920, 4; *Winnipeg, Manitoba Free Press*, 13 April 1920, 15; Toronto, *The Globe*, 14 May 1923, 4; Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 8 November 1923, 6; Peterborough, *Evening Examiner*, 4 November 1925, 4; *Halifax Herald*, 27 March 1928, 6; *Winnipeg, Manitoba Free Press*, 5 June 1929, 15. I found only one editorial which did not support funding the YWCA. The Saskatoon *Daily Phoenix* advised the city council not to approve a proposed \$5,000 grant to the YWCA on the grounds that the council had refused to support the Roman Catholic Grey Nuns hospital. The grant passed "without any opposition and not much discussion," 22 May 1911, 4; 23 May 1911, 5.
 66. 18 March 1889, 4; 26 March 1889, 4; 24 September 1918, 6.
 67. For this paper, I have located and examined newspaper coverage of campaigns in the following cities: Edmonton, May 1920; Halifax, April 1928; Hamilton, November 1909, November 1913, September 1918; Moncton, June 1920; Regina, March 1911; Saskatoon, May 1911; Toronto, May 1923; Vancouver, June 1909, November 1923; Victoria, April 1924; Winnipeg, May 1908, April 1920, June 1929. I have also examined coverage of the ceremonies accompanying the laying of the cornerstone and official opening of YWCA buildings in these and other cities. See note 99.
 68. YWCA of Canada Records, v. 46, *The Young Women of Canada*, September 1916, 123.
 69. Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 2 November 1923, 27; 7 November 1923, 26.
 70. *Winnipeg, Manitoba Free Press*, 3 April 1920, 7.
 71. See Linda Kealey's introduction to *A Not Unreasonable Claim*.
 72. Victoria, *Daily Colonist*, 3 August 1907, 11.

73. Winnipeg, *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 June 1929, 3.
74. Regina, *The Leader*, 13 March 1911, 7.
75. Ottawa YWCA Records, *Annual Report*, 1906-7, 55.
76. Victoria YWCA Records, Board of Directors Minutes, 10 June 1910, 9 February 1912, 11 May 1923; Vancouver YWCA Records, *Annual Reports*, 1907, 1910, 1913.
77. For example, A.L. Skinner, "Overcome the Perils Lurking in Large Cities," Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 15 June 1909, 10.
78. Ernest E. Bell, ed., *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls* (Chicago: Illinois Vigilance Association, 1910; reprint ed., *War on the White Slave Trade*, Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1980). Essays by Rev. J.G. Shearer and Miss Lucy W. Brooking deal with conditions in Canadian cities. See also H. Wilson Harris, *Human Merchandise: A Study of the International Traffic in Women* (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1928), 170-175. Historians disagree about whether and to what extent an organized traffic in women actually existed or whether the white slave scare was in fact a form of middle-class hysteria and a thinly-veiled attempt to control the sexuality of working-class women. For example, Mary de Young, "Help, I'm Being Held Captive! The White Slave Fairy Tale of the Progressive Era," *Journal of American Culture* 6(1/1983): 96-99; Deborah Gorham, "The 'Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon' Re-examined: Child Prostitution and the Idea of Childhood in Late-Victorian England," *Victorian Studies* 21 (Spring 1978): 353-369; Ruth Rosen, *The Lost Sisterhood: Prostitution in America, 1900-1918* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), Chapter 7; and Judith R. Walkowitz, "The Politics of Prostitution," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 6(1/1980): 123-135.
79. Shearer, "The Canadian Crusade," in Bell, *Fighting the Traffic in Young Girls*, 337.
80. 24 September 1910. See also *Hamilton Times*, 13 April 1910.
81. 29 November 1913.
82. *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 May 1908, 1.
83. *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 April 1920, 7.
84. 2 June 1920, 8.
85. Winnipeg, *Manitoba Free Press*, 3 April 1920, 7. For confirmation of the validity of this claim, see Philip R. Popple, "Social Work Practice in Business and Industry, 1875-1930," *Social Service Review* 55(2/1981): 257-269.
86. *The Globe*, 14 May 1923, 14.
87. Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good," Chapter 7.
88. 12 May 1923, 17.
89. *Winnipeg Evening Tribune*, 8 April 1920, 1.
90. *The Globe*, 16 May 1923, 17; 17 May 1923, 17; 18 May 1923, 14; 19 May 1923, 21; 22 May 1923, 17.
91. 27 January 1927.
92. *The Globe*, 12 September 1912, 5; YWCA of Canada Records, v.46, *The Young Women of Canada*, October 1912, 316; Michael Bliss, *A Living Profit: Studies in the Social History of Canadian Business, 1883-1911* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), 70.
93. 2 May 1908, 24.
94. *Daily Colonist*, 26 October 1927, 5.
95. *Edmonton Journal*, 28 April 1917, 13.
96. *The Globe*, 19 May 1923, 15.
97. *Manitoba Free Press*, 18 May 1908, 1.
98. *Edmonton Journal*, 15 May 1920, 11.
99. For examples of cornerstone ceremonies, see Toronto, *The Globe*, 11 July 1890, 8; Ottawa, *Daily Citizen*, 12 May 1894, 8; Peterborough, *Daily Examiner*, 8 September 1904, 4; *Edmonton Journal*, 24 October 1921, 12, 16; *Hamilton Spectator*, 19 August 1924; Windsor, *Border Cities Star*, 20 May 1925, 5. For coverage of official openings of new buildings, extensions, gyms and pools, see *Edmonton Journal*, 1 April 1922, 7, 5 April 1922, 9, 13 March 1926, 6; *Hamilton Herald*, 16 April 1910; *Hamilton Spectator*, 20 January 1915, 4 February 1925; *Hamilton Times*, 13 April 1910; Moncton, *Daily Times*, 14 September 1920, 5; Ottawa, *Daily Citizen*, 23 November 1894, 8; Ottawa, *Evening Journal*, 23 November 1894, 1; Peterborough, *Evening Examiner*, 24 April 1905, 3, 26 April 1905, 5, 8, 31 May 1918, 10; Regina, *The Leader*, 7 April 1925, 5; Saint John *Globe*, 21 March 1919, 3; Saskatoon, *Daily Phoenix*, 6 May 1912, 3; Toronto, *The Globe*, 8 April 1892, 8, 2 October 1923, 16, 2 October 1924, 14, 3 October 1924, 14; Vancouver, *Daily Province*, 20 June 1906, 4; Victoria, *Daily Times*, 26 October 1927, 8; Victoria, *Daily Colonist*, 26 October 1927, 5, 8; Windsor, *Border Cities Star*, 1 May 1926, 3.
100. *Evening Examiner*, 24 April 1905, 3.
101. Artibise, "Boosterism," 214.