WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN FEDERAL CIVIL SERVICE DURING WORLD WAR II

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by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the economic, social and political aspects of the lives of women working for the civil service in Ottawa during World War II. Economically, women found it necessary to travel across the country to pursue work in the civil service in Ottawa. These women acquired the skills the government was advertising it needed and applied for positions. They were willing to go wherever there were jobs even though the jobs they were offered were most often in the lowest civil service levels. Socially, most of these women were forced to leave familiar surroundings, family and friends to move to Ottawa. They were required to start a new life independent of their support systems and supervision. Politically, the women of the civil service became active in the employee associations of the time. Despite the temporary nature of civil service jobs for women, some became active in improving the lot of female civil servants. Many opportunities for women in the civil service during World War II were for the duration of the war and did not continue in post-war Canada but the skills, experiences and independence that these women acquired remained with them. This thesis relies heavily on oral histories. Other sources include government documents, government employee organization records, and relevant secondary literature.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis took considerably longer to research and write than was expected but along the way many people continued to be helpful and supportive. I would first like to acknowledge Ellen Scheinberg, Archivist, Government Archives Division of the National Archives of Canada (NAC), who first proposed the idea of studying women in the civil service as a possible Master's thesis topic. From the beginning numerous people generously gave of themselves until the project was completed. The staff at the National Archives of Canada and the National Library of Canada were available, patient and helpful whenever called upon. David A. Wood, Records Manager-/Archivist, for the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) offered his time and personal knowledge freely as well as granting me access to the PSAC archival collection and library. Claude Edwards, President of the Federal Superannuates National Association Inc. (FSNA), and staff contacted members of their organization who I believed had been civil servants during World War II and granted me space in the FSNA National Newsletter which provided me with the opportunity to advertise my research goals. Dave Brown, a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen, also mentioned my research topic in his column which provided me with new contacts. Also Dr. John Taylor of Carleton University kept my research in mind and regularly steered me in the right direction.

Of course, this project could not have been possible without the warmth and generosity with which so many women shared their experiences about working in the civil service and living in Ottawa during World War II. I am indebted to both those women mentioned in the thesis and the many others who have contributed and/or made confirmations of my information but did not wish to be identified.

The financial support in the form of a graduate student fellowship from Memorial University of Newfoundland was helpful and appreciated.

This MA thesis would never have been accomplished without my supervisor Dr. Linda Kealey who shared in my frustrations and accomplishments and encouraged me to continue and finish. During the process she shared all of her academic connections, related knowledge and proof reading and editing skills. I happily share any recognition of the end result with her but take full responsibility for any challenges or controversy which may arise from this thesis.

A special thanks to William J. Dick for support and encouragement.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACSC	Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada
CSAO	Civil Service Association of Ottawa
CSC	Civil Service Commission
CSF	Civil Service Federation of Canada
FSNA	Federal Superannuates National Association Inc.
NJC	National Joint Council
NSS	National Selective Service
PIPS	Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada
PSAC	Public Service Alliance of Canada
RA	Ottawa Civil Service Recreational Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

The opportunities and working conditions of women participating in the labour force during World War II (hereafter, WWII) have been of interest to many historians. In this pursuit many historians have focused on women working in the private sector. Past investigations of women during WWII emphasized women's roles in previously male dominated areas such as heavy industry and manufacturing. Women's participation in active service during WWII has recently been looked at as well as the propaganda which enticed women into the labour force and persuaded them to leave in the post-war era.[1] However, little historical research has been done on the women working in the Canadian federal civil service.[2]

The following study investigates women's experiences working for the Government of Canada in Ottawa during WWII. Previous studies have neglected this area of women's labour force participation. Manageability requires that the focus of this thesis be limited to female civil servants working full-time and part-time, in the inside service, both permanent and

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[1] See Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), and Carolyn Gossage, Greatcoats and Glamour Boots: Canadian Women at War, 1939-1945 (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1991).

[2] The term civil service is being used throughout this paper because it is historically correct for the time period being studied. Using contemporary language would refer to this sector of employment as the Public Service.

temporary. "Inside" refers to the departments headquartered at Ottawa and excludes crown corporations.[3] It is the goal of this thesis to offer an overview of these women: how they gained employment in the civil service; their work experiences; the social life and living conditions in Ottawa; and the participation of women in the government employees' associations of the time.

The general themes which arose within the secondary literature on women during WWII included: the recruitment and mobilization of women into the paid labour force; women's departure from the labour force immediately following the war years; the propaganda which enticed women into the labour force and persuaded them to leave in the post-war era; and the job opportunities available to women. In a very general way it is important to understand the secondary literature written about women participating in the labour force during WWII in order to understand the circumstances of women employees in the Canadian federal civil service during the same time period.

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[3] This limitation is not meant to imply that female civil servants working across Canada during WWII do not deserve investigation at some other time. Also the question of French Canadian civil servants, both male and female, is an entirely different topic worthy of investigation. Taylor Cole touched on the legitimate grievances of French Canadian civil servants and their exclusion from the civil service during WWII in his book, The Canadian Bureaucracy: A Study of Canadian Civil Servants and other Public Employees, 1939-1947 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1949), pp.89-98.

Some historians have chosen to study women's labour history during WWII because the war period was delimited and because of the assumption that women's paid work opportunities improve in crisis situations. Feminist historians, however, have questioned whether WWII was a period of improving employment opportunities which offered either long or short term benefits to women. Ruth Roach Pierson, the leading historian of Canadian women during this period, expressed concern that it is tempting for feminists to reminisce about the years 1939-1945 as a period of women's emancipation but cautions that, upon close examination, it was not.[4] According to Pierson the prevailing attitude was that women working out of the home was a temporary circumstance for the duration of the war. Women were expected to take over for men away at war, perform competently, then return to traditional female roles at the war's end. Alice Kessler-Harris, reporting on women in the United States during WWII, also did not view the period as a time of advancement for women in the paid labour force.

> Women responded to these [government] appeals in large numbers but not with the kind of unthinking enthusiasm that the statistics seem to demonstrate. Fully three-quarters of the women who worked for pay during the war had worked before, and one and a half million more would have entered the labour

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[4] Pierson, <u>They're Still Women</u>, pp. 215-220.

force anyway in the normal course of events.[5]

The British historian, Penny Summerfield, also maintained that the minimal wartime gains for women in the paid labour force were temporary and that pre-war attitudes and expectations of women's roles remained dominant.[6]

Despite the lack of change and permanency in women's overall employment, during WWII women did find jobs in industry and defence plants which probably would not have been accessible in peace-time. Researchers have demonstrated that many factors determined women's admittance into traditionally male-dominated jobs and their longevity or exit from that industry. Ruth Milkman's study of women in the electrical and auto industries during WWII revealed the influence of unions on women's work experiences.[7] The unions' shifting priorities towards a seniority system and full-time work tended to exclude women's interests. Women were often required to sacrifice full-time employment and their accumulated seniority for child-rearing and household responsibilities. Karen

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[5] Alice Kessler-Harris, Out to Work: A History of Wage-Earning Women in the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 276.

[6] Penny Summerfield, Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict (London: Croom Helm, 1984).

[7] Ruth Milkman, Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex During World War II (Chicago: The University of Illinois Press, 1987).

Anderson's work on women in defence industry jobs in Detroit, Baltimore and Seattle considered the effects of women workers within the context of the whole community.[8] Anderson demonstrated that the changing roles of women within the work force created conflict among community leaders who resisted social change. The community leaders distrusted federal government policy that was contrary to the social values of the community. Despite U.S. federal government policies and incentives, women with children were pressured by their communities not to enter the work force. As well, Anderson explored women's uncertainty about these changing expectations. D'Ann Campbell also emphasized community and morality but her work is unique for confronting the issues of race and women in the American work force during WWII.[9] Campbell argued that WWII expanded the employment options for black women in America. Maureen Honey tackled the influences of class on women's WWII experiences by examining the Post, a publication marketed towards middle-class women, and a publication entitled True Story

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[8] Karen Anderson, Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations and the Status of Women During World War II (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981).

[9] D'Ann Campbell, Women At War With America: Private Lives in a Patriotic Era (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984).

which was geared toward a working-class readership.[10] Honey found that the propaganda used to entice middle-class women into the work force during WWII emphasised women's need for self actualization while working-class women were encouraged to work outside the home for patriotic reasons. Susan Hartmann argued that the immediate post-war era stifled any opportunities for advances made by women during WWII.[11] According to Hartmann social stability became a priority in American society after the war and this stability was to be achieved by women returning to traditional roles. Women may not have been able to improve their work opportunities during WWII for a variety of reasons but they were in demand and they did make a contribution.

With the beginning of war, the recruitment and mobilization of women into the labour force was a priority and necessity. Thus, the Canadian literature stresses the conscious effort made by the Canadian government to fill job vacancies with women. Pierson, for instance, has argued that Canadian women were strategically recruited into the labour force by the National Selective Service (NSS) and by the Federal Department of Labour. The former program was estab-

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[10] Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender and Propaganda During World War II (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984).

[11] Susan Hartmann, The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940's (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982).

lished in March 1942. Prime Minister Mackenzie King believed that the NSS program's main objective was, "...to co-ordinate and direct the near total mobilization of Canada's labour power for the war effort..."[12] In particular the most important task of the NSS was to recruit women into the labour force.[13] For Canadian women government planning and incentives were probably influential factors in mobilizing women into the labour force but, equally important, were job availability and economic necessity.

Another important point of debate in the literature concerns the jobs that women were involved in during WWII. And, even more important, is the debate about if and/or how wartime needs changed the type of work performed. Women's financial need, combined with labour market demands, influenced the number of women in the labour force. Gender stereotyped roles determined the labour sectors available to women. The labour shortages caused by the circumstances of WWII reinforced women's labour force segregation but the war

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[12] Pierson, They're Still Women, p. 23. The NSS will be discussed in further detail in chapter one.

[13] The following is an illustration of the government's intention: "In Ottawa the mobilization of housewives for part-time duty as Clerks or Stenographers was undertaken in September. A co-ordinated campaign was launched by the National Council of Women, the National Selective Service and the Civil Service Commission, by newspaper and radio." Canada, Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1943 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1944), p. 6.

also opened some employment positions not previously available to women.[14]

The demand for women in previously male-dominated employment sectors required a change in society's image of women. The propaganda in the form of publicity directed at women during WWII has attracted many researchers from a variety of disciplines to this time period. Of these propaganda campaigns that of "Rosie the Riveter" has probably become the most enduring image.[15] However, for the purpose of this thesis an indepth investigation of propaganda during WWII is unneccesary because the event of women entering civil service jobs did not require a change in social attitudes. Clerical work was already considered a clean and respectable career opportunity for women.

The ghettoization of women's work was not a product of the war. As Alison Prentice and her co-authors have demon-

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[14] Jean Bruce, Back the Attack! Canadian Women During the Second World War - At Home and Abroad (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1985). In this book the producer, as she refers to herself, offers the reader a general overview of Canadian women's lives during WWII. Jean Bruce portrays women as having many different experiences during the war years from the exceptions to the norm. The book includes women who stayed in the home, women and volunteer work, active service, manufacturing and wartime industries. She very briefly mentions women working in the civil service.

[15] Two important books investigating women, image and propaganda in the United States during WWII are: Sherna B. Gluck, Rosie the Riveter Revisited: Women, The War, and Social Change (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987) and Maureen Honey, Creating Rosie the Riveter.

strated in their recent synthesis of the history of Canadian women:

> Even after the severe recession of the early 1920's gave way to the relative national prosperity of the latter part of the decade, female workers everywhere continued to experience the injustices arising from the ghettoization of women's work: domestic service, the textile, clothing, and food industries, clerical work, teaching, and nursing were all characterized by low wages, poor working conditions, and limited job opportunities.[16]

There is plenty of evidence to illustrate that women entering paid work prior to WWII experienced exploitation and limited choices.

The phenomenon of the sex-segregated work place is an overriding issue when investigating the participation of women in the Canadian federal civil service during WWII. The increase in the demand for clerical services created openings in the labour market which were filled primarily by women. These paid work opportunities underwent great expansion and by 1941 the clerical occupation listed in the Census of Canada revealed that 18.6% of Canadian working women were involved in this sector.[17] The development of the clerical sector

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[16] Alison Prentice, et al, Canadian Women: A History (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Canada Inc., 1988), p. 299.

[17] Census of Canada, 1941. Since the war ended in 1945 and the next census was not taken until 1951, the census is of limited value in measuring the changes attributable to the war itself. In 1921 clerical workers did not warrant a separate listing. The percentage in 1931 was 17.6% and 27.6% nationally in 1951.

reinforced the feminization of paid labour. This job option is an example of the labour force's increased variety of job opportunities for women but significantly, the expansion occurred in positions which were defined as auxiliary to men's supervisory work rather than in management.

Graham Lowe has written the most important study of the feminization of clerical work in Canada. Lowe attributes the changes in clerical work in Canada to the rise of corporate capitalism, the rationalization and mechanization of the office, and managerial control.[18] Lowe argues that prior to the turn of the century clerical work was a male-dominated occupation. Unlike in other countries, the increased number of women in this field after 1900 did not result in women taking jobs that may have otherwise been offered to men; rather they entered newly created clerical positions. "By the 1930s, women formed a new subordinate class of clerical functionaries, relegated to the most routinized and mechanized tasks."[19] According to Lowe, "Clerical work is the contempor-

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[18] Graham S.Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution: The Feminization of Clerical Work (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987). "Centralized bureaucratic organizations, the development of coherent managerial philosophies and practices, and the rapid growth of a pool of female clerical workers are, in short, the hallmarks of the administrative revolution." p. 26.

[19] Graham S. Lowe, "Mechanization, Feminization, and Managerial Control in the Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Office," in On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada, edited by Craig Heron and Robert Storey (Kingston:

ary prototype of a female job ghetto."[20]

In a comparison among Canada, Britain and the United States and the changes in clerical work in each country, Lowe discovered that in the latter two, women's debut in this employment sector was made in the public sector. In Canada women were more prevalent in the offices in the private sector. This is even more interesting when one considers that Canada's industrial development was slower than in Britain or the United States. Most often changes in employment policies or tradition are made during an expansion; therefore, women should have been included in increasing numbers in the private sector rather than in the public sector of Britain and the United States prior to WWII.

Lisa M. Fine investigated the feminization of clerical work in the city of Chicago between 1870 and 1930.[21] American women's early entry into clerical work began from 1870 to 1890. These women were often educated, adventurous middle-class women who required a self supporting occupation and were

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McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), p. 199.

[20] Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution, p. 1.

[21] Lisa M. Fine, The Souls of the Skyscraper: Female Clerical Workers in Chicago, 1870-1930 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990). Margery W. Davies conducted a similar, but more general study about clerical workers in the United States, Woman's Place is at the Typewritter: Office Work and Office Workers 1870-1930 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982).

aware of the limited options available to them. Many of these women worked freelance on a contract basis, often out of their homes or sometimes in an office setting. With the great growth of this sector between 1890 and WWI, office jobs increased and so did the numbers of women participating in clerical work. The majority of these women were middle-class, young, single, white, and American born. It was during this period that clerical work became feminized. Clerical work became rationalized, routinized, and mechanized and the jobs began to be compared to the supposedly natural abilities and feminine qualities of women. "As women increasingly dominated clerical positions, the gender association of clerical work changed from an occupation associated with male workers to a job in which the worker was presumed to be a female."[22] By the end of WWI to 1930 clerical workers were largely women who were not going to move up the corporate latter. The preference was still towards middle-class women. In 1880 women accounted for 11.1% of clerical workers in Chicago; by 1910, just prior to WWI, women's participation increased to 40.6%, and in 1930 more than half of the workers in this sector, 53.3%, were women.[23] Unfortunately, in the end, women's success at "conquering" this employment sector rendered

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[22] Fine, The Souls of the Skyscraper, p. XV.

[23] Ibid., p. 30.

clerical work as women's work and thus, it was devalued.

The questions that have been asked about female clerical workers in the private sector need to be applied to women in the public sector during WWII. Just as increasing numbers of women entered manufacturing industries during the war, it is also apparent that women entered the Canadian federal civil service in unprecedented numbers during the same period. During the six years of war the Civil Service Commission made a total of 244,545 appointments to the civil service.[24] More than one half of these appointments went to women. In 1940, 67.3% of the civil servants appointed were men and 32.7% were women. By the peak of the war in 1943 the numbers had reversed; only 34.6% of those appointed were men while 65.7% were women.[25] (See Appendix A) Still, the majority of civil servants were male. "In September, 1943, out of a total of 138,969 employees, 88,178 were male and 50,791 were

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[24] Canada, Thirty-Seventh Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the Year 1945 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1946), p. 5. Note that this figure includes reappointments and staff turnover and is not the total number of civil servants employed at any one time.

[25] Stanislaw Judek, Women in the Public Service (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968), p. 10. See Appendix A. Note that these figures refer to the peek recruitment during WWII not the total number of civil servants. The total number of federal government employees was recorded on December 31, 1945 at 162,738 according to Taylor Cole's research, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p.19.

female."[26] Many of these women were young and single and new to the city of Ottawa. In 1943 14.2 per cent of the total number of civil servants were women under the age of twenty-five.[27] After WWII, however, the number of women appointed to the civil service dropped dramatically.

The experiences of women in the Canadian civil service differed from those in the United States and in Britain. A survey profile of the women working for the civil service in Ottawa during WWII includes the following characteristics; young, single, white, English-speaking, from various social classes and educational backgrounds, and many were not from Ottawa. The research of Cindy Sondik Aron[28] and Susan Ware[29] revealed that the civil service of the United States was made up of women who were not necessarily young and/or single. Often they were from middle-class families and had acquired post secondary education. Prior to WWII some American women held high profile positions of power in the government. Despite the American and British governments' more receptive

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[26] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 20.

[27] Ibid., p. 20.

[28] Cindy Sondik Aron, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service: Middle-Class Workers in Victorian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

[29] Susan Ware, Beyond Suffrage: Women in the New Deal (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981).

hiring practices of women, the research of Meta Zimmeck[30] demonstrated that British women faced many barriers when attempting to pursue civil service careers due to the attitudes of the Treasury Board officials. As in Canada, the female civil servants in Britain were expected to be young and single, working only until marriage. Unlike women in the United States, British women were restricted to the lowest levels of government.

Cindy Sondik Aron discovered that the civil service in Victorian America was largely made up of the middle-class. In fact, the American federal civil service offered employment to many young men and women of the middle-class in financial need during the Gilded Age following the Civil War.

> In becoming government clerks these women had placed themselves in an ambiguous position. The very act of entering the paid labor force -especially in a previously male occupation- threatened to invalidate a woman's claim to middle-class status, for proper ladies only worked for wages within a few circumscribed and often poorly paid endeavors. At the same time, the wages such women earned as government clerks were often all that allowed them and their families to maintain anything like a middle-class life-style. Indeed, at an average salary of $900 per year, the women employed in Washington departments were not only some of the best-paid women in nineteenth-century America, but commanded salaries equal to or better than middle-class men.[31]

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[30] Meta Zimmeck, "Strategies and Stratagems for the Employment of Women in the British Civil Service, 1919-1939," in The Historical Journal, 27, 4, (1984), pp. 901-924.

[31] Aron, Ladies and Gentlemen of the Civil Service, p. 58.

Women began to appear in the Executive departments in Washington D.C. between 1860 and 1870 and by 1893 one third of these employees were women.[32] Another fascinating discovery in Aron's research was the age of these female civil servants. "By 1900 more than half of the women in Washington offices were thirty-five or older, while only 12 percent of other women clerks and about one-quarter of women workers were from this age bracket."[33] Aron argues that these women worked out of necessity and in sex mixed offices and at the same time they were protective of their status as middle-class ladies.

Susan Ware's investigation of female civil servants again revealed that some American women secured positions of influence and power in their civil service. Ware successfully took on the challenge of a biographical survey of the influential women in the American civil service during the "New Deal" era of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In her study, Ware isolated twenty-eight prominent American civil servants who had received their appointments prior to 1936. Of these twenty-eight women, four received special attention: Eleanor Roosevelt, the First Lady; Molly Dewson, Director of the Women's Division, Democratic National Committee, 1932-1937; Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, 1933-1945; and Ellen

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[32] Ibid., p. 5.

[33] Ibid., p. 44.

Sullivan Woodward, Director of the Women's Division, Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1933-1936. What made this women's network so unique was that they all had similar histories of participation in the women's movement, they all worked together to assist one another whenever necessary, and they were all interested in the promotion of opportunities for women.[34] It is important to note that most of these women held influential decision making positions, facilitating their goal of improving paid labour force opportunities for women.

British women were less successful at obtaining positions of influence in their civil service. Despite women's earlier success in civil service jobs during WWI, Treasury officials, "... put forward the rather subtle argument that although women might be substituted for men they were not interchangeable with men, ..."[35] Treasury officials, who controlled the civil servants, had long held the attitude that there was a distinction between clerical and administrative work. "But its chief preoccupation was setting the scene for the eventual transfer of clerical work to women while delaying this process until they were more manageable."[36] Thus the British civil service took the shape of a pyramid with women largely

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[34] Ware, Beyond Suffrage, pp. 61-65.

[35] Zimmeck, "Strategies and Stratagems", p. 907.

[36] Ibid., p. 907.

positioned at the bottom. According to the evidence presented by Meta Zimmeck, British women were intentionally discriminated against when pursuing civil service careers.

In describing the civil service decision-making elite in Canada, J.L. Granatstein put it quite simply, "The mandarin world was exclusively male."[37] Women did not break into this group during WWII. According to Kathleen Archibald, it was not until 1957 that a female civil servant made the $10,000 annual salary which became the measuring tool for acquiring mandarin status. This one woman was alone in this category of civil servants with the 296 men who made $10,000 or more that same year.[38] Author Sandra Gwyn hypothesised that, at one time, the women of Ottawa's elite played a participatory role in Government affairs through their husbands' success but that a new exclusionary attitude developed towards even society women as a result of WWI. The war enhanced "masculine affairs" and was followed by the arrival of professional civil servants, the Depression, WWII and the succession of two

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[37] J.L. Granatstein, The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins, 1935-1957 (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1982), p.4. Granatstein defines "mandarin men" as a meritocratic elite group of powerful civil servants who were: English-speaking; university educated, predominately from Queen's University or from the University of Toronto; talented; and not from any particular class background.

[38] Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service (Ottawa: Queen's Printer for Canada, 1970), p. 28.

bachelor Prime Ministers, W.L. Mackenzie King and R.B. Bennett.[39]

Given the description of women working for the government in Canada, it becomes obvious that their experiences differed from women civil servants working in the United States and in Britain. During his research Taylor Cole found evidence to suggest that female civil servants in Canada during WWII did not enjoy the opportunities granted to American women but were better off than British women.

> Canadian women in the public service thus continue to occupy a position somewhere between their counterparts in Britain, where they occupy a position somewhere in theory and fact a postion of greater inferiority, and those in the United States federal services, where greater equality between the sexes exists.[40]

Because Canadian women's civil service experiences during WWII were different from those in other nations, it is important to examine these experiences within a Canadian context.

Writers who have attempted to provide an historical perspective on women in the Canadian federal civil service have acknowledged the barriers resulting from insufficient

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[39] Sandra Gwyn, The Private Capital (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1984), p. 483. Gwyn uses the term "masculine affairs" in the context of: "Most of the reasons for the withering away of the feminine principle ... There was the cataclysmic effect of the First World War, which thrust masculine affairs to the forefront, followed in turn by the Depression and the Second World War." Assuming that there is a difference between male and female principle, Gwyn argues that WWI thrusted the interests of men to the forefront.

[40] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 110.

records and conflicting statistical information. For example, the distribution of employees by sex was not recorded until the 1960s.[41] The government's lack of interest in the statistics on women working in the civil service reinforces the fact that they did not view women's contribution as long term or permanent. While the sources do not lend themselves to an overview of all women in the civil service, it is possible to reconstruct the experiences of some women.

Unfortunately, few of the government documents relating to the civil service during WWII are easily accessible. Government policies were controlled by the Treasury Board and these records are organized by date rather than topic. There are more than one hundred volumes of Treasury Board records for each of the war years. Between August 1939 and September 1945, the Treasury Board recorded 92,350 items of business.[42] Also, the government seemed to be obsessed with Canadian wartime industries and the economy and the civil service was simply a necessary tool to implement and regulate its poli-

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[41] Judek, Women in the Public Service, p. 7. In 1947 when Calais Calvert was researching an article he too discovered the difficulties associated with the Canadian government's lack of record keeping with regards to female civil servants. See Calais Calvert, "Little Women, What Now? Women in the Civil Service," in The Civil Service News, Vol. XXV (October 1947), pp. 35-43.

[42] J.E. Hodgetts, et al., The Biography of an Institution: The Civil Service Commission of Canada, 1908-1967 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1972), p. 188.

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Another difficulty encountered while attempting to find information about female civil servants was that personal papers and memoirs are usually kept by persons who achieve some sort of public or popular position and very few women reached positions of power during this time. My research did not reveal any personal papers of women who worked for the civil service during WWII available for public viewing or use.

The sources that eventually proved to be most helpful in researching this topic include the secondary sources already mentioned and other references scattered appropriately throughout the thesis. Printed primary sources of great value were the Civil Service Commission's Annual Reports, and the civil service association's publications, in particular the Civil Service News, published by the Civil Service Association of Ottawa.

Another extremely valuable source was a book written and published by Edna Tyson Parson, A Houseful of Canada.[43] Parson wrote this book based on her own memories of her personal experiences of leaving Saskatchewan and working for the government in Ottawa during WWII. She built on this by interviewing her two sisters, who also eventually followed her to Ottawa, securing civil service jobs during the war, as well

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[43] Edna Tyson Parson, A Houseful of Canada (Ottawa: Abacus Print Services Limited, 1992).

as interviewing friends with shared experiences. And, when memories failed, Parson relied on a collection of letters written home that had been saved by family members.

In addition, this thesis relies heavily on interviews conducted by myself with women who lived in Ottawa and worked as civil servants during WWII, as well as some correspondence with women from this same group.[44] Finding women from this group presented many challenges. Many of the women working for the government in Ottawa during WWII came from out of town, often they were young, and the majority were single. Given the life cycle of women during this time, many of these women would either return home after the war ended or as economic conditions improved in their home region. Also many of these women would marry and change their names which added a new challenge to this research since any reference to them as civil servants would be under their maiden names. Some of these problems were overcome with the assistance of the Federal Superannuates National Association which generously allowed me to place an advertisement in their quarterly report. Also, an Ottawa columnist, Dave Brown, agreed to mention my research in his column.

I must also mention the importance of networking that took place. For every one informant I met I was put in touch

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[44] See Appendix B for a list of the questions used when conducting interviews for this research.

with another possible participant. I say "possible participant" because finding women was one challenge, convincing them that their contribution was of value presented other difficulties. Hence, many of the women I met with did not wish to be identified. Informants who wished to remain anonymous were useful for direction and confirmation but have not been used directly in the finished paper.[45]

Personal interviews are valuable to any research when kept in perspective. I continually reminded myself that people's memories of events that took place fifty years ago fade and/or change. The person being interviewed today is not the same person that was an active participant of the past. People's memories are influenced by the events that have taken place in their lives since the event being recalled.[46] I have attempted to confirm all of the information provided by the informants either through written sources or simply through other informants' recollections. Often many of the women's answers to a particular question were similar, only the anecdotes differed.

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[45] See appendix C for an introduction to the informants who participated in this research project and did not object to being identified.

[46] S.B. Gluck produced an indepth study of women working in the United States during WWII based primarily on oral histories. She too warned of the dangers of relying totally on an informant's memories. See Gluck, Rosie the Riveter Revisited, p. 260.

Canadian women had been blocked from advancement in civil service careers prior to WWII. Many of the gains that women made during the war were temporary, lasting only for the duration of the war. Despite this fact, women during the war years were working in full force in the federal civil service of Canada in Ottawa

This thesis investigates the role of women in the Canadian federal civil service in Ottawa during WWII. First, it examines the government's strategic attempts to control the feminization of the civil service and the recruitment of women into the service in relation to the other options of the time. Secondly, once women were hired by the government it is interesting to examine the work that women did and the conditions within which the work was performed. Also, many of these women were new to Ottawa; thus a third avenue of investigation examines their living situations and social life. Finally, while my informants rarely remembered involvement in civil service employee organizations, the numbers suggest that women played an active role. Women's employment in the civil service remains a little known area of women's wartime experience which this research attempts to uncover.

Chapter 1

FEMINIZATION OF THE CIVIL SERVICE

The feminization of the civil service had been a concern of the Civil Service Commission (hereafter CSC) prior to WWII and, despite the government's need for employees, the Commission maintained very definite ideas about women's role in the Canadian federal civil service. Kathleen Archibald has pointed out that "[t]he Commission perceived its problem not as one of keeping women down - that was taken for granted - but as one of keeping down the number of women in the civil service."[1] The emphasis of the Commission clearly was to create careers for men while offering women a more transient form of employment.

Women in the Canadian federal civil service during WWII were working within the rules and regulations largely set by the amended Civil Service Act of 1918.[2] The Civil Service Commission was created by the original Act in 1908 and was later chaired by Charles H. Bland during the war. "The principal duties of the Commission under the Civil Service Act have to do with the following phases of civil service administration: organization, classification and compensation;

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[1] Kathleen Archibald, Sex and the Public Service, p. 14.

[2] Several amendments were made to this act between 1908 and 1954, (amendments 1912, 1918, 1921, 1932). For further reference see: J.E. Hodgetts, et al, The Biography of an Institution.

examinations; appointments; probation; permanency; promotion and transfer; leave of absence; general working conditions."[3] During WWII the CSC accepted the additional responsibilities of supplying the necessary civilian staff to the war-time government departments, investigating and reporting upon requests for additions to establishments and increases in compensation, as well as acting as the co-ordinating personnel agency for promotions, transfers, and leaves of absence.[4] Thus, the CSC held the power to control the access women had to civil service positions and their destiny once they were within the institution of the civil service.[5]

In a paper on women in the Canadian civil service during the Victorian era and the early twentieth century, John H. Taylor proposed that women's poor representation was the result of the "image" of women and, to a lesser degree, women's physical isolation from one another; these factors

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[3] Canada, Thirtieth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1938 (Ottawa: O.J. Patenaude, I.S.O., 1939), p. 5.

[4] Canada, Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1944 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1945), p. 5.

[5] The authors of The Biography of an Institution argued that while the CSC was legally responsible for the administration of personnel according to the Civil Service Act, the War Measures Act in 1940 awarded the Treasury Board "final say" power. See J.E. Hodgetts, et al., The Biography of an Institution, pp.196-201. Regardless of who had official power it was the CSC which was in direct contact with the civil servants so I continue to refer to the CSC as the controlling body.

were reinforced by the conflicts within the "merit system" hiring practices of the CSC of 1908.[6] The Commission was alarmed by the rate at which women qualified under the competitive examination system for entry to the civil service. This problem was twofold. Simply stated, the CSC feared that, as women entered the lower level civil service jobs in increasing numbers, the jobs would become less attractive to men.[7] An increasing number of women in the civil service created difficulties for the Commission's goal of making the civil service an attractive professional career for men. Since women were not considered for promotion and men were not

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[6] John H. Taylor, "'The Rights of Men and the Privileges of their own Sex as Well': Images and Place of Women in the Canadian Civil Service, 1867-1921," paper presented at Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, 1990, Victoria, B.C., p. 2. According to Taylor the "merit system" was established to rid the civil service of corruption through patronage. The merit system included the passing of a competitive examination as an entrance requirement into the civil service. Hodgetts, et al, The Biography of an Institution, p. 52 states that again in 1918-1919 the government attempted to eradicate patronage recruitment into the civil service by strengthening the CSC and the institution of the merit system. "Interestingly enough, a careful perusal of the Civil Service Act fails to disclose a precise definition of the merit principle. What the legislation contained instead was a statutory description of the mechanics of the merit system, with the principle taken for granted." And of course there were exceptions, exemptions, and limitations built into the merit system. The most relevant to this thesis was the restriction to examinations based on the sex of the applicant. Also see Ibid., pp. 482-490, for further effects of the merit system on female civil servants.

[7] Taylor, "The Rights of Men", p. 14. Also see Graham S. Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution, p. 73.

entering the lower levels of the civil service at a desirable rate, the necessary numbers of employees available for the Commission's planned training programs were restricted. The CSC used this argument as justification for creating a dual level entry system, one entry level for the lower category jobs and another level for civil service careers.[8] According to Taylor, the actual number of women in the civil service in 1908 was small and not threatening; he concluded nevertheless, that the "woman problem", as it had been perceived and labelled by the CSC, became an important foundation for the Commission's image of women and consequently the treatment of women in the future civil service.[9]

Graham Lowe also developed an argument similar to Taylor's with regard to the Commission's fear of women's proven ability in the civil service and the possibility of a female monopoly. Lowe maintained that the Commission's attitude towards women was continually reinforced through amendments to the Civil Service Act. "First, the 1918 Civil Service Act empowered the Civil Service Commission to limit job competitions on the basis of sex. Second, in 1921 married women were barred from permanent posts ..."[10] With a brief

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[8] Taylor, "The Rights of Men", p. 14.

[9] Ibid., pp.3-5.

[10] Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution, p. 73.

exception during WWII, married women remained barred from permanent positions with the civil service until 1955, at least in principle.[11] Both Taylor and Lowe would agree that women's role within the civil service was the result of conscious manipulation of sex labelling and labour market segmentation.

The recruitment of women into the civil service during WWII encompassed three phases. From 1939 to the end of 1941, entry into employment was voluntary. In 1942 the government found it necessary to step up the active recruitment of women. The final phase began in 1944 when the government started to consider closing war-time departments and began to focus on veterans as preferred candidates for civil service recruitment. As in pre-war years, it was the responsibility of the CSC to supply the necessary civilian staff for the great majority of the departments of government. Once war broke out, the CSC established nine District offices at Halifax, Saint John, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, Regina, Edmonton, and Vancouver to recruit people for the civil service. Later during the war sub-offices were established at Moncton, London, Saskatoon, and Calgary.

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[11] There appears to be evidence to show that married women participated in the civil service even during the years-1921-1955. See Hodgetts et al, The Biography of an Institution, pp. 486-488. And Nicole Morgan, The Equality Game: Women in the Federal Public Service, 1908-1987 (Ottawa: CACSW, 1988), p.5.

When the war began in 1939 Canada had been in an economic depression for a decade. The job opportunities created by WWII were greeted as a blessing. Men joined the active service and work became available for both men and women across Canada. It has been estimated that at the war's start, "... approximately 160,000 women were searching for needed work."[12] In the early stages of the war, given the large unemployment rate of both men and women, employers could be very particular about the standards set for their employees. Age restrictions, marital status, and education requirements were just some of the control barriers set by employers when considering women for employment. But women needed and wanted work and they were willing to relocate for jobs. Once word got out that the CSC was hiring, women came from all across Canada to work in Ottawa for the Federal Government. These women paid their own transportation costs and found their own accommodation in Ottawa. The government simply told them where and when to report.

Prior to the outbreak of war, a female candidate wishing to be considered for a civil service position had to be single, write a civil service qualification examination, apply

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[12] Chapter on "Employment of Women and Day Care of Children" (completed sometime before August 24, 1950), Part 1, p. 11, in the "History of the Wartime Activities of the Department of Labour," Public Archives of Canada [PAC], RG 35, Series 7, Vol. 20, file 10. Hereafter cited as "Wartime History of Employment of Women", p. 11.

for a position, and have her background checked by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.[13] During the war this process underwent some changes as the demands for new recruits changed.

In 1939 the Civil Service Commission of Canada was forced to tackle the necessity for its organization to focus on the demands of wartime. At this early stage the pressure was mostly on the examination division which was attempting to satisfy the requirements for replacement and additional staff. "The requirements ranged all the way from stenographers and clerks to administrative and technical officers in the engineering, mechanical and specialized services."[14] Although the Civil Service Commission found it necessary to use the press and radio to publicize its need for workers, the response was positive and they could pick the most qualified applicant.

During 1940 the CSC admitted that, "[t]he chief activity of the Commission during the year has been in connection with

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[13] The difference in civil service job accessibility for women during the 1930s and 1940s is very briefly discussed by Catherine Carroll, "Working in the Government", in Ruth Latta ed., The Memory of all That: Canadian Women Remember World War II (Burnstown: The General Store Publishing House Inc., 1992), pp.37-38. Also see Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution, pp. 71-74.

[14] Canada, Thirty-first Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1939 (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, I.S.O., 1940), p. 6.

the war departments."[15] By the end of the year signs of recruiting difficulties began to appear. The government's continuing demands for workers, especially office workers, were challenging the capabilities of the CSC's examination division. Often by the time examinations could be carried out, lists of acceptable candidates compiled, and notices of offers of employment delivered, the applicant was no longer interested or available for the job offer. The CSC recognized that the depletion of their examination lists was directly linked to the improving employment situation in the private sector.

As a result, the CSC had to be more flexible about its regulations and policies. Changes to the examination process became necessary to satisfy the increasing demand for stenographers and clerical workers. The requirements for these jobs became less competitive and more oriented towards minimum qualifications. Other changes to the CSC's practices had to be made as well. For example, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was unable to fingerprint and check the character and habits of the applicants as quickly as the appointments needed to be made.[16] This problem caused the CSC considerable

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[15] Canada, Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1940 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1941), p. 5.

[16] Ibid., p. 9.

anxiety, given the need for increased security during wartime; at the same time, however, the Commission attempted to fill the position openings as quickly as possible.

In another attempt to cope with the competition for labour during the early years of WWII, the CSC had recommended that the salaries of the temporary employees in the lower grades of the civil service be increased so that they may "...maintain themselves at a reasonable standard of living."[17] As the department responsible for civil servants, the CSC "... recommended that the salary of these employees should be increased on satisfactory service to $65 per month after six months service, $70 after one year's service and $75 after two years' service."[18] It is most likely that the CSC's attempt to increase salaries was motivated by the competition for employees with war industries. Despite this recommendation, the Treasury Board rejected the Commission's proposal, allowing only the five dollar per month raise after six months service.

Still the CSC was able to compile lists of eligible persons to satisfy the increasing demand for clerks and stenographers because of the large number of out-of-town people willing to relocate to Ottawa for a position in the

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[17] Ibid., p. 5.

[18] Ibid., p. 5.

civil service. Many of these new Ottawa residents were women. The CSC recognized that civil service jobs were more frequently being filled by women.

Elsa D. Lessard was representative of many of the young single women hired by the CSC in the early war years. The Lessard family had been in the Ottawa area since 1837, but none were civil servants. The opportunity to work for the civil service was both a surprise and a thrill to her since she previously believed that government jobs were reserved for the upper middle class and new positions were usually given to the children of career civil servants. Elsa Lessard began to work for the civil service at the age of eighteen after just completing high school. She sought employment in the civil service because the government was recruiting people to staff the increasing bureaucracy. She was also attracted by the idea of having her own money. Lessard started as a Clerk Grade 1 for the Department of Finance.[19]

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[19] Elsa D. Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992. NOTE: During WWII the majority of women working for the civil service filled the lowest grades as typists, clerks and stenographers. These jobs were distinguishable by duties but job classification was consistent throughout job titles. Grade 1 was the lowest entry level position and the lowest paid. Regardless of one's duties or title, Grade 1 personnel was paid $60.00 per month and Grade 2 paid $90.00 per month. If a woman was promoted to a Grade 3 classification her job would often require supervisory duties and she was paid $115.00 per month. Very few women held positions at the Grade 4 level but, if one was so fortunate, they were paid $135.00 per month.

Merle Ray was another early recruit, officially joining the civil service on August 28, 1940. She was assigned to the Department of National Defence, Army Headquarters, as a typist in a typing pool of six or seven other women and categorized as a Stenographer Grade 1. Ray's motivation for seeking employment was her need to be self-supporting. Ray was one of the eldest children of six and her parents encouraged her to get out and earn her own money so there would be more for the children who remained at home. Why the civil service? "When I finished at the business college, Belleville was kind of depressed and there were not any jobs, none at all. So when the civil service exams came up I wrote them. And that's where they got in touch with me and the other girls too."[20]

By 1941 the CSC acknowledged that women played a vital part in filling personnel needs. "Among the newer aspects of the year's work was the increase of girls and women," noted the Annual Report.[21] Some of these women were placed in positions that had been traditionally filled by males. "The use of Office Girls, instead of Office Boys has proved highly satisfactory in Ottawa."[22] Many of the job opportunities

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[20] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

[21] Canada, Thirty-third annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1941 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1942), p. 6.

[22] Ibid., p. 6.

available, however, were in the areas previously designated for women and the CSC was beginning to have difficulty supplying the demand. "The demands for trained stenographers and typists also became increasingly difficult to satisfy."[23] In an attempt to compete with industry and to keep civil servants on the job, the government introduced Order in Council P.C. 6/4937 which stated that, "...employees of the Public Service could not be approached with offers of employment elsewhere without the agreement of the department in which they were employed."[24] And at the same time the government restricted the employment of men fit for active service from the civil service. During 1941 the CSC continued to conduct its recruiting and placement business within the confines of its pre WWII structure. May Flowers recalled that:

> Early in the war years, the Federal Government had a great need for stenographers, typists and junior clerks. I lived in Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan, employed in a law office, earning very little, and at that time, for various reasons, anxious to get away. The Federal Government advertised for stenographers in the local paper and I had been to Business College, so I answered the advertisement, took the qualifying examination and soon afterwards, received a telegram asking me to report to Ottawa immediately.[25]

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[23] Ibid., p. 6.

[24] Ibid., p. 6.

[25] May Flowers, Correspondence, February 19, 1993.

The Federal government began to fill much of its labour needs with women like May Flowers.

The CSC also acknowledged its surprise at the number of married women applying for positions. Although section 36 of the Civil Service Regulations had been previously established to deal with such requests, by 1940 the CSC found it necessary to amend this regulation. Prior to December 31, 1940,

> Section 36 of the Civil Service Regulations provides that when the supply of experienced help for any particular kind of work is not sufficient to meet the demands of the Public Service, a married woman may be certified for temporary employment, and this section has been invoked to permit of the assignment of married women as Office Appliance Operators and as Stenographers, Grade 1, when it was found impossible to secure a sufficient number of eligible in any other way. Such assignments are made subject to replacement at any time when a properly qualified eligible is available.[26]

Then, in order for the CSC to meet the labour demands of the government, subsection 3 of Section 36 was amended to read,

> Provided further that where it can be established by a married woman that her husband, through illness or other cause, does not provide sufficiently for her or their dependent children's maintenance, and cannot be made to do so, such married woman may be certified for permanent or temporary employment.[27]

It should be noted that these amendments, which increased the

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[26] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1940, p. 10. The term "qualified eligible" is someone, preferably male or single female, who becomes available for the job and meets all of the CSC criteria for employment.

[27] Ibid., p. 10.

employment opportunities of married women in the civil service, were only in effect for the duration of WWII.[28] Nevertheless, this is an indication that the CSC recognized there was a shortage of qualified labour and this need could be satisfied by the addition of married women to the labour market.

It is interesting to note that, at the same time married women were being granted temporary access to civil service jobs, the CSC was refusing to extend employment to female civil servants upon marriage. Women who worked for the government as single women were to be replaced with the utmost urgency upon marriage. For example, if a woman married while employed by the government, she was required to quit her job and then she could re-apply for a position of different status. Sometimes this simply meant staying at the same job but being demoted back to new employee status and pay. As well, these married women worked with the insecurity that they would be replaced as soon as a suitable single woman could be found or, in general, when the supply of single women impro The Canadian government did not change its "no married women as civil servants" policy until 1955, ten years after the end

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[28] With the government's flexible policy of hiring married women, the CSC was soon forced to deal with the issue of maternity leave. See Canada. Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the Year 1942 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1943), p. 9.

of WWII.[29]

Some women who feared this type of retaliation would marry but keep their new status a secret from their colleagues and supervisors. Some women even wore their wedding bands on a chain around their necks to hide their marital status. It was easiest for women to keep their marriages a secret if their husbands were serving overseas. If the man lived locally, then the couple would sometimes arrange to live at one or the other's parent's homes and the spouse would be listed as a boarder in the house. These women could only keep up this charade until they became pregnant. Many others simply followed the rules and resigned from their jobs.[30]

The second phase of the recruitment of women into the civil service began as the number of women entering the labour force slowed considerably in 1942. The necessity and demand for more workers had continued to increase. This slump in

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[29] Canada, Towards Equality for Women (Ottawa: Status of Women Canada, 1979), p. 5.

[30] Stories about women hiding the knowledge of their marital status were offered by a few women, some of whom did not wish to be identified. But according to Christine Radmore this was a common occurrence prior, during and after WWII. Christine (Currie) Radmore, Interview August 19, 1992. When Radmore married in 1952 she too was notified that she would be recertified under her married name. "Please note that you have been certified on a temporary basis -- on the understanding that you are subject to replacement by a qualified eligible of 'single' status as soon as a sufficient number becomes available to supply the class of position which you presently occupy." This quotation was taken from a letter sent to Mrs. Radmore on November 10, 1952.

labour availability had not been caused by women's unwillingness to work but more so by industry's unwillingness to hire women, and/or to place women in positions that had previously been filled by men who were increasingly recruited into active service. The continuing labour shortages, however, made employers bring down the barriers that had previously blocked women's involvement in the labour force.

The year 1942 marked a turning point in the recruitment of women workers, both for the civil service and private industry, and the beginning of the second phase of women's recruitment. The government was finally willing to take further steps toward policy flexibility. The government and the CSC realized that they could not fulfill the labour needs by conducting business as usual. This realization resulted in the creation of the National Selective Service (NSS) program in March 1942, under the direction of Arthur MacNamara. The NSS was established, in conjunction with the Department of Labour, to mobilize all available workers to satisfy the employment demands of war industries and other essential services such as the civil service.[31]

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[31] For further information regarding Department of Labour policies and programs during WWII see, Arthur MacNamara, "Administering Manpower in Canada", an address before the Academy of Political Science, Columbia University, 1943. Also see Margaret Mackintosh, "War Labor Policies in Canada", The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November 1942).

On May 3, 1942 the NSS established a division specifically for the employment of women and related services. "Mrs. Rex (Fraudena) Eaton of Vancouver was appointed assistant (later associate) director of the NSS in charge of the Women's Division."[32] The Women's Division of the NSS was responsible for recruiting women workers and providing information to any and/or all other departments, divisions, or units about the requirements necessary to implement their plans of recruitment. The recruiting campaigns for women workers were viewed as inevitable and necessary. "Women must be convinced that it was their duty to work, whether single or married, provided that they could be spared from home responsibilities and were qualified for the available jobs."[33]

The publicity of the NSS recruiting women was focused on image and the need to influence public opinion. The NSS acted as though its biggest challenge was public opinion. A huge recruitment campaign was launched using radio, the National Film Board, magazines, newspapers, and other forms of media. The NSS campaign in Canada was similar to the propaganda image of "Rosie the Riveter" in the United States. It showed women doing unconventional jobs with skill, pride, and, most

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[32] Pierson, "They're still Women After All", pp. 23-24.

[33] "Wartime History of Employment of Women," p. 8.

importantly, femininity.[34] The media propaganda was geared towards women, but the NSS and employment services, such as the Unemployment Insurance Commission, also lobbied the industry sectors (especially those classified as essential services) to accept women workers. "Publicity, persuasion and other methods had their value in bringing about the substitution of women workers for men but in too many instances employers waited for the inevitable severe shortage of men before accepting women as the solution to many of their labour problems."[35] In addition, the Women's Division of the NSS worked in co-operation with women's organizations across Canada. On August 20, 1942 the NSS held a conference with industries, potential employers, and women's organizations in Ottawa. The CSC was among the participants.[36] The main purpose of this conference was to make organizations aware that women were available, willing and appropriate candidates for job vacancies.

The success of the NSS recruiting campaign may not have been the result of propaganda image as much as publicity, policy flexibility, and changes within the institutions. It

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[34] For more information about women and propaganda during WWII in Canada see: Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 129-168.

[35] "Wartime History of Employment of Women", p. 13.

[36] Ibid., p. 10.

is important to remember that while the NSS was presenting an image, it was also publicizing job availability. Amendments were made to the CSC policies in place prior to WWII regarding female employees and new policies were introduced to make women's participation in the labour force more accessible and practical. Housing programs were established to assist women who left rural areas to work in cities that had long since reached their housing capacity. A good example of this was the building of the Laurentian Terrace on Sussex Street in Ottawa. This residence was built to house low grade civil servants who came to work in Ottawa.[37] While a limited policy change, the Dominion-Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement was negotiated between the federal government and the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, thus releasing some women with children for the labour market.[38] Other policy changes included the Amendment to the Income War Tax Act of July, 1942 and the introduction of flexible work hours and part-time positions. Patriotism and propaganda probably did play a role in women entering the labour force, but so did government and industry incentives and policy leniency.

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[37] The Laurentian Terrace and other housing facilities for female civil servants during WWII will be discussed in chapter three.

[38] For a more thorough investigation of the Dominion-Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries Agreement see, Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 49-60.

In September 1942 the NSS organized a compulsory registration of women between the ages of twenty and twenty-four. Still, not all women who wanted to work could find employment. For one thing not all the women seeking employment were between the ages of 20 and 24. There were also skill demands that restricted the number of women in the pool of qualified applicants. Finally, many women were not geographically mobile in accordance with job availability. For example, many women who qualified and wanted to work for the civil service could not move to Ottawa, for family or other reasons.

There was no shortage of unemployed women who might fill these jobs. For example, during the registration process, approximately 1,000 women were classified as unemployed in the city of Winnipeg.[39] And in Windsor similar numbers of women registered who were willing to work but unable to find employment.[40] These numbers suggest that the publicity and propaganda of the registration program encouraged women to come forward to seek employment once they had been informed that they were needed. This, of course, was combined with employers easing restrictions on the hiring of women, driven both by necessity and the encouragement of the NSS.

Dr. Grace Maynard is one example of the many women who

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[39] "Wartime History of Employment of Women", p. 19.

[40] Ibid, p. 56.

put their plans on hold in order to work during WWII. In the beginning Dr. Maynard had not been interested in working. She had set her sights on an education. "As soon as I graduated from high school then I spent a year in a secretarial school in Saskatoon and then I was awarded a scholarship at the University and so that was why I went to University for that first year and then I decided to quit and go into the war effort."[41] Dr. Maynard said that it was general knowledge across Canada by late 1941 that people were needed in Ottawa for government jobs. After visiting her sister who was working in Ottawa, Dr. Maynard decided to leave university and get a job too.

> And then there were so many jobs and so I decided the pay was better. And it was an adventure. There was something happening you know. And I left university because I said gosh you didn't feel that much like being at university everybody was leaving. The men were going. You know, there was a feeling that you needed to get involved. And so this was my sense of involvement at that time. And so I came to work for the Inspection Board of the United Kingdom and Canada.[42]

Although Edith L. Lorensten had a university degree and a settled and well established career as a secretary in Saskatoon, she was intrigued by the upheaval the war was

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[41] Dr. Grace Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992. After WWII Dr. Grace Maynard eventually returned to University and, with the assistance of the government department she was working for at the time, received a PhD.

[42] Dr. Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992.

causing right across Canada.[43] The death of her mother in 1941 freed her to pursue a civil service career in Ottawa. She hoped that the civil service would offer her a rewarding and challenging career. Lorensten started working for the Department of Labour in August 1942 as a Clerk Grade 3. After WWII Lorensten stayed on with the civil service. Since she did not marry and had an exceptional educational background, which she continually upgraded, Lorentsen had a long and successful civil service career. She retired in 1970 after 27 years of service with the Department of Labour.

Women of all educational backgrounds were applying for employment with the civil service. The women discussed so far entered the civil service with a wide variety of qualifications. Some women had secretarial school, others a high school diploma, and a few entered with a university degree. The differences between the few women in decision-making positions and those in the rank and file were evident. Elsa Lessard recognized that the higher ranking women were older, university graduates, and usually from wealthy and influential backgrounds.[44] Many of the women entering the civil service had just two years of high school in the commercial programs or a high school diploma and\or some business school training.

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[43] All the information obtained about Edith L. Lorensten was provided by her during an interview on June 18, 1992.

[44] Elsa D. Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992.

Sometimes if women scored very high on their entrance examination or, if they had previous work experience or post secondary school training, they would be hired into a grade 2 position. Women who were university graduates could enter the civil service at a higher grade, such as a Clerk Grade 3 or 4. Unfortunately one's educational achievement did not necessarily guarantee a particular entrance level of employment with the government.

Some women's desperation for a job made them vulnerable to swindles which played on this lack of self-confidence and job hunting knowledge. The government had acknowledged and issued warnings about its concerns over "...the activities of certain unscrupulous correspondence schools. Unfortunately it has been found difficult to exercise effective control, and it is feared that very often persons are induced to undertake, at considerable cost, courses which will produce no satisfactory result, or are paying for information which could be secured free of cost from the Commission."[45] In 1942 the CSC again brought attention to this matter.

> In order to protect the public against misleading advertisements in connection with Civil Service Schools the Commission found it necessary to institute proceedings against one such school and judgment was secured. While the actual sentence imposed was not in itself severe, the Commission is of the opinion that the action taken will serve as a warning to persons who might otherwise be duped,

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[45] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1940, p. 9.

> as well as to schools or institutions giving instruction for Civil Service examination.[46]

In spite of these warnings, some women were very concerned about their pursuit of a civil service career and believed that their best chance for a good position was to prepare for the examination process through these courses.

> At that time there were "courses" advertised for those aspiring to these positions, which were designed to prepare one for the examination. I don't think these were offered by the Government but the exact source escapes me, and one had to pay for them. They covered Math, English & General IQ Questions. I spent a couple of months during the winter taking this course (by correspondence) and was fortunate enough to get a Gr. II standing on the Civil Service Exam.[47]

This informant was pleased with her results on the civil service examinations and gave credit to her correspondence course. She will never know whether the course was necessary or not. Women's willingness to go to such lengths to secure a government job in Ottawa is some indication that women were not aware just how desperate the Government was for workers. It also demonstrates women's ambition for a better than entry level position.

In an attempt to counteract patronage of these courses as well as to increase their skilled labour supply, the CSC supported the training of stenographers and typists through

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[46] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1942, p. 6.

[47] Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993.

the Department of Labour's War Emergency Training Programme.[48] The CSC supervised closely the training of stenographers and typists through the War Emergency Training Programme and examined these trainees both on enrolment and completion of the course. "From these classes, 484 were assigned during 1943 to positions of Stenographer and Typist at Ottawa, most of them in the Grade 1 category."[49] The government paid for upgrading courses for its employees under this same program.

Throughout the year 1943, the CSC was forced to cope with the same difficulties as in previous war years. The recruitment of clerical, stenographic and typing help had not become any easier, nor had the demand lessened. The CSC offered explanations for the difficulty in recruiting and staff turnover, such as the stress of war work with the civil service and the desire to secure a more permanent position while the civil service was only offering temporary employment. "Late in 1943, it became necessary to expand this administration, [the NSS] and a separate branch to deal with essential civilian services was added. The function of the

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[48] Pierson, "They're Still Women After All", pp. 67-76. Pierson offers an excellent overview of this program with regard to women in the private sector, wartime industries and active service. Pierson mostly deals with women receiving training in traditionally male skills and how the program controlled this female invasion.

[49] Canada, Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Civil Service Commission of Canada for the year 1943 (Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1944), p. 6.

Essential Civilian Services Branch was to supervise manpower in the food-processing industry, the pulp and paper industry, the textile industry, and other manufacturing, and in wholesale and retail trade, and public services."[50] The CSC continued to introduce policies that made it flexible and attractive to potential employees. One such incentive was the payment of railway fares for persons assigned work in Ottawa effective August 1, 1943. There had been a similar provision made in 1942, but in 1943 it was extended to include all stenographers, typists and clerks.

Another 1943 plan to fill the demand for office workers in the civil service was to extend the part-time program introduced in the previous year. Ottawa housewives were the focus of this campaign. Arrangements were made so that these women could work either mornings or afternoons during the regular work week. They received the equivalent pay rate per hour as full time employees. Of course, preference was given to those women who had previous clerical and stenographic experience.[51]

Another major policy change designed to relieve recruiting problems was the passing of the Order in Council, P.C. 5/111. This allowed widows who were receiving superannuation

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[50] "Wartime History of Employment of Women", p. 1.

[51] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1943, p. 6. Also see "Wartime History of the Employment of Women", p. 23.

allowances and pensions to, "...engage in temporary employment in the public service without discontinuance of their superannuation allowances or pensions if the total compensation received for such employment together with the superannuation allowance or pension does not exceed $3,000 per annum."[52] The CSC in cooperation with the NSS must have been experiencing some success with these flexible policies because by the year end of 1943 there were a total of 130,000 civil servants. This figure was more than double the number of civil servants at the beginning of WWII.[53]

In 1944, the CSC continued to be pressured by government departments to fill staff requirements. The demands were no longer from temporary war departments but from permanent government departments and newly formed departments, such as those dealing with veterans' issues. What differed in this third phase of recruitment was the source for new recruits to the civil service. Transferred personnel from war departments

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[52] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1943, p. 6.

[53] In January 1938 the total number of civil servants reported was 43,859. See C.W. Rump, "How Many Civil Servants are There?", in The Civil Service Review, Vol. XIII, No.2, June 1940, pp. 106-107. The total number of civil servants as of September 1, 1939, 1940, 1941, and November 1, 1941 are available in "Public Service Employment Statistics" in The Civil Service Review, Vol. XV, No. 3, September 1942, pp.-256-259. As of the first of September 1939 the total number of civil servants was 63,660; the 1940 total was 73,995; the 1941 total was 90,635. Note that these numbers include the total number of Government of Canada employees, including employees of boards and commissions appointed by Federal authority.

to other departments did not relieve the staff shortage situation. Veterans became the focus of the CSC recruiting efforts, both those in Canada and those still serving overseas. "A primary purpose of the Civil Service Commission at this time is to ensure that full consideration is accorded service men and women who desire to serve their country in peace as in war."[54] The CSC was determined to secure its new labour pool from veterans. "In order to extend every facility to returned and returning service men and women desirous of entering the Government Service, the Commission has established a Veterans' Unit in its Head Office and in its District Offices."[55] The 1944 report also noted that, "...the Commission with the fullest co-operation of the armed forces, sent Examining Boards into England, Belgium and Italy to select from among those now serving, young men for positions in the Department of Veterans Affairs and in the Diplomatic and Commercial Intelligence Services."[56] This government policy became known as the war service preference or the veteran's preference. The CSC was very pleased with this alternative source of potential civil servants.

This new found source of employment potential did not,

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[54] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1944, p. 6.

[55] Ibid., p. 6.

[56] Ibid., p. 5.

however, relieve the government's continuing demand for stenographers, typists, and clerks. Most of these positions were filled by women and therefore were not of interest to many of those returning from active service. The CSC noted that it was particularly difficult to satisfy these demands in Ottawa. "The wide-spread feeling as to the lack of adequate housing accommodation in Ottawa and the Commission's inability to guarantee good housing conditions to prospective applicants has contributed largely to the Commission's inability to more fully meet requirements for this class of help."[57] In an attempt to recruit more women from outside Ottawa the CSC extended its August 1943 offer to pay transportation costs. "Full one-way railway fare may now be paid under the provisions of Order in Council P.C.9/5547 of July 19, 1944, to Clerks, Stenographers and Typists assigned at Ottawa from outside points and under certain conditions return fare may be paid."[58] The CSC also recommended to the Treasury Board, "That, in the case of Grade 2 Clerks, Stenographers and Typists recruited in different parts of the Dominion for service at Ottawa, return railway fares to their homes be provided if their work terminates in less than one year."[59]

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[57] Ibid., p. 6.

[58] Ibid., p. 11.

[59] Ibid., p. 13.

The CSC continued to make recommendations to the Treasury Board in an attempt to stimulate interest in a career with the civil service.

By April 1, 1945 more than one third of the women involved in war-related work in the private sector had been laid off.[60] The government was also undergoing a post-war reorganization process. For example, the Department of Munitions and Supply, which employed a tremendous number of women during the war years, was in the process of becoming the Department of Reconstruction and Supply. "In this Department as in other war units where activities are shrinking, the Commission has co-operated closely in the problems of the orderly and progressive reduction of staffs."[61] Despite this reorganization program the CSC continued to have difficulty supplying the government departments' demands for clerical and stenographic staff. This task was made even more difficult by the Department of Labour's closure of the Canadian Vocational Training Division during the year. Among the many tasks of this program, it was responsible for training clerks, stenographers and typists to fill some of the lower entry level positions in the civil service that continued to be a necessity even after WWII. The conflict between government post-war

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[60] "Wartime History of Employment of Women", p. 81.

[61] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1945, p. 9.

policy and reality caused difficulties for the CSC which attempted to satisfy staff requirements. The CSC compensated by continuing to use comparatively large numbers of part-time workers who were mostly married women, on morning, afternoon or evening shift work. In general, the federal government and the CSC were attempting to return to the hiring practices, rules and regulations of the Civil Service Act by the late war period. This meant the resumption of general examinations and a return to adhering to the old regulations concerning the employment of women.

Overall the Federal Government of Canada continued to demand staff from the CSC. As in 1944, the CSC continued to recruit from the supply of returned and returning service men and women, as well as establishing special units of recruitment in Canada. "The Commission's examination boards operated in France, Belgium, Holland, Italy and the United Kingdom, with the result that service personnel were selected for numerous positions in the various government departments at salaries ranging up to the highest levels under the Civil Service Act."[62] Throughout the year a total of 11,000 veterans had been placed in practically every department of the Federal Government. Of these appointments 101 went to female veterans (less than 1 per cent). That means that

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[62] Ibid., p. 5.

veterans made up a total of twenty-five percent of all the appointments made to the civil service in 1945.[63]

There appeared to be some misunderstanding between the CSC demands and the message sent out to the women working in Ottawa during the war, because many women stated that it was obvious that they were no longer needed at the end of the war. "In September 1944 it was apparent that the War was coming to a close & that the Victory Loan Division would be disbanded. ... It looked to civil servants generally that there would be few opportunities in Ottawa for employment after the War & that Ottawa might be a rather lonely place in which to live."[64] Yet the CSC continued to voice its concerns particularly about the shortage of clerks, stenographers, and typists.

Throughout the war years there appeared to be contradictions between official government policy and practice. At the end of WWII, despite the CSC's inability to satisfy the continuing demands for staff, the government relinquished all policy flexibility concerning women employees and returned to its pre-war attitudes enforced in its regulations.[65]

Writers on the Canadian civil service such as Kathleen Archibald and Nicole Morgan have argued that even after years

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[63] Hodgetts, Biography of an Institution, p. 505.

[64] Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993.

[65] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1945, p. 5.

of struggle, studies, and legislation, the founding attitudes within the CSC remained so deeply embedded in the civil service structure that these same barriers remain relevant for contemporary women in the public service.[66] Not only were these attitudes toward women a fundamental part of the CSC's agenda but material from WWII seems to confirm their conclusions.

During WWII women were primarily located in sex-stereotyped occupations within the civil service. Women filled the ranks of stenography and typing, the third and lowest ranking category in the Canadian civil service. Jobs for General Clerks were reserved for men. Despite the limited opportunities for women in the civil service, during the war when women were being called on to participate in the paid labour force as a way to demonstrate their patriotism, women still joined the ranks of the civil service in great numbers. "More than 50 per cent of the civil service appointments made during the war were to women..."[67] Kathleen Archibald speculated that what is truly significant, "...is that when opportunities were made available, as in the Ottawa civil service, women flooded in. This suggests the generally low labour force participation rates of women in the early part of this century

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[66] Archibald, Sex and the Public Service, p. 19. Morgan, The Equality Game, pp. 63-64.

[67] Archibald, Sex and the Public Service, p. 16.

were more a result of restricted opportunities than of female lack of interest in working."[68] When the opportunity presented itself by the dismantling, if only temporaily, of the barriers to employment in the civil service women raced to the challenge of the new work experience.

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[68] Ibid., p. 16.

Chapter 2

THE $55.80 GIRLS

When investigating the experiences of women in the civil service during WWII it is crucial to examine their work and working conditions, their opportunities for advancement, the alternative options available to them, the exceptions to the rule, and the demobilization of women at the war's end.

The majority of women recruited into the civil service during WWII filled jobs in the lower grades of the offices. Most of these women were non-professionals and were often hired as a Grade 1 clerk, stenographer or typist.[1] This was the lowest entry level position, paying $60.00 per month, less a two per cent National Defence Tax and a five per cent compulsory savings since as temporary employees they did not qualify for superannuation benefits. Hence many of the women starting employment with the civil service during WWII were making $55.80 salary per month with little hope of making more than $90.00 per month, the salary of a Grade 2 position. Also, these women neither had any political connections, other than perhaps an acquaintance with their local riding representative, nor did they know anyone of influence in Ottawa.

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[1] "In accordance with the provisions of the Civil Service Act, Section 26 (3), and official promouncements, the rule of equality for women, including equal pay for equal work, is applied in the Canadian public service. In actual practice there are various discriminations against women." See Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 109.

And, many were from out-of-town.

It has already been established that women entering the civil service during WWII were not breaking new ground for women in general. By 1939 clerical work had been labelled women's work. Mostly these women were filling a void created by the government expansion that took place as a result of administering a country at war. Thus women in the civil serivce experienced sex-segregation in the work place just as other women clerical workers did. Like women office workers elsewhere, women civil servants found themselves in female job ghettos. Lowe has argued that within the realm of clerical work, "... an essential difference between the old and the new office is that clerical positions in the former provided men a stepping-stone into management or entrepreneurship, whereas the latter gave rise to occupational ghettos that trapped women in menial, dead-end jobs."[2] This vision of women as clerical workers accurately describes the experiences of the majority of women in the civil service during WWII.

Edna Tyson Parson's description of her job in a letter to her sister supports Graham Lowe's interpretation of women's work experiences.

> I am in the Examination Branch of the Civil Service Commission and so far the work is very monotonous,

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[2] Graham S. Lowe, "Mechanization, Feminization, and Managerial Control in the Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Office", pp. 195-196.

> typing cards for files all day or hunting up names in files and putting a stamp on them. They say all government work is monotonous. I've come to the conclusion I'd far rather work in a small office where you get variation. Such a difference between here and the John Deere where never a day passed without some comic incident to laugh at over the supper table. Here everything is too mechanized, you are just a machine and human interest seems lacking.[3]

Her sister too was unable to get a challenging job upon her arrival in Ottawa. June Tyson described her duties in the civil service,

> My work consists of sorting cheques, first into 10,000's, then 1,000's, then 100's, tens and units, until the numbers on them are all in numerical order. The work is not interesting, or difficult, but it is rather hard on the eyes. All the girls in the office are very nice, seem to realize that you need to think about things other than cheques, as it takes absolutely no mental effort.[4]

June ended up doing this job for the entire war. These were the types of jobs that women relocated to Ottawa for, along with the well-publicized typing and stenography pools of the offices of the time.

The working conditions of these women are also of interest. The women involved in the civil service expansion were put anywhere there was space.

> The office I was assigned to was located in the Bank St. Chambers (an old building even then) at the corner of Bank and Albert streets. Later we moved into a space above the Capital Theatre pend-

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[3] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 21.

[4] Ibid., p.89.

> ing completion of the new Jackson Building. We occupied the whole ground floor of the Jackson Building. R.C.A.F. offices were on the upper floors. The area was all open-space concept except for a couple of small cubicles which the Chief and his assistant occupied. The washrooms were make-shift cubicles located right in the middle of the space, surrounded by desks! Later an addition was added to the rear of the building with proper, more private washrooms. However, we had to cross a loading bay to get to this addition.[5]

June Tyson was very excited to find out that she would be working in the East Block of the Parliament Buildings. "Imagine! I am working in the same building as the Prime Minister and the Governor General, but it's not so swell as it sounds. They have red velvet carpet leading up to their offices (of course, I climb that to get to ours) but there is another flight of hard cement steps to get to the attic where our offices are."[6]

During WWII a total of ten "temporary" buildings were erected to accommodate the increasing government staff. The buildings were intended to last only a few years and were constructed with this "temporary" attitude in mind.[7] These buildings were named "Temporary Building Number Eight", for example, and this is how the people who worked in these

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[5] Mary, Correspondence, February 10, 1993.

[6] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 89.

[7] Robert Haig, Ottawa City of the Big Ears: The Intimate, Living Story of a City and a Capital (Ottawa: Haig and Haig Publishing Co., 1969), p. 197.

buildings referred to them. Many women described these buildings as cold and drafty. Edna Tyson Parson described moving into one of these new buildings. "When we first came here the dust was terrible, no need for me to get lonesome because we were in a real Western dust storm all day, caused by construction work going on beside us,..."[8] Also, infestation problems were not uncommon.

> Miss Mallory's Pool now stretched along a corridor in No. 2 Temporary Building on Wellington Street. Across the hall a busy cafeteria operated with no problem to us until they moved to another location. They didn't take all their appendages with them, and a couple of days later when the girls in the Pool lifted the covers off their typewriters some screams pierced the morning serenity. Starving cockroaches were trying to satisfy deprived appetites on the oil in the machines. What a panic among ninety or more girls! They refused to work under those conditions.[9]

As well as the less than wonderful surroundings in which they worked, the women were also expected to work long hours. In 1942 the government changed the required work hours. "The working hours of the Public Service were increased from a minimum of thirty-six and a half to a minimum of forty-one and a half hours a week. Much overtime continues to be necessary, for which in general no extra compensation is allowed."[10] The women recalled that a regular work week consisted of

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[8] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 66.

[9] Ibid., p. 102.

[10] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1942, p. 9.

working Monday to Friday 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. with one and a half hours off for lunch and Saturday 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. As government policy dictated, these women were often required to work overtime with no compensation. The unwritten rule was to offer these women time off in lieu of overtime pay. "No set policy was adopted for overtime payments, but most departments permitted accumulated overtime to be taken in the form of additional leave credits."[11] Unfortunately granting additional leave was not always possible given the increased work load during the war. Some women believe that they were eventually given two street car tickets for their overtime hours.[12]

The long hours did not go unnoticed by these women, though many said that it did not occur to them that they should be paid for their extra efforts. "We are terrifically busy at work and it wears one down, so that Wednesday and Thursday nights I couldn't sleep and was ready for the holiday weekend. Thursday we worked right through from two o'clock till eight and it gets tiresome standing and hunting files for

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[11] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 73.

[12] Merle Ray, Interview October 14, 1992, remembered receiving two streetcar tickets when she was required to work late. Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993, confirmed that some women, including herself, were given time off to make up for overtime hours. Amy Goldsmith worked in the Victory Loan Division. Dr. Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992, recalled that for her and her department overtime was just part of the job and she did not expect to be compensated.

six hours in a stretch."[13] Personal safety was a concern to some of these women working overtime. "Somebody would work through the supper hour and then whoever was on for the evening would come back and stay there until ten o'clock and there might be only one person; you know, there would be one person there and another here and all over the floor. It was a little scary."[14]

Despite the long hours and hard work, many of the women remembered that they were respected for their intelligence. They could decide when there was work to be done and when they could use their time constructively for personal use. "Some days a sense of guilt would overwhelm the conscientious ones, when no work came into the office and the girls sat knitting or reading. Inevitably such days were balanced with those of overwork, when stacks of urgent work piled in, and long, extra hours of tense concentration left the staff exhausted."[15] The women appreciated the freedom and respect.

Many women civil servants used the slower periods in the office to work on their volunteer contributions to the war. Much of the knitting that was done by women in their spare time was donated to the military.

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[13] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 41.

[14] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

[15] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 92.

> It has been brought to the attention of the Association that the members of the Royal Canadian Navy would be most appreciative of a supply of knitted comforts, more particularly scarves (large size), balaklava helmets, mitts and wristlets. As Red Cross wool may not be available for this purpose it is suggested that those interested in donating any of the articles listed above provide their own wool, which may be in any of the darker colors, such as black, blue, dark grey, etc.[16]

Civil servants were also called upon to purchase items, such as cigarettes, gum, candy, books, or razor blades, and donate them to the military for "Ditty Bags" to be sent overseas.

The government provided sick leave for civil servants but was very concerned about possible abuse of this benefit.

> The Commission has every sympathy with those who are genuinely ill and feels that a generous allowance has been made in permitting the accumulation of sick leave credit at the rate of one and one-half days per month for each month of completed service. ... At the present time, however, there appears to be little effort made to conserve the sick leave credit.[17]

If a woman could not make it into work on a particular day because of illness, a nurse was sent to her home address to check up on her. Peggy Nitschky remembers once not going to work on the pretence that she was ill and a nurse was sent around to visit. She suggested that this nurse was not checking in on an employee's health as much as she was just

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[16] CSAO, "The Civil Service and the War", in Civil Service News, Vol. 18, No. 2 (February 1940), p. 43. The civil servant's volunteer contribution to the war effort was a regular column in this publication.

[17] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1944, p. 8.

checking. Anyway, the informant was caught and reprimanded for not being home when the nurse came.[18]

The women working in many government departments often had to inform their supervisors if they were planning on leaving town on their days off. It seems that the supervisors wanted to know where their staff was, just in case they were needed. Even taking one's holidays was a challenge for these women during WWII.

> It was found that during the war many employees were unable to take the full amount of their annual leave, and that the Regulation that it could not be carried forward for more than one year was resulting in its total loss. ... Accordingly it was decided that it would be an equitable arrangement to allow an employee to carry forward from one fiscal year to the next any period not in excess of eighteen days, that is the equivalent of one year's leave.[19]

Difficulty in organizing holidays was particularly hard for women who travelled a long distance to work in Ottawa. Many women experiencing loneliness, homesickness and guilt, because of separation from their families, were most hurt by the holiday leave situation.

Women had some opportunity for advancement in the civil service during WWII. Women hired to work in the civil service at the lowest grade classification had the best chances for promotion within the new wartime departments such as Munitions

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[18] Peggy Nitschky, Telephone Interview, March 25, 1992.

[19] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1944, p. 8.

and Supply and/or the expanding military departments. "Between 1940 and 1946, for example, 40% of all female appointments (58,744 out of 146,841) were made either by National Defence or Veterans' Affairs."[20] Carolyn O'Malley Hibberd's wartime experience is a good example of the opportunity available for advancement in one of these expanding departments. Carolyn Hibberd (then Carolyn O'Malley) began working as a civilian for the Department of Defence, Royal Canadian Air Force division, in the Casualties Department in 1940. At this time she was a Clerk Grade 1 and the only member of this department. Then, as the number of casualties increased so did the department size and Hibberd was promoted until she eventually achieved a Clerk Grade 3 standing. This was the highest standing that a civilian could get because all higher rated positions were occupied by military personnel.[21] As a Clerk Grade 3, Hibberd supervised a mixed staff of civilians and both female and male service personnel.

Along with this particular promotion came a lot of stress. Carolyn Hibberd's job was very demanding but it was directly connected with the war and that is where she wanted to be. She remembers taking the first signals on the boys that were wounded in the Battle of Brittany and the increasing

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[20] Morgan, The Equality Game, p. 10.

[21] Carolyn (O'Malley) Hibberd, Interview, October 19, 1992.

stress related to her job as the numbers of casualties increased.

> We were on twenty-four hour shift because of course the signals started to come in from overseas as the bombers came back. And, then my fiance went missing in August of 1943 and that was the end for me. And I should have been warned because I was beginning to dream of pools of blood in colour. I was only twenty-one for pete's sake. And those people were real they were never just names and numbers but they were real boys real live people. And, I took it very hard. They gave me special sick leave for three weeks. When I came back I went on to another interesting job.[22]

Hibberd's job for the remainder of the war was to look after the files on the prisoners of war, the evaders, and the special cases board. She did not find this job as stressful because she was dealing with people who were alive. Of these files she found the special cases board to be the most interesting.

> These were the boys who were, well, what the RAF, the Royal Air Force, called had lack of moral fibre. That's pretty brutal language. LMF. And they had a big red 'W' on their file called a Waiver. That meant they were yellow, they were cowards, they wouldn't fly. ... And for some of them, there were good reasons.[23]

When Carolyn Hibberd left her civil service job in 1946 to be married she was replaced by a Warrant Officer first class, which was the most senior of the non-commissioned officers. This was a much higher rank than her civilian Clerk Grade 3

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[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

position.

The women who entered the civil service in the early years of WWII appear to have had the best opportunity for job advancement. Those who signed on later became trapped by government regulations. Because of staff shortages, the movement of civil servants to new job classifications and/or new departments was restricted. This action limited many women from advancing their careers within the government.

> In view of the shortage of help, it was impossible to refuse to reassign once the resignation had been accepted by a department, however unwillingly and, moreover, the Commission was inclined to sympathize to a certain extent with employees who had won a place for themselves in open competition which they felt was not being recognized. On the other hand, the department could not be expected to make the necessary arrangements for the employee's reassignment to a higher grade position or release to another department without a certain amount of delay and, in view of the war situation, it was felt that the employee should show enough patriotic spirit to put the department's needs first and remain with the work until the necessary negotiations had been completed. For this reason, and a preventive measure, it was decided that any employee who persisted in resigning without the department's consent should, upon reassignment, be treated as a new employee, forfeiting all previous leave credits and being considered ineligible for any leave with pay until after the expiration of six months.[24]

Many women complained that they were required to write competitive examinations by their supervisors even though they felt there was no chance for promotion. The women believed

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[24] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1943, p. 9.

that, once the list for eligible people was made, the names of those already in the civil service were eliminated from the process.[25] While this alleged practice deviated from government policy of the time, it is important because it demonstrates the perceptions of women civil servants during WWII.

Another option for women who wanted to advance in their careers was to join active service. The Army and the Air Force offered the most opportunity for advancement probably because they started to accept women into their organizations relatively early in the war years. The Navy appears to have been more restrictive. The Navy organized the entry of women very differently than the other two services and the Navy accepted fewer women, resulting in fewer opportunities for advancement. Elsa Lessard left her civil service job to join the Navy because her brothers had joined but she was disappointed in the opportunities it provided. "I felt quite superior entering the Navy as a Clerk Grade 3 but my experience did not help. ... From the moment I started in the Navy I didn't know anyone who was promoted. The structure was there."[26] But other women did believe that there were opportunities for career advancement in active service. A civil servant working for the military could not advance

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[25] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, pp. 129 and 130. Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

[26] Elsa Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992.

beyond a Grade 3 position but, as a member of the military, one could be promoted to an officer position and higher. Carolyn Hibberd believed that the pay was better in the military and there were more perks because the military had their own clubs and social events. Also, the women in the military had their room and board paid for and many of their necessities such as clothing (uniform), and personal hygiene products supplied. Fortunately for Hibberd, she was made an ex-officio member of the Officers' Mess and was included in most of the social functions.

When women were asked why they had not joined active service many replied that they had considered it but were only interested if they would be sent overseas. "They offered me my commission. That is they would have made me an officer. And, I said, Ok. Will you send me to England? And they said, Not in your life. We want you right here where your experience will pay off for us. I said, why would I put on a uniform to sit in Ottawa?"[27] Others looked back with regret about not signing up for active service because they believed that the opportunities were greater.

> Yes! In fact I had the distinct pleasure of being one of the first, if not the first, to try on the CWAC uniform. It was designed, you may know by Creed's of Toronto. And it was brought into our department and I tried it on ... But by this time my mother was a widow. ... If I had it to do again

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[27] Carolyn Hibberd, Interview, October 19, 1992.

> I would have joined and gone overseas, hopefully. But, I didn't and so I just stayed as a civilian. And, I often wonder what would have happened.[28]

Many of these women were familiar with the "Whispering Campaign,"[29] though few believed in the accusations that service women were sexually promiscuous. No one said that this opinion was widespread or that it influenced their decision not to join.

Teaching had been another popular career option for women but, by the outbreak of war, many women had realized that teaching was not the rewarding career experience they had hoped for and the opening up of jobs in the civil service was a welcomed alternative.

> Almost every official provincial report indicates the extent to which the teacher shortage increased with each succeeding year after 1939. The reasons were varied: low salaries, community interference in the life of the teacher, the low prestige of the profession, greater appeal of competitive professions, marriage, poor working and living conditions in the rural areas, etc.[30]

Amy Goldsmith gave up her teaching position to join the civil service in 1941. "I began my career as a rural school teacher in Saskatchewan in 1939 at the height of the Depression.

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[28] Joyce Shearer, Interview, October 20, 1992.

[29] Ruth Roach Pierson, "They're Still Women After All". See chapter 5, pp. 169-187; Pierson examines the public opinion towards women in active service. The rumours of the time were that "servicewomen were sexually loose." p. 170.

[30] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 252. For an account of the "teacher problem" nationally during the war years see this same publication, pages 247 to 266.

Living conditions were poor for most teachers in rural schools at this time and there were not many social outlets, but my main reason for leaving the teaching profession was a dislike for teaching."[31] Elsie Tyson, Edna's sister, had been a school teacher in Saskatchewan during the early war years and she hated it. She wrote many letters to her sister Edna who was working in Ottawa expressing her unhappiness with the profession.

> There was still a unit of three at 33 Woodlawn because my other sister, Elsie, had given up her teaching career in Saskatchewan and had come to Ottawa at the end of January of 1943. She had been a teacher for four years, through the times when municipalities had difficulty collecting taxes and consequently equal difficulty meeting their own commitments, of which paying salaries to teachers was one. As Elsie gained experience her salary rose from $350.00 per year to $700.00, but the cheques did not come regularly. One school still sent cheques to her two years after she started working in Ottawa.[32]

So many teachers were taking advantage of the alternative career opportunities created by the war that by 1943 the government put restrictive regulations on these people.

> Order in Council P.C. 4862, June 17, 1943 was passed, which in effect prevented teachers from leaving their profession except to enlist in the Armed Forces, to work in agriculture or in part-time subsidiary work. Employment and Selective Service Officers were instructed to refuse permits to teachers to become otherwise employed than provided for in the Order in Council except for

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[31] Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993.

[32] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 115.

reasons of health or on compassionate grounds.[33]

Similar restrictions were also imposed on nurses during WWII. Many women felt pressured to leave their first chosen profession prior to June 1943, in the pursuit of happiness in other careers, before the NSS restrictions took effect and froze them where they where.

In general, the career opportunities for women were limited prior to and during WWII. Domestic service, nursing, teaching, service industry jobs such as waitressing, housekeeping, and sales, and clerical work provided the majority of jobs available to women. An investigation into the career expectations of the women working in the civil service during the war supported the idea that women felt that they had few options. Many stated that upon entering the civil service they had no career expectations beyond perhaps secretarial or clerical work of a high calibre but basically they were just happy to have a job. "In 1942 I really didn't think of anything except secretarial work in a high position. I didn't know very many people who had done anything except teach. There were professors at the university but I didn't know very many women who had done anything except help men do something. ... No I didn't have any expectations except to earn a

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[33] "Wartime History of Employment of Women", p. 56.

living."[34]

Only the women with political connections had the advantage of a mentor. The many women of the lower grades working in the offices primarily indicated that their parents were their role models. Some women in the stenography and typing pools became very fond of their supervisors. Merle Ray was only one of the women who remembered that the woman who supervised her typing pool was a very nice person. "This woman had worked for the government since the First World War. She was like a mother to all the girls. She cared. She was the Mom away from home."[35] These supervisors appear to have offered more of a nurturing role than a career-assisting mentor position.

During WWII a select few women got close to the inner circle of the professional civil servants of Ottawa. These few women came from families of influence and power in Ottawa and they held positions that would normally have been offered to men, had there not been a war in progress.

Anne Harley Sedgewick Carver is an example of one of the women who did break into the upper echelons of government

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[34] Edith L. Lorentsen, Interview, June 18, 1992.

[35] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

during WWII.[36] Her impressive academic background qualified her for the job. She spent her first nine years of education attending Bishop Strachan School in Toronto. Then she went to St. Leonards, a private boarding school in St. Andrews, Scotland, for three years. Upon returning to Canada, Carver enrolled at Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario. She completed her undergraduate degree in History and Economics in 1937. In 1939 she completed her Queen's Masters degree in History, specializing in Canadian-American relations. In 1940/41 Carver began her doctorate at Radcliffe College where her peers were Arthur Menzie, an Ambassador-to-be, Gerald Graham, who later became a professor, and future Senator and constitutional expert, Eugene Forsey. Carver did not complete her doctoral thesis, citing the same reasons as many others. She did not feel much like being in school during the war years. "I was feeling more and more the need to get home to Canada and make some contribution, however small, to the war effort."[37] Prior to her interest in the war effort Anne Carver had not really considered employment, except perhaps

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[36] All the information included about Anne Harley Sedgewick Carver has been obtained through an article she wrote, "What are we doing here?", in Still Running...Personal stories by Queen's women celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Marty Scholarship, edited by Joy Parr, (Kingston: Queen's University Alumnae Association, 1987), pp. 15-31. In addition, I conducted an interview with her on November 5, 1992.

[37] Anne Carver, "What are we doing here?", p. 27.

the hope of getting a university teaching appointment in due course. "I can even remember maintaining rather naively that I ought not to take a paid job lest I deprive some man or woman with a family to support of the means to do so."[38]

Anne Carver's father was a lawyer and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Ontario prior to his civil service career which started when Prime Minister R.B. Bennett asked him to head the new Tariff Board. The informant acknowledged that her family's connections in Ottawa helped her to obtain her job with the Wartime Prices and Trade Board. Her duties consisted of researching correspondence and drafting replies. Shortly after starting she switched to a branch of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board, taking a position in the Commodity Prices Stabilization Corporation. Carver's starting salary was $1800.00 per year plus a cost-of-living bonus making her take-home pay almost $200.00 per month. This means her salary was two to four times higher than the majority of women interviewed for this thesis.

Carver remembered how unhappy her mother was when she took this job. "I can remember my mother, for instance, really down deep disapproving of my being a working woman. She would have liked me to have been a nice Victorian lady."[39]

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[38] Ibid., p. 24.

[39] Anne Carver, Interview, November 5, 1992.

Although Carver insisted that she was working out of necessity, she also enjoyed the adventure and challenges which accompanied her career.

As a demonstration of how closely this class[40] of people were connected, Carver recalled that wherever she went in the building she ran into familiar faces, many dating back to her Toronto elementary school days. Anne Carver's co-worker, Phyllis Turner, who was the Wartime Prices Administrator of Oil and Fats had previously been hired as an economist by Carver's father, Mr. Sedgewick. Carver's boss, President of the Commodity Prices Stabilization Corporation, Hector McKinnon, had been her father's successor at the Tariff Board. The Tariff Board had been suspended during WWII and most of its staff filled the positions of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board; after the war the department returned to the duties of the Tariff Board.

After the war Anne Carver stayed on with the Tariff Board until she married Humphrey Carver in 1951. She believes that

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[40] Note: Anne Carver agrees to the term class as she defines it: as a group of people with similar backgrounds, particularly similar educational backgrounds and these people tended to know each other. When she travelled abroad she believed that the fact that these people were familiar with one another made Canada seem rather small. Carver's definition of her associates is very similar to Granatstein's description of this group of people. He argues that entrance into the upper echelons of the civil service was primarily based on education, ability and capability. See Granatstein, The Ottawa Men, p. 2.

her decision to leave her job after marriage was her own and that she could have remained if she wished. She did acknowledge, however, that as a married woman she was not permitted to contribute to the pension fund and could not be classified as a permanent employee, which to her seemed like a demotion.[41] Carver did return to work for the government when her youngest child went off to university. She became a Transport Commissioner on the Canadian Transport Commission. Anne Carver worked as a Commissioner until she reached the age of sixty-five.

Elizabeth J. Lloyd was another woman who was hired and achieved some professional status with the help of her family's position and influence in Ottawa, although Lloyd did not have the educational background to be hired in a professional capacity. Lloyd started her civil service career as a Stenographer Grade 2, for which she was paid $90.00 per month. She became the secretary to a man with Deputy Minister status, the Chief Priorities Officer for the Department of Munitions and Supply, Mr. Wilbert Uren. As her boss' job was upgraded, her job classification also continued to change. Lloyd believes that her job provided her with a degree of status because the other women at work looked up to her as the boss' secretary and she also was given the opportunity to meet

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[41] Anne Carver, Interview, November 5, 1992.

a lot of interesting people such as the presidents of large corporations. Lloyd became very attached to her boss and remained loyal to him after the war when she decided to continue to serve as his secretary when he became the Chairman of the Dominion Coal Board. Lloyd never married, a step which would have forced her to abandon her civil service career. Instead she served as a permanent civil servant for thirty-four years.

Elizabeth Lloyd was not required to work out of economic necessity. "My parents didn't particularly care whether I worked or not. But I was determined to do my bit. And, I stayed at it a long time. As a result they were proud of me."[42] Elizabeth Lloyd's father had been a career civil servant who was in charge of National Parks Canada for twenty-five years. He was also the superintendent of wildlife protection for Canada. The family lived in Rockcliffe which is a prestigious area just outside of Ottawa where many top level career civil servants and their families reside.[43] The

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[42] Elizabeth J. Lloyd, Interview, September 29, 1992.

[43] Some Rockcliffe Park residents take offence to this area being referred to as prestigious but the term is accurate and familiar to Ottawa residents. As described by Stevie Cameron, "Established as a village in 1926, and no more than ten minutes' drive from Parliament Hill, Rockcliffe is the most beautiful and most elitist residential community in Canada." Stevie Cameron, Ottawa Inside Out: Power, prestige and scandal in the nation's capital (Toronto: Key Porter Books Limited, 1989) p. 241.

Lloyd home was located on three acres of land in this developed area and had been allocated a bird sanctuary, keeping in mind her father's interest in nature. Lloyd and her family seemed to have strayed somewhat from the confines of social position in that she was aware of the many women less fortunate than herself who moved to Ottawa to work in the civil service. She was aware that these women had difficulty making ends meet and that a number of them were homesick. She was welcome to bring any of these women to her home regularly. "I'd phone and I'd say [to her mother], well can I bring four people home for supper tonight? And, she'd say yes bring them along. And she just loved entertaining them. And, you know, hearing their stories. A lot of these gals were from out of town and didn't have any place to go other than Laurentian Terrace and they just loved getting into a home."[44] This open door policy did not seem to be the norm for Ottawa people during WWII.[45]

It is true that Anne Carver and Elizabeth Lloyd achieved civil service positions that were better than most available to women working for the government. Still, "[t]here was before 1939 no woman in salary grades above $4,000, and in

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[44] Elizabeth J. Lloyd, Interview, September 29, 1992.

[45] The relationships between Ottawa residents and the WWII newcomers will be discussed in Chapter 3.

1947 there was none in those above $5,000."[46] Women working for the government during WWII rarely received the recognition they deserved for the jobs they did. The very few who were compensated were the exception, not the rule.

> In general there is reluctance to treat women fairly. They may have excellent training and remarkable ability; in that case they are given posts in which they are worked hard and in which all their training and ability is required. But they are not given a salary or a rank that is in accordance with their work, and most certainly are not given the rank or salary that is given a man in a similar position.[47]

For most of the Canadian women, their wartime civil service work experience was very different than that of Carver and Lloyd.

The Civil Service Commission viewed the service of women employees as different from that of men. While women's recruitment into the Canadian labour force was gradual, demobilization at the end of the war occurred more swiftly.

> Women's participation in the paid work force, which had risen from 24.4 per cent in 1939 to a high of 33.5 per cent in 1944, began to slide in 1945 and then, in 1946, to plummet. It reached its post-war nadir of 23.6 per cent in 1954 and would not climb

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[46] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 109.

[47] D.L. Smithers, "Bottlenecks in the Civil Service", in Canadian Forum, Vol. XXII (Nov. 1942), p. 50. Also see Charlotte Whitton "The Exploited Sex", in Maclean's Magazine (April 15, 1947). On page 37 of this article Whitton stated that women who achieved civil service positions not designated for women were instructed to use their initials only in the telephone directory and in signatures to hide their sex.

back to its 1945 level until 1966.[48]

Married women were the government's main group of disposable employees.

> In 1944 the decision was made to release the five thousand to seven thousand married women then in the service, except for those in typing, stenographic, or office appliance operating positions. The latter stipulation is very revealing for it shows that the sex-typing of jobs--the very "evidence" used to show why women could not be capable of filling higher, executive positions--was in large part a function of officially enforced policy.[49]

In 1944, when it became apparent that the war would end and the allied nations would win in time, employers' demand for women workers declined. The government requested that women stay on the job until their employer decided that they were no longer needed. In October 1944 a conference was held with the supervisors of the Women's Division of the NSS in Ottawa to prepare policy for post-war procedures regarding women workers. The members of the conference recognized that women would be without work. They estimated that approximately 50,000 women would be unemployed and made nine recommendations to assist unemployed women in the post war era.[50] Others suggested that this was a conservative estimation of the numbers of women who would be in need of work.

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[48] Pierson, They're Still Women After All, p. 215.

[49] Hodgetts, The Biography of an Institution, p. 487.

[50] "Wartime History of Employment of Women", pp.76-77.

The key phrase for the post-war era was "return to normalcy". The problem which developed was that normalcy had different meanings to different groups of people. For many middle-class women normalcy meant returning to their traditional life-cycle pattern of working as single young women until marriage. Working-class women were working out of necessity. If they had not been working prior to WWII it was probably due to the lack of opportunity rather than by choice. For many of them the return to normalcy meant the return to financial hardship. The government's definition of normalcy was to limit the access for women to civil service jobs by returning to pre-WWII policy. Women's willingness to comply with changes in government policy and the post-war reconstruction ideologies were probably dependent on class background.

In an extensive study of Canadian women and their life experiences from youth to old age in the period between the wars it was found that life cycle played an important role. Especially relevant to an investigation of women in the civil service was Strong-Boag's analysis of women working for pay. Strong-Boag noted the difficulty of tracing women and their paid work experiences because they enter, leave, and re-enter, throughtout the stages of their lives and in times of necessi-

ty.[51] The episodic nature of women's work has been closely related to women's life cycle and class background. These life cycle questions are central to an understanding of women's labour force activities, not only for Strong-Boag's treatment of women, 1919-1939, but also for an understanding of women's work during WWII. When the time came to reorganize the civil service staff in the post-war period, it was obvious that both the Civil Service Commission's policies and women's expectations were working within the assumptions of this life-cycle theory.

The post WWII adjustment was probably easiest for middle-class women given their acceptance of their set life cycle pattern. According to Strong-Boag the relatively recent phenomenon of professions for women (teachers and nurses) encouraged middle-class women to enter the paid labour force but, again, this participation was anticipated and approached as though it would be temporary. Unlike working-class women, middle-class women rarely re-entered the labour force after marriage.[52]

Working-class women viewed the post WWII reconstruction era as a time of hardship. Many women would have liked to

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[51] Veronica Strong-Boag, The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919-1939 (Markham: Penguin Books, 1988).

[52] Ibid., p. 42.

stayed in their civil service jobs whether they married or not. It was not uncommon for young, working-class women to work before marriage to contribute to the family income. At certain stages during married life, working-class women can be seen re-entering the paid labour force, such as before their childbearing years, and depending on their economic circumstances. Most women co-operated with the political and social rules of the time which meant married women would give up their jobs at the end of WWII and others would quit their jobs upon marriage. For many women civil servants it was not easy to give up their much-needed salary.

> We met at a party, we dated, and then we got married in 1948, but I had to immediately quit my job. Well, we were told, of course, the reason that we had to go when we got married was because we had somebody else to support us and then our job could be taken over by somebody, either a military person or a single person. Actually when I married I was earning more than my husband. So we struggled awhile.[53]

One positive note for the women leaving their jobs was that they were given their accumulated compulsory savings.[54] Often

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[53] Joyce Shearer, Interview, October 20, 1992.

[54] "Temporary employees had 5 per cent deducted from their salaries, or 4 per cent if they were covered by the Unemployment Insurance Act, in order to build up a reserve for them when the demobilization period began. These deductions plus interest were to be paid the employees when they left the service. This action was taken to avoid the conditions which existed at the end of the first World War, when many temporaries were released in a destitute condition." Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, 71.

> satisfactory; (b) persons who were ready to accept retirement; (c) casual part-time employees; (d) persons above the normal retirement age; (e) married women not dependent upon themselves for support; (f) employees not entitled to preference for war service who had not established their eligibility for permanent appointment to the class of position which they occupied.[56]

The latter two categories made women's positions in the civil service very insecure since the majority of them held temporary status and had been restricted from acquiring permanency during the war.

Gail Cuthbert Brandt's investigation of the committee in charge of the post WWII problems of women found that not all women were content with the idea of the return to normalcy following WWII.[57] Many of the proposals for change in the post-war era were dated and dependent on assumptions and ideologies inherent in the middle-class bias of the committee members. Brandt defended the final document by reporting that this committee had time restraints to overcome and pointed out some of the more progressive recommendations that were put forth. As it turned out, the King government had no intention of considering the committee's recommendations anyway. The government's lack of interest in such a report reinforces the

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[56] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1945, p. 6.

[57] Gail Cuthbert Brandt, " 'Pigeon-Holed and forgotten': The Work of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women, 1943", in Social History, Vol. XV, No. 29 (May 1982), pp. 239-259.

this totalled a couple of hundred dollars which many of the new brides used to purchase big ticket household items such as their fridge and stove and/or washer. Whatever the money was used for, many of the women were thrilled to have it made available to them.

Nearing the end of WWII there was a lot of job-shifting going on within the government. As noted previously, preference for hiring was given to veterans, though it has been argued that many of these men were not qualified or interested in many of the jobs that women had been assigned because, as Graham Lowe put it, clerical work, stenography, typing had become stigmatized as "women's work". Lowe wrote that, "Once a job is labelled as 'female' the resulting employment patterns become part of labour market structures, reinforced by social ideologies, and consequently resistant to change."[55]

The government's vision of normalcy was to return to the way things were done prior to the outbreak of war. As departments closed down many women were shuffled around and many were let go. As was discussed in chapter one, veterans were the ideal candidates for new positions and for positions made available by the replacement of temporary civilian employees.

> Replacements were effected in the following categories: (a) persons whose services were not fully

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[55] Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution, p. 168.

theory that women's contribution was short term and the government simply expected all to return to "normal" at the end of the war.[58]

The two main options for women working in the civil service at the end of the war were to apply for a permanent job with the civil service, provided they met the criteria set by the Civil Service Commission, or for them to leave. "At the end of the war the Dependents' Allowance Board became involved in a winding up process. ... I should mention that during the war years, we had been considered temporary civil servants but could apply to write an exam for permanency if we desired to stay."[59] It is interesting to note that many of the women working for the civil service who waited for transfers to new departments, hoping to stay on in the post-war years, were often accommodated but at a lower grade and salary than they had previously received. In the case of acquiring a permanent civil service position, one's compulsory savings account would be transferred to the pension fund.

Shirley Maxwell was one of the many women who decided to seek employment elsewhere.

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[58] Ruth Milkman's research about women working in both auto and electrical manufacturing during WWII also found that management's post-war policy was to be the same as pre-war policy. "The ideology of sex-typing emerged triumphant again, defining the postwar order along prewar lines...". See Milkman, Gender at Work, p.123.

[59] May Flowers, Correspondence, February 19, 1993.

> I commenced work as a Grade I clerk in the Department of National Defence for Air, and was duly promoted to Grade II and then to III. In the late stages I was informed that I should have been reclassified as a Grade IV but the establishment was frozen so there was no further opportunity for career advancement in that regard. In any event I was a temporary employee and at war's end would have reverted to Grade I if I had chosen to stay in the Civil Service.[60]

Although Maxwell did not marry, and therefore could have quite possibly established herself as a career civil servant, she chose to leave the government service at the war's end and pursue work in the private sector. For others, working in the civil service during WWII had been physically demanding, with long hours and high stress as well as the trauma of living in a new place and leaving family and friends behind. "June ... decided that her greater duty lay in the West where she could be the one member of the family to remain loyal to her parents and the western way of life."[61] For many, the end of the war provided an excuse to return to their home town or region.

Overall, the women interviewed agreed that working in the civil service during WWII was a good working experience. Some of these women returned to the civil service again later after their children had grown or when new opportunities came up. Of these, all said that the experience did not compare to their work experiences during the war years.

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[60] Shirley Maxwell, Correspondence, February 11, 1993.

[61] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 140.

> I think there was a greater feeling in working. I'd say more camaraderie in the sense that we were all doing things together. Whereas compared to working after the war, I'd say it was more fun. Maybe that's typical of the war-time. It was more a sense of living. You just lived I don't know I'd say faster or intensely. It was more fun.[62]

For many of these women this was their first working experience. "My first experience working was great. It was a team effort. It was because a war was on. It was a war effort. It was more than just a job."[63] Edith Lorentsen recalled that, "During the war the Federal Government had all the power it needed to do anything. And, it [Canada] became a very different country in those years and anything to do with manpower was given or had top priority. People were very important."[64] Perhaps it was this government attitude, combined with the team effort brought on by the war, which made this work experience generally positive for many women participating in the civil service.

Despite the relatively low pay, hard work, long hours, poor working conditions, lack of opportunity for advancement, struggle for recognition, and the uncertainty at the war's end, the majority of the women interviewed for this thesis believed that working in the civil service during WWII was the

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[62] Dr. Grace Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992.

[63] Elsa D. Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992.

[64] Edith L. Lorentsen, Interview, June 18, 1992.

best working experience of their lives.

Chapter 3

SOCIAL LIFE AND LIVING CONDITIONS

What would induce young, single women to move so far away from home and face the uncertainties of wartime in Ottawa? What kinds of living conditions did they face once in the city and what opportunities for social life arose? These questions no doubt occurred to the women who took on civil service jobs, especially those from out of province who travelled hundreds or thousands of miles to take up their new positions.

Canadians across the country were offered the opportunity to write the civil service exams and apply for government jobs well before the war; civil service expansion during the war years, however, far exceeded expectations and the urgent demand for increased participation in war-related employment meant that government and industry turned to women as well as men to fill the need. Population statistics indicated that the war period witnessed considerable population movement.

> During these years population movements already in progress were accelerated. Between 1941 and 1946 the chief inter-provincial population movements in Canada were towards the provinces of Ontario and British Columbia, while the Prairie Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta lost more than their natural increase.[1]

It does not appear that there was as much migration from the Maritime provinces to Ottawa as from the Prairies. Still,

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[1] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 5.

many young, single, and sometimes frightened but very brave women from all regions of Canada moved to Ottawa to work for the Canadian federal civil service. As previously demonstrated, these women faced an uncertain work situation and their living conditions and social prospects were just as tenuous.

When women were recruited for civil service jobs in Ottawa from outside of the immediate area, they were simply wired a telegram stating where and when to report for duty. Other women were notified of employment acceptance and sometimes (but not always) supplied with a brief job description and department assignment.

> May 1, 1939. Please wire immediately whether or not available position stenographer grade 1 Civil Service Commission Ottawa expected be continuous salary Seven Two Nought year stating earliest date possible can report Room One Five Two Hunter Building. Necessary defray own travelling expenses and report in few days. Wire date arrival. Urgent. (Signed) "E.E.Saunders"[2]

Shirley Maxwell received a similar telegram in early August requesting that she report to the Hunter Building in Ottawa on August 19, 1940. She was not told, however, which government department she was working for or what her job would be after that date.[3] These women paid their own transportation costs

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[2] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 6.

[3] Shirley Maxwell, Correspondence, February 11, 1993. An interview with Merle Ray and correspondence with Amy Goldsmith and May Flowers revealed similar stories to that of Shirley

and travelling expenses and found themselves a place to live in Ottawa without government help. For many of these women it was their first experience away from home and their families.

The majority of these women travelled to Ottawa by train. Train travel was the most convenient and cost efficient form of transportation at the time. "Flying was not a fast, convenient, and affordable method for getting from here to there but Canada had a good coast to coast rail service and, within two weeks, I had boarded a train and arrived in Ottawa two or three days later, quite friendless and alone but, as I recall not overly concerned."[4] Others, such as Amy Goldsmith, found themselves caught between the emotional states of fear and excitement. "I travelled to Ottawa by train and although feeling rather sick at the thought of being so far away from home, found the train trip a bit of an adventure. In those days train travel was never dull because there were so many service people continually on the move, one never lacked for companionship."[5] Many women arrived in Ottawa alone and a little intimidated. "The large arrival and departure area in the Station seemed unwelcoming, strange and very lonely."[6]

Maxwell's.

[4] May Flowers, Correspondence, February 19, 1993.

[5] Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993.

[6] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 15.

The exception to train travel was to get a ride with someone driving to Ottawa although this did not appear to be the common form of long distance travel during the war, especially once gasoline was rationed. This would have been a preferable way for many of the young women to get to Ottawa because they would not arrive alone and/or have to immediately fend for themselves. One of my informants, Mary, did get a ride from P.E.I to Ottawa with some friends of her family.[7]

The women's first days in Ottawa were often traumatic enough to remain clear in the informants' memories.

> We took the train out of Belleville at two o'clock in the morning... So the three of us came down here together. All green as grass. And, we landed into Ottawa about seven o'clock in the morning. We had all of our possessions, each one of us had a suitcase. So we got out of the old union station and went down Rideau Street. I can remember this day as though it was yesterday. And, we went into a restaurant there and I ordered boiled eggs for breakfast and they were rotten. What a beginning.[8]

Many women related stories about getting settled in Ottawa. A number of them turned to recognized services aimed at assisting women without families or friends.

Many of the out-of-town women made their first stop at the Ottawa Young Women's Christian Association (Y.W.C.A.), then located on the corner of Laurier and Metcalfe streets. Living arrangements at the YWCA were to be considered tempor-

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[7] Mary, Correspondence, February 10, 1993.

[8] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

ary if there was any room available at all. The YWCA was not a cost efficient place for women who were in Ottawa on a long-term basis. In September 1940 the price for permanent roomers was $8.00 per week for a double room, $9.50 to $10.00 for a single room. The transient rate was $9.00 per week for a double room and $11.00 for a single room. "The price for meals at the "Y" was reasonable -- breakfast, .25 to .30; lunch, .25 to .30; dinner, .40 to .45."[9] The YWCA was not threatened by housing competition; they were providing a necessary service to women away from home and could not provide all those who came to live in Ottawa to work for the civil service with housing.

The YWCA room and food rate was not unreasonable for short periods, but women could find more affordable housing in boarding homes and by sharing apartments. The informants stated that room and board in Ottawa during WWII averaged from $25.00 to $35.00 per month. In 1942 an article in The Labour Gazette suggested that women war workers in the United States should not be required to spend more than 20 percent of their income on housing.[10] Many of the women working for the civil service in Canada were earning between $55.80 to $90.00 per

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[9] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 23 The cost of meals and room prices can also be found in the YWCA minutes of September 1940.

[10] The Labour Gazette, Vol. XLII, No. 7 (July 1942), p. 772.

month which meant that some were spending more than 50 percent of their salaries on housing, including some meals.

The YWCA provided women seeking housing with a list of potential residences. Many of the women moving to Ottawa benefitted from the YWCA's reconstruction of its Travellers' Aid Department into a Rooms Registry service. "The Y.W.C.A. developed an efficient clerical system of listing available homes, including information regarding the family, the condition of the house and furnishings, privileges, such as kitchen, laundry, parlour, hot water, etc."[11] The living arrangements of these women arriving in Ottawa were left solely to themselves and the YWCA was the only organization offering them assistance in the beginning.

> And so we had no place to live we didn't know a soul here in the city. And, so we went to the YWCA and they had a list of boarding houses in the area. So we walked all over centretown carrying our suitcases until we found a place that would take us in. There wasn't any credit checks or anything. They just said, 'Well do you got any money?' 'Yah.' 'Well come on in.'.[12]

The YWCA was a national organization and therefore served as a familiar starting point for the women from across Canada arriving in Ottawa during WWII.

As the Civil Service Commission continued to recruit women from outside of Ottawa, the government employee organi-

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[11] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 63.

[12] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

zation, the Civil Service Association of Ottawa (CSAO), recognized the shortage of rooming accommodations as a result of the sudden influx of newcomers. In response the CSAO changed the emphasis and the agenda of its Housing Committee. "The original plan was to help only junior employees, but the situation became so rapidly and increasingly acute that before the end of the year the Committee found itself assisting all grades of employees to find rooms, or room and board, and in a number of instances, flats or apartments."[13] The CSAO was not a common starting point for women new to Ottawa and new to the civil service, although their active participation demonstrates the dimensions of the problem.

Another common possibility for the women new to Ottawa was to follow an older sister or a relative or even sometimes just another person from their own hometown. Quite often one female member of the family went to Ottawa to work for the civil service and others followed. This made setting up living arrangements and making contacts for the newcomer much easier. "My sister had always stayed with two women who came from Moncton, New Brunswick and they always had a fourth person because the apartment was large enough for four. Mind you we only had one bedroom...And so my sister moved out and

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[13] CSAO, "Annual Report 1941", Supplement to the Civil Service News, Vol. 19, No. 12 (Dec. 1941), p. 362.

I moved in with them."[14] Other women remembered how easy it was to adjust to the new arrivals in Ottawa when so many of them had shared pasts. "The next arrival ... was my own cousin, Rose. She was the first member of my family to join me and to become part of the nucleus of family and friends from home who came soon after and became part of the Western clique of which I had been the harbinger."[15] The majority of single women living in Ottawa shared accommodations because it was less expensive and there was a shortage of affordable apartments at that time.

Boarding houses, shared apartments, and shared rooms in private homes made up the majority of housing arrangements. Many women were sent to boarding houses for lodgings upon arrival and stayed until they made contacts and had time to look around Ottawa and/or made friends for sharing apartments. Boarding houses were often very crowded with limited access to the washroom and hot water. Merle Ray lived in a boarding house with women who came to Ottawa from all over Canada to work for the government. There were seventeen or eighteen women in the house and they all shared one bathroom. Ray was assigned a day and time when she could wash her hair and when she could have a bath. Fortunately the basin and tub were in

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[14] Dr. Grace Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992.

[15] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 78.

one room and the toilet in another. She paid $25.00 per month for room and board which was almost one half of her civil service salary. This price included three meals a day. Twelve people could sit at the table at a time so the boarders rotated eating space.[16] Twenty-five to thirty-five dollars per month seemed to be the norm for room and board during WWII but the living conditions varied for this price.

Another boarding house in Ottawa is fondly remembered by Edna Tyson Parson, Mrs. Annie Dunn's at 55 Argyle Street. Parson refers to this house as a houseful of Canada because usually as many as seventeen women from many different parts of the country lived under the one roof. Living conditions were cramped.

> The second wartime Christmas approached, and living accommodation in Mrs. Dunn's boarding house became more congested. At about that time, Isabelle and I gave up the light housekeeping and took our meals downstairs with the rest of the boarders, one of whom was Rose. The rangette was moved from the little room behind the piano to a cupboard in the third floor front where Anne, Gladys and Win continued to do light housekeeping. The small room which had been our kitchenette, and which had a door to the front balcony, was fitted with a couch and a chest, and a friend of Rose's, Lottie N., who came from Saskatchewan shortly after Rose, was settled into that cubby hole.[17]

This type of make-shift arrangement was common in these places where there always was room for one more new arrival. Edna

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[16] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

[17] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 78.

Tyson Parson recalls the fussing or perhaps the lack of fussing that went on when her younger sister arrived in Ottawa.

> The eligible lists were summoning more girls from across the country. My school friend, Joan S., was called and within a week of her coming, my sister, June, arrived. June was squeezed into 55 Argyle, but Joan had to look elsewhere. My sister claims that when she arrived in Ottawa on April 22, 1941, she had to sleep under a piano. This is literally true. Mrs. Dunn took the backs off the studio couch where she slept in the dining room, and she put the pillows under the keyboard of the piano in the room where Isabelle and I slept, and that was June's bed for her first week or so in Ottawa.[18]

These boarding houses did not provide these women with the most comfortable of living conditions. Sometimes discomfort was caused by the clutter, the owner's idea of a good meal, or rodent and bug infestation. Merle Ray remembers that,

> ...we lived in some pretty poor situations. You know we talk about these boarding houses, well sometimes the food left a lot to be desired and you had to eat what was there because you didn't have any money for anything else because we sure didn't make any great fat salaries. And, they, just general conditions were not very good. You didn't feel as though you were at home because you're not welcome in anybody's living room you stayed in your room.[19]

The women also worried about the quality of food that they were receiving in these boarding houses. Although overall the

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[18] Ibid., p. 85.

[19] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

women at Mrs. Dunn's remember the food to be acceptable, the house was disorganized and incidents happened. June recalled such an event in a letter to her sister, Elsie Tyson.

> Mrs. Dunn put on a good meal if you didn't see her kitchen. One evening I had been working late and she saved me a plate of supper. She said, "There are raspberries for your dessert on top of the fridge." I scrounged around looking for them, and found they were covered by a small plate of fly poison (some kind of a blotting paper that you soaked in water.) I thought some of the poison water could have spilled over, so did without the raspberries.[20]

Bedbugs were a continual problem as well although there was some kind of white powder that the women put around the baseboards in the house as soon as they noticed a problem and their ankles would not get bitten until the next infestation. The problem of bugs most often came from the crowded spaces rather than the lack of hygiene.

Despite the disadvantages of the boarding houses they did offer the women new to Ottawa a place to stay, at least until they could get settled in their jobs and become familiar with the city. Most often the connections they made with other women through the boarding house, the YWCA, and work provided women with alternative living arrangements shortly after arrival as well as placing them in a ready-made social circle. "The feeling of the boarders toward each other was, in a sense, a bond of family. Friendships were formed; dislikes

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[20] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 80.

were tolerated; consideration was required in the tight confines of the living routine within."[21] The boarding houses were a good starting point for women from out of town. Many women who had this living experience believed that those who didn't, missed out on an important wartime life experience.

Boarding houses were not the only living facilities open to women during the war. Single family homes provided a room or two to these newcomers and there were a few apartments available in Ottawa. Often, after a group of women became friends in a boarding house, they would start to look for an apartment together. An apartment rarely meant more living space or privacy but sometimes they acquired access to better cooking facilities and could cut down on over all room and board expenses. "But one has to admit that at Mrs. Dunn's there was no privacy and certainly no tranquillity. There came a time when all the long-term boarders at "55" felt that the fellowship and the fun which they had needed when they first came to Ottawa were replete, and they looked for quieter accommodation."[22] But availability was an important factor influencing these women's options during the war years.

> In those days living accommodation in Ottawa was at a premium and local residents were opening up their

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[21] Ibid., p. 7.

[22] Ibid., p. 99.

> homes to the hoards of newcomers arriving to help in the war effort. We found that the "room for two" consisted of half an attic (the other half was also rented); no meals were provided but a two-burner electric plate was set up in the hall between the two rented sections for cooking. Bathroom facilities were on the floor below. We stayed in the attic for two weeks. We had answered advertisements offering room and board and I found a comfortable room in the West End, within walking distance of the Experimental Farm - I was a good walker in those days. An Air Force Officer, his wife and two small boys owned the house and rented their spare bedroom to me. I paid $30.00 a month which included breakfast and evening dinner (breakfast and lunch weekends); I stayed there for five years.[23]

The story of another woman also revealed the living conditions of women moving to Ottawa.

> From 1940-42 I boarded (along with 12 other boarders, mostly females) with a family living on Gilmour St. Room and full board $35.00 a month. In 1942 they sold the house, discontinued keeping boarders and moved to the West End. In 1942 I moved in with an elderly couple in Ottawa South. Room and board $25.00 a month. Where I was treated like a member of the family.[24]

These women were mostly on a fixed lower income and the cost of their accommodation also played an important role in the arrangements that they made. Merle Ray and her friends were creative. In the summer months they rented a cottage near Aylmer, Quebec. The season was from April 1st to November 1st and the cost was $250.00 per season. Four women shared the expenses, two from Saskatchewan, one from Ottawa,

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[23] May Flowers, Correspondence, February 19, 1993.

[24] Mary, Correspondence, February 10, 1993.

and one from Belleville (the informant Merle Ray). They would commute back and forth to work in Ottawa each day by street car. This arrangement worked out to cost each woman about ten dollars a month for lodgings so, even with the added expense of transportation, it was a lot less expensive for Merle Ray and her friends than renting a place in Ottawa. One drawback was that just like the boarding house she stayed at, the cottage did not have hot water. Merle Ray spent three summers living this way with friends.[25]

Edna Tyson Parson and friends were able to make arrangements for inexpensive living one summer as well.

> At any rate, Beatrice heard about a house at 1042 Gladstone Avenue which was in need of occupants during the summer while the family was away at a summer cottage. If Isabelle, Anne and I would live there, take cursory care of the house and garden, and provide week day dinners for a working daughter, our rent would be free. With fresh fruit and vegetables in good supply at moderate cost we ended up eating well and living in a luxurious house (so it seemed to us) for $10.00 each per month. A meagre pay cheque went a long way at that rate.[26]

Later Edna Tyson Parson, her sister June, and her cousin Rose found an apartment in a house with a family that probably would not have rented to women in the civil service, had the government not appealed for people to do so. These women were very fond of their "...third floor apartment at 33 Woodlawn

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[25] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

[26] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 33.

Avenue, on a prim, residential street."[27] They were the only roomers in the house and were pleased that there would be no more lining up for the bathroom. This does not mean that the living situation was perfect. The three women were living on the third floor without a fire escape and attempting to cook meals on a rangette that did not allow them to use both the stove and the oven at the same time.

> Meanwhile in our new living quarters at 33 Woodlawn Avenue, our new landlady, Mrs. K., had some idiosyncrasies. She thought money was dirty and wanted us to put the rent money in a paper bag and never onto her kitchen table. I can't remember if she gave us a receipt for it, but I do know I was concerned that she might accidentally throw that bag in the garbage. She also didn't want our visitors ringing her doorbell. She draped a cord through the crack in the door somehow and strung it up the two flights of stairs so that it would jingle a little bell at the top. That was what our visitors had to use.[28]

This apartment was available for more than one year but Mrs. K. eventually decided that she no longer wanted to rent the third floor of the house and the women were evicted.

By the end of 1941 the government and the CSC began to recognize that a crisis concerning accommodation shortages was beginning in Ottawa. The CSC was concerned that the problem that they were having recruiting women to work in Ottawa was related to the lack of accommodation for these women and the

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[27] Ibid., p. 99.

[28] Ibid., p. 102.

conditions of the available accommodations. "The wide-spread feeling as to the lack of adequate housing accommodation in Ottawa and the Commission's inability to guarantee good housing conditions to prospective applicants has contributed largely to the Commission's inability to more fully meet requirements for this class of help."[29] Two things were done in an attempt to alleviate the problem: first the government made it known that hoarding space in homes was just as selfish and unacceptable as hoarding food; and second, the CSC proposed that a residence be built.

> During the year it became evident that increased accommodation for junior female employees who had come to Ottawa from other parts of the Dominion, was urgently needed. After consultation with the departments concerned, the Commission recommended that an appropriation be set aside for the purpose of low-priced but satisfactory accommodation for these junior employees, and Wartime Housing, Limited, was authorized to proceed with the erection of the necessary buildings.[30]

The government's request for people to make rooms available in their private residences for civil servants was supposed to have a more immediate effect than the building of a residence.

In late 1941 the reports of a hostel for lower grade civil servants started rumours of great anticipation. Charles Lynch wrote an article for The Civil Service Review in December, 1941 reporting that this planned hostel might lodge

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[29] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1944, p. 6.

[30] Canada, Annual Report of the CSC, 1941, p. 7.

as many as 650 women, although building was delayed because the planned site was required for something else. In September, 1942 the same author was once again reported on this building. "Congratulations are in order to the Government, and the Civil Service Commission on the erection, now well under way, of the hostel on Sussex street which will provide 375 bachelor girls in the Government service with sleeping, dining and recreational quarters."[31] This new women's residence, Laurentian Terrace, was not only intended to house women but also to promote the government's concerns for its employees in a positive manner which would make Ottawa civil service jobs more attractive to women across Canada.

The Laurentian Terrace was established as a non-profit organization to house the lower-grade female civil servants and therefore, residency was limited to those women earning less than $90.00 per month. The residence consisted of one hundred and seventy double rooms for regular use, which meant two women per room. There were also single rooms set up for women when they were ill. Also, the women in this residence were not to be supervised; they were to live their own lives and spend their leisure hours as they wished.

The majority of women from Ottawa who joined the civil service during WWII remained living at home with their

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[31] Charles I. Lynch, "Ottawa Hostel", in The Civil Service Review, Vol. XV, No.3 (September 1942), p. 278.

families. Some of these women were required to pay room and board to their families, but many were not. Elsa Lessard remembered that it felt good to 'pull your own weight' although the family did not need her money for survival. Lessard remembered that her mother did some nice things with the money for her. Since giving the money to her family was not openly required but understood as an unwritten rule, each pay day Lessard would purchase a box of chocolates, Lowney's Cherries, for her mother and slip the $30.00 of her $55.80 into the candy box. She said that it was never discussed. Lessard believed that it was just part of being an adult.[32] Isabel Adey thought that it was an ideal arrangement to give half of her pay cheque to her mother, a quarter of it went into savings and the one quarter left over was for spending.[33] Carolyn O'Malley-Hibberd's payment took the form of buying her mother two pounds of caramelized candy every pay day.[34] She also did all the sewing in the house which she considered as part of her contribution. Many other women received their pay cheques and were free to do with them as

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[32] Elsa Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992. Although Lessard believed that it was her responsibility as an adult to give her family money, the chocolate cherries would have been an extra special gift each month since chocolate and candy were a luxury during the war.

[33] Isabel Adey and Jean Peterkin, Interview, November 22, 1992.

[34] Carolyn O'Malley-Hibberd, Interview, October 19, 1992.

they pleased.

The differences in living situations between the women from out-of-town and the women from Ottawa created variations in socializing. The women living in boarding houses and sharing apartments with friends had more freedom for social adventure given their lack of parental supervision and the proximity of friends. The women native to Ottawa tended to remain in their own pre-WWII social circles. These women continued to chum with friends from school days and their home neighbourhoods. They had not been forced to venture out and start an entirely new life and/or develop new friendships. The women not from Ottawa were uprooted and in a position to make new friends and explore a new city. This is not to say that the two groups never met; often friendships were formed due to working conditions and social events related to work. But there were differences between the women, an "us" and "them" attitude. There was also a difference in spending money and social acceptability in general. Generally the women living with their families had more money to spend on personal items and entertainment than those who had to pay living expenses. Also the women new to Ottawa found that behavior that had been socially acceptable at home was not in Ottawa. For example, going out in the evening without a male escort was more common among women who were living together without close parental supervision.

Ottawa women argued that WWII transformed the city forever, although there are differing opinions as to whether this was for better or worse. Author Sandra Gwyn would agree that WWII had a tremendous impact on Ottawa. She stated that the arrival of Lord and Lady Dufferin at Rideau Hall, with Lord Dufferin installed as the Governor General in 1872, ushered in the New Imperialism and with it a more rigid social structure which remained intact until the outbreak of WWII.[35] Both the Ottawa women and those new to the city had to negotiate the social expectations and norms of Ottawa society.

For the newcomers, sightseeing was an important social activity and a great adventure. Amy Goldsmith remembers that:

> It was also nice that there were three or four ex-teachers from my home province of Saskatchewan, and of course we hob-knobbed after hours. In our first few months in Ottawa we took in absolutely everything as far as sightseeing, the theatre, concerts etc. was concerned. The Armed Services each had their own variety show, and I remember particularly the Air Force show, which we thought was great. One of the happiest weekends I spent while in Ottawa was when six of us girls from the office took a Thanksgiving weekend trip to Montreal. We all crammed into a small coupe (one and a half seater car) belonging to a Fr.-Canadian girl whose home was in Montreal. We girls from the Prairies were awe-struck by the gorgeous colours along the Montreal Road, and kept jumping out to collect maple leaves. We did the usual sight seeing in Montreal and were thrilled by it all.[36]

The women from the west seemed to be more interested in

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[35] Gwyn, The Private Capital, pp. 41 and 145.

[36] Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993.

sightseeing than those from the east, probably because the landscape in Ottawa was so different than their prairie province homes. Edna Tyson Parson also remembers how captivated she was with the scenery in the Ottawa area during a hiking outing in the Gatineau Hills.

> Unforgettable it was, not only for the terrain, but also for the colour. Our first glimpse of the hills as we plodded through the fields was like a gigantic, multi-coloured ribbon tossed idly aside. It was enough to make the heart skip several beats. I don't know whether the colours were particularly brilliant that year, whether the drizzle added depth of tone, whether it was our perspective from earth level and a-foot, but in all the subsequent years that I have travelled through the Gatineau on the way to Blue Sea Lake, I have never again been impressed as I was on that dull Thanksgiving Day.[37]

Despite the adventure and excitement the changes in environment provided for these women, it also brought them discomfort and unhappiness at times. "Humidity was something totally unfamiliar to a Westerner; we felt suffocated during the day, stifled at night and experienced a general pressure of claustrophobia from the density of leaves everywhere. It seemed that at no point in all of Eastern Canada could one see the horizon all around."[38] A successful organization was developed to help counteract the alienation that the western women felt upon their arrival in Ottawa in the form of the Western Girls' Club, started by Marjorie H., a girl from Moose

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[37] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 39.

[38] Ibid., p. 34.

Jaw. The club was sponsored by the YWCA.[39]

One leisure activity that was common to the majority of women living in Ottawa was going to the movies. There were many movie theatres in the city and it was a relatively inexpensive form of entertainment.

> The Capitol Theatre was the cultural centre of the city and grand it was with its wide, branching marble staircase, its crystal chandeliers and red carpet. We went to quite a number of shows, usually at the smaller theatres. The Rialto was at the corner of Flora on Bank, the Imperial at the corner of Bank and Gilmour, and the Mayfair farther south on Bank at Euclid. Sometimes we went to the Centre Theatre at Bank and Sparks.[40]

Joyce Shearer recalled that if you purchased your movie ticket before six o'clock you paid less.[41] Still only a few women were able to break through the established social patterns and organize an outing as simple as going to the movies with old and new Ottawa women.

Most women living in Ottawa during WWII found walking, hiking and taking picnics enjoyable. These ventures often led to swimming at Britannia Park or at Hogs Back Park or Brighton Beach. Bicycle riding also became a very popular form of transportation and entertainment after the first couple of war years. The bicycle allowed women the ability to do more

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[39] Ibid., p. 23.

[40] Ibid., p. 49.

[41] Joyce Shearer, Interview, October 20, 1992.

enjoyable activities during their few leisure hours.[42]

The Ottawa tennis and badminton clubs seemed to be attended mostly by the local women. This does not mean that the new-comers to Ottawa did not try these sports; they just tended to play on the church tennis courts or in the street rather than join the costly clubs. The women new to Ottawa were willing to try new things: they seemed to be game to try just about anything for fun. For example, these women talked about participating in ice skating, roller skating, softball, skiing (both downhill and cross country), and some even took up horse back riding. These women enjoyed their free time to the fullest.

One social activity that did manage to bring together both the native Ottawa and new Ottawa women was bowling. The Bowling leagues organized through work provided an opportunity for all women to socialize. "Five-pin bowling was a major activity -- there were office leagues where service and civilian personnel mingled."[43] Carolyn Hibberd remembered that she was not happy about being told that bowling with the office league was considered compulsory. Perhaps it was this unwritten rule about mandatory participation that made the

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[42] Isabel Adey, May Flowers, Carolyn Hibberd, Edith Lorentsen, Shirley Maxwell, Jean Peterkin, and Merle Ray all talked specifically about enjoying long walks, bicycle rides and picnics.

[43] Shirley Maxwell, Correspondence, February 11, 1993.

office bowling league so well attended by both the new female civil servants living in Ottawa and the city's native women civil servants.

It was difficult to get an accurate perspective about the importance of religion in these women's lives probably because they all came from different regions and different church affiliations. It does appear that the church played a larger role in the lives of the women who grew up in Ottawa and stayed than it did for those women new to Ottawa. Women new to Ottawa talked about the difficulty in finding a church that pleased them entirely. They had enjoyed their church and preacher at home and did not always make the same connection to a church in Ottawa. Most women said that they continued to attend church services reasonably regularly, but they tended to either go to the church closest their home and/or wherever their friends happened to be going on a particular Sunday, always staying loyal to their faith but not necessarily to their denomination. This flexibility was only found among Protestant informants.

Church activities did try to accommodate the newcomers by providing social activities specifically for them. The Protestant Girls Club offered many women new to Ottawa a starting place to make new friends. One social activity put on by churches was the tea dance. These dances took place on Saturday afternoon and men and women would go without an

escort, meet, socialize and dance. Sometimes a woman would meet a man at these dances and get a date for that night; if not, they usually went out for dinner and a movie after with a friend. Mary did attend these church activities. "Any clubs or social events organized by church groups, etc. all seemed to be patronized by out-of-towners."[44] The churches' participation in the women's social lives indicated an interest in recruiting membership and offering guidance.

For many women in Ottawa dating was just another aspect of their social life. Relationships during WWII were very transient. Some young men and women married quickly as men were being sent overseas. Others simply enjoyed the many activities and opportunities available as a result of numerous young single women in Ottawa for government jobs and active service and numerous young single men, mostly in uniform, passing through the city. One of the more popular spots to frequent with an escort was the Grill Room at the Chateau Laurier Hotel on Friday nights. Dinner in the Grill Room consisting of a chicken patty, vegetables, coffee, and dessert and dancing for the evening to the music of Len Hopkins and his orchestra cost one dollar.

> Ottawa during the war was an exciting place in which to live. The streets, restaurants, etc. were jam-packed with servicemen and women from all over Canada; also many Americans and servicemen from

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[44] Mary, Correspondence, February 10, 1993.

> other Commonwealth countries who were in Canada under the Commonwealth Air Training Scheme. Also celebrities would visit Ottawa (for example, screen star Walter Pidgeon) to participate in functions connected with Victory Bond Drives.[45]

Other popular dance places were the Standish Hall Hotel in Hull, which was on the top of the list of places to go because it had a spring dance floor, and the Lake Side Gardens which cost only thirty-five cents to get in and you could dance all night. Elizabeth Lloyd remembered that young single women had plenty of opportunity for dating. "Oh it was fun. Yeah there were a lot of people, lots of entertainment, lots of, you know. The lads that were training here from New Zealand and Australia and what not, a lot of my friends they would entertain these lads and of course they were always looking for single gals so they's get us and we'd go and we had a great time. It was fun."[46] Women did mention that it was important not to get too close to these men because the Americans in particular had a reputation for not mentioning their marital status.

Probably the most popular dance place that women could attend without an escort was the Red Triangle. "The Red Triangle was a club maintained by the Y.M.C.A. and was located

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[45] Amy Goldsmith, Correspondence, January 1993.

[46] Elizabeth Lloyd, Interview, September 29, 1992.

in downtown Ottawa on Slater Street just off Elgin."[47] This club was not just for dances; it also offered other entertainment such as sing-songs, but dances were by far the most popular and best remembered events held at the Red Triangle.

> On the social pages of the Ottawa Citizen in December, 1942, notices appear of dances at the Red Triangle sponsored by a succession of government offices. The girls of the Civil Service Commission, the girls of the American Priorities Branch of the Department of Munitions and Supply, the girls of the Foreign Exchange Control board, the girls of CBC station, etc., all advertised forthcoming dances at the Red Triangle.[48]

A group of women could go to these dances without an escort but chaperones were present to make sure the young people did not over-step the social boundaries of the day. Merle Ray remembers that relationships did form at the Red Triangle but the male population was transient and women had to be quick. Sometimes somebody would walk you home from these dances, sometimes not.[49] Elsa Lessard recalled that sometimes tickets were required to go to the Red Triangle dances and the women had to be nice to the men to get invited to go; other times the tickets would be brought into the office to distribute among the staff. "And we all went to dance with the soldiers. And they came from all over the forces. And of

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[47] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 116.

[48] Ibid., p. 117.

[49] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

course we jitter bugged. You know, and as I was a jitter bugger I never had any problems going to the Red Triangle."[50]

Although it was acceptable to go stag during the war years, many women, mostly Ottawa women, did not like it and couldn't get accustomed to the change. What did they look for in an escort? Many women said that during the war only men in uniform were attractive to them. Peggy Paquette-Nitschky agreed with this philosophy. As for her social life outside the work place, she almost always insisted on mixed company. The military was regularly recruiting women for social events. She remembered attending many of these events and dating only military men.[51] In Ottawa during the war years there was an imbalance in the male/female ratio, to the women's advantage. Women were being recruited into Ottawa to take civil service jobs and men were being sent to Ottawa in even greater numbers to serve in the military.

D'Ann Campbell, author of Women at War with America, claimed that the sexual morals of women were looser as a result of wartime attitudes. Campbell cited the phenomenon of the "Victory girls" or "V - girls" to support her suspicions. According to Campbell, "Many a teenage girl was told that having intercourse with a soldier before he was shipped out,

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[50] Elsa Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992.

[51] Peggy Paquette-Nitschky, Telephone interview, March 25, 1992.

perhaps never to return, was a way to contribute to the war effort."[52] This leniency in women's behavior did not apply to civilian men. Despite the controversy over this issue among feminist historians, my research clearly showed that women preferred to date men in military uniform during WWII. Whether these women participated in sexual intercourse with their dates was not mentioned; regardless, they did not appear to be appeasing any external pressures. Men in uniform were simply the date of choice for women during WWII.

The women from out-of-town faced another dilemma concerning the dating process which was basically one of loyalty to their region. Some women found it difficult to date men not from their home area; they feared that they would not have anything in common and that they might lose their roots and their way of life. Westerner Edna Tyson Parson, considered all of the conflicts when she fell in love and finally decided to marry a man from Ottawa. "Must I confiscate all my old dreams and old allegiances to marry an Easterner? My love of family, of the western life and the prairie, even my religious denomination - must I forfeit all these? Could I do it? Was it

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[52] Campbell, Women at War with America, p. 208. The topic of "Victory Girls" in America is also investigated in Anderson, Wartime Women, pp. 103-111. Also, for an account of British women's increased sexual awareness during WWII see: Penny Summerfield & Nicole Crockett, "'You Weren't Taught that with the Welding': lessons in sexuality in the Second World War", in Women's History Review, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1992. pp.-435-454.

right to do it? During a ten-month engagement no such demands were made of me."[53] This woman's family was also very concerned about the decision of a western woman marrying an eastern (Ontario) man.

> A few days before the wedding, I came upon June weeping as she sat on the floor beside the things I had started to pack for the move out of the apartment. It touched me deeply. "There will be no going back for you when the war is over," she said. If only I had comforted her then with the assurance that I would not change; that no matter what, the West would always be a part of me. But I was swept along in the tide of enormous change which engulfed the world, and it took me a long time to learn that lesson myself.[54]

Although things worked out for Edna Tyson Parson, many other women married men from their own region, including both of her sisters who also came to work in Ottawa during WWII.

There were other tensions between the Ottawa natives and the many newcomers to the city. It was not common for the women of Ottawa to socialize with the new women outside of the work place or work-related events. Merle Ray was just one of the informants that found the Ottawa people's reaction to outsiders a little bit unusual. She remembers that:

> You never got invited into anybody's home. Not ever. And, that seems so strange to me having grown up on the farm where everybody was welcome at our house. And, still you never did get invited to anybody's place. You always had that feeling that they were, just felt that they were just a little

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[53] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 105.

[54] Ibid., p.114.

> bit better than everybody else because after all they were born here. You know!?!"[55]

One popular phrase used to describe the newcomers to Ottawa was, "Those Manitoba maples are springing up all over!" Other women were not so offended by the rejection they encountered from local residents. Dr. Maynard was not bothered by what the people of Ottawa thought about her:

> No we didn't socialize a lot with the people or the women from here. I don't think any of my good friends really were from Ottawa. ... You didn't really have any chance to meet them. ... I don't know if I was conscious of it in those days of any class distinction. I think the thing that impressed me so much then was where everybody came from somewhere else. You didn't know who lived here and if you did, you were exposed to them and you didn't find them interesting so you didn't pay any attention to them anyway. And the people who were your friends were all from away. And, it's only since the war and since living here in Ottawa of course I recognize the social classes. ... But there is a difference between the old Ottawa people who have been brought up here who lived here, and frankly I think most of them are rather dull.[56]

Carolyn Hibberd, a woman born and raised in Ottawa, recognized that Ottawa did not welcome outsiders. She said, "Yes! Ottawa was like that but not my family."[57] Hibberd's family was probably more open to new faces because her mother was not from Ottawa.

Some Ottawa natives became very defensive over this

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[55] Merle Ray, Interview, October 14, 1992.

[56] Dr. Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992.

[57] Carolyn Hibberd, Interview, October 19, 1992.

accusation. The sisters Jean Peterkin and Isabel Adey believed that if the newcomers wanted to be a part of Ottawa society they could be. If they could fit in, they would be welcomed. On the other hand, Adey did not go out of her way to help them to fit in or make them feel welcome:

> Well, you must see that a lot of people when they come from out of town, I know they said that we. Well I belong to the tennis club, the golf club that sort of thing. And they all thought that we had cliques. But you've got to put something into life too and they could go to the church and meet nice people. But they all, a lot of them, I think felt that ok here I am look after me. That doesn't work. You've got to become involved and do something yourself.[58]

Adey's sister, Jean Peterkin, was somewhat sympathetic to the plight of the newcomers. She said, "Out of towners, I've heard them say trying to break through the cliques of Ottawa was very difficult and I can see what they mean. Yes. We still have friends from public school."[59] Some of the Ottawa people welcomed the changes that were forced on Ottawa society as a result of the war. Joyce Shearer believes that WWII was a turning point for the city of Ottawa and one that led to positive changes:

> Well, I think, a lot of people have said that it was the making of Ottawa, that we had been a rather insular city prior to the war but with the influx of all the new people from all over Canada and in fact all over the world, really, it broke down a

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[58] Isabel Adey, Interview, November 22, 1992.

[59] Jean Peterkin, Interview, November 22, 1992.

> lot of the barriers. People claimed that Ottawa was a cold city and nobody was friendly and so on but, (pause) Oh yes, Oh yes, It was a government town and it was narrow and all of this but it did change after the war a lot.[60]

The changes that took place in the city during WWII made it difficult to maintain the old Ottawa Victorian ideals.

Some of the tension between the Ottawa people and the people from out-of-town was caused by the newcomer's unwillingness to live according to the social structure in place in the city upon their arrival. "As the Civil Service scene in Ottawa became more and more inundated with outsiders who had more important things to spend their meagre earnings on than clothes, the sophisticated dress code of the capital changed, at least in the ordinary, unimposing offices of the lower echelons of civil servants."[61] In Ottawa, women were expected to wear hats and gloves. Stockings were a must for work. For many of the newcomers these rules of dress were uncommon. In a letter to her sister, Edna Tyson Parson expressed her surprise at the oddity of Ottawa's dress code.

> Would you believe that here tradition says we have to wear hats and gloves all summer, no matter what the heat and humidity? Some of the newcomers are daring to dress according to the weather. One nippy morning I wore my coat and a pair of gloves, but I left my head bare because I like the feel of the wind in my hair. When I got to the office I was asked point blank, "Why are you wearing gloves and

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[60] Joyce Shearer, Interview, October 20, 1992.

[61] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 81.

> no hat?" It must have been the old Nick in me that made me answer "Because my hands get cold, but my head doesn't." Do you think they'll fire me?[62]

The idea of wearing stockings in the summer was also a point of contention for these women and some dared to go to work with bare legs.

> Changes in the formal atmosphere of the capital city shook up the traditionalists. A single individual would never have dared to counter to the social decrees of the past, but a gang of girls in a boarding house has support behind them. They could accept the challenge of taking the initiative to throw off the staid customs for a more practical approach.[63]

These women did adhere to some rules. For example, women were not to wear shorts in the city so they would bicycle out of town before revealing their legs.

Housing and food constituted probably the largest expenditure for many of the civil servants recruited for war work in Ottawa. Entertainment and socializing would demand some money and then there was the necessity of clothing. Purchasing stockings was one expense all Ottawa women had in common. The line-ups at department stores on shipment days was one of these women's favourite topics of reminiscence. As the supply became scarcer into the war years, people who had the ability to obtain nice dress stockings made of crepe or chiffon derived some status among their co-workers. Carolyn

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[62] Ibid., p. 38.

[63] Ibid., p. 82.

Hibberd remembered a woman in her office whose mother worked in a department store and bought her daughter nylons before they were put on the shelf. All the other women in the office were quite jealous of this woman because they had to wear either heavy cotton or Lisle stockings to work. They didn't dare risk damaging the good pairs they needed for going out at night. Carolyn Hibberd too had access to nice stockings because her mother lined up to buy her nylons while she was at work. If Carolyn Hibberd's mother had difficulty getting her daughter nylons, the women who had to work and line up for themselves would have had even less of a chance to get to the store before the supply ran out. Joyce Shearer believes that because she held a Morgan's department store credit card she was offered stockings from a special stash the department store kept for preferred customers. In a recent article, Janet Wells cited a survey involving women living during WWII and their love affair with nylon stockings. "In 1939, the first 40,000 pairs - limit two per woman - sold out in three hours. A few years later, when a survey asked 60 women what they missed most during the Second World War, one-third, responded, "Men". The pragmatic other two-thirds, remembering all the nylon fabric commandeered for parachutes and tents, lamented: "Nylons"."[64] Over all, access to stockings was a

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[64] Janet Wells, "Tights give pantyhose a run for their money", in The Ottawa Citizen, November 11, 1993, p. E6.

concern to all Ottawa women during WWII and once they obtained them, women were dependent on each other to make sure seams stayed straight.

By 1942 prices were on the rise and women in the lower income jobs, who were barely making ends meet, had to cope with rising costs in shoes and clothing. "Sweaters and skirts are still prime favourites among the younger business girls and the former can be bought for a dollar and the latter at $1.98. At that price, however, a girl must be prepared to have her sweater shrink."[65] Wool dresses cost between $11.95 and $14.95. Silk dresses were scarce and rayon dresses were also up in price. Fabric gloves cost $1.35. The price of lipstick increased to $1.10. Women spent some of their pay cheques getting the lifts on their shoes repaired because a new pair of reasonable quality would cost more than $5.00. By the end of 1941 the Wartime Prices and Trade Board's power had increased and it controlled inflation by subsidising prices. Shoes were just one of the items targeted for price control.

Savings were also important to these working women. The women who lived at home tried to save money because they were concerned about the temporary nature of their civil service jobs and women who moved to Ottawa tried to put money away to pay for a visit home. Some women made it home for a visit

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[65] Charles Lynch, "A Hostel For Civil Servants", in The Civil Service Review, Vol. XIV, No. 4 (December 1941), p. 364.

every year but many could only afford to go home once for a visit during the war and pay for their passage home at the end of the war. Organizing a trip home was difficult because sometimes holiday leave would be restricted or cancelled. Also priority on the train was given to service people. Those women who did manage to travel home were confronted with posters that read, "Is this trip really necessary?"

Although those women who came to Ottawa and stayed look back on the war years as an exciting time in their lives, this does not mean that they were happy all of the time. Edna Tyson Parson, who married and remained in Ottawa, found the adjustment very difficult.

> It didn't take much to depress me that summer; I was still very unhappy at the office and can remember sitting on the open verandah one rainy Sunday afternoon, trying to write a letter home with the tears streaming down my cheeks as fast as the raindrops onto the lawn. What anguish I must have caused my parents with those long epistles of gloom!"[66]

Other women receiving news from home about ill loved ones felt guilty about their absence and inability to help out. Others were just outright lonely and unhappy living apart from family and friends, and these women rarely stayed long. "I recall my two+ years in Ottawa as a lonely and unpleasant period of my life. My sheltered years at home and boarding school had not prepared me for life in the city in wartime. There was no one

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[66] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 33.

that I could relate to."[67]

Also, it is known that many married women and women with dependents were recruited into the civil service and their social experiences may have been quite different than those previously discussed. Women with dependents would have experienced greater domestic responsibilities during their unpaid work hours. Even married women without children often led restrictive social lives because of their personal expectations of what was acceptable combined with family and community concepts about the respectable activities of a wife. Edna Tyson Parson remembers that, once she married and moved into her in-laws' home while her husband was in the military, her social life slowed. "In a sense I had moved from circumference to hub when I moved into the home of Charles's family on MacLaren Street, but the girls at 33 Woodlawn Avenue were still out there in the whirl of the wheel."[68]

It is difficult to convey the gaiety of the activities for many of the young single people living in Ottawa during the war. In many cases these women were independent of social restrictions and they left their inhibitions at home. They were enjoying life to the fullest as best they could within their means. "It was so much fun. You were just caught up in

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[67] Anonymous, Correspondence, February 11, 1993.

[68] Parson, A Houseful of Canada, p. 115.

the activity. You didn't really comprehend that there was a horrible war going on. It's not like any of us bothered to read a newspaper. ... We were very naive."[69] Most of the time they were not conscious of the reality of war. Then every so often the cold reality would break their joy with the news of the loss of a loved one. "There were a lot of parties around, some of them happy parties, some weren't."[70] Others, although they enjoyed their independent lives, were drawn home by concerns for their family and regional loyalty. For many, living in Ottawa during the war was the most socially exciting time of their lives.

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[69] Elsa Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992.

[70] Elizabeth Lloyd, Interview, September 29, 1992.

Chapter 4

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES' ORGANIZATIONS

The civil servants working for the Canadian government during WWII had available to them an established network of employee organizations. These employee organizations varied by region, membership, and concerns. Although this chapter will briefly examine the employee organizations available to civil servants during WWII, the emphasis is on the role women in Ottawa played within these organizations.

Even prior to confederation, Canadian civil servants had banded together to form voluntary military and athletic organizations but the Civil Service Association of Ottawa was the first to organize for the welfare of government employees.[1] The Civil Service Association of Ottawa, (hereafter the CSAO) was formed in 1907. The members of the CSAO realized the importance of unanimity of action to secure effective results; therefore, the association worked to organize a national civil servant organization. The Civil Service Federation of Canada (hereafter the CSF) was formed in 1909. As the name suggests, the CSF was an umbrella for other smaller government employee associations of which the CSAO was the largest member. The CSAO was, "...open to all government

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[1] Postal employees formed their first organization in 1891, the Federated Association of Letter Carriers. Postal employees have not been included in this thesis; therefore, this chapter will deal only with those government employee associations for the "inside civil servants" with an emphasis on Ottawa civil servants.

employees in the city of Ottawa, whether permanent or temporary or prevailing-rates employees."[2] Then in 1920 two other government employee associations were formed; the Professional Institute of the Civil Service of Canada, incorporated in 1950 under the new title, Professional Institute of the Public Service of Canada, (PIPS), and the Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada (ACSC).

During WWII PIPS was a relatively small and elitist organization.

> Membership eligibility, which is flexibly interpreted, includes any person below the rank of deputy minister who is either a graduate of a recognized university or college or who has membership in one of several designated professional societies. The membership grew in number from 1,400 in December, 1939 to 2,000 in December, 1947.[3]

The ACSC, by contrast, was willing to accept a diverse range of civil servants and it affiliated itself with the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. This organization resembled a trade union more than any other government employee organization of

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[2] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 113. Note: prevailing-rates employees during WWII were, "...composed largely of tradesmen and laborers employed continuously and full time at the rates prevailing in the district for the kind of work they perform." Ibid., p. 103. The concentration of prevailing-rates employees was in the Department of Transport and the Department of Public Works.

[3] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 114. For a complete history of the PIPS see: John Swettenham and David Kealy, Serving the State: A History of The Professional Institute of The Public Service of Canada, 1920-1970 (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1970).

the time. It was structured as a prototype of the "One Big Union" formed in 1919.[4] The ACSC membership was largely western based consisting of prevailing-rates civil servants. Like many other employee organizations, the ACSC also produced a monthly publication called Civil Servants Digest Incorporating The Organizer. The two government employee associations most relevant to women working in Ottawa during WWII were the CSF and particularly the CSAO.

Both the CSF and the CSAO kept their membership informed through association publications. The CSF published a quarterly information magazine called The Civil Service Review. The CSAO published the Civil Service News monthly. These publications were distributed to all the members of each organization and a few extra copies were left for general reading in government departments to encourage non-members to join. Remembering that the CSF and the CSAO were affiliates and not rivals, much of the material in their publications overlapped. Of course The Civil Service Review catered to a national audience while the Civil Service News focused on issues pertaining specifically to Ottawa employees.

The CSAO charged a fifty cent annual membership fee until 1946 when they raised the membership dues to one dollar per

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[4] Saul J. Frankel, Staff Relations in the Civil Service: The Canadian Experience (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1962), p. 29.

year.[5] Prior to and during WWII the CSF charged a small charter and registration fee and in 1947 introduced a twenty cents per annum per capita tax from its affiliate associations.[6] Membership and dues to government employee organizations during WWII was voluntary.

Although the CSAO was originally established for the specific purpose of securing a Superannuation Act, it rapidly broadened its concerns to include promotions, job classification, superannuation, professional and technical offices, temporary employment, salaries, and cost of living. The CSAO received immediate recognition from the Courtenay-Fishe Commission, officially known as the "Royal Commission on the Civil Service" of 1907-1908. This Commission was responsible for the enactment of the Civil Service Act of 1908 and the establishment of the Civil Service Commission. The CSAO did not achieve its first satisfactory Superannuation Act until 1924 but, due to its participation in the Courtenay-Fishe Commission, it was able to influence the Civil Service Act so that the merit system was introduced for the purpose of making appointments and promotions. Opening the civil service to potential employees on the basis of merit, as opposed to patronage, had been an issue of contention since before

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[5] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 117.

[6] Ibid., p. 118.

Confederation. "The majority of appointments were to be made through open, competitive, job-related examinations. Once appointed, civil servants were prohibited from engaging in partisan activities related to a dominion or provincial election."[7] Achieving the merit system was just the first of many successes for the CSAO and, in turn, for the civil servants prior to the outbreak of war in 1939.[8] Unfortunately, because of wartime needs and exemptions, approximately one-third of the civil service during WWII escaped accountability to the CSC.[9]

From their beginnings in the early twentieth century to the outbreak of WWII, the CSC, the CSAO and the CSF worked in co-operation with one another. The civil servant associations did not become critical of the CSC until the war period when they realized that the employees' interests could not be accomplished within the existing close employer/employee relationship.

> Although civil servants' actual working conditions - security of tenure, holiday and leave benefits, pensions and insurance benefits - may have been

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[7] Robert F. Adie and Paul G. Thomas, Canadian Public Administration (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada Inc., 1987), p. 68.

[8] A list of the pre-WWII achievements of the CSAO can be found in: C.W. Rump, "A History of the Civil Service Association and Reasons Why You Should be a Member", in the Civil Service News, Vol. 17, No. 4 (April 1939), pp. 98-104.

[9] Adie and Thomas, Canadian Public Administration, p. 70.

> among the best in the country, the associations had gained no power to participate in any meaningful way in the decisions taken on these matters, or on matters regarding their salaries, classification, and other related issues.[10]

The government employee associations experienced limitations in the areas of collective bargaining and the right to strike that a union would contest: "If collective bargaining implies the legal equality of parties with respect to the process of negotiation, then, clearly, it cannot apply when the state is one of the parties."[11] Prior to the 1960s it was thought that collective bargaining was improper for civil servants. The United States passed the Taft-Hartley Labour Management Act in 1947 which prohibited strike action by employees of the United States government or its agents or corporations. Prior to this act, American civil servants had been restricted. "The Act merely formalized a position which had been well established since the Lloyd-LaFollette Act of 1912."[12] As in Britain, Canada did not have a law to prevent federal civil servants from striking; however, there was also no protection for employees if they did strike since they could be vulnerable to government disciplinary action. The government employee associations began to redefine their role within the

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[10] Hodgetts, et al., The Biography of an Institution, p. 180.

[11] Frankel, Staff Relations in the Civil Service, p. 10.

[12] Ibid., p. 16.

government structure and with the CSC during WWII.

During WWII the CSAO continued to be dedicated to the promotion of the common interests of civil servants employed by the Government of Canada while at the same time encouraging its membership to co-operate with government changes and assist in the war effort whenever possible. The government's new powers under the Wartime Regulations Act created new challenges for the CSAO.

> ...Your Officers desire to point out that in considering Civil Service affairs generally, and in particular legislative rulings and regulations restricting or relating to the rights of civil servants, our first duty is to ascertain whether the acceptance of such inconveniences actually contributes to the war effort. The immediate acceptance of ideas and proposals made by the Government, the Civil Service Commission, or other body, is not in itself evidence of patriotism.[13]

By 1943 the CSAO found it necessary to increase the number of committees to deal with pressing civil service problems. For example, "...unrest among the rank and file with respect to inadequate remuneration; extension of working hours which brought about serious transportation problems; a Convention of the Civil Service Federation of Canada; and the passage of

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[13] CSAO, "Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Officers and Executive Council of the Civil Service Association of Ottawa for the Year 1942", in the Civil Service News (December 1942), p. 13.

numerous Orders in Council on Civil Service matters"[14] all added to the regular agenda of the CSAO.

In 1944, after the government employee associations had been agitating for a representative council for years, the National Joint Council (NJC) was created. "...On February 24, 1944, Finance Minister Ilsley announced in the House of Commons that [the] Treasury Board had decided to provide for the creation of a National Joint Council of the Public Service."[15] The associations had hoped that the NJC would be modelled after the National Whitley Council of 1919 in Britain. The Whitley Council was granted real powers to make agreements between both parties binding. Subsequently, however, the Canadian version became only an advisory body and the decision making control remained with the Cabinet, Treasury Board, CSC, and/or Parliament.[16]

The CSAO experienced steady membership growth throughout the war years. In 1940 the Organization and Membership Committee reported its membership to be 4,434, increasing to

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[14] CSAO, "Thirty-sixth Annual Report of the Officers and Executive Council of the Civil Service Association of Ottawa for the Year 1943", in the Civil Service News (December 1943), p. 2.

[15] Hodgetts, The Biography of an Institution, p. 194.

[16] For a more extensive analysis of the NJC refer to Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, pp. 123-133; Frankel, Staff Relations, pp. 51-109; Hodgetts, The Biography of an Institution, pp. 193-196. Note that Hodgetts argues that, "From its beginnings the Council amounted to little more than an attempt to put a damper on the flaming tempers of the times." p. 194.

4,736 in 1941. During 1942 there were 5,508 members and again this number jumped to 6,973 in 1943. In 1944 CSAO membership peaked for the war years totalling 8,411. In 1945, however, membership dropped to 7,121, which can be attributed to the post-war reduction of staff and the shuffling of remaining civil servants.[17] (See Appendix D) These figures indicate that the CSAO had approximately ten per cent of those civil servants employed in Ottawa as members. Of course there would have been other branches of civil servants organized under the Civil Service Federation of Canada. Unfortunately, without membership lists it is impossible to determine the percentage of male and female participation.

As well as membership in the CSAO there was opportunity for more active involvement by being a departmental and/or branch representative, by serving on the executive council and participating on special committees, or by being elected as an officer. Of the officers there was a President, (Mr. T.R. Montgomery was President of the CSAO for the entire wartime period), six Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer. The Standing and Special Committees included such Association interests as: Appeal Board Panel; Constitution; Cost of Living; Health and Welfare; Housing; Legislation; Organization

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[17] CSAO membership statistics were taken from the CSAO Annual Reports published in the Civil Service News, each December. See Appendix D.

and Membership; Superannuation; War Services; Post-War Problems and more. Fortunately the CSAO Annual Reports included lists of officers, committee participants and department and branch representatives which makes it possible to determine female involvement.[18]

Women were also active participants as CSAO departmental representatives and served on the special committees throughout the war years. As membership increased so did women's representation. At the outbreak of war only 14 percent of the departmental representatives were women but by 1945 women made up 34 per cent of this group. Women also improved their influence on the Executive from being 24 percent of the participants to 35 percent.[19] Consistently throughout the war years one of the six Vice Presidents was a woman.[20]

Predictably, women serving on the CSAO Special Committees were continually overrepresented as compared to men, on the

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[18] For a list of the women active in the CSAO during WWII and their contributions see Appendix E. This list was compiled by using the CSAO annual reports for the years 1939 to 1945 as found in the Civil Service News. Although I was unable to interview any of the 155 women on this list I have included it to demonstrate that women did play an active role in the CSAO. I also hope that it may assist other researchers.

[19] See Appendix D for a more complete analyses of women's CSAO active participation.

[20] It was not stated anywhere in the CSAO's constitution as amended to date, August 15, 1940 that a woman must hold one of the vice-president positions. See CSAO, "Constitution of the Civil Service Association of Ottawa", in the Civil Service News, Vol. 18, No. 8 (August, 1940), pp. 241-246.

"nurturing" committees such as Health and Welfare. In 1944 this entire committee was made up of women. Prior to 1944 the main responsibility of the Health and Welfare committee members was to visit ill CSAO members who did not have close family support while in the hospital or ill at home. Under the leadership of Miss Mona Cossitt (who also served as the Second Vice President of the CSAO), this committee escaped obscurity and expanded to a committee of several hundred members. During 1944 the Committee took upon itself three new challenges; the Rideau Military Hospital, magazine collections, and Red Cross and the Civic Hospital Aid.[21] (See Appendix E)

Of the many women who participated in the CSAO one woman, Edna Louise Inglis, stands out because of her obvious concern for women's issues and because it is possible to trace her activities through her writings in both The Civil Service Review and the Civil Service News. Inglis had been a civil servant since World War I and during WWII, she worked for the Civil Service Commission in Parliamentary Returns and Statistics. As well as writing for both of the civil service publications, she served on the Civil Service Federation of

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[21] Unfortunately I was unable to trace Mona Cossitt or the other two women of the same surname, M.J. Cossitt and Miss W.M. Cossitt, who were also active members in the CSAO during WWII. It is possible that these women left Ottawa and the civil service after the war and/or married and changed their names. For a list of these women's activities see Appendix E.

Canada and the CSAO's executives. During the early years of WWII Inglis served as the CSAO First Vice-President and participated on the CSAO Legislation Committee, Publicity and Editorial Committee, and chaired the Superannuation Committee. After 1940 Inglis became less active in the CSAO and more interested in working for the CSF. She was a founding member of the Halcyon Club, President of the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa, President of the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club in 1947/48, and a member of the Canadian-American Women's Joint Committee on International Relations which was a sub-organization of the International Labour Office.[22] Unfortunately it was not possible to locate any personal papers or records relating to Inglis. What is known of her was obtained through the publications mentioned above and other organizational records.

As a civil servant and a writer for employee organization publications, Edna Louise Inglis was concerned about women in the civil service as well as women in general. She dedicated space in her "Women's Pages" of The Civil Service Review to exploring the issues important to women in the civil service such as: CSC regulations; age limitations for women trying

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[22] William Doherty, Slaves of the Lamp: A History of the Civil Service Organizations, 1862-1924 (Victoria: Orca Book Publishing, 1991). In his book, Doherty made references to both E.L. Inglis and many of the community organizations listed above, pp. 159, 170, 190, 429, 441; unfortunately they were not accompanied with references.

civil service examinations; the needs and concerns of married women in the civil service; training, wages and work hours; cost of living; and, quality housing. As well as looking out for the interests of women, Inglis also encouraged and acknowledged women's contributions to the war effort. For example, she reported on the success of Canadian women at the International Typewritting Marathon and regularly boasted about the work women did on a volunteer basis, often in addition to their paid labour. Inglis' "Women's Pages" also offered advice in wardrobe planning, tips for entertaining, and included recipes. None of this information came across as being condescending but as helpful hints to the busy civil servant coping with the added stresses of war-time.

Reading Edna Louise Inglis' published material not only offered insight into her concerns and activities but also provided some indication of the goals of other civil servants and other women in general during the same time period. For example, Inglis reported that the Canadian-American Women's Joint Committee on International Relations agreed, "...that there were six things necessary if women were to make their right to work a practical as well as a theoretical one."[23] Inglis described their goals in 1943:

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[23] Edna L. Inglis, "The Canadian-American Women's Committee on International Affairs," in The Civil Service Review, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (March 1943), p. 102.

> (1) there must be enough jobs so that women will have the right and opportunity to do useful work; (2) there must be efficient and well staffed employment machinery; (3) there must be adequate vocational guidance, training and retraining facilities opened to women as well as to men; (4) there must be equal pay for equal work; (5) there must be adequate provisions for social security and protection for the health and welfare of the women workers; (6) the social arrangements that have made it possible during war for women to go out of the home (day nurseries, communal feeding, etc.) must be maintained.[24]

These concerns were presented to Canadian civil servants reading The Civil Service Review in a special feature article separate from Inglis' regular "Women's Pages".

The content of Inglis' article, written during WWII, once again raises the whole issue of women's demobilization in the post-war era. The concerns of these women do not indicate that they were eager to return solely to the traditional domestic role allotted them. J.E. Hodgetts and co-authors have also confronted this debate in their work on women in the civil service when they challenged Kathleen Archibald's assumption that many women were eager to return home immediately following the war's end.[25] As examined in earlier chapters, the post WWII era created conflicts for both the women working in the civil service and the government alike.

It appears that Edna Louise Inglis was an exceptional

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[24] Ibid., p. 102.

[25] Hodgetts, The Biography of an Institution, p. 487.

woman and civil servant. She was active in the civil service organizations and concerned herself with the well being of those working in this area and, in particular, female civil servants. Despite all of her civil service activities and contributions to community organizations, Edna Louise Inglis is absent from the Canadian Who's Who.

While interviewing, the most common response to questions about the CSAO was, "No. I never heard of it". I did manage to talk with two informants who thought that they may have been members during WWII. Mary wrote, "I believe I joined the Civil Service Association and attended some of their functions, but didn't continue with the Association due to lack of interest."[26] Joyce Shearer also thinks that she joined the CSAO. She believes that it was through the CSAO that she found out about the horse-back riding lessons she signed up for. Other than this activity Shearer was not an active member, although she did remember something about bulletins being published.[27] Not surprisingly, neither of these women's names were found in the CSAO annual reports. However, the name Miss M. Flowers did appear in the CSAO annual report for the year 1945. This woman served on the CSAO Convenors Committee, Magazine Group. (See Appendix E). In the correspon-

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[26] Mary, Correspondence, February 10, 1993.

[27] Joyce Shearer, Interview, October 20, 1992.

dence with May Flowers she stated that, "I do not recall the Civil Service Association of Ottawa particularly, or the Civil Service Federation of Canada, although the names are familiar."[28] For whatever reasons, the CSAO did not play an important role in these women's lives during WWII.

Like Mary and Joyce Shearer, many women said that they thought they were members of the government employee associations but further discussions revealed that they were members of the Ottawa Civil Service Recreational Association, more commonly referred to as the R.A. centre. The R.A. was organized in 1943 to provide numerous social and athletic activities to the civil servants of Ottawa. "The Department of Finance has permitted a deduction of the regular annual dues of $3.00 per year from the salaries of members, a large percentage of whom are among the lower paid clerical and stenographic classes."[29] Similar to other civil service associations, this organization kept its members informed by distributing publications, The R.A. News and The R.A. Weekly Bulletin. The R.A. was independent and was not affiliated with either the CSF or the CSAO in any way.

One informant, Elsa Lessard, was very interested in my findings on the CSAO. She was surprised that she was not

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[28] May H. Flowers, Correspondence, February 19, 1993.

[29] Cole, The Canadian Bureaucracy, p. 122.

aware of the organization and was suspicious of its legitimacy. As she looked over the list of the Association's active female members, she observed that, "none of these seem to be particularly of the Ottawa ruling class names. That seems kind of snobbish of me but I know them pretty well and, well these are the rank and file."[30] She went on to say, "That's good but it also tells me pretty well that they were just asked to go and sit on this thing because somebody in the higher ups said have this organization and we have to have people representing us. You're kinda fingered to go and do it."[31] Elsa Lessard also considered that her interpretation of this organization might be wrong stating that, "As I say, some of these people may be very important. I'm just saying that there are names that would hit me and I would know that that's so and so from the so and so's. I go way back in Ottawa. My great grandfather came in 1837."[32] It was difficult for her to accept that this was a rank and file organization rather than assuming that the members were important people that she did not recognize. All investigations thus far suggest that these CSAO members were of the rank and file civil service.

It is true that few of the women interviewed remember the

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[30] Elsa Lessard, Interview, September 24, 1992.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

employee organizations available to them during WWII, and the ones who remember anything seemed to have been involved only in recreational organizations. This phenomenon may be the result of the young age of the women interviewed and their transiency. Many of the young, single women new to Ottawa opted for activities which allowed them to form new social networks. Still, the numbers suggest that women played a more active role in the employee organizations, in particular the CSAO, than has been represented by these informants. (See Appendix D and Appendix E). Historically, however, women have not always found it easy to participate in labour organizations.

Women's lack of participation in unions or employee associations was not unusual for the WWII time period. Women have played a limited role in unionization in the United States, Britain and Canada. Most unions of the time represented industrial or "blue-collar" workers and were male-dominated. Many women did not get involved with the labour movement because they believed that their jobs were temporary and would only be necessary until marriage or until the end of WWII. Others resisted unionization on the premise that such groups were inappropriate for upwardly mobile, white collar employees.

Traditionally unions were male-dominated. Similar to the CSC's objection to women in the civil service, men in many

unions did not support female membership. In fact, male workers felt threatened by the competition created by women entering the work place and feared that their wages would decrease as a consequence of women working for lower remuneration. In the United States women's unionization experience encountered some encouragement and many disappointments. American women were encouraged to join unions with the formation of the Knights of Labor prior to 1900. Then they were stifled by the American Federation of Labor which believed that the best way to improve employment opportunities for men was to limit those for women. New hope for women's unionization arrived with the Roosevelt government's, New Deal, and the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.[33] In Canada prior to WWI, the Trades and Labor Congress supported a platform which called for women's exclusion from participation in industrial life.[34] During WWII male-dominated unions in Britain feared that the government conscription of women into industry threatened men's job security. The Trade Union Congress in Britain was more

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[33] All the information about the unionization of women in the United States was taken from, James J. Kenneally, "Women in the United States and Trade Unionism", in Norbert C. Soldon ed., The World of Women's Trade Unionism: Comparative Historical Essays (London: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 57-92.

[34] Ruth Frager, "No Proper Deal: Women Workers and the Canadian Labour Movement, 1870-1940", in Linda Briskin and Lynda Yanz eds., Union Sisters: Women in the Labour Movement (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1983), p. 51.

concerned with the treatment of its male members during WWII than women's rights. "In order to allay anxieties over the effects of dilution a Restoration of Pre-War Practices Act was passed in 1942 providing that practices abandoned by unions would be restored if desired after the war."[35] The fears directed at women in the work place were countered by unions integrating women into the organization and incorporating a platform of equal pay and other women's issues. "Despite changing values, working women still suffered injustices, often deliberately overlooked or even encouraged by union locals. Many rank-and- file members continued to oppose the employment of women, believing their domesticity made it unnatural."[36]

Women were also responsible for low levels of unionization. Some middle-class women entered the work force during WWII for patriotic reasons and did not perceive themselves as workers. They did not have the necessary empathy for women in

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[35] Norbert C. Soldon, Women in British Trade Unions-1874-1976 (Dublin: Gill and Macmillan Ltd., 1978), p. 154. For a more detailed account of the male dominance in unions in Britain and how this effected the women's branches struggle for acceptance, participation, and recognition also see Sarah Boston, Women Workers and the Trade Union Movement (London: Davis Poynter, 1980) and Norbert C. Soldon, "British Women and trade Unionism: Opportunities Made and Missed", in Norbert C. Soldon, The World of Women's Trade Unionism: Comparative Historical Essays (London: Greenwood Press, 1985) pp. 11-33.

[36] Kenneally, "Women in the United States and Trade Unionism", p. 80.

the work place to participate in employee association activities. Many women assumed they were just working for the duration of the war. Dr. Maynard remembered feeling that her work effort during WWII was temporary and she was excited to see it end.

> Looking at this time portion of my career and the careers of women, as I said, it's kind of a capsule. You know, encapsulated on either side of an event. ... And yet there was still a time factor that someday it would all be over. And then they [women] had to make the adjustment. It seemed to me that this is when so much, when we came back, immediately I can remember even making coats because I said I was going to get married and I'm going to get pregnant.[37]

In keeping with the research previously discussed about middle-class women's life cycle patterns, it was respectable for young single women to work prior to marriage.

Working-class women also often perceived their work force experience to be temporary even if they entered the work force and left only to re-enter later. For some of these women, marriage may have offered an alternative to the hard working conditions many experienced during WWII. Also these women were often young and single and led active social lives. Women from outside of the Ottawa area may have believed that they would continue to work but would stay in Ottawa only for the duration of the war. And if the women were married, then the extra responsibilities at home would demand much of their

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[37] Dr. Maynard, Interview, October 19, 1992.

spare time. In general labour organization was not an established tradition among female workers up to and during WWII. As one government employee publication recognized with regret: "Even more marked than the casual indifference of many male members of the service to the necessity of organization, is the ladylike indifference of the majority of the female civil servants."[38] But not all female civil servants working in Ottawa were indifferent, as evidence in Appendix E suggests. Quite a few were not only members of the CSAO but many played an active role as department representatives and/or on the Executive.

Many researchers have explained the difficulties of organizing women in clerical type jobs by stressing the nature of the work performed. Clerical workers in the private sector were often isolated from one another and did not have access to a union if they were so inclined.[39] However, female civil servants were numerous during WWII and they worked in large groups. They also had access to the CSAO if they were interested in joining. Perhaps the work that women were doing was not as fully organized as possible because the civil

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[38] Marjorie Gow, "Women, The Civil Service and Democracy or 'The Ladies God Bless 'Em'", in Civil Servants Digest-Organizer, Vol. 19, No. 10 (August 1940), p. 3.

[39] For clerical unionism see Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution, pp. 170-175. And, Julie White, Women and Unions (Ottawa: Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1980), p. 5.

service was considered a "white-collar" industry and the movement towards organization was slow and often relied on co-operation with the employer rather than militancy. Briskin argued that, "Since the late Sixties there has been an upsurge of unionization among government workers, teachers and hospital workers, many of whom are women."[40] It was not until the general rise of white-collar unionism in the 1960's that the civil servants were successful at forming a union, rather than an association.

In 1967 the Public Service Staff Relations Act, which created a collective bargaining system for the civil service, was accepted by the Treasury Board and the CSC.[41] "The big advance came in 1967 when collective bargaining was introduced in the federal civil service a year after two associations in the federal field had merged to form the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC)."[42] The Public Service Alliance of Canada was formed by the amalgamation of the Civil Service Federation and the Civil Service Association of Canada.[43]

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[40] Linda Briskin, "Women and Unions in Canada: A Statistical Overview", in Briskin & Yanz eds., Unions Sisters, p. 35.

[41] Hodgetts, The Biography of an Institution, p. 325.

[42] Paul Phillips and Erin Phillips, Women and Work: Inequality in the Labour Market (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, Publishers, 1983), p. 147.

[43] The Civil Service Association of Canada was formed in 1958 when the Civil Service Association of Ottawa and the Amalgamated Civil Servants of Canada merged. See Frankel,

"After the 1967 Act, 98,000 federal public service workers obtained, for the first time, the right to bargain collectively and to strike."[44] Within one year PSAC became the union with the fourth largest number of female members in Canada.[45]

Women's low participation level in the civil service associations was not unusual, considering only 10% of all civil servants were association members during WWII. Despite the CSC's objection to women in the civil service and many women's reluctance to view themselves as workers, women benefitted from the employee associations' activities. The

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Staff Relations in the Civil Service, p.28. And for a history of the Public Service Alliance of Canada see, Maurice Lemelin, The Public Service Alliance of Canada: A Look At A Union in the Public Sector (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations University of California, 1978).

[44] Michele Vermette, Women in the Public Service of Canada (Ottawa: Carleton University, School of Public Administration, B.A. 1981) p. 64.

[45] White, Women and Unions, p. 43. In 1968 women numbered 27,382 and by 1976 PSAC had 51,761 female members making it the union with third largest number of female members in Canada. In 1976, the union with the most female members was the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) totalling 89,183 and in second place was the Quebec Teachers Corporation with 61,373 female members. See Ibid., p. 25. The 1991 data reveals that the female membership of CUPE was 224,519 which was more than half of its total membership, 413,685. PSAC's total membership equalled 147,058 in 1991 and 69,548 of these members were women. 1991 figures taken from Canada, Statistics Canada, Annual Report of the Ministry of Industry, Science and Technology Under the Corporations ans Labour Unions Returns Act Part II - Labour Unions 1991 (Catalogue No. 71-202), (Ottawa: Minsistry of Industry, Science and Technology, 1993), p. 22.

women who did actively participate in the CSAO received recognition for themselves and women in general. For example, Edna Louise Inglis was interested in the well-being of working women and she used her position in both the CSAO and the CSF to bring attention to their plight. The increase in women's involvement in these associations during WWII offered women the opportunity to demonstrate their capabilities as Miss Cossitt did as chair of the CSAO Health and Welfare committee in 1944. Of course the opportunity for women's increased activity during the war may have been caused by men's lack of interest due to other war concerns. Whatever the reasons, women were active and visible in the civil service associations during WWII and in the 1960's when the rise of "white-collar" unionism became more acceptable. By that time, women were already part of the structure that became the Public Service Alliance of Canada.

CONCLUSION

Women's roles in unusual and non-traditional areas of employment have been the emphasis of research on women's participation during WWII. Writers have been particularly interested in women in industries that had been previously male-dominated such as the auto and electrical industries.[1] The research about women in active service has also added greatly to the awareness of women's unusual contributions during WWII.[2] Women and propaganda during WWII has been another area of fascination for writers of this period. These three main categories have probably attracted researchers because of the available sources: industry and union records; government and military documents as well as ex-service associations; and an abundance of magazines, newspapers, and films. This thesis about women in the Canadian federal civil service is a unique contribution to the body of work already available on women and WWII. The majority of women civil servants were not doing anything unusual - they were clerical workers. Prior to WWII clerical work had been established as women's work.[3] Unlike other sectors, the propaganda focused

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[1] A good example of research done on women in non-traditional work is Milkman, Gender at Work.

[2] See Pierson, "They're Still Women After All, and Gossage, Greatcoats and Glamour Boots.

[3] See Lowe, Women in the Administrative Revolution.

on women civil servants took the form of advertising rather than image promotion. Clerical work was already considered clean and respectable work for women, even more so when working for the federal government. It was only necessary to get the message out that women were needed and welcome.

Canadian women entered the federal civil service in unprecedented numbers when the opportunity presented itself with the outbreak of WWII. Women living in Ottawa at the time of war believed that they were fortunate to be offered civil service positions, if only on a temporary basis. Women across Canada lined up for the opportunity to write the civil service entrance exams when they were held in their region. Determined to work, because of their need for money or patriotism, these women actively pursued the necessary training to qualify themselves and then sought employment opportunities.

Once the employment opportunities for women improved across the country the government found it necessary actively to recruit women to Ottawa. Establishing the National Selective Service, eventually paying women's passage to and from Ottawa, providing stable lodgings in the Laurentian Terrace, relaxing the taxation rules and employment regulations regarding married women, and offering child care were all effective forms of persuasion. The government was successful at filling the expanding civil service positions most of the time, although it became an all consuming duty of

the Civil Service Commission. At the same time the government carefully controlled the feminization of the civil service and did not let women become too important in the running of the country. The majority of these women remained subordinate to the male decision makers.

The women who worked in Ottawa for the civil service were committed to their jobs. They put in long hours and coped well with the work-related stress and pressures and the frantic pace and urgency brought on by a government administering a war. The rapid expansion of the civil service during the war resulted in a poor working environment for many of these women regardless of their position. The buildings were often make-shift and old and crowded. Often the work spaces were also shared with non-human life forms. But working for the civil service in Ottawa was a new and welcomed employment opportunity for women whose career options had historically been limited. Many of these women found it difficult to accept that at the war's end they would be forced to return to the pre-war limitations.

Much of the secondary literature to date has argued that the decline of women in the labour force immediately following WWII was evidence that women were eager to return home at the

end of the war.[4] As stressed earlier, the research for this thesis demonstrates that many women's post-WWII decisions were made by considering complex issues and debates taking place during this era. During the war some women had been willing to keep their marital status a secret in order to maintain jobs. It would be naive to assume that this practice ceased with the end of WWII. Many women stated that they were frightened of returning to the poverty they experienced during the 1930's by leaving their jobs. Also, it was very common for women working in Ottawa during WWII to date and subsequently marry military men whose employment perspectives were uncertain at war's end. Sometimes the woman's civil service pay was higher than that of her military husband's. Women were also torn by the social pressures to relinquish their jobs for men returning from war duties. As well there was pressure to fulfil social expectations such as marriage, domesticity, childbearing and childrearing. Women's departure from the paid labour force and from civil service jobs in particular was not always the desired change.

The post-WWII dilemma of women civil servants was eased by the limitations of choice imposed on them by government policy. After the war the government cancelled all incentive

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[4] Archibald, Sex and the Public Service, p. 16. Also see Campbell, Women at War, and Hartmann, The Home Front and Beyond.

programs that had been intended to attract women to civil service jobs and reinstated all pre-war restrictions on the employment of women in the civil service. All this occurred despite the continuing requests from government departments for more office staff. The efforts and accomplishments of women during WWII had not influenced the government's attitude towards them as employees. Women continued to be restricted to the lowest levels of jobs and "...were not considered suitable for, or capable of, work at more responsible levels."[5] Many women civil servants were discouraged and resigned from their positions.

The social life of women working in the civil service varied depending on their social class and whether Ottawa was their home town or a new urban living experience. Most women who were from Ottawa were familiar and comfortable with their surroundings and the routine of the civil service. These women usually remained in the family home and their social lives and living conditions did not change greatly with the outbreak of WWII. The women new to the city of Ottawa found themselves in unfamiliar territory and in new living situations. They were forced to cope with the challenges of being lost a great deal of the time in the early days and living with the habits of unfamiliar people. Socially, these women experienced freedoms that might not have been allowed if they

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[5] Archibald, Sex and the Public Service, p. 14.

remained within their families' and communities' vision.[6] The class division in Ottawa remained intact for most of the families from the upper middle-class whose household head was often a career civil servant. For many other Ottawa residents, the social structure of the city began to change with WWII. Overcrowding in the streets, on the public transportation system and in stores and restaurants added tension for all those living in Ottawa. In general the exposure of working in the civil service with Canadians from all parts of the country broke down some of the barriers for the general rank and file workers, despite regional differences.

Canadian civil servants had successfully organized themselves into employee associations prior to WWII. The Civil Service Association of Ottawa was the largest of these associations for civil servants working in the capital. This organization was supported by increasing numbers of civil servants during WWII. Many of the CSAO's members were women and some women played an active role on the executive and on committees, as well as representing many government departments. It was unfortunate that these more active female association members were not traced for this project but their participation has been documented and may be pursued in further research. (See Appendices D and E) The achievement of

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[6] Summerfield and Crockett, "You weren't taught that with the welding".

this research is that women's participation has been clarified. Also it is apparent that the CSAO membership consisted of the rank and file civil servants that it represented. The membership of the CSAO was not elitist but a movement for the improvement of working conditions and job security for all civil servants.

Many of the women who worked for the civil service during WWII were strong, adventurous and independent. These women all worked for the same employer, the Government of Canada, although their experiences differed. The broad spectrum of informants from which this thesis drew was necessary to get a glimpse at the overall experiences of women working in the civil service in Ottawa during WWII. The contribution of these women enabled the government to focus its attention on the Canadian economy, industry and the military. The emphasis that has been put on research about women working in industry and in the military during WWII reflects the priority of the government at that time. Other areas of women's contribution during WWII that have been neglected to date include: the civil service and French-Canadians; the civil service and Ottawa society; the government employee organizations and women nation wide; and an investigation of women in the Canadian federal civil service across Canada during WWII. This thesis, about women working for the civil service in Ottawa during WWII, contributes to the information available

for a better understanding of women's wartime experiences.

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Radmore, Christine. Interview. August 19, 1992.

Ray, Merle. Interview. October 14, 1992.

Shearer, Joyce. Interview. October 20, 1992.

Appendix A

Appointments To Positions Under the Civil Service Act, by Sex, 1935-1950*

Year	Total Number	% Male	% Female
1935	3,176	77.7	22.3
1936	5,733	82.9	17.1
1937	7,811	84.2	15.8
1938	6,369	83.5	16.5
1939	9,137	77.8	22.2
1940	19,206	67.3	32.7
1941	31,043	53.6	46.4
1942	48,613	41.8	58.2
1943	56,206	34.6	65.4
1944	38,889	36.8	63.2
1945	41,007	46.4	53.6
1946	53,747	72.9	27.1
1947	33,338	72.6	27.4
1948	33,924	67.8	32.2
1949	32,187	68.1	31.9
1950	24,184	69.6	30.4

*Source: Table 2-2 in Stanislaw Judek, Women in the Public Service, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968.

Appendix B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS; FINDING INFORMANTS

WOMEN WORKING FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE IN OTTAWA DURING WWII

1) How did you become interested in a job with the civil service?
2) What was your motivation to seek employment?
   examples: (i) government incentives and/or recruitment
   (ii) job availability
   (iii) economic necessity
   (iv) other
3) What were the education requirements for employment?
4) What were the job opportunities for yourself and women in general?
5) What were the opportunities for career advancement?
6) How long did your career last?
7) What jobs did you hold during this time?
8) Did your job offer you any particular status?
9) How was status measured?
   (job, job title, money, working for pay)
10) What was your involvement with the Civil Service Association of Ottawa?
11) What kinds of contributions did you hope to make in CSAO?
12) Was your involvement with the CSAO helpful or harmful to your career?
13) How much influence do you think you had as a member of the CSAO?
14) How much influence do you think the CSAO had on the government?
15) What other memberships have you held?
16) How did your family feel about your choices?
   (civil service / CSAO)
17) Did you live at home with family or alone?
18) How did you spend your money?
19) Who did you socialize with?
   (work friends / CSAO friends / others)
20) What were your sources of entertainment?
21) Do you remember the war years being more or less socially active?
22) Who were your role model in life?
23) What were your expectations for your career?

X X X X X X

The informants who contributed to this thesis were found by using a variety of methods. From the beginning I knew that I was interested in talking with women who belonged to the government employee organizations; so, I consulted the Civil Service Association of Ottawa's Annual Reports. From this source a list was compiled of all the women actively participating in the CSAO during WWII. (See Appendix E). I then compared the list with the current Ottawa telephone book to see if any of the names corresponded. This approach produced little success. After all, most of the women working in the civil service during WWII were single and many were not from Ottawa; therefore, in the time since the war the names of these women would have changed due to marriage and others would have left the Ottawa area.

I then took the list of CSAO women to the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) and the Federal Superannuates National Association Inc., (FSNA). Mr. Claude Edwards, FSNA National President, agreed to have his staff compare my list of names with their membership files. I then wrote a letter to the few women whose names appeared in both places. Of course, FSNA did not release any personal information about these women to me. I simply wrote the letters and delivered them to the FSNA office. I also paid for postage. A few women did correspond with me as a result and some of these women were very helpful, whether they were the person that I was looking for or not. Unfortunately, not all the women approached were the women on the list; some of these women were too young and for others the names registered with the FSNA were their married names not their maiden names. As stated in Chapter 4, I was unable to officially interview any of these active CSAO women. However, as stated earlier, all the women were very cooperative about the project and I did correspond and receive assistance from some of these women as a result of this procedure.

The FSNA also generously placed a notice of "Request for Assistance" in its National Newsletter, On Guard, (Vol.30, No.3). Again, I received some much appreciated response.

Dave Brown, a columnist for the Ottawa Citizen, referred to my research in his column which provided me with new contacts. Unfortunately, he emphasized the issue of married women being officially restricted from civil service employment prior to 1955. As a result many of the calls I received were interesting but not directly related to my thesis topic.

Finding Edna Tyson Parson through her book, A Houseful of Canada, was a turning point in the research of this thesis. Both were great sources for information about women working in the civil service in Ottawa during WWII.

The most successful method used to finding informants for the research of my thesis was word of mouth. And, all the

work mentioned above contributed to starting this chain reaction. After meeting and talking with a few women my research became known and sometimes women would contact me but mostly I was referred to the friends and/or acquaintances of women I interviewed. Almost every woman I interviewed had a friend who had also worked for the government during WWII. Sometimes I was simply given the name of the friend and other times these women even approached the third party and introduced me to them.

This thesis could not have been successfully completed without the assistance of all these helpful people. I hope the information that I have used from my informants accurately represents their experiences. I appreciate them sharing their knowledge with me.

Appendix C

INFORMANTS INDEX (alphabetical order)

Isabel Marion Adey and (Helen) Jean Peterkin
Interview: November 22, 1992 2:30pm

Neither Isabel Adey nor Jean Peterkin worked for the civil service in Ottawa during WWII; however, these two sisters are Ottawa natives and they were very helpful explaining the social structure of the city at that time. These women also provided me with a different perspective about the war years in Ottawa. During WWII Isabel Adey worked for the British Security Co-ordination and Jean Peterkin worked as a secretary in the Technical High School.

Anne Harley Sedgewick Carver
Interview: November 5, 1992 10:00am

Anne Carver Completed her M.A. in History at Queen's University in 1939 and at Harvard in 1941. She later worked for the Wartime Prices and Trade Board from 1942 to its closure in 1946. During these years Anne Carver achieved a very high civil service position. Anne Carver's perspective on women in the civil service added a different dimension to this thesis. After WWII Anne Carver continued her civil service career with the Tariff Board until her marriage in 1951. Anne Carver has published her own brief story about her life and working experiences in an article, "What are we doing here?", in Still Running ... Personal stories by Queen's women celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Marty Scholarship, edited by Joy Parr.

Anna A. (Shields) Daze
Interview: August 19, 1992 1:30pm

Anna Daze moved into the city from the Ottawa Valley in 1941 to work for the Department of National Defence, Airforce branch. She was just seventeen years of age at this time and fortunate to have relatives living in Ottawa with whom she could board. Anna Daze worked as a civil servant until 1946 when she was required to resign because she married. Unfortunately I had difficulty with the tape recording so there are no direct quotes from Anna Daze. She was a warm, open and generous contributor of information to this paper.

May H. Flowers
Correspondence: February 19, 1993

May Flowers left Moose Jaw, Saskatchewan and her job in a law office in 1940 to start her second career as a civil servant. She was hired in Ottawa as a Grade 1A Stenographer for the Dependants' Allowance Board earning $90.00 per month. She later worked as a legal secretary, still within the civil service, and then a Private Secretary for a Chairman of the Board. During the war she also supervised stenography pools. At the war's end May Flowers decided to stay in Ottawa and pursue a civil service career. She was hired by the Department of National Revenue, Income Tax Branch, and worked as a Tax Collections Officer and an Administrative Officer. May Flowers stayed with this department for twenty-five years before retiring.

(Florence) Amy Goldsmith
Correspondence: February 3, 1993

Amy Goldsmith left her school teaching career in Saskatchewan to work in Ottawa for the Department of Finance, Victory Loan Division, from April 1942 until September 1944. She started her job as a Clerk Grade 2 earning $90.00 per month and did not remember if there was opportunity for advancement. In 1944 when it was apparent to her that the war was going to end soon, she returned home to Regina. Amy Goldsmith later returned to the federal civil service as a stenographer for the Department of Veterans Affairs.

Carolyn (O'Malley) Hibberd
Interview: October 19, 1992 1:30pm

Carolyn Hibberd left Queen's University in Kingston with the outbreak of war to return home to Ottawa and to make a contribution in the war effort. In 1940 she was hired by the Royal Canadian Air Force where she stayed until her marriage in 1946. During this time she managed to work herself up from a Clerk Grade 1 to a Clerk Grade 3. She took on the responsibilities of someone in an even higher position, but as a civilian working in the military, she could not be promoted beyond her position because the next promotion would go to an officer.

Elsa D. Lessard
Interview: September 24, 1992 7:00pm

Elsa Lessard was born and raised in Ottawa. She began working in the civil service in November 1940, immediately after graduating from high school at eighteen years of age. She worked for the Department of Finance from 1940 to 1943 working her way from a Clerk Grade 1 position to a Clerk Grade 3. In 1943 Elsa Lessard joined the Navy and was trained as a wireless operator. She was not discharged when she married and she stayed with the Navy until the end of WWII. After the war Elsa Lessard worked in the private sector.

Elizabeth J. Lloyd
Interview: September 29, 1992 10:30am

Elizabeth Lloyd was born and raised in Ottawa. Her father had been a career civil servant. After completing high school and one year of commerce courses Elizabeth Lloyd worked in the parliamentary press gallery before she began to pursue a civil service career. Her first civil service job was with the Department of Insurance and later she became the secretary to the Priorities Officer for Munitions and Supply; the latter position lasted for the duration of the war. After WWII Elizabeth Lloyd continued her civil service career until she retired in 1974.

Edith L. Lorentsen
Interview: June 18, 1992 10:00am

Edith Lorensten graduated from the University of Saskatchewan with a degree in Latin and English. She worked in the west before the outbreak of war and in August 1942 Edith Lorensten moved to Ottawa to pursue a career in the civil service. She started with the Department of Labour as a Clerk Grade 3. During the war years she worked for the Director of Manpower responsible for encouraging the training and recruitment of technical and scientific personnel. Later she became an assistant to the Deputy Minister which lasted into the post war years. Edith Lorensten had a successful civil service career which lasted twenty-seven years, all within the same department.

Mary (Did not wish to be identified)
Correspondence: February 1993

Mary graduated from high school in 1937 with courses in stenography. In 1940 she left P.E.I to accept a civil service job as a Stenographer Grade 2 in Ottawa. She worked as a secretary in the civil service until 1945 when she left to work in the private sector until marriage.

Dr. Grace Maynard
Interview: October 19, 1992 10:00am

In 1941 Dr. Maynard left her University education and her home in Scott, Saskatchewan to join her sister working in the civil service in Ottawa. Her first civil service job was as a secretary for the Inspection Board of the United Kingdom and Canada; later she became the assistant to the woman in charge of Women's Welfare. In this position she toured industries and reported on the conditions of women workers. In 1945 Dr. Maynard left Ottawa to go overseas with the Red Cross. She later resumed her educational goals and eventually completed her PhD.

Shirley Maxwell
Correspondence: February 11, 1993

Shirley Maxwell moved from Saskatchewan to work for the government in Ottawa in August 1940. Her first job as a civil servant was in the Department of National Defense for the Air Force. Her qualification for this job included her graduation from high school and one year of commercial courses. Shirley Maxwell started as a Clerk Grade 1 and was quickly promoted to Clerk Grade 2 and eventually Clerk Grade 3. When the war ended so did her civil service career and Shirley Maxwell returned home to Saskatchewan. Eventually she moved to Vancouver where she returned to the work but in the private sector.

Frances (Keith) McLean
Interview: October 26, 1992 10:00am

After completing her honours degree in economics and philosophy from the University of Saskatchewan in 1941, Frances McLean applied to work for the government. The interview between the informant and myself took place exactly fifty years from the day she reported to the Civil Service Commission in Ottawa to receive her placement. Frances McLean worked in the research section of the Wartime Prices and Trade Board from October 1942 to 1946. Her duties were in the area of Comparative Studies. She was one of the researchers who kept the department informed about other countries' prices and cost of living indexes. After the closure of this department in the post war era, Frances McLean stayed with the Canadian government and worked as a researcher for Statistics Canada.

Peggy (Paquette) Nitschky
Telephone Interview: March 25, 1992

Peggy Nitschky went to work in the civil service right after graduation from grade twelve. She worked as a civilian for the Canadian Navy in the signal division in 1944. She was trained for her duties on the job and does not remember acquiring any related job skills prior to employment. Although her civil service career began quite close to the war's end she was able to stay with the job until 1950. Peggy Nitschky did not return to the civil service in a permanent capacity after marriage, but she did work occasionally on some short term projects.

Edna Tyson Parson
Author: A Houseful of Canada

Edna Tyson Parson arrived in Ottawa on May 8, 1939. She was not happy about the move from Saskatchewan but the Federal Government was the only organization offering her employment at the time. Edna Tyson Parson started working for the Civil Service Commission as a Stenographer Grade 1 and was promoted to a Stenographer Grade 3 before she left to be married in November 1942. Although she often referred to being homesick she was not alone in Ottawa for long; both of her sisters, June and Elsie, also took jobs with the civil service during WWII.

Christine (Currie) Radmore
Interview: August 19, 1992 10:00am

Christine Radmore moved to Ottawa from P.E.I in August 1941. She worked for the Department of Health and Welfare in the Bureau of Statistics. Her first job involved working on the 1941 census and later she worked in the vital statistics division. Christine Radmore married in 1953 but obtained permission to continue on at the Bureau which she did until her first pregnancy.

Merle Ray
Interview: October 14, 1992 1:00pm

Merle Ray was born in Hastings Ontario. After two years of Continuing School Merle Ray attended business school in Belleville before entering the civil service. She worked for the Department of National Defence at Army Headquarters from August 1940 to 1947 when she left Ottawa of her own accord. During WWII Merle Ray was promoted from a Stenographer Grade 1 to a Stenographer Grade 2. Merle Ray later returned to the Department of National Defence. In total Merle Ray worked twenty-seven years as a civil servant.

Appendix D

Joyce Shearer
Interview: October 20, 1992 1:00pm

Joyce Shearer graduated high school and attended one year of business college prior to being old enough to be admitted to teacher's college. Unfortunately there were few teaching positions in Ottawa during WWII and Joyce Shearer took a job in the civil service. She worked for the Department of National Defence for the Master General of the Ordinates from 1939 to 1948 when she was required to leave upon marriage. During WWII she was promoted from a Clerk Grade 1 to a Clerk Grade 4. Since Joyce Shearer lived in Ottawa all of her life she was able to provide valuable information about the social structure of the city during WWII.

Active Female Participation in the CSAO During WWII*

Year	Total CSAO Membership	CSAO Department Representatives			CSAO Executive		
		TOTAL	FEMALE	PERCENT	TOTAL	FEMALE	PERCENT
1939	4285	109	15	13.8	29	7	24.1
1940	4434	122	20	16.4	32	6	18.8
1941	4736	134	30	22.4	42	12	28.6
1942	5508	147	29	19.7	40	9	22.5
1943	6973	165	50	30.3	44	15	34.1
1944	8411	192	61	31.8	59	20	33.9
1945	7121	200	67	33.5	65	23	35.4

*The information used to create this table was obtained from the CSAO Annual Reports that were published in each December issue of the Civil Service News.

Appendix E

FEMALE REPRESENTATIVES AND EXECUTIVES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF OTTAWA DURING WWII

Note: As found in the CSAO Annual Reports for the years 1939-1945

Abdallah, Miss I.
- Navy, Naval Personnel Records
  2733 Navy Bldg., 1944
  2710 Navy Bldg., 1945

Adams, Miss M.E.
- Trade and Commerce, Commercial Intelligence Service
  162 West Block, 1941, 1942

Addison, Ruth
- Mines & Resources, Forest Service
  4th Floor Norlite Bldg., 1945
- CSAO Adjustment Committee, 1945

Agulnik, Miss
- CSAO Cost of Living Committee, 1942

Aitkins, Miss K.
- Munitions and Supply, General Purchasing Branch
  2253 No. 2 Temporary Bldg., 1944
  2204 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Andrews, Mrs. J.
- Agriculture, Administration
  Experimental Farm, 1944
- Agriculture, Science Services
  Experimental Farm, 1945

Aubrey, Miss M.
- Public Works Department, Chief Architect's Br.
  952 Hunter Bldg., 1944

Ayotte, Miss M.
- Auditor General's Office, National Defense
  314 Canadian Bldg., 1941, 1942
- CSAO Superannuation Committee, 1941, 1942, 1943

Bawden, Miss C.L.
- Munitions and Supply, Munitions Contracts Br.
  1145 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1943
  1148 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1944
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Beaupre, Miss I.M.
- Pensions and National Health, Canada Pension Commission
  416A Daly Bldg., 1940, 1941
  428A Daly Bldg., 1942
  433 Daly Bldg., 1943
- CSAO Adjustment Committee 1941, 1942
- CSAO Legislation Committee. 1942
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1943

Benedict, Miss M.
- Department of Finance, Cheque Disbursement Br.
  No. 5 Temp., Bldg., 1945

Bentley, Miss M.A.
- Auditor-General's Office
  317 Confederation Bldg., 1939
- CSAO Superannuation Committee, 1939

Berthiaume, Miss R.
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Best, Miss E.
- Labour Department, Labour Legislation
  182 Confederation Bldg., 1944

Blackburn, Miss A.
- Board of Transport Commissioners
  3rd Floor Union Station, 1941

Bonell, Miss V.S.
- Navy, Personnel
  2837 Navy Bldg., 1944

Bochsler, Miss Anne
- Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Enforcement Br.
  Birks Bldg., 1942, 1943
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1943, 1944

Bruce, Miss E.
- Munitions and Supply, Wartime Industries Control Board
  2225 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., Wellington Street, 1941

Buckley, Miss H.
- Trade and Commerce, Bureau of Statistices, Vital Statistics
  3rd Floor Sussex Street, 1939

Burke, Miss E.
- National Defence, Army, Records Br.
  D208 No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Burke, Miss M.
- External Affairs, Eats Block
  East Block, 1944, 1945

Calderwood, Miss L.
- Agriculture, Health of Animals
  756 Confed›ration Bldg., 1944, 1945

Campbell, Miss Jean
- Income Tax, Head Office
  No. 6 Temp. Bldg., 1944

Caron, Miss L.
- CSAO Convenors, Concert Group, 1945

Carruthers, Miss M.
- Munitions and Supply, Equipment Division
  1228 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1942
- Munitions and Supply, Anti-Gas Division
  1224 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Casey, Miss Ellen
- Transport Department, Railway Commission
  3rd Floor Union Station, 1939, 1940
- Joint Chairman, CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1939
- Chairman, CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1940
- Third Vice-President CSAO, 1941
- Board of Transportation Commissioners, 1941
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1941, 194', 1944

Chisolm, Miss M.G. (Mabel)
- Munitions and Supply, Shipbuilding Br.
  370 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1944
  202 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1945
- Chairman, CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1945

Clark, Miss M.
- Navy, Central Registry
  1410 Navy Bldg., 1944
  1204 Navy Bldg., 1945

Clarke, Miss E.
- Trade and Commerce, Vital Statistics
  1st Floor, Sussex St., 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942
- Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Vital Statistics
  D.B.S. Sussex St., 1943, 1944, 1945

Clarke, Mrs. W.
- Munitions and Supply, Stenographic Pool
  2203 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1943
  2205 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1944
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Clarke, Mrs. Yvonne
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944
- CSAO Convenors, Visitation Group,
  Rideau Military Hospital, 1945

Cole, Miss P.
- Income Tax, Head Office
  No. 6 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Cooper, Mrs. Margaret
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Cossitt, Miss J.M.
- CSAO Temporaries Committee, 1940
- National Revenue, Customs & Excise, Collections & Audit
  514 Connaught Bldg., 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945
- Fifth Vice-President, CSAO, 1941
- CSAO Temporaries Committee, 1941
- CSAO War Work Committee, 1941
- Third Vice-President, CSAO, 1942
- Chairman, CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1942
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1942, 1943
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Cossitt, Miss Mona
- CSAO War Servcies Committee, 1942
- Munitions and Supply, 1943
- Third Vice-President, CSAO, 1943
- Chairman, CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1943, 1944
- Munitions and Supply, Production & Stores Accounts
  155 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1944
- Second Vice-President, CSAO, 1944
- CSAO Constitution and By-Laws Committee, 1944
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1944
- CSAO National Joint Council Committee, 1944
- Muntions and Supply, Accounting Div., Comptroller's Br.
  12 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1945

- First Vice-President, CSAO, 1945
- CSAO Civics Committee, 1945
- Chairman, CSAO war Services Committee, 1945

Cossit, Miss W.M.
- Agriculture, "Fifth Floor"
  505 Confederation Bldg., 1940
- National Defense, British Commonwealth Air Training
  3rd Floor Arcade Bldg., Sparks Street, 1941
  Jackson Bldg., 1942
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1941, 1942
- CSAO Housing Committee, 1942
- CSAO Organization and Membership Committee, 1942
- Chairman, CSAO Finance Committee, 1945

Cox, Miss N.
- National Defense, Air Force
  No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1944

Coyle, Miss R.
- CSAO Convenors, Visitation Group,
  Rideau Military Hospital, 1945

Crabbe, Miss D.
- CSAO Organization and Membership Committee, 1939

Cuthbertson, Miss E.R.
- Mines and Resources, Mines Bureau
  35 Ind. Mineral Bldg., 1943, 1944

Davidson, Miss E.
- Navy, Signals Division
  3619 Navy Bldg., 1944

Davidson, Miss M.I.
- Post Office, Money Orders
  801 Blackburn Bldg., 1943

Davis, Miss G.
- Munitions and Supply, Securities Division
  30 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Davis, Miss Mary
- Auditor General's Office, "Third Floor"
  305 Confederation Building, 1940

Dell, Mrs L.
- Department of Finance, D.A. & A.P.
  Records Bldg., Experimental Farm, 1943, 1944, 1945

Deschamps, Miss R.
- Finance Dept., Cheques Adjustment & Superannuation
  378 East Block, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942
  379 East Block, 1943
  3rd Floor Birks Bldg., 1944, 1945
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1940, 1941, 1942

Diver, Miss M.S.
- Auditor General's Office, Examination Br.
  Insurance Exchange Bldg., 1944, 1945

Droeske, Miss E.
- Post Office, Commission Warrants and Central Records
  631 Blackburn Bldg., 1939, 1940, 1941, 1943

Duff, Miss M.E.
- Secretary of State, Copyright and Trademark Division
  413 Trafalgar Bldg., or Patent Office 2090, 1939 to 1945
- Sixth Vice-President, CSAO, 1940
- CSAO War Work Committee, 1940

Duffus, Miss D.
- Munition and Supply, Main Stenographer's Pool
  1119 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Dufour, Georgette
- Post Office, Equipment and Supply
  New Terminal Bldg., Besserer and Sussex St., 1939
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1939
- CSAO Superannuation Committee, 1939

Dugas, Miss M.M.
- Public Works, Chief Architects Br.
  966 Hunter Bldg., 1939, 1940, 1941

Dulaney, Mrs. E.D.
- Munitions and Supply, Auto & Tank Product Br.
  215 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1943
  207 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1944
  368 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Duncan, Miss E.M.
- National Defence, Printing and Stationary Br.
  Elgin Bldg., 1943

Dutney, Miss N.
- Navy, Naval Stores
  4413 Navy Bldg., 1944
  2410 Navy Bldg., 1945

Eatman, Miss C.
- National Defense, Army, D.A.B.
  Records Bldg., 1945

Eatmon, Miss B.
- Munitions and Supply, Overseas Accounting
  57 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1944
- Munitions and Supply, Mutual Aid Acc. Div. Comptroller Br.
  9 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Felske, Lillian
- National Defense, Air Force, Treasury
  No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1945
- CSAO Health Insurance and State Medicine Committee, 1945

Ferguson, Miss M.L.
- Munitions and Supply, Statistics Division
  B189 No. 3 Bldg., 1942, 1943
  8 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1944
  7 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Flower, Miss M.
- CSAO, Convenors, Magazine Group, 1945

Fowler, Mrs. L.
- Munitions and Supply, Signals Production Br.
  144 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1944, 1945

Freedman, Miss J.
- CSAO, Convenors, Visitation Group
  Rideau Military Hospital, 1945

Gallagher, Mrs. S.B.
- Munitions and Supply, Rubber & Steel Controls
  B2109 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Gamble, Mrs. J.R.
- National Defence, Air Force, Administration
  3030 Lisgar Bldg., 1944, 1945

Gianetto, Miss S.
- National Defence, Contracts Branch
  Jackson Bldg., 1943
  214 Canadian Bldg., 1944, 1945

Gordon, Miss M.E.
- Munitions and Supply, Administration
  A112 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., Wellington St., 1941
- Munitions and Supply, Purchasing Br.
  1107 No. 3 Bldg., 1942
- Munitions and Supply, Administration
  1107 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1943, 1944
  2253 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Graham, Miss Lois
- Munitions and Supply, Personnel Br.
  2115 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1943, 1944, 1945

Hagan, Miss M.V.
- Agriculture, Health of Animals
  758 Confederation Bldg., 1942
  756 Confederation Bldg., 1943, 1944, 1945

Harbottle, Miss J.S.
- Navy, Naval Stores
  2444 Navy Bldg., 1944

Helmar Miss D.
- Public Works, Treasury
  628 Hunter Bldg., 1943
- Transport Department, Records
  436 Hunter Bldg., 1944, 1945

Henry, Mrs. C.L.
- National Defence, Records (Army)
  238A No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Herriot, Miss M.H.
- Labour Department, Statistics
  182 Confederation Bldg., 1943
- CSAO Post-War Problems Committee, 1943
- CSAO National Joint Council, 1944
- CSAO Rehabilitaion and Post-War Problems, 1944

Hickman, Miss M.
- Munitions and Supply, Coal Control
  2215 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1945
- CSAO Convenors, Magazine Group, 1945

Holliday, Miss N.
- CSAO Convenors, Concert Group, 1945

Hughes, Mrs. M.J.
- Munitions and Supply, Economic & Stationery Br.
  A102 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1944

Inglis, Edna Louise
- Civil Service Commission, 1939
- First Vice-President, CSAO, 1939
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1939
- CSAO Publicity and Editorial Committee, 1939
- Chairman, CSAO Superannuation Commitee, 1939
- Honourary Vice President, CSAO, 1940

Jack, Miss Helen
- Munitions and Supply, Comptroller's Br.
  178 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1943, 1944
  307 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1945
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Janssens, Miss E.J.
- Munitions and Supply, Arsenals & S.A.A. Br.
  246 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1944
  248 No. 4 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Johnson, Miss S.
- Navy, Civilian Personnel
  2304 Navy Bldg., 1944

Johnston, Miss Ada
- Health Insurance and State Medicine Committee, 1943

Kalil, Miss M.
- Munitions and Supply, Munitions Contracts Br.
  1140 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Kennelly, Miss Morna
- Mines and Resources, Forest Service
  509 Narlite Bldg., 1940, 1941

Kerr, Miss Mabel
- Post Office, Enquiries and Adjustments
  231 Blackburn Bldg., 1940, 1941, 1942

Kilmury, Miss L.V.
- Munitions and Supply, Construction Br.
  1225 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., Wellington Street, 1941
- Munitions and Supply, Tank Production and Sub-contracts
  1147 No. 3 Bldg., 1942
- Munitions and Supply, Construction Br.
  1147 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Kuzmics, Miss B.
- Navy, Photographic Section
  1712 Navy Bldg., 1944

Lachapelle, Miss L.B.
- Munitions and Supply, Controller of Supplies
  2124 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Lake, Mrs. R.
- National Revenue, Income Tax (Head Office)
  402 Bate Bldg., 1940
  No. 3 Temp. Bldg., Wellington Street, 1941
  No. 6 Temp. Bldg., 1942, 1943
- CSAO Housing Committee, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944
- CSAO Superannuation Committee, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1942
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1943, 1944
- CSAO Agenda Committee, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Appeal Board Panel, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Rehabilitation and Postwar Problems Committee, 1944
- CSAO National Joint Council Advisory Committee, 1945

Laventure, Miss J.
- Munitions and Supply, Auditor General's Office
  B143 No. 2 Temp Bldg., 1944, 1945

Lauterman, Mrs. F.L.
- Munitions and Supply, Uniforms Division
  1222 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1944
- Munitions and Supply, General Purchasing Br.
  2181 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Leaver, Miss K.
- Department of Agriculture, Seed Br.
  641 Confederation Bldg., 1942
  640 Confederation Bldg., 1943, 1944, 1945

Lefebvre, Miss C.
- CSAO Convenors, Visitation Group,
  Rideau Military Hospital, 1945

Little, Miss M.A.
- Post Office, P.M. Accounts
  501 Blackburn Bldg., 1944, 1945

Lodge, Mrs. F.L.
- Agriculture, Production Service
  541 Confederation Bldg., 1945

Lutes, Miss Fay
- Mines and Resources, Ore Dressing Lab.
  Booth Street, 1945

Macfarlane, Miss J.
- Trade and Commerce, Electricity and Gas Inspection
  1031 National Research Bldg., 1939, 1940, 1941

MacGuire, Miss E.B.
- Transport Commissioners
  Union Station Bldg., 1943

MacIntyre, Mrs. M.
- Munitions and Supply, General Purchasing Br.
  2237 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

MacKay, Miss G.
- Navy, Naval Service
  72 Queen Street, 1945

Mackie, Miss J.S.
- National Defence, Printing & Stationery Br.
  Elgin Bldg., 1943, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1944

Mathews, Miss H.
- Munitions and Supply, Oversees Accounts
  1 No. 1 Temp Bldg., 1943
  57 No. 1 Temp Bldg., 1944
- Munitions and Supply, Mutual Aid Acc. Div. Comptroller Br.
  9 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1945

McCuaig, Miss C.
- National Defence, Navy, Naval Service
  411 Robinson Bldg., 1942
  2510 New Navy Bldg., 1943, 1944, 1945

McFarlane, Miss R.L.
- Munitions and Supply, Requisitions & Progress
  B45 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1943

McGregor, Miss H.
- Post Office, Rail Mail Service
  449 Langevin Block, 1939

McGuire, Miss Excella B.
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1939, 1940, 1941
- CSAO Organization and Membership Committee, 1943

McIlmoyle, Miss
- CSAO Cost of Living Committee, 1943

McKay, Miss C.
- Navy, Naval Service
  301A Robison Bldg., 1944

McLean, Mrs. J.M.
- Munitions and Supply, Administration Munitions Contracts
  1166 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1945

McLean, Miss Mary
- Auditor General's Office, Finance-National Defence (Army)
  413 Aylmer Bldg., 1943, 1944
- National Defence, Army, Adjutant General's Br.
  2263 No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1945

McMeekin, Miss Bertha
- Pensions and National Health, Treasury Br.
  5th Floor Daly Bldg., 1943, 1944
- Veterans Affairs, Treasury
  5th Floor Daly Bldg., 1945
- CSAO Housing Committee, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Health Insurance and State Medicine Committee, 1945
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1945

McNeely, Miss H.
- CSAO Convenors, Magazine Group, 1945

McNulty, Miss A.E.
- Trade and Commerce, Mining and Metallurgical
  3rd Floor, Sussex Street, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942
  2030 No. 7 Temp. Bldg., 1943, 1944
- CSAO Superannuation Committee, 1939
- CSAO Cost of Living Committee, 1941, 1942
- Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Mining & Metallurgical
  E.D. B.S. Sussex Street, 1945

McOustra, Miss G.J.
- Post Office, Office Service
  831 BlackBurn Building, 1939, 1940

McQuarrie, Miss Jean
- Secretary of State, West Block
  347 West Block, 1941

Miller, Miss R.E.
- Munitions and Supply, Metals Control
  228 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Morris, Mrs. H.
- CSAO Convenors, Magazine Group, 1945

Morrison, Miss I.
- Agriculture, "Fifth Floor"
  512 Confederation Bldg., 1941
- CSAO War Work Committee, 1941

Muldoon, Miss E.
- National Defence, A.M.S. - D.P.E. (Air)
  515 Jackson Bldg., 1943

Murphy, Miss Theresa
- Department of Reconstruction, Secretary's Br.
  1107 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Nathanson, Miss B.
- Navy, Directorate of Plans
  3208 Navy Bldg., 1944

O'Connor, Miss E.
- Agriculture, Health of Animals
  756 Confederation Bldg., 1940, 1941

O'Malley, Miss F.
- Navy, Trade and Intelligence
  3540 Navy Bldg., 1944

O'Neill, Miss E.R.
- Agriculture, Production Service
  522 Confederation Bldg., 1944

Ouellette, Miss B.
- Navy, Directorate of Officer Personnel
  2630 Navy Bldg., 1945

Paul, Miss E.
- Munitions and Supply, Order Writing Section
  24 No. 1 Bldg., Wellington Street, 1941

Payne, Miss K.M.
- National Defence, Army, Records Br.
  E206 No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Percival, Mrs. W.
- Navy, Naval Service
  2510 New Navy Bldg., 1944

Phillip, Miss J.
- Mines and Resources, Geodetic Services
  980 Carling ave., 1943
  Observatory Bldg., 1944, 1945

Rainboth, Miss M.
- Department of Fiance, D.A. & A.P. Personnel
  330 Records Bldg., 1943, D.A.B., 1944

Randall, Miss Dorothy A.
- Mines and Resources, Forest Products Laboratories
  Isabella and Metcalfe Station, 1940 to 1944
- CSAO War Work Committee, 1941
- CSAO Housing Committee, 1943, 1944, 1945

Reid, Miss M.
- Mines and Resources, Mines Bureau
  Lydia Rochester Station, 1941

Reynolds, Miss D.
- CSAO Housing Committee, 1943, 1944, 1945

Ross, Miss L.M.
- Post Office, Money Order Mechanical "9th Floor"
  9th Floor Blackburn Bldg., 1943

Ryan, Margaret
- National Revenue, Income Tax (District Office)
  120 Jackson Bldg., 1939
  New Supreme Court Bldg., 1940, 1942

Rylance, Margaret
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1945

Salley, Miss Leola
- National Revenue, Income Tax (District Office)
  New Supreme Court Building, 1941, 1942

Saulter, Miss M.
- Mines and Geology, Bureau of Mines
  Lydia and Rochester Streets, 1939

Scott, Miss Bertha V.
- Transport Department, Civil Aviation
  110 Bryson Building, 1940 to 1945

Sikomas, Miss K.
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1943, 1944

Slinn, Miss Dorothy
- Mines and Resources, Mines Bureau
  Lydia and Rochester Station, 1940
  Industrial Minerals Bldg., 1945

Smith, Miss E.A.
- Agriculture, Fruit Br.
  707 Confederation Bldg., 1943, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Housing Committee, 1944
- CSAO Rehabilitation and Post-war Problems, 1944
- CSAO Adjustment Committee, 1945
- CSAO Constitution and By-Laws, 1945

Smith, Miss Jean
- Public Works Department, Chief Architect's Br.
  962 Hunter Bldg., 1945

Smith, Miss M.E.
- National Defence, Army, Records Br.
  A225 No. 8 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Stinell, Mrs. G.E.
- Munitions and Supply, Statistics
  B189 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1943

Stocker, Miss M.
- Auditor General's Office, Finance - M & S
  10 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1943
  8 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1944, 1945

Strachan, Miss E.
- Income Tax, Head Office
  2057 No. 6 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Sulkers, Miss M.J.
- Munitions and Supply, Comptroller of the Treasury
  A141 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Swain, Miss E.
- Munitions and Supply, Comptroller's Br.
  210 No. 1 Temp. Bldg., 1945

Waddell, Miss W.
- Munitions and Supply, Stenographic Pool
  2189 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., Wellington Street, 1941
  2205 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1942

Walker, Miss M.V.
- Munitions and Supply, Order Writing Section
  123 No. 3 Temp. Bldg., 1942

Welsh, Miss Marion
- Civil Service Commission, Examination Br.
  176 Hunter Bldg., 1942, 1943
- CSAO Health and Welfare Committee, 1943, 1944
- Agriculture, Botany, Administration etc.,
  Experimental Farm, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Agenda Committee, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Oranization and Membership Committee, 1944, 1945
- CSAO Traffic Committee, 1944

Wharrey, Miss J.S.
- Post Office, Railway Mail Service
  449A Langevin Bldg., 1940, 1941, 1942
  230 Langevin Block, 1943
- CSAO Legislation Committee, 1941

Wilson, Miss L.
- CSAO Convenors, Visitation Group,
  Rideau Military Hospital, 1945

Wright, Miss S.
- Munitions and Supply, Contracts
  1193 No. 2 Temp. Bldg., 1942

Young, Miss I.
- Wartime Prices and Trade Board
  Birks Bldg., 1943
- Wartime Prices and Trade Board, Comptroller's Br.
  490 Sussex Street, 1944, 1945

Young, Miss V.
- Post Office, Postal Note & Money Order Section
  801 Blackburn Bldg., 1941, 1942, 1943