

# The Political Career of Senator Cairine Wilson, 1921-62

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## ABSTRACT

This paper examines the career of Cairine Wilson - Canada's first senator, a liberal feminist, peace activist and humanitarian. Wilson's outlook was shaped by her commitment to an evangelical Christian liberal tradition and to maternal feminism. Her feminism is explored with respect to her involvement in reform institutions such as the League of Nations Society and the National Committee on Refugees, and her support for women's issues in the Senate. While there were serious class and gender limitations to Wilson's reformist maternal feminism, her long-standing presence among liberal and humanitarian elements in Canadian politics from 1920 to 1962 presented an ongoing challenge to conservative administrators and thus illustrates the contribution bourgeois feminists can make to Canadian politics and society.

In February, 1930, one year after five Albertan suffragists had established the right of a woman to sit in the Canadian Senate,<sup>1</sup> Prime Minister Mackenzie King recommended the appointment of Cairine Wilson to the Upper Chamber. Apparently relieved that King had not chosen the most likely candidate, fiery Judge Emily Murphy, the *Ottawa Evening Journal* reported: "Mrs. Wilson is the very antithesis of the short-haired reformer...that unlovely type which talks of Freud and...the latest novel and poses as an intellectual." Rather, Wilson was "of the much more appealing and competent kind who make a success of...taking care of a home and...family before meddling with and trying to make a success of everything else."<sup>2</sup> The focus of reporting soon shifted towards predictable discussions about an appropriate dress code for a woman politician, with some columnists encouraging the senator to wear inconspicuous suits and oth-

ers feminine dresses. She seemed to oblige the latter group by attending her swearing-in ceremony frocked in a stunning powder blue lace gown, matching satin shoes and a bouquet of orchids.<sup>3</sup> When addressing the Senate, Wilson similarly felt obliged to reassure her new male colleagues by making clear her intentions to fulfill all the responsibilities of her new position without neglecting her domestic duties.<sup>4</sup> "I trust," she stated, "that the future will show that while engaged in public affairs the...mother of a family by reason of her maternal instinct will remain the guardian of the home." While her comments were neither innovative nor surprising, they probably served their intended purpose. Yet, her next gesture was decidedly bold and dramatic. At the risk of tarnishing her "appealing" image, Wilson took the occasion to acknowledge the heroic struggles of Canadian women throughout history and, moreover, to

link her new honours with the political struggles of earlier feminists in Canada. Specifically, she expressed her indebtedness to “five women from Alberta” — Emily Murphy, Nellie McClung, Irene Parlby, Henrietta Muir Edwards and Louise McKinny — whose victory in the “person’s case” made possible Wilson’s appointment to the Senate.<sup>5</sup> So the Message was out. The new senator was well mannered and likely would not cause serious trouble; but while not as radical as some of her foremothers she was nonetheless politically ambitious and a liberal feminist not afraid to acknowledge the virtues of her predecessors.

Canadian feminist historians have ignored Cairine Wilson despite her rich and lengthy career. Having dubbed the 1920s and 1930s as the era of the decline of feminism in Canada, scholars have sought to explain why in spite of significant legal, educational and political victories, many Canadian women (though not all, and certainly not the old vanguard) shunned activism after World War One. Explanations correctly focussed on the failure of earlier feminists (who viewed their public activities as part of their maternal responsibilities) to understand that their actions signalled a fundamental break with women’s traditional domesticity. Moreover, by forging links with a variety of late Victorian reform movements, the campaign for female suffrage became detached from a purely women’s rights platform, with its critique of the repressive features of traditional marriage, and the radical minority that led the campaign for total equality for women. Instead, the suffrage movement became identified with the efforts of moderate, middle-class reformers seeking to preserve the family and Christian values in an urbanizing and industrializing society. By the turn of the century, feminism’s earlier link with spiritualism, labour and democratic radicalism had given way to a narrower notion of maternal feminism that focussed on women’s motherly contribution to family and state. As a result, feminists lacked an analysis of gender as socially

constructed, and found themselves without a coherent political and economic programme for complete liberation. Even the professionally inclined “new woman” of the post-war period not only accepted the prevailing image of femininity as gentle, innocent and mildly coquettish but she also sought marriage and family as necessary conditions of womanhood.<sup>6</sup>

Yet, the post-World War One period did not witness a total stagnation of reform initiatives. Women continued to participate in public health campaigns and long-term suffragists such as Albertan Liberal MLA Nellie McClung and UFA representative Irene Parlby remained in politics and progressive movements. Others including McClung and Lady Aberdeen of the National Council of Women, also turned their efforts towards internationalist and peace campaigns. In light of the earlier defeat of class and gender-linked forms of feminism, however, the kind of feminism that held the best hope of making some in-roads on the post-war Canadian political scene was a loosely structured liberal-reformist maternal feminism that called for social and political reforms but that did not fundamentally challenge the structural and ideological roots of women’s oppression under capitalist patriarchy. Given the reality of the Liberal hegemony over post-war Canadian politics, the respectability of bourgeois feminism probably also depended on its being presented to Parliament and the Canadian public under a Liberal banner.<sup>7</sup>

Cairine Wilson emerged as a feminist politician in this period. She was Canada’s first woman senator, a liberal feminist, peace activist and a humanitarian. Wilson’s social and political philosophy was shaped primarily by two related ideologies. First and foremost was her commitment to a nineteenth-century Gladstonian liberalism which combined religious and political notions of duty in the belief that Christianity could have a purifying impact on the political process. A staunch Presbyterian, Wil-

son viewed politics as a way of performing God's work on earth, and she sought to fulfill that objective by supporting humanitarian causes, including world peace, the re-settlement of Jewish refugees and the medical and social work of the League of Nations. Wilson's Christianity and her liberalism, in turn, fuelled her commitment to maternal feminism. She believed that women's public demands were a logical extension of women's maternal responsibility and their moral superiority as well as the inevitable result of the application of democratic principles to women. Wealthy, professional, politically well-connected and a mother of eight, Wilson strikingly resembled the ideal late-nineteenth-century maternal feminist. Far from a radical, she appealed to Canadians as an exceptional Superwoman who could successfully balance a demanding career and a large family. One male senator went so far as to call her the "ideal Canadian woman and all the best that is in womanhood."<sup>8</sup>

Still, too much can be made of such conservatism. Indeed, the recent emphasis on the conservative and accommodationist character of the suffrage movement underestimates its truly radical dimension, for the presence of women in the public domain challenged centuries old traditions. So too did women's demands for citizenship, whatever the justification for them. Although feminism did not always occupy a central position in Wilson's politics, she clearly shared with her feminist predecessors a vision of a peaceful and co-operative world purged of masculine values of competition and aggression. Toward that end, she worked for years with various Church and reform organizations, including the Presbyterian Church and its Women's Missionary Society, the Red Cross, the Victorian Order of Nurses and the Ottawa Welfare Bureau, as well as the Young Women's Christian Association and the National Council of Women of Canada. In the Senate she supported women's issues, such as more liberal divorce laws, equal pay and equal access to jobs, and welfare mea-

asures for working and poor mothers. Moreover, the significance of Wilson's long career, which spanned from 1920 until 1962, should not be underestimated. In spite of her moderate feminism, Wilson's long-standing presence among liberals and humanitarians in Canadian politics presented an ongoing challenge to conservative administrators. It also illustrated the nature of the contribution that middle-class, professional women could make to politics and to a feminist movement in Canada. Maternal feminism was fraught with ambiguities and political shortcomings, but it also provided an increasingly acceptable ideological vehicle for expanding women's participation in the public sphere.

Born Cairine Reay Mackay on 4 February, 1884 in West End Montreal, Wilson's father, Robert Mackay, was a wealthy and influential Scottish businessman in Montreal and a Liberal senator. Her mother, June Baptist, was a woman of Scottish and French-Canadian descent and the daughter of a Trois Rivières lumber-baron. Cairine grew up as one of four children in the privileged comfort of the Anglophone bourgeoisie of Montreal. One newspaper described her childhood in graphic terms: "she had nurses, governesses, child specialists, tutors, attended private schools, took music, French, painting, learned to ride."<sup>9</sup> However, she did not go to college. Instead, she attended two private ladies' academies in Montreal where, as she later recalled, "we were always called 'Young Ladies' and heard often of that most desirable attribute, the soft low voice of a woman."<sup>10</sup> Continuing on a traditional route, in 1909, twenty-four year old Cairine married Norman F. Wilson, a wealthy Montreal lumberman and a one-time Liberal MP for Russell County. She was also a noted philanthropist, an avid sportswoman and a popular socialite. Predictably, though, she considered the five girls and three boys to whom she gave birth over the next ten years to be among her greatest personal and social achievements, for as she often noted, "mother love is the strongest instinct of woman's nature."<sup>11</sup>

Wilson's Victorian upbringing profoundly shaped her attitude towards social and political action. Under the dominating influence of its patriarchal head, the MacKay family was strongly evangelical in its approach to the responsibility of the rich and powerful to perform public service. A public-spirited man, Robert Mackay founded in 1870 the family-operated Mackay Institute for the Deaf.<sup>12</sup> He also impressed upon his children their duty to follow his example and combine a lucrative career with an active Christian life. Defending her father's strict approach to childrearing, Wilson applauded his making the same demands of his daughters as he did of his sons. "Father," she noted, "felt that girls should do something purposeful — study, become something, go beyond the fashion magazines."<sup>13</sup> Following her father's lead, young Cairine became involved in volunteer work in the Presbyterian Church. She did charity work for the Church's Homes for Unwed Mothers and she supported the overseas work of the Women's Missionary Society. As a senator, she continued to host countless teas and fundraisers, and she also contributed to *The Presbyterian Record* and the Women's Missionary Society newsletter, *Glad Tidings*.

In the tradition of evangelicalism, Wilson associated Christianity with a commitment to philanthropic and reform work aimed at improving the lot of humankind. "I'm a Presbyterian," she informed a reporter in 1930, "and there's the everlasting job of trying to be of some real use in the world; trying to make life a little brighter, a little more tolerable for the unfortunate."<sup>14</sup> Elsewhere, she singled out three types of Christians. The first, an insincere Christian, "stands aside to let somebody else assume the responsibility." Somewhat better, the next type is at least "willing to undertake the work if it does not place too great demands upon his or her time and money." Unfortunately, most fell into this category of "cosy little Christians" satisfied with their regular attendance at Church and uninterested in changing the world. It was the

third kind of Christian — the "active Christian" — whom Wilson admired. She praised such "militant Christians" as the Presbyterian missionary women for courageously and selflessly devoting their energies and resources on behalf of the underprivileged of Asia and Africa.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, she supported politicians who actively promoted the work of the League of Nations (and later the United Nations) as true Christians devoted to rebuilding a world upon the ideas of "brotherly love and co-operation."<sup>16</sup>

Described as "a Scots Liberal who worshipped at the Shrine of Gladstone and Bright,"<sup>17</sup> Robert Mackay also imparted to his daughter a belief in the superiority of liberalism and the tradition of Gladstone. Although Wilson admitted that growing up in a protective family denied her the opportunity "to develop a sense of self-expression and independence," and to "overcome a great natural timidity," politics provided an attractive outlet for a young woman reared in a deeply politicized environment.<sup>18</sup> As one newspaper reported shortly after her Senate appointment, "Mrs. Wilson grew up in an atmosphere redolent with political decision, and (she) cannot remember the time when she did not know intimately the chief political and economic issues in the Dominion."<sup>19</sup> As a girl, she was read long passages on the philosophies of Liberal Scots, particularly John Fox, John Bright and William Ewart Gladstone.<sup>20</sup> Under her father's guidance, Wilson associated the tradition they represented with the Liberal party in Canada. This was reinforced by her family's long-standing connections with prominent Canadian Liberals, including Wilfrid Laurier (whom Wilson idolized as the country's greatest national statesman) and later, Mackenzie King.<sup>21</sup>

What most attracted Wilson to liberalism was the unity Gladstone perceived between politics and religion. He had sought to give his desire for religious service practical effect in politics through the Liberal party. This involved an almost obsessive devotion to humanitarian and

reform causes on behalf of society's underprivileged. Wilson made this commitment the central precept of her public career.<sup>22</sup> She called herself a Gladstonian Liberal, and she shared with her political colleagues, including William Lyon Mackenzie King, a conviction that a liberal democratic tradition, infused with Christian precepts, would endure conservative and radical attacks against it. Indeed, she viewed parliamentary democracy as the political expression of Christianity. "The relation between Christianity and self-government," she observed, "has long been recognized. Thomas Mann put it thus, 'Democracy is nothing but the political name for the ideals of Christianity.'"<sup>23</sup> True to the tradition, Wilson believed that the democratic process was premised on intelligent debate and the political education of the masses, "education in citizenship and political responsibility." Moreover, the fate of democracy lay in the "ideals of its people and the willingness of each individual to serve his or her community or country."<sup>24</sup> Such commitment went beyond a simple exercise of the franchise and demanded as well that people publicly express their opinions and accept their historic role to keep their elected governments responsible to people. "If we claim the right to express our opinions," she explained, "we must accept responsibility for what [governments] do."<sup>25</sup>

These convictions gave Wilson a genuine sense of optimism, despite the reality she confronted in her lifetime — a world torn apart by the Great Depression, two world wars, and facism. Such challenges, she believed, could only be met through the devoted work of true Christians. During a speech on behalf of European Jewish refugees in 1939, Wilson expressed a familiar argument, insisting that Canadians "cannot yield to despair however grim the prospects...No matter how dark the outlook, faith and hope are the essence of our religion." She called upon Canadians to act decisively "as Christians" and to use their governments to promote a better world.<sup>26</sup> On a more ethnocentric note, she also

maintained that the struggle "for human rights ... justice to the poor, the suffering, and the backward peoples of the world," was to be led by the educated and propertied citizens of the industrial nations of Western Europe. The wretched and the uncivilized coloured populations of the world's poor countries would eventually come under the enlightening umbrella and the homogenizing influence of Christianity and western modernity - not to mention British customs and institutions!<sup>27</sup>

While it seems obvious that her father provided Wilson with a role model of committed Christianity and democratic liberalism, it is not clear when Wilson became a feminist. She did not participate directly in the suffrage movement, although for years she had worked with reform groups that eventually pledged their support for the franchise. Significantly, Wilson did not enter active politics until after she had been married for ten years and had given birth to all of her children. Like many of her feminist predecessors, her decision to enter public life reflected to a remarkable degree her disillusionment with her dependent existence as an upper-middle class housewife. In a 1931 *Canadian Home Journal* article, Wilson admitted:

My marriage brought me great happiness, but deprived me of practically all outside companionship. For ten years I devoted myself so exclusively to the management of three houses (in Montreal, Ottawa and St. Andrews-by-the-Sea, New Brunswick) and the care of my children that a blunt doctor finally brought me up with a start. Never had he seen any person deteriorate mentally as I had, he told me, and from an intelligent girl I had become a most uninteresting individual. I have been grateful since that date for his frank words, for it caused me to realize that the work which I had always considered my duty was not sufficient. At once I made a determined

effort not to merit such condemnation and have endeavoured to keep alert.<sup>28</sup>

The sources do not allow us to make definitive statements about why Wilson chose to enter politics rather than some other public career. In a 1930 interview she admitted that her "social equals" could not understand why a woman of wealth, social prestige and a large family would want "to tackle politics in so practical a way." She simply explained that politics had always appealed to her and that she liked the challenge and excitement. Moreover, not only had she held her father in high esteem as a politician, but she also admired the many politicians she had met during her long years of contact with the Liberal party brass.<sup>29</sup>

A model of maternal feminism supplied Wilson with an ideological justification for entering public life. It also provided her with a political programme. Far from accepting cynical denunciations about the failure of women to radicalize the political process, Wilson believed that the women's suffrage movement provided important political lessons. Feminist politicians were obliged to educate, and co-operate with, their more progressive male colleagues so that together they might force the introduction of legal and economic reforms.<sup>30</sup> This placed heavy demands on women politicians who were expected to prove their competence in public affairs and push for feminist reforms without alienating their male colleagues. Only then would women receive the attention they deserved as the nation's "natural reformers."<sup>31</sup> Stopping far short of any radical platform, Wilson even cautioned women against making rash declarations because they might jeopardize the gains they had made to date. Wilson did envision a future when, as she put it, "my children will have less and less use for party politics as conducted in the old partisan [sic] lines,"<sup>32</sup> but she also believed that the present task at hand called for reforming the mainstream/malestream Canadian political process.<sup>33</sup>

Soon after she became an active Liberal party worker in 1921, Wilson earned a solid reputation as an efficient organizer and a feminist committed to enlarging women's participation within the party. She organized the woman's committee that worked for King's 1930 campaign, and she helped to organize the Young Liberals, in which her daughters were active. She also founded the Eastern Ontario Liberal Women's Association and the Ontario Women's Liberal Club. Her greatest party achievement, the National Federation of Liberal Women (NFLW), substantially elevated the status of Liberal women by making the party's chief policy-making body equally accessible to the women's as well as the men's association. At Wilson's insistence, the NFLW fostered research into social, economic and political matters so it could better offer informed proposals to the party.<sup>34</sup> It also issued a formal request that "strong women" be encouraged to run as candidates in future elections.<sup>35</sup> These changes were greeted with hostility and resentment from many male party members who believed that women should remain in politically inferior auxiliary committees.<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, Wilson's patience eventually paid off, as her Senate appointment demonstrates.

Significantly, Wilson's commitment to the feminization of politics cut across party lines. In countless speeches delivered to political, union and women's organizations, Wilson encouraged women to become politically involved and to pressure their government into legislating progressive social and legal measures. The vote had empowered women, and Wilson called upon them to use their self-sacrificing character to promote social reforms.<sup>37</sup>

The abolition of war was a top priority. Wilson argued that women had a mission to improve the world: "women feel impatient of the man-governed world with its succession of wars, and realize that we must discover a way to bring peace."<sup>38</sup> As a way to combat men's hawkishness, women, she argued, "must stand for the

principle of co-operation and tolerance," and they must "promote legislation which benefits women and children."<sup>39</sup> She believed that women had a special interest as women to promote peace and create a better society for their children, tasks for which women were specially suited by virtue of their nurturing qualities.<sup>40</sup> Significantly, however, men were not excluded from the same responsibility. Going beyond the narrow connection between motherhood and social conscience, Wilson understood that women as human beings shared a fundamental interest with men in the preservation of a healthy, peaceful world. Without the abolition of war, there was no hope for the human race.<sup>41</sup>

There were definite limitations to Wilson's feminism, particularly to the extent that it developed in tandem with her liberalism and its emphasis on slow, evolutionary change. With regard to the role of women in transforming the deeply imbedded material and ideological structures of patriarchal society, Wilson offered a reformist package which would enable women to earn the privileges currently permitted only to men. Although she avoided any explicit discussion of class relations, Wilson clearly believed that well educated, professional, middle-class native-born Canadian women were the natural leaders of the feminist movement in Canada. Education and training, as well as the time and money to pursue them were crucial assets in the struggle against male privilege, but so were respectability and the proper political and social connections. As a by-product of the victories of bourgeois women, feminine values would slowly but irrevocably infiltrate the political and social processes of the nation, indeed of the world.<sup>42</sup>

Notwithstanding such limits, Wilson had an acute consciousness of the reality of women's oppression throughout history. For thousands of years, she noted, we have been obliged to accept a man-made estimate of our capabilities and to rely for recognition upon [men's] favour.<sup>43</sup>

As a result, women have been denied their natural capacity for peaceful, collective action and for important and meaningful work. Forced into a state of submission, women were expected to link their fates to the exploits of their men. Indeed, they were forced to compete for the favours of men: each woman strove to supplant the other and we were accused of jealousy and strife.<sup>44</sup> Wilson observed that even "famous women" whose accomplishments challenged the gender inequities of their day had failed to develop a feminist and collectivist consciousness around the need to improve the position of women as a group, attesting to the extent to which the dominant values of patriarchal society were deeply imbedded.<sup>45</sup>

This is not to suggest that Wilson did not support the individual exploits of pioneer women for she frequently reduced women's history to a list of first women.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, she paid constant tribute to the past efforts of women to circumvent male prerogative and sexual inequality. With their capacity to endure physical handicaps and demanding domestic duties, the Bronte Sisters were special heroines for Wilson, and she described them as writing under conditions which would have daunted any ordinary mortal.<sup>47</sup> She observed how women artists such as Jane Austen and George Elliot were forced to conceal their crafts and that even Florence Nightingale was criticized during the Crimean War for stepping beyond her rightful sphere.<sup>48</sup> Closer to home, Wilson repeatedly praised the early pioneer and missionary women of Canada, who braved the horrors of the dreadful ocean voyage and the uncertain terrors of the new land to establish homes and bring news of Christ to the Indian peoples and to minister to the sick, both colonists and Indians.<sup>49</sup> Marie Herbert, the first white woman to settle in Quebec and to bear the first white child, was usually singled out for specific praise for preaching Christianity to the Indians, and for taking care of the sick and wounded during the early years of the French colony.<sup>50</sup>

It was not merely political opportunism that led Wilson to declare her Senate appointment a significant achievement for Canadian womanhood. Although well aware that Prime Minister King had chosen her as a safe alternative to the more outspoken and more radical Emily Murphy, Wilson also felt that she was being fairly rewarded for years of loyal service to the party. During those years it seems that Wilson had also developed a fuller commitment to maternal feminism. Politically, she now associated herself with the suffragists and was careful not to distinguish between the radical advocates of women's rights and the more conservative reformers who had participated in the suffrage campaign. Much later in her career she even attributed the emergence of the women's suffrage movement to the vision and courage of Dr. Emily Stowe,<sup>51</sup> a natural rights suffragist and founder of the first woman's suffrage association in Canada. Upon taking office, Wilson insisted that her new status was the natural outcome of the pioneering efforts of earlier feminists: "My promotion has come so easily that...I should like to give credit to the members of my sex, who have struggled so long and courageously for these privileges which we accept naturally today."<sup>52</sup>

It is impossible to separate the strands of Wilson's feminism from her devotion to a Christian and liberal view of the world. Indeed, liberalism and feminism emerged as complimentary and mutually reinforcing elements in her social and political philosophy, and they lay at the source of her tremendous capacity for humanitarian work. Wilson was a humanitarian *par excellence* and no serious study of her career can ignore the intimate link between her humanitarianism and her feminism. Both grew out of her desire to perform God's work on earth. Among the many causes to which she devoted her energy, Wilson took particular pride in the work she performed on behalf of the League of Nations Society of Canada and its brainchild, the Canadian National Committee for Refugees.

Founded in 1921, the League of Nations Society was devoted to world peace, and its members included various liberals and reformers in the country, among them, Reverend C.E. Silcox of the United Church and Anglican Canon W.W. Judd. Professor Strong-Boag has recently argued that those prominent men who chaired the organization eventually turned it over to the women who comprised the majority of the Society's membership. By the thirties, the Society was primarily a women's peace organization chaired by Senator Wilson.<sup>53</sup> She and her colleagues sought to arouse public support for the League of Nations' international peace-keeping activities, including arms limitation, tariff reductions and social and health programmes. Wilson identified the Society's priority as that of focussing attention on the responsibility of Canadians "to express our wishes and desires as to the kind of peace that we want for Canada and the world."<sup>54</sup>

Working in close co-operation with Church, women and veteran's clubs, the Society organized disarmament conferences and established local branches across the country. At Wilson's encouragement, *NCWC* local councils conducted many membership and fund-raising drives.<sup>55</sup> Wilson campaigned vigorously to convince active club and Church women to take up the cause of international politics and world peace. Calling on them "to use their influence to promote a better understanding between nations," she argued that women were capable of averting the human disasters which men seemed invariably to cause. War grew out of men's greed and ambition, and if women "who realize the futility of war and the suffering it entails" had taken an interest, "wars would have been a thing of the past."<sup>56</sup> In an uncharacteristic explosion of anger in the Spring of 1933, Wilson castigated armament manufacturers and hawkish national statesmen for engaging in war as a profit-making venture: "Were the warlords and manufactures of ammunition required to stand

in the trenches, we should not be forced to war for national aggrandizement.”<sup>57</sup>

During the thirties, as the world moved towards another war, the League of Nations and its Canadian branch came under a great deal of criticism. Staunchly defending the League of Nations against charges that its purpose had become meaningless and irrelevant, Wilson observed that critics and supporters alike stressed only the League’s ambitious military objectives without considering its contributions to health and medicine and to its attempt to solve social and labour problems. Insisting that the League “seeks not merely to prevent wars which are looming on the horizon, but to remove the causes of war through the friendly co-operation of the peoples of all countries,” Wilson presented an impressive list of the League’s activities. These included its supervision of thousands of prisoners of war returned to their original or adopted home immediately after the First World War, its rescue work on behalf of Turkish and Christian women forcibly evicted from their homes during the Middle East wars of the 1920’s, and its creation of an international communications system to detect and regulate the spread of the plague, cholera and small pox in Asia, Australia and Africa.<sup>58</sup>

As the attacks grew, Wilson refused to give any ground on the issue. In 1934 she defended the League against a colleague’s claim that it had fallen into the hands of extremist pacifists by observing that the Canadian branch of the League included numerous veterans with honourable war records. Moreover, she again pointed an accusing finger at the “provocative and sinister influence” of armament manufacturers who were operating at huge profits despite the international depression. The only way to eliminate their insidious presence was to call for “total discontinuance by nations of the manufacture and sale of armaments.”<sup>59</sup> When another senator supported a motion for Canada’s withdrawal from the League on the dubious grounds that

modern warfare had become more humane as more soldiers survived the ordeal, Wilson made a mockery of his assertion: “For the wife or mother who loses a son or husband, it makes little difference that 99 per cent are saved if the loved one loses his life or returns home a helpless cripple.” She added: “the slaughter and devastation of the late world conflict had already disproved the assertion.”<sup>60</sup>

Despite Wilson’s efforts, the League of Nations Society could barely withstand such sustained public attack. Ironically, the Jewish refugee crisis served to revitalize the Society and its leaders, and it led to the creation of the National Committee on Refugees (CNCR) in October 1938. The CNCR emerged as a direct response to Hitler’s annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia and the subsequent Munich Settlement, a sequence of events that resulted in thousands of Jews seeking shelter on the continent and in Great Britain.<sup>61</sup> Its origin also coincided with the decision of the Canadian Jewish Congress (CJC) non-denominational anti-Nazi lobby group. Moreover, the CJC largely funded the CNCR’s campaign and helped to establish local branches across the country, although it did so covertly in order to avoid having the Committee discredited as a “Jewish front.”<sup>62</sup> Local Church and NCWC councils also organized chapters. Senator Wilson acted as Chair of the CNCR.

The aims of the NCR were two-fold. First, it lobbied King’s administration for the immediate liberalization of Canada’s existing restrictionist immigration regulations in order to permit the entry of substantial numbers of Jewish refugees, particularly skilled workers and entrepreneurs. Secondly, it embarked upon an educational campaign with the hopes that by exposing Canadians to the reality of the Nazi horrors and the desperate plight of European Jewry it would “instill in them a more sympathetic attitude toward the reception of refugees.”<sup>63</sup> Wilson certainly believed that the calamity of the crisis was sufficient to motivate Canadians to offer their

homes to Jews. Following the government's decision in the fall of 1938 to accept thousands of Sudeten refugees, she also believed that Canadian politicians would come around on the Jewish question.<sup>64</sup> But neither Wilson nor her colleagues could have anticipated the virtually impenetrable wall of racism erected by the government and the people of Canada to keep out the Jews of Europe.<sup>65</sup> Wilson wrote despairingly to a friend: "it has been unexpectedly difficult to arouse public sympathy into meaningful action."<sup>66</sup>

No one was worse off than Jewish children and the CNR pledged its strongest support on their behalf. Drawing a link between motherhood and child rescue work, Wilson felt certain that homes could be found for orphaned and separated children because Canadian mothers would rally to the cause. She campaigned vigorously to convince women to take advantage of this opportunity to prove their superior capacity for humane and caring work.<sup>67</sup> But the anticipated response was not forthcoming. While the Committee scored a small victory in the summer of 1939 by forcing the government to admit 100 "bonafide" Jewish orphans now residing temporarily in Britain, the outbreak of war disrupted the project. As public support grew for the British mothers and children threatened with evacuation during the war, interest in Jewish children waned, and various women's committees, led by prominent social worker Charlotte Whitton, began to organize for a British evacuation movement to Canada. Although Whitton was a key member of the CNCR she had never been trusted by the Canadian Jewish Community and even Wilson, who naturally approved of the British children scheme, now suspected Whitton of collaborating with Director of Immigration F.C. Blair to destroy the Jewish project.<sup>68</sup> Another attempt to rescue Jewish refugees was aimed at Jewish women and children interned under the pro-Nazi Vichy government of France. It also failed. No more schemes were proposed,<sup>69</sup> although after the war Wilson con-

tinued to support child immigration schemes.<sup>70</sup> In 1950 France made her a Knight of the Legion of Honour for her courageous work on behalf of Jewish refugee children in Europe.<sup>71</sup>

After the war, Wilson continued to support liberal immigration and refugee policies. In the Senate in 1943, she had observed that refugees who entered Canada in wartime had disproved the old arguments about immigrants taking jobs from Canadians, for many had set up new businesses and were making valuable economic contributions to the country. The Koerners from Austria, for instance, had established in British Columbia the second largest plywood factory in the world. Another Jew, Louis Fischel, initiated a glove-making industry in Prescott County, and the Bata shoe family had created numerous jobs in Ontario. She also viewed these cases as victories against the new Communist "menace," and she warned Canadians that the only way to repudiate Soviet charges about racial and economic discrimination under capitalism was to provide concrete evidence of the opportunities and freedoms that flourish in a bourgeois democracy.<sup>72</sup>

At the encouragement of senator Arthur Roebuck, a progressive and long-time supporter of immigration, Wilson headed the Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour from 1946 to 1948. With the support of various ethnic groups, many of whose compatriots included refugees and displaced persons currently languishing in camps on the continent and in Britain, the Committee enthusiastically endorsed an expansionist and non-discriminatory post-war immigration policy.<sup>73</sup> To Wilson, this recommendation was a logical extension of her wartime refugee work. Now, however, she found herself in the company of such unlikely allies as Liberal cabinet ministers and big business. Indeed, the recommendations of the Senate committee reflected a dramatic shift among business and political interests toward large-scale immigration. Led by the Minister of Reconstruc-

tion, the powerful C.D. Howe, Canadian immigration officials became interested in recruiting young, hard-working labourers from Europe to replenish the country's labour supply, particularly in the extractive industries. While the displaced persons camps emerged as a major source of labour, immigration officials continued to exclude Jews, although it now did so covertly by advising its overseas inspection teams to disapprove Jewish applicants.<sup>74</sup> Whether Wilson was aware of this or not is uncertain, but she did support the Department of Labour's official campaign to recruit able-bodied refugees and displaced persons. By 1951 she had also turned her attention to the provision of adequate language and work skills programmes for new immigrants. That this provided the country with an opportunity to mold "new Canadians" out of old foreigners did not go unnoticed by Wilson. Indeed, she even likened the task to the civilizing efforts of Christian missionaries overseas.<sup>75</sup>

## II

For over three decades the harsh political realities of the day overshadowed the potency of women's issues in Canadian politics. Even Wilson's loyalties were divided between war related calamities that required immediate attention and legislative reforms on behalf of women's legal and economic rights, although she would have argued that both sets of issues required feminist and humanist solutions. Whatever might be said of Wilson's cautious brand of feminism and of the questionable influence of the Senate on Parliament and public opinion, the Senate record reveals her consistent support for measures designed to improve the economic independence and career opportunities of Canadian women, and to up-grade the health and welfare benefits available to poor and working women. Moreover, unlike many senators, who tend to recede into public oblivion soon after their appointment, Wilson deliberately publicized her position and openly campaigned for the

causes she supported. She set out on countless speaking tours during which she addressed not only women's clubs but political, religious and reform organizations as well as such obviously male dominated groups as veteran's associations and monarchist leagues. In addition, numerous women's columns and magazine articles chronicled her political career.

Wilson championed her bourgeois model of the ideal woman as an efficient household manager and active club woman devoted to public affairs. In countless speeches across the country she advised women to embrace the new labour-saving devices so that it would free them to pursue careers and public work. She also lamented the arresting impact of femininity on women, especially those embarking on professional careers. By constantly reaffirming the trait of "womanly patience," she noted in a 1939 speech to Domestic Science graduates, "many women have remained unconcerned with achieving independence, even failing to design the very tools which have eased the burden of their domestic duties." Yet, Wilson did not totally reject the prevailing stereotypes about women. In a 1930 speech to the Toronto Women's Teachers' Association, Wilson opposed the total feminization of teaching because she felt that children's constant exposure to women's peculiarly feminine qualities, especially "too much sentimentality," might have adverse effects on the students, particularly the males. Later, during the Cold War politics of the post-war period, she maintained that education should first and foremost promote patriotism.<sup>77</sup>

Two issues of central importance to Wilson concerned women's access to career opportunities and liberal divorce laws. Her philosophical justification was premised on Liberal precepts; women, too, had a right to equality of opportunity, property and happiness. Early in her career, Wilson even denounced the League of Nations for failing to comply with Article Seven of the Covenant under which all posts were open to

men and women. Women were virtually excluded from all but the junior and non-political posts, and no attempt had been made to replace retired women with new female appointments. In what amounted to a proposal in favour of affirmative action, Wilson insisted that the League actively recruit qualified women to head important committees.<sup>78</sup> Several decades later, she recounted with obvious pride her own experience as Canada's first woman delegate to the United Nations Fourth General Assembly in 1949 during which she worked on the Committee devoted to the Status of Women and the International Save the Children Fund (UNICEF).<sup>79</sup> Similarly, she supported the decision of the 1947 Liberal party convention to endorse the appointment of a woman to the Civil Service Commission and to the Unemployment Commission. She felt that the appointments could not be more appropriate given the large numbers of women employed in the Civil Service and dependent on welfare benefits. Later that year, she also applauded the government's plan for a Women's Bureau in the Department of Labour to be headed by a woman. Admittedly small gestures, Wilson nonetheless acknowledged these administrative changes as significant advances in women's struggles to be considered as competent professionals and she hoped that such government trends would expand into the private sector.<sup>80</sup>

For over three decades Wilson consistently and courageously supported the liberalization of divorce laws on the grounds that women had a right to a respectable and non-stigmatizing way out of a miserable, even life-threatening, marriage. During the thirties, when much of the Senate debates revolved around the issue of expanding legitimate grounds for divorce, Wilson advocated adding men's desertion and the threat of violence as valid grounds for divorce, and she denounced the suggestion that desertion exceed seven years before an abandoned wife could file for divorce. She stood firm in her condemnation of the views expressed by her male

colleagues, who, predictably, equated the "loosening up" of rigid divorce laws with the breakdown of traditional Christian values and the moral decay of Canadian society.<sup>81</sup>

In their presentations, male senators portrayed women seeking divorce as scheming villainesses taking undue advantage of lax legal codes in order to gratify their carnal desires and to escape the duties of wifery and motherhood. In response, Wilson dismissed simplistic correlations between divorce and social decay and insisted that married people, herself included, had no right to impose marriage as the ideal arrangement since it ignored the sexual inequality upon which the institution was premised and the plain fact that many women suffered miserably unhappy marriages. No woman, she added, should be forced to submit to cruel and unfair treatment at the hands of her husband. Commenting on the harsh experiences of a young woman friend abandoned by her husband for over eight years, Wilson dismissed any sexist notions that might lay the blame on the woman's undesirable character: "[a] young woman had a right to lead a happy life...it was not her fault that her husband ran away."<sup>82</sup>

By 1955 Wilson's tone became sharper as she argued that marriage laws reflected the fact that "for centuries women have been treated as a piece of men's property." "A woman today," she added, "demands a goodness of her own making upon a new set of values, for she realizes that since the early days of patriarchal society, morality laws have been framed for her subjugation."<sup>83</sup> These were strong words and they indicated Wilson's increasing frustration with the chauvinist ethos of the 1950s and the moralizing male politicians. Although she believed that many divorced women might find happiness in a second marriage, Wilson acknowledged the growing number of single mothers forced to enter the labour force without any marketable skills and without daycare facilities for their children. Consequently, she also advocated ali-

mony and child custody payments.<sup>84</sup> To Wilson's credit, for she certainly considered herself a happily married woman, she understood that the central issue to divorce was a feminist one, that women had the right to control their own lives and those of their children. For the same reasons she opposed the Naturalization Act that made it obligatory for a Canadian woman who married a foreign national to accept her husband's nationality. Such legislation was as harmful to women, she observed in 1959, as the outmoded property laws of Quebec where, only forty years earlier, married women had been "classed with inmates of mental institutions, minors and Indians, and not permitted to vote even in municipal affairs." At that time, her husband, a resident of Ontario, had received the voting papers for property she owned in her hometown Montreal.<sup>85</sup>

Wilson's feminism stopped sort of a critique of industrial capitalism and its exploitation of wage earning women. Her genuine concern for the daily struggles of poor and working class women, as well as rural women, was tainted by the paternalism common to her class. However, she did acknowledge that "women in industry were not working for a few luxuries, but were forced outside the home in order to help support their husbands and children."<sup>86</sup> Prescribing to stereotypical images of the urban lower orders as susceptible to idleness and potentially destructive behaviour, Wilson believed that working class children often came from broken or unhappy homes. It was therefore up to the state and members of the respectable stratum to help workers "maintain their morals [and] keep their families together." But she also encouraged middle-income and wealthy housewives, as well as professional women, to support government welfare and social service schemes and to pressure their MPs into endorsing improved unemployment and health services.<sup>87</sup>

As the Second World War came to an end, Wilson wondered how the transition from a war-

time to peacetime economy would affect the status and earning power of Canadian women, especially those who had been employed in war industries and who were now expected to turn over their jobs, and their new found independence, to returning veterans. She was particularly concerned with establishing a post-war national health organization in co-operation with all the provincial governments, whose functions would be to subsidize mothers, especially poor and working single mothers, and to develop infant health care as a way of combatting infant mortality, which she understood to be a class as well as a gender issue. She also insisted that health services be extended to the sick and elderly.<sup>88</sup> These demands were costly. They were also progressive, humane and courageous, words that might well describe Senator Cairine Wilson.

### III

The class and gender limitations of Wilson's liberal feminism should not detract from the importance of her lengthy career as the first woman senator in Canada and as respected humanitarian politician and active feminist. Faced with the hostility of colleagues, the difficult political realities of the day, and the general ambivalence of Canadians towards women's rights, it is not surprising that Wilson did not make impressive political gains for feminism. Despite these obstacles, she effectively used her influence within the Liberal party and government to pursue progressive reforms on behalf of the disadvantaged, including women, and to promote peace. Her efforts did not go unnoticed. In 1960, a woman friend and colleague wrote to Wilson to express her admiration for the senator. "You have always been," wrote Margaret Wherry, "a person of such great integrity... To so many refugees you have become a friend.... To us who worked with you on various Committees you were always a great source of sound and considered judgement. ...thanks for the trail you have blazed for Canadian women."<sup>89</sup> At the time of her death in March 1962, CJC vice-president

Saul Hayes wrote to Wilson's daughter: "The Canadian Jewish Community has cause to mourn the death of your esteemed mother whose actions on fundamental freedoms and ...rights has [sic] illuminated the pages of recent Canadian history. It was one of the rich experiences of my life that I knew senator Wilson so well and looked upon her...as a great resource in the great humanitarian work which we were called to do...Her life work should be the best tribute to the memory of a grand and great woman."<sup>90</sup>

Humanitarianism was the essence of Wilson's feminism and it grew out of her intense commitment to an evangelical Christian tradition and to an English liberal tradition that stressed self-sacrifice and godly work in politics. It also reflected her belief that well-educated and enlightened middle class women could provide a fundamental contribution to the women's movement by entering the political sphere and promoting reform, particularly social reforms aimed at addressing the disadvantaged position of society's victims. Significantly, she understood that women deserved special treatment in this regard and in the Senate she gave women's issues her undivided attention. The length of her career and the admiration she had earned by the end of it contradicts the notion that, after the suffrage victory, women either fell into the category of passive femininity or, as the reporter of our opening story put it, an "unlovely type" of brash feminism. Wilson presented the Canadian public with a model of a respectable feminist. Although that image would often be unfairly used against more radical women, it also played an important role in making feminism and the presence of women in public positions acceptable to Canadian men and women.

## NOTES

1. On the person's case see: Catherine Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto 1947) 141-155; Eleanor Hartman, "Five Person from Alberta," in Mary Quayle Innis ed., *The Clear Spirit* (Toronto 1966) 240-259.
2. *Evening Journal* 12 February 1930; *Ottawa Citizen* 12 and 15 February 1930; Also cited in Mary Lowry Ross, "Senator Cairine Wilson," *Saturday Night* 11 June 1955; *The Gazette* (Montreal) 22 February 1980.
3. Cited in Ross, "Senator"
4. Wilson was so intimidated by the hostile reception she received that she remained silent during the opening session. *Senate Debates* [hereafter *SD*], 20 February 1930. See also W. Kunz, *The Modern Senate of Canada* (Ottawa 1965) 54-56.
5. *SD*, 21 February 1930.
6. On Canada see: Carol Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English Canadian Suffragists 1877-1918* (Toronto 1938); Linda Kealey ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada 1880s-1920s* (Toronto 1979); Terrence Morrison, "Their Proper Sphere" Feminism, the Family and Child Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-19," *Ontario History* (March and June 1976); Veronica Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada 1893-1929* and her "Canadian Feminism in the 1920s: The case of Nellie McClung," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 12:4 (Summer 1977), 58-68.  
On U.S.A. see: Jill Conway, "Women Reformers and American Culture, 1870-1930," *Journal of Social History* 5:2 (Winter 1972-73); Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York 1980); Ellen duBois, "The Radicalism of the Women Suffrage Movement: Notes Toward the Reconstruction of Nineteenth-Century Feminism," *Feminist Studies* (Fall 1975) and her *Feminism and Suffrage: The Emergence of an Independent Women's Movement in America, 1848-1869* (Ithaca 1978).
7. Recent studies have dealt with a variety of women involved in social and political action. See, for example: Gwynneth Buck, "One Woman's Campaign For a New Social Order," MA Major Research Paper, York University, 1981; Katherine McCuaig, "From Social Relief to Social Service: The Changing Role of Volunteers: The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign, 1900-30," *CHR* 61:4 (December 1980) 480-501; Joan Sangster, " "Militant Mothering": Women in Radical Politics and Labour in Ontario and Western Canada," PhD Thesis, McMaster University 1984; Veronica Strong-Boag, "Internationalism and Peace: The Efforts of Canadian Women, 1919-1939," "Conference on Women and Education For Peace and Non-Violence," OISE, Toronto, 29 September 1984; John Manly, "Women and the Left in the 1930s: The case of the Toronto CCF Women's Joint Committee," *Atlantis* 5:2 100-19.
8. *SD* 13 March 1962.
9. John L. Scott, "Our New Woman Senator," *Maclean's*, 1 April 1930, p.16.
10. PAC Cairine Wilson Papers (hereafter *WP*), vol 5, Speech to the Toronto Women's Teacher Association, 22 November 1930.
11. *WP* vol 2, file 31; vol 5, Speech to the League for Women's Rights, Montreal, 28 February 1931.
12. Scott, "Woman Senator," 16-17; Jean Graham, "Among Those Present," *Saturday Night*, 18 June 1932; M.H. Halton, "Canada's First Woman Senator," *Canadian Home Journal*, July 1931 p.139 in *WP* vol 6, Scrapbooks; Charles Clay Papers, vol 3, Notes on Wilson.
13. Scott, "Woman Senator," p17. In addition to his very successful Mackay Brothers' dry goods wholesale business, Mackay also held influential positions on the Montreal Board of Trade, Montreal Harbour Board, Bank of Montreal and the Montreal General Hospital.
14. *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks, 24 February 1930.
15. *WP* vol 6, Speech Notes to St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church, 14 January 1955.
16. *WP* vol 6, Trans-Canada Broadcast: World Day of Prayer, 8 February 1951.

17. Halton, "First Woman Senator," p.139.
18. "Home and Love Life's Boons," *Canadian Home Journal* May 1931 in *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks.
19. *St. Croix Courier*, 4 January 1934 in *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks.
20. Scott, "Woman Senator," p.16; Halton, "First Woman Senator," p.139.
21. See *WP* vol 7 and 8, Scrapbooks. They are filled with clippings documenting Laurier's political career. On King, see *Ottawa Citizen* 21 March, 1932.
22. *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks, 24 February 1930; On Gladstone see Phillip Magnus, *Gladstone: A Biography* (London 1930); See also J.T. Saywell's introduction to *The Canadian Journal of Lady Aberdeen, 1893-1898* (Toronto 1960).
23. *WP* vol 6, Speech on Christian Youth Week, 24 January 1957.
24. *WP* vol 6, CFRA Broadcast: Canadian Girls in Training and Truxis Trail Rangers, 11 February 1951.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *WP* vol 6, Trans-Canada Broadcast: World Day of Prayer, 8 February 1951.
27. *Ibid.*
28. Wilson, "Home and Love."
29. Scott, "Woman Senator," p.16; Wilson, "Home and Love."
30. See, for example, *Saskatchewan Liberal* 8 June 1933 in *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks; *SD* 18 May 1943, 13 March 1947, 18 February 1949, 17 March 1955, 4 April 1960.
31. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the League for Women's Rights, Montreal, 28 February 1931.
32. Evelyn Tufts, "One of the Most Useful Members of Parliament," in *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks.
33. See, for example, *WP* vol 8, The Twentieth-century Association Luncheon, 5 June 1933.
34. See, for example, PAC, Catherine Cleverdon Papers, National Federation of Liberal Women, Constitution, 14 and 15 November 1945.
35. *Ottawa Citizen*, 21 March 1932.
36. Reginald Whitaker, *The Government Party: Organizing and Financing the Liberal Party of Canada, 1930-58* (Toronto 1977).
37. See, for example, *Ottawa Citizen*, 13 March 1933; *WP* vol 1, Brief Message to the Mothers of Georgian Bay, Radio Station CFOS, Owen Sound, 12 May 1950.
38. *WP* vol 6, Trans-Canada Broadcast: World Day of Prayer, 8 February 1951.
39. Quoted in *Ottawa Citizen* (nd) in *WP* vol 6, Scrapbooks.
40. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the League for Women's Rights, Montreal, 28 February 1931.
41. PAC, Clay Papers, League of Nations Society, National Executive Meeting, 22 January 1943; *Ottawa Citizen*, 13 March 1933; *WP* vol 6, Speech to Peace Action Week Dinner, Ottawa, 9 November 1937; Speech to the Women's Organizations, League of Nations Society, Toronto Branch, 26 June 1935.
42. *The Globe*, 2 March 1933; *Saskatchewan Liberal*, 8 June 1933; *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Empire Club, 20 November 1930; *SD* 13 March 1956.
43. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Empire Club, 20 November 1930.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. See, for example, *Ibid.*; Speech to the Halcyon Club, Ottawa, 16 May 1931; Wilson, "The Present Status of Women," in *The Canadian Bar Review*, No.1014 Toronto, April 1932, 217-221; *WP* vol 5, Speech to Eaton's Girls Club, Toronto, 10 April 1931.
47. Wilson, "Women's Opportunities," (nd) in *WP* vol 6, Scrapbooks.
48. *Ibid.*; Speech to the Empire Club, 20 November 1930.
49. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Women's Canadian Club, Quebec City, 22 January 1931.
50. See, for example, *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Halycon Club, Ottawa, 16 May 1931; *SD* 17 December 1945.
51. *Glad Tidings* March, 1957 p.2 Wilson also praised CCF MP Agnes MacPhail for supporting reform measures in Parliament and for initiating the Archibault Commission on Penal Reform.
52. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Empire Club, 20 November 1930.
53. For details, see Irving Abella and Harold Troper, " 'The line must be drawn somewhere': Canada and Jewish Refugees, 1933-39," *CHR*, 15:2 (1979), 179-209 and their *None is Too Many Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948* (Toronto 1983); Strong-Boag, "Internationalism and Peace."
54. PAC, Canadian National Committee on Refugees [hereafter *CNCR*] vol 6, file 24, Executive Minutes, First General Meeting, 6 and 7 December 1938; *WP* vol 6 Text of Speech, "An Appeal on Behalf of Refugees," 29 December 1938.
55. See *CNCR* correspondence between executive secretary Constance Hayward and local branches located in *CNCR* Papers; *CNCR*, vol 4, file 31, Hayward to Edmund Walker, 6 June 1941; vol 6, file 10, Hayward to G.W. Simpson, 22 January 1944.
56. *Montreal Daily Star*, 15 Decmeber 1932.
57. *Ottawa Citizen*, 13 March 1933.
58. *SD* 12 March 1931, 16 January 1932.
59. *SD* 16 May 1934.
60. *Ibid.*
61. Abella and Troper, "The line," p.198 and *None is Too Many*, 44-46; Gerald E. Dirks, *Canada's Refugee Policy: Indifference of Opportunitism?* (Montreal 1978).
62. *Ibid.*
63. *CNCR* Executive Minutes, First General Meeting, 6 and 7 December 1938.
64. *Ibid.*
65. For details see Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*.
66. Cited in Dirks, *Refugee Policy* p.71; On Wilson's efforts see *CNCR* vol 6, and *WP*, (file 6, 2, 4).
67. *CNCR* vol 6, file 24. See also correspondence between Hayward and Wilson.
68. Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 101-102.
69. *Ibid.*, 102-125.
70. *WP* vol 1, file 3, 1 November 1954; vol 1, file 5, Mrs.R.T. Tanner to Wilson, 6 July and 22 December 1954 and C.E.S. Smith to Wilson, 12 May 1954; vol 1, file 5, Canada Save the Children Fund; *SD* 15 August 1946 653-654.
71. Gynneith Evans, *Women in Federal Politics; a Biobibliography* (Ottawa 1975).
72. *SD* 4 April 1960. See also *SD* December 14, 1953, 20 February 1951, 13 May 1947.
73. Senate Standing Committee on Immigration and Labour 1948; *SD* 4 April 1960, 28 March 1946, 25 June 1948.
74. Abella and Troper, *None is Too Many*, 238-279; *SD* 5 March 1943, 3 February 1944. See also D.C. Corbett, *Canada's Immigration Policy* (Toronto 1976) and Alan C. Green, *Immigration and the Post-War Economy* (Toronto 1976); R. Bothwel and W. Kilbourn, *C.D. Howe a biography* (Toronto 1979).
75. *Glad Tidings*, 19 January 1951.
76. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Domestic Science Graduates, Macdonald College, Quebec, 8 June 1932; Wilson, "Woman's Opportunities."
77. *WP* vol 5, Speech to the Toronto Women's Teacher Association, 22 November 1930; Speech to the Twentieth-Century Liberal Club of Ottawa, 27 October 1932; Address to the Kiwanis Club, 6 February 1951.

78. *WP* vol 2, file 13, Speech Noted (nd).
79. *SD* 14 December 1953; Dirks, *Refugee Policy*, p.71.
80. *SD* 14 December 1953, 3 February 1944.
81. *SD* 15 March 1938; Wilson, "Present Status of Women," 217-221.
82. *Sd* 15 March 1938.
83. *SD* 17 March 1955.
84. *SD* 17 July 1959.
85. *Ibid.*
86. Quoted in *Evening News*, New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, 3 August 1933 in *WP* vol 8, Scrapbooks.
87. *Ibid.*; *SD* 3 February 1944, 17 December 1945.
88. *SD* 5 March 1943; *WP* vol 5, Address to the Kiwanis Club, 6 February 1951.
89. *WP* vol 3, file 27, M. Wherry to Wilson, June 1960; Another woman, Theresa E. Thompson, wrote a poem entitled "Honourable Lady (Cairine Wilson)," located in vol 3, file 27.
90. *WP* vol 13, file 2, Saul Hayes to Miss Wilson, 22 March 1962.



*HANGING GREEN APRON, 1983-84*