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Submissions
The Graduate History Review is a peer-reviewed, open access journal published by graduate students at the University of Victoria. We welcome articles and research notes from emerging scholars in all historical disciplines. Submission guidelines are available at: http://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/ghr/about/submissions

Front Cover Image
Bus with sign from *Our Story* booklet published by Women Rally for Action. Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

Back Cover Image
Women Rally for Action poster. Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

A Note on the Type
This journal is laid out in the Crimson Text typeface, designed by Sebastian Kosch. http://fonts.google.com/specimen/Crimson+Text

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President's Message

I am delighted to introduce the 10th volume of the University of Victoria's *The Graduate History Review*.

The journal features exceptional graduate researchers and scholars. This year's excellent collection of articles spans our local and global communities, exploring contemporary themes of significance, including politically engaged feminism; the complex relationship between traditional foods and identity within immigrant communities; and progressivism and the belief in the benefits of "Americanizing" immigrants.

Readers engage with a vast diversity of historical thought and research that contributes to new perspectives and ongoing debate and dialogue. *The Graduate History Review* also highlights collaborations between UVic history graduate students, faculty members, and colleagues from York University, and the University of Massachusetts, Boston, who have worked together to bring us this outstanding publication.

Congratulations to the talented and dedicated graduate students, faculty advisors, and mentors for their contributions to this thought-provoking collection of articles. Thank you for sharing your passion and knowledge with us, and for helping us to understand our past, our present, and to inform and shape our future.

Kevin Hall, PhD
President and Vice-Chancellor, University of Victoria

Chair's Message

I am thrilled to introduce the 2021 issue of *The Graduate History Review*.

Since its founding more than a decade ago, this journal has published the original scholarship of graduate students from around the world. Over the years, the topics of its articles have ranged widely, but the quality and creativity of the work has remained consistent. Indeed, the emerging scholars who publish in this journal consistently draw upon a variety of sources and methodologies to craft convincing interpretations of pivotal historical issues. It is this form of engaged, relevant scholarship that makes the practice of history so important.

At its best, history affords us the ability both to understand the past on its own terms and to contextualize key questions and trends in the present. In a world increasingly obsessed with technology and ignorant of history, it is essential that we put the present in conversation with the past. The three authors featured in this volume succeed in doing so by exploring themes of gender equality, cultural identity, and immigrant assimilation. Their specific topics include a pivotal 1976 feminist march in BC; the intersection of food and identity among Goan Canadians; and the role of the industrial school in Americanization efforts among immigrants in Progressive-era Boston. All three are superb examples of the original and compelling work produced by today's graduate students.

Congratulations to the contributors and editors who made this volume possible. You make the UVic History Department proud.

Jason M. Colby, PhD
Professor and Chair, Department of History, University of Victoria

Editor's Note

It certainly has been a year. I am proud to present volume 10 of *The Graduate History Review*. I want to thank everyone who worked so hard to ensure that this journal continued despite the COVID-19 crisis. Special thanks to this year's assistant editors, Cassandra Hadley and Emilee Petrie. Their work was invaluable and I am confident that the journal is in capable hands as they take over as editors for the upcoming volume. If nothing else, the pandemic has underscored the difference between the way narrative history describes events like this, and the way people live through them. It's not difficult to imagine a future historian reaching into their literary toolkit and cagily intoning that "early in the summer of 2021, the world began to breathe a sigh of relief as it appeared that the end of the pandemic was in sight. Little did they know…" Indeed. Little did we know. And we still don't know. But it is likely that we will continue to adapt, and adjust, and strive to make the world a better place for ourselves and those historians who come after us.

Dave Lang, Editor
The Graduate History Review

Contributors

Erica Greenup is a recent graduate from the Masters of Arts program in History at the University of Victoria. Her thesis research focused on the role of feminism in secularization since the 1960s. She aims to illuminate the voices of women in history.

Aqeel Ihsan is a PhD History Candidate at York University, specializing in Migration and Food History. His research interests focus on the South Asian diaspora currently residing in Canada. His doctoral dissertation seeks to conduct a food history of Toronto by placing 'smelly cuisines' at the center and chronologically tracing the history of the most prominent site where South Asian immigrants, beginning in the early 1970s, could purchase and consume South Asian foodstuffs, the Gerrard India Bazaar.

Rosanna Wright is a field researcher working with the City Built on Diversity project in Hong Kong. She specialised in Women's History as a graduate student at the University of Massachusetts, Boston.

ARTICLE

Women Rally for Action 1976: Politically Engaged Feminism in British Columbia

Erica Greenup, University of Victoria

Abstract:

This article situates a 1976 feminist rally in Victoria, British Columbia, *Women Rally for Action*, within the context of Canada's national feminist movement. The rally was a legislative lobbying event aimed at the newly elected Social Credit government and their cuts to the social services that supported gender equality in the province. By tracing the development of the second wave feminist movement in Canada and in BC, this article explores how the organizers of the BC rally employed a national feminist strategy of organized political pressure. In doing so, they worked towards the politicization of the women's movement on a national and provincial level, and developed an invaluable framework for future women's organizing in BC.

https://doi.org/10.18357/ghr101202119921

You think now that we're into '76
We should go home and pretend it's all fixed,
Your posters and conferences just didn't do
We won't stop our fight until sexism's through![1]

On March 22, 1976, during the first session of the British Columbia Legislature under the newly elected Social Credit government, hundreds of women came together on the front lawn of the Parliament Buildings in Victoria to participate in a legislative lobbying rally called *Women Rally for Action*. The rally took place during a lively decade for feminist organizing in Canada. Canadian feminists, unlike their neighbours to the south, often worked within established, formal processes during their efforts to receive recognition from governments. The politically engaged feminist initiatives that took place at the federal level in the 1960s and 1970s laid the foundation for the broader Canadian feminist movement, and consequently the *Women Rally for Action* event, which followed the model exemplified over the preceding decade by women across the country.

In 1966, women's groups representatives from across Canada formed the Committee for the Equality of Women in Canada (CEWC) to lobby for a Royal Commission that would look into the status of women in Canada. Their organizing through recognized government channels resulted in institutional responses, including

[1] Protest chant from *Women Rally for Action.* Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story: An Account of the Planning, Organization and Enactment of Women Rally for Action* (Vancouver BC: Press Gang Publishers, 1976), 7, Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

the Royal Commission on the Status of Women (RCSW) in 1967, the implementation of a Minister for the Status of Women in 1971, and the creation of a Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women (CAC) in 1973. In 1972, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) was formed out of the CEWC. The NAC's goal was to encourage the federal government to implement the policy recommendations found in the RCSW's report. In 1975, the year the United Nations announced would be celebrated as International Women's year, the federal government announced it would redouble its commitments to gender equality. However, many Canadian women felt that, given the lack of action, the proposed measures were no more than empty promises.

In British Columbia, feminist organizers faced pushback from Premier W.A.C. Bennet and his conservative Social Credit government, who had been in office since 1952. When Premier Dave Barrett led the New Democratic Party (BC NDP) to power in 1972, feminists felt their demands were at last heard, as the party worked earnestly towards gender equality in British Columbia. In their short three years in office, the BC NDP created an expanded Human Rights Code against gender discrimination and established the 5-member Provincial Status of Women Office. However, in December of 1975, the Social Credit party was re-elected under the leadership of premier Bill Bennett, the former Social Credit leader's son. On January 18, 1976, just two weeks after the official end of International Women's Year, Bennett announced his plan to implement significant cuts to social services and education across the province, turning his back on both the BC NDP's support of the women's movement and the federal promises surrounding International Women's Year. The new budget planned to eliminate the Provincial Status of Women Office,

terminate the Department of Education's Special Advisor on Sex Discrimination, disband the community Advisory Committee on Sex Discrimination, and cut funding for transition houses, rape relief centres and women's groups.

Outraged, representatives of women's groups from across the province came together at a meeting in Vancouver to plan their next steps. In her recollections of the group sentiment on that January day, one organizer stated: "We were there because we were angry. We had had enough of the tokenism of International Women's Year; we had had enough of waiting and hoping for government recognition of our legitimate concerns."[2] Over the next two months, women from across British Columbia conceived, planned, and carried out *Women Rally for Action* – at the time described by the organizers as "the most comprehensive legislative lobby ever held in British Columbia."[3] Acting under the umbrella of the NAC, the organizers fought the human rights violations they saw happening within the BC government using the established national feminist strategy of organized political pressure. Additionally, through organizing within the British Columbia Federation of Women (BCFW) umbrella group, they aimed to include the voices of all women in the province. In the process, they helped to politicize and unify Canada's national women's movement, and developed infrastructure which supported the struggle for gender equality in both British Columbia and all of Canada.

[2] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 7.
[3] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, front cover.

Historiography of the Second Wave Feminist Movement

The popular narrative of the second wave feminist movement in North America has portrayed a white, middle class, and culturally American space. In this narrative, grievances were aired, and gendered hierarchies were addressed, but without much substantial change at the policy level. Feminist scholars have since disrupted this homogenizing narrative, bringing to light both the intersectional diversity of the movement, and the lasting and real changes that were made. Further, some of these scholars have drawn attention to the unique approaches each western nation brought to its feminist movement.[4] In this scholarship, the stories of Canadian feminists have not been frequently analyzed. Perhaps this is because small-scale, coordinated political action does not make for a story as popularly engaging as the radical movements found in the densely populated United States. Primary source analyses of organizational materials from Canada's second wave feminist movement indicate that, in contrast with the anti-establishment rhetoric of their American neighbours, Canadian feminists found success working within the structures of government to effect policy change. They organized within various regional women's groups affiliated with the larger organizational structure of the NAC to make real policy change. The Canadian women's movement was substantial in its institutional and organizational strength, commitment to political process, and ability to effect broad changes at a government level.

[4] For comparative histories of the second wave feminist movement in Canada and the US, see: Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty, ed., *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992). http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt81bsh

Comparatively, a 1977 editorial from Victoria's newspaper, the *Daily Colonist*, titled, "Our quiet feminists," characterized feminist organizing in the US as violent and using "what might be described as male tactics."[5] The article quoted Kay Macpherson, then president of the NAC, as saying: "Our method is slower and not so spectacular […] We devise ways of pressuring people in power to make whatever changes are required to improve our situation."[6]

Scholarship on feminism in Canada illuminates two distinctive features of the Canadian second wave women's movement. Firstly, there tends to be an emphasis on a unity of womanhood (though, distinctly, English Canadian womanhood) across economic and ideological boundaries.[7] Feminist scholars note that the Canadian movement was divided into three ideological positions – liberal, left, and radical – but that unlike in the United States where these

[5] "Our quiet feminists," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 14 July 1977, 4. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t9287ss3k

[6] "Our quiet feminists," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 14 July 1977, 4.

[7] White, English speaking women were overrepresented in Canada's national feminist movement, particularly within the NAC. As Meg Luxton explains, the NAC's central role in forming Canadian feminist discourse was both a strength and a problem in that it perpetuated a white middle class narrative. *Women Rally for Action* aimed to be inclusive of all women in British Columbia. For intersectional Canadian second wave feminism see: Meg Luxton, "Feminism as a Class Act: Working-Class Feminism and the Women's Movement in Canada," *Labour / Le Travail* vol. 48 (Fall 2001): 63-88. http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/llt48art02; Lynne Marks, Margaret Little, Megan Gaucher, and T. R. Noddings, "'A Job That Should Be Respected': contested visions of motherhood and English Canada's second wave women's movements, 1970-1990," *Women's History Review* vol. 25, no. 5 (2016): 771-790. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09612025.2015.1132876; Jennifer Mills, "Conferencing as a Site for the Mobilization of Black Feminist Identities in the Congress of Black Women of Canada, 1973-1983," Journal of Black Studies vol. 46, no. 4 (May 2015): 415-441. http://doi.org/10.1177/0021934714568456

boundaries were clearly defined, Canadian women tended to respect what Jill Vickers calls a tradition of "integrative feminism," whereby "quite radical women and groups in Canada were willing to work with quite traditional groups in these formative years, just as they were willing to accept funding from the state for their projects."[8]

Secondly, Canadian second wave feminist history has been notably pro-institutional and political in its analysis. Scholars of the American second wave movement tend to focus on its ideological core, whereas those writing about the Canadian movement focus on its institutional core. For example, Sara Evans, a scholar of the American feminist movement, describes its dominant ideology, namely, "the personal is political," as its anchor.[9] Conversely, Canadian scholars Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail argue that in Canada, while the central ideologies of "the personal is political" and "sisterhood is powerful" formed a "powerful ideological core," this was not enough, and the support of institutional structures was necessary in order to make significant societal change against the oppressive forces of patriarchy.[10] Jill Vickers, a Canadian feminist political scientist, notes that in the United States, one could be "denied the designation 'feminist' because

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[8] Jill Vickers, "The Intellectual Origins of the Women's Movements in Canada," in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, ed. Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 42. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt81bsh

[9] Sara M. Evans, *Tidal Wave: How Women Changed America at Century's End* (New York: Free Press, 2003), 4.

[10] Nancy Adamson, Linda Briskin, and Margaret McPhail, *Feminist Organizing for Change: The Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988), 198.

of one's acceptance of ordinary political process and structures."[11] In contrast, when speaking of feminism in Canada, scholars like Vickers and Nancy Adamson focus on the changing social opportunities that were offered through politicized action and the institutional organization of the NAC. Canadian feminist history has highlighted the second wave feminist movement as notably more ideologically unified, politically charged, and pro-institutional, and British Columbia's feminist organizers shared these attributes. The 1976 *Women Rally for Action* legislative lobby in Victoria displays how the women of British Columbia worked within these politicized pressure efforts of the wider Canadian women's movement to have all women's voices recognized.

Feminist Political Organizing in Canada

Canada's second wave women's movement became widespread during the creation of the *Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* in 1967.[12] Due to lobbying from two feminist groups, the Committee for the Equality of Women, and the Federation des femmes due Quebec, then-Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson initiated an examination of the status of women in Canada to address the sexism and gender inequality that was pervasive across the nation.[13] The Commission was chaired by women and worked to include the voices of women from across the country. By the very nature of a

[11] Vickers, "The Intellectual Origins of the Women's Movements in Canada," 42.
[12] Monique Begin, "The Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada: Twenty Years Later," in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, ed. Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt81bsh
[13] Begin, "The Royal Commission," 28.

Royal Commission being a public inquiry into a defined issue, it was open to the advice and concerns of the broader public, and the concurrent development of a new Canadian feminist movement during this period meant that many women had a great role in shaping the final report. On December 7, 1970, the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada*, which included 167 recommendations for updating the legislative system to address issues for Canadian women, was presented in Parliament.[14] The *Report* would pave the way for progress in gender equality for decades to come, though the earliest federal response was the creation of the first Minister for the Status of Women in 1971.[15] In 1973, the federal government further responded by establishing the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, which, as political scientist Christopher Manfredi explains, "had the task of amplifying and transmitting the demands of women's groups to government."[16] Monique Begin, who was the executive secretary for the Commission, argues that this interaction "played a key role in creating and accelerating the process of feminist evolution in Canadian women's associations."[17] This meant that most Canadian women's associations in this era were, to some degree, feminist organizations. Begin explains that this "help[s] to explain the

[14] Canada, "Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada." http://women-gender-equality.canada.ca/en/commemorations-celebrations/royal-commission-status-women-canada.html
[15] Canada, "Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada."
[16] Christopher Philip Manfredi, *Feminist Activism in the Supreme Court: Legal Mobilization and the Women's Legal Education and Action Fund* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004), 19. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t4mm60p5b
[17] Begin, "The Royal Commission," 35.

powerful role played by the NAC in its interaction with the federal government in later years."[18]

The NAC had been founded in 1972 by members of the CEWC who were frustrated with the lack of forward action within the RCSW.[19] They originally submitted a report to Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau as the National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women in February 1972, noting that a year had passed since the release of the Report of the RCSW, and explaining that they were writing on behalf of the "many more thousands of women in Canada who since that time [had] joined the ranks of those concerned with the status of women everywhere."[20] The report shared their areas of concern, which they stated arose from the findings of the nation's member organizations. Those areas of concern were: day care, family planning, divorce, immigration, citizenship, women under criminal law, appointment of women to boards and commissions, equal pay, inclusion of sex and marital status in human rights codes and commissions, and the "Federal Status of Women Council."[21] After submitting their report, the council met at their first conference in Toronto in April of 1972, and removed 'ad hoc' from their title. As an umbrella group, the NAC represented various women's organizations across Canada. Their role was to "lobby for, and monitor the implementation of, the commission's

[18] Begin, "The Royal Commission," 35.
[19] National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women in Canada, "Submission to the Government of Canada," 2. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t2k76c382
[20] National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women in Canada, "Submission to the Government of Canada," 1.
[21] National Ad Hoc Action Committee on the Status of Women in Canada, "Submission to the Government of Canada," 3.

recommendations."[22] Jill Vickers, Pauline Rankin, and Christine Appelle argue that the "NAC's existence as an institutionalized parliament of women has contributed to the effectiveness of women's politics in Canada."[23] They further state that, through these institutionalized efforts, "English-Canadian women have had the advantage of a woman-centred, woman-controlled arena within which debate shaped by the diversity of experiences of member groups could occur."[24]

The UN's announcement that 1975 was to be International Women's Year fueled the fires of the Canadian feminist movement. With International Women's Year fast approaching, the federal government proudly announced its plans to work with women across the nation. In December 1974, Marc Lalonde, the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women, sent a letter to various Canadian women's groups. He laid out the government's program for International Women's Year, which included a general awareness program, a series of regional and national conferences, and funding for women's groups, adding that "the status of women is a national issue which should be the concern of all women and men in this country."[25]

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[22] Manfredi, *Feminist Activism in the Supreme Court*, xii.
[23] Jill Vickers, Pauline Rankin, and Christine Appelle, *Politics as If Women Mattered: A Political Analysis of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 11. http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctvcj2jbx
[24] Vickers, Rankin, and Appelle, *Politics as If Women Mattered*, 247.
[25] Marc Lalonde, "Message from the Minister Responsible for the Status of Women," *International Women's Year Brief* vol. 1, no. 5 (December 1974): 1-2, Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

Yet, it must be conceded that the goals and initiatives of the NAC did not always represent all of the women of Canada. Writing in 1988, Adamson, Briskin and McPhail break down the difference between grass roots (independent) and institutionalized feminism, making the case that while both were taking place, "the non-partisan equality-for-all stance of these [institutional] organizations made them acceptable to the media and the government, and they have come to be regarded as the women's movement."[26] However, they also argue that despite its lack of universal representation, the NAC enabled the women's movement to become "one of the most significant and successful social movements in Canada."[27] While the larger NAC conferences focused on systemic issues affecting many women across the nation, local NAC chapters working within the structures of municipal and provincial governance had their own legitimate initiatives and also effected real changes. The central organization of the NAC worked symbiotically with its local groups, each bolstering the other. Women studies scholar, Naomi Black, states that this structural component of the Canadian feminist movement meant that "in Canada, a movement that is provincially fragmented […] was able to mobilize small-scale but effective elite pressure for an issue," and that "the umbrella/coalition structure so characteristic of Canadian organizations enables a national group to call on a wide range of other sympathizers – on the necessary local basis."[28]

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[26] Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 62.
[27] Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, *Feminist Organizing for Change*, 3.
[28] Naomi Black, "Ripples in the Second Wave: Comparing the Contemporary Women's Movement in Canada and the United States," in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, ed. Constance Backhouse and

Feminist Organizing in British Columbia

In British Columbia, women's groups existed in communities throughout the province. These were organized within a provincial umbrella group, the British Columbia Federation of Women (BCFW), which functioned similarly to the NAC. The BCFW's goal was to create a province wide support network that could collectively take action on women's issues. The member groups were also branch chapters of the NAC, and all worked in concert. They were reacting to a need for gender equality on a national scale, while focusing on provincial legislation. This coalition of women's groups was comprised of political groups, including the NDP Women's Committee, occupational groups such as Women in Teaching, and regional groups like Victoria Status of Women.[29] Writing in April 1975, Mary Barretto of Status of Women Vancouver wrote that the aim of the BCFW was to "demonstrate that through the power of power of united numbers we can achieve more than as individuals or individual groups," and "to co-ordinate the diversity of organizations […] into a mosaic wherein B.C.F.W. can represent the needs of women from every walk of life and from every part of the world."[30]

BC's women's groups had been working together and extending their reach as the movement grew throughout the 1970s. When the Social Credit party was elected to the provincial government at the tail end of International Women's Year, and made

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David H. Flaherty (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 107. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt81bsh

[29] Mary Barretto, "B.C.F.W.," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 43 (April 1975): 4. http://doi.org/10.14288/1.0045460

[30] Barretto, "B.C.F.W.," 4.

significant cuts in the realm of women's rights, BC's feminists knew that it was time to come together for substantial political action. The issue of most concern to BC feminists was the closure of the Provincial Office on the Status of Women, and dismissal of its coordinator, Gene Errington. This office had only just been implemented by the NDP at the beginning of International Women's Year. The role of the coordinator was "1) to advise the government on matters affecting the status of women; 2) to coordinate government programs relating to women; 3) to monitor government programs and policies to ensure that equivalent benefits accrue to both men and women."[31] The swift decision to remove Errington from office was made by Grace McCarthy, the Provincial Secretary for the Social Credit Party. While *Kinesis*, the journal of the Vancouver Status of Women organization, reported that "the Provincial Status of Women Co-ordinators Office has been closed by the Socred government, because 'IWY is over,'" McCarthy claimed that her decision had been misinterpreted by the labour, education and feminist groups in the province.[32] She argued that "it's too soon to take a strong reaction to a new government's move, which was simply not to renew an old contract an old government had made."[33]

For the many concerned with this decision, the timing called into question the importance of women's rights beyond the tokenism

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[31] Women Rally for Action, *Our Story* (Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers, 1976), 2, Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.
[32] Karen Richardson, "CLOSED," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 52 (February 1976): 2. http://doi.org/10.14288/1.0045497
[33] "McCarthy defends decision," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 13 January 1976, 16. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t7jq8ff9h

of International Women's Year. As one January 1976 editorial from the *Daily Colonist*, titled "Gone and forgotten," stated:

> Activists in the women's rights movement are understandably upset over the closing of the provincial office set up by the former government last year to promote their cause […] The decision to abolish the five-member Status of Women section of the provincial secretary's department was predicated, apparently, on International Women's Year having run its course […] there is a risk in picking a day, a month, or a year for a special observance. When the time passes more often than not it is forgotten. Hopefully, this isn't happening, as much as it looks that way.[34]

Correspondingly, the February 1976 cover story from *Kinesis* read:

> If we weren't already aware that International Women's Year is over, the provincial government made it perfectly clear during the first two weeks of 1976 […] Somehow the entire point of IWY has been missed. It was not supposed to just be a calendar mascot – one year the Year of the Rabbit, the next the Year of the Woman.[35]

With this sense of betrayal resonating amongst British Columbia women, they came together to make their voices heard. The day that the budget cuts were announced, planning began "in a smoke-filled room with thirty other feminists representing local

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[34] "Gone and forgotten," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 10 January 1976, 4. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t9675xb03

[35] Jo Lazenby, "good-bye iwy," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 52 (February 1976): 1-2. http://doi.org/10.14288/1.0045497

women's groups" for what organizers would later call "the largest mass lobby of Members of the Legislative Assembly in the history of BC."[36] In the face of peril, with impeccable organizational efforts, women from around the province came together to begin organizing *Women Rally for Action*. On March 22, 1976, following just two months of dedicated coordination and planning, the lobbying event would come to fruition.

Women Rally for Action **Organizing**

This article relies greatly on the three self-published booklets from the *Women Rally for Action* organizers. These booklets, published one year after the event, clearly show the organizers' dedication to formal processes and present a framework for future women's organizing. *The Rally Story* contains an account of the planning, organization and enactment of the event; *Our Story* contains the policy brief presented by *Women Rally for Action* to all of British Columbia's MLA's; and *MLA's Tell Stories* recollects the proceedings of the lobby meetings and MLA's responses to the policy brief.[37]

Between *The Rally Story* and the *Our Story* booklets, the organizers made sure to explain in detail their working process. They met at a series of planning meetings and maintained various committees that included local women's group representatives from

[36] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 7, preface.
[37] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*; Women Rally for Action, *Our Story*; Women Rally for Action, *MLA's Tell Stories* (Vancouver BC: Press Gang Publishers, 1976), Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

all across the province. The representatives of each lobby group and committee were to provide a weekly report on their proceedings, which were then redistributed through an "extensive network of feminists and women's organizations in BC from which [they] could make the contacts necessary to transform ideas into reality."[38] A two-page centre-fold flow-chart in *The Rally Story* detailed the evolution of the rally from the first meeting held to discuss the need for action on January 18, 1976, through to the rally itself on March 22, and all other follow up tasks. This flow chart, reproduced in figure 1, shows the plethora of committees that were created and maintained in order for this event to take place. In her recollections on their organizing, one woman stated: "The meetings and work were non-stop. Women were contributing every minute of their free time on weekends and late into the evening."[39]

One product of these meetings was a detailed brief of policy recommendations concerning the equality of women in British Columbia. This brief was to be submitted to the province's MLAs prior to the rally, which was planned to occur early in the new government's first legislative session. The brief's first draft was crafted by ten women, utilizing the input of various women's groups. In the weeks that followed, hundreds more women became involved by offering their input for the policy recommendations.[40] With the collective input of women from all across the province, the organizers felt that the final product was one of the most comprehensive briefs ever submitted to the government. They made sure to not arbitrarily

[38] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 7.
[39] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 8.
[40] Women Rally for Action, *Our Story*, foreword.

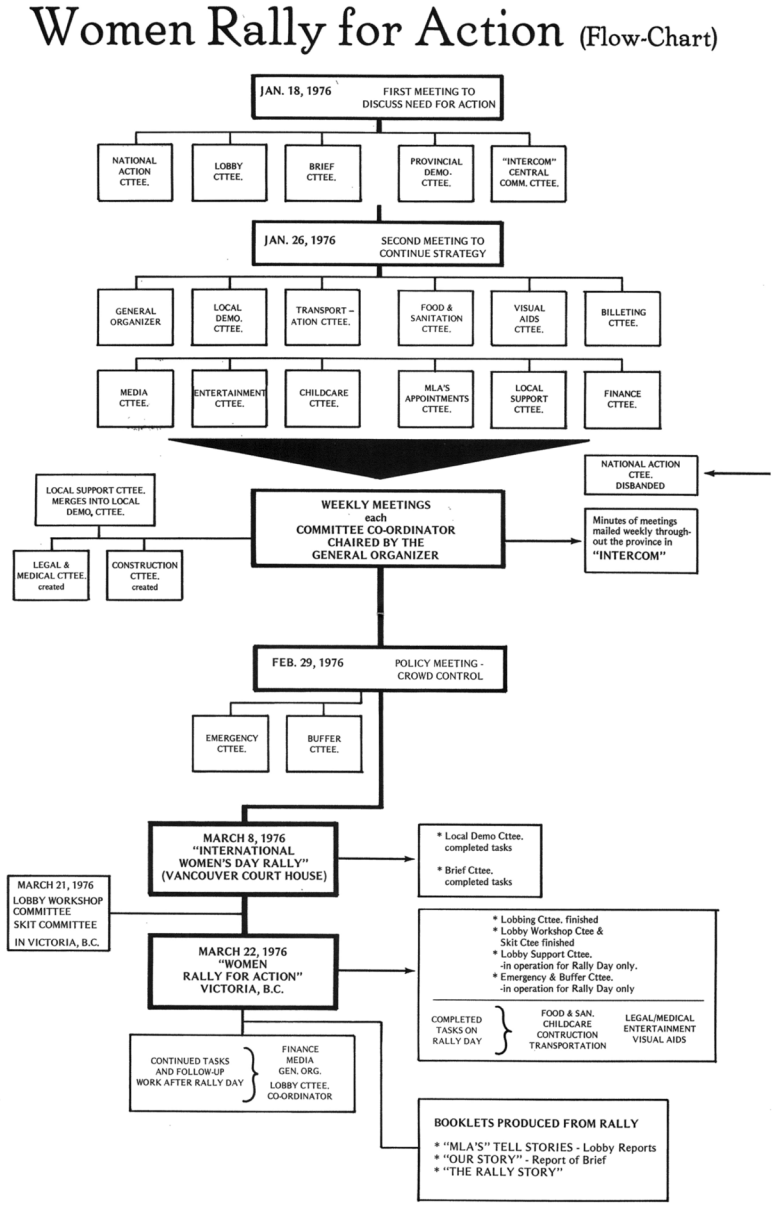

Figure 1. Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 10-11.

give priority to any single issue, or to create expectations of complete unity on all issues by all women.[41] The final policy brief, as presented in the *Our Story* booklet, gave equal coverage to a variety of issues including, "Representation for women within government, Basic Funding for women's centres, Rape, Health, Education, Family Law, Human Rights, Labour and Labour Law, Rights of Lesbians, Affirmative Action, Rights of Native Women, Welfare, Credit, Pensions, Childcare," and included an addendum that covered issues neglected at the rally.[42] To ensure the rally was seen as a sincere political endeavor, the organizers made sure that the members of the Legislative Assembly were made well aware of the impending event. In *The Rally Story*, the organizers recollect, "letters were sent to each M.L.A. requesting an appointment, followed by numerous phone calls when a commitment was not forthcoming (which it often wasn't!)."[43] Advanced copies of the policy brief were sent to all MLAs with the hopes that they would study the policy recommendations prior to the rally.[44] Although the brief and the rally reflected many of the concerns of the broader NAC initiative, a number of province-specific issues were highlighted as well, including calls to fund local women's shelters, address sexism in provincial education, and provide equality in provincial health care.

Funding for transition houses or women's centres was a central issue, as British Columbia was at the forefront of the battered women's shelter movement. Further, the focus on making sexual and physical abuse visible was a "distinctive feature" of the women's

[41] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 8.
[42] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 8.
[43] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 8.
[44] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 8.

movement nationwide.[45] The brief called for the continued funding of transition houses in Victoria, Vancouver, Aldergrove, Kamloops and Prince George, and for further transition houses to be set up throughout the province.[46] In Victoria, the local Victoria Women's Centre organization operated a transition centre that acted both as a place of refuge for women escaping dangerous situations, and as an organizational space for consciousness raising groups and other feminist organizing meetings.[47] Historian Nancy Janovicek has written a detailed account of the battered women's shelter movement in Canada. She explains that before the women's movement made wife battering a political issue, these women had nowhere to turn to and remained in life-threatening situations with their families.[48] Margo Goodhand also writes on the history of the women's shelter movement in Canada, and states that the system of women's shelters and transition houses created at this time "remains the envy of women's movements around the world."[49] In her book, she speaks to the apathetic and sexist outlook of the Social Credit government during International Women's Year. She quotes the then-Minister of Human Resources and later Premier of the province, Bill Vander

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[45] Constance Backhouse, "Contemporary Women's Movements: An Introduction," in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, ed. Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 10. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt81bsh

[46] Women Rally for Action, *Our Story*, 30.

[47] Victoria Women's Centre, "Sisters," *Victoria Women's Centre Newsletter* (February 1974), Victoria Women's Movement Archive, Special Collections & University Archives, University of Victoria, Victoria, British Columbia.

[48] Nancy Janovicek, *No Place to Go: Local Histories of the Battered Women's Shelter Movement* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 1.

[49] Margo Goodhand, *Runaway Wives and Rogue Feminists: The Origins of the Women's Shelter Movement in Canada* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2017), 1.

Zalm, who stated concern that "public money was being spent to help women leave their partners," and that the husband's "stress taken out on his wife" was a consequence of women working outside of the home and leaving their traditional role.[50] Spousal abuse was seemingly of little concern to the provincial government, and the Social Credit Party's threatened removal of all funding for these centres no doubt infuriated women across the province.

In the realm of sexism in education, the brief demanded that sex discrimination be eliminated from the provincial public education system. They asked that the Provincial Advisory Committee on Sex Discrimination in Public Education be re-instated, the contract for the Special Advisory to the Minister of Education on Sex Discrimination be renewed, that non-sexist books and materials be distributed in classrooms, and that courses on sex-role stereotyping and discrimination be offered to teachers and students.[51] As the new provincial budget threatened to cut contracts for these programs, which the government deemed unessential, they became a primary rally concern.

Another important issue was equality in provincial health care. Concern for reproductive freedom around abortion and birth control was at its height during the second wave feminist era. The brief demanded that all hospitals receiving provincial money be required to set up and operate therapeutic abortion committees, that all birth control information and devices be made available and free, and that only a women's signature be required for medical procedures

[50] Goodhand, *Runaway Wives*, 98-99.
[51] Women Rally for Action, *Our Story*, 8-9.

affecting her body.[52] Abortion was a particularly important issue provincially, as Ann Thompson discusses in her book, *Winning Choice on Abortion*.[53] British Columbia's feminists fought hard to repeal laws surrounding anti-abortion legislation in the 1970s. In 1973, the US Supreme Court had ruled that abortion was a constitutional right in their *Roe v. Wade* decision, but in Canada, abortion was not made fully legal until 1988.[54]

The rally was to be an opportunity for women from all across BC to have their voices heard by the provincial government. Originally planned for March 8th - International Women's Day - the event would later be postponed until March 22nd, one week after the legislative session began on March 17th, so that MLAs would be present at the Parliament Buildings during the protest.[55] Alice Ages, the office coordinator of the Victoria Status of Women Action Group (SWAG), stated in one interview that "every riding would be represented by women from just about every women's group in the province," and that "the rally is the most ambitious thing we have ever tried to do, and it cuts across all political, religious, ethnic, and economic lines."[56] Notably, due to a widespread political strategy of unity and coordination across the NAC and BCFW, no individual

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[52] Women Rally for Action, *Our Story*, 38-39.
[53] Ann Thompson, *Winning Choice on Abortion: How British Columbia and Canadian Feminists Won the Battles of the 1970s and 1980s* (Victoria: Trafford, 2004).
[54] Thompson, *Winning Choice on Abortion*, 75.
[55] "URGENT NOTICE TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE VANCOUVER STATUS OF WOMEN FEB/76," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 52 (February 1976): addendum. http://doi.org/10.14288/1.004549720; "Throne speech will be outgunned by the salute," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 16 March 1976, 1. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t14n6nj9h
[56] "Hundreds of women to lobby Monday," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 20 March 1976, 26. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t7vn1qh2s

group is mentioned as the organizer in the records of the event. This was to be an event that equally represented every woman in the province. Every group, and every woman, had an important role. For one example of a centre's involvement, the Port Coquitlam Area Women's Centre handled all the communications out to women's centres and groups across BC.[57]

There were opportunities for everyone to get involved and to represent their local communities through participation, fundraising, and writing letters to the MLAs. As was announced in *Kinesis*:

> WHAT CAN YOU DO? […] Pool your resources with other women. For example: Campbell River women are getting together for a workshop to write their MLA letters. Ishtar Women's Centre has gotten ahold of a bus and they are filling it with women from the Fraser Valley to go to Victoria […] The B.C. Liberal Women's Commission plans to bring 15 women to Victoria via private boat. They will moor it across the Parliament Buildings with a huge banner from bow to stern! […] Women from Fraser Lake, Burns Lake, Vanderhoof and Gran-isle are also planning a MLA letter writing get-together.[58]

The article reminds women how they can involve themselves in the political process, stating: "AND VERY VERY IMPORTANT! WRITE A LETTER TO YOUR MLA! […] Just imagine if EVERY MLA got a letter from EVERY WOMAN in his/her riding! What an

[57] "URGENT NOTICE," *Kinesis*.
[58] Jo Lazenby, "WOMEN'S RALLY FOR ACTION," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 53 (March 1976): 2. http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0045503

effect that would have! And we can do it! Let them know we are out there!"[59]

The organization of the rally had begun with just thirty groups from the Lower Mainland and had extended to over four hundred women's groups and organizations across the province by the time of the event. Throughout the process, women had produced ten thousand flyers promoting the Rally, sold five thousand *Women Rally for Action* support buttons, written hundreds of personal letters to MLAs, and printed and distributed seven hundred copies of their policy brief throughout the province, including a copy for each MLA.[60] The event's Appointment Committee members spent countless hours in contact with MLAs to set up lobby appointments, and some of the MLAs were eager to meet with them.[61] Others were more reluctant, and held out to the very last minute, but by the day of the event organizers had set up appointments with every MLA but Pat McGeer.[62] Women travelled to Victoria from all over the province to participate in the rally. On the Sunday before the rally, approximately two hundred lobbyists met in the Fairfield United Church basement to participate in lobbying workshops. The workshops, led by the rally's Lobby Support Committee, prepared the women for their lobby meetings with the MLA's and further

[59] Lazenby, "WOMEN'S RALLY FOR ACTION," 2.
[60] Nancy D. Conrod, "women's rally for action," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 54 (April 1976): 9. http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0045492
[61] The eager MLAs were Scott Wallace, Gordon Gibson, Emery Barnes, Rosemary Brown, Gerry Strongman and Stephen Rogers. Conrod, "women's rally for action," 9.
[62] Miriam Gropper, "SAGA OF A RELUCTANT MLA," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 54 (April 1976): 20. http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0045492

discussed the issues at hand.[63] The women were as prepared as they could be with such a short period of planning.

The Rally

On the day of the rally, crowds gathered on the lawn in front of the BC Parliament Buildings, as the first legislative session of the new Social Credit government took place indoors. The women set up a tent on the front steps of the buildings, standing as a temporary Provincial Women's Office in place of the one recently abolished by the Social Credit government. Lobbying teams planned to attend appointments with MLAs inside and report back to the Women's Office.[64] The day was meticulously organized around a program of events set from 10:00 am to 3:30 pm. It began with a series of speakers briefing the crowd on the important topics of the rally. Throughout the day, between the protest chants, rousing speeches, and bustling activity, lobby teams emerged from the Legislature to present their reports. The teams were made up of three to six women, and once a team completed its MLA appointment, it would report the results of their meeting to the crowd through a microphone at the Women's Office. It was a cold and rainy day in Victoria, - one *Daily Colonist* article, titled "Coldly composed," stated: "It was one of the best organized affairs and also one of the coldest the Legislature had ever seen."[65] However, it was not just the weather that was 'coldly

[63] Conrod, "women's rally for action," 10.
[64] Conrod, "women's rally for action," 10.
[65] Nancy Brown, "Coldly composed," *Daily Colonist* (Victoria), 23 March 1976, 2. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t68418j05

composed,' while the women had come well prepared, the MLAs were not so well informed.[66]

Frequent groans from the crowd were heard as the lobby teams shared some of the responses of the MLAs inside. Housing Minister Hugh Curtis claimed to have no awareness of discrimination against single parents in housing.[67] When approached by lobbyists inside, Education Minister Pat McGeer, who denied a lobby meeting until the event was nearly over, stated that "sexism is not really a serious problem."[68] When the lobbyists demanded another meeting, McGeer replied: "As long as it's not too soon."[69] Human Resources Minister William Vander Zalm stated that "women make the best cooks and housekeepers and should be encouraged in that role."[70] Mines, Petroleum Resources, Lands and Forests Minister Tom Waterland stated that he did not agree with "a special office for women," since "women do not have special rights."[71] In response to a question about sexism in schools, one MLA said: "You have a point, but let's face it – in spite of it all we turn out OK."[72] Another MLA stated that they "[didn't] know what a women's centre is," and asked, "is it a social club or something?"[73] Finally, Finance Minister Don Phillips dismissed the women's political demands as complaints, stating: "I didn't even know [the Provincial Co-ordinator on the Status of Women office]

[66] Brown, "Coldly composed," 2.
[67] Brown, "Coldly composed," 1.
[68] Brown, "Coldly composed," 1.
[69] Brown, "Coldly composed," 2.
[70] Brown, "Coldly composed," 1.
[71] Miriam Gropper, "lobby reports," *Kinesis* vol. 5, no. 54 (April 1976): 12. http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0045492
[72] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 9.
[73] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 9.

existed until women started complaining about it […] I'm all for women's lib. Change has to come gradually as people become accustomed to it. You've got a good cause – don't ruin it."[74]

There was entertainment and singing throughout the day to keep the crowd in high spirits as they awaited the reports from the lobbyists. They cheered as the reports came in, but it remained obvious that most of the MLAs were not overly concerned about the women's issues, and further, had not read the brief that the women had put all of their hard work into. The day wrapped up with further lobby reports and a final press conference at the temporary Provincial Women's Office. In the end, the general consensus was that the majority of the MLAs had not even read the brief. As one woman in attendance that day explained: "We were shocked. We had expected disagreement and lack of awareness, but never fathomed the extent…We never imagined such total ignorance and blatant chauvinism could, in 1976, still exist in our society's 'leaders'."[75] The lack of consideration shown that day by most MLAs reinforced the women's belief that they were fighting against a serious and pervasive problem and made them even more determined.

The Rally Outcomes

The rally could be seen as an unsuccessful event, but the organizers themselves did not view it that way. They may not have had the reaction they desired on that date of assembly, but the rally was a striking display of the power of women's organizing. It also

[74] Gropper, "lobby reports," 12.
[75] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 9.

offered a newfound political awareness to the individual attendees and organizers, established an organizational framework for future lobbying events, and gave strength to the national women's movement. *The Rally Story* writers explain:

> We had made our first show of our collective political power a success. We had been granted audience because we had given the MLAs no opportunity to classify us as a 'radical fringe' or 'unrepresentative.' We had shown our numbers, our competence, and our unity across all barriers of age, region, lifestyles, party affiliations. We had produced credibility with the Press. We were able, for once, to obtain widespread coverage on our issues and exposure of the unresponsive and archaic attitudes of government.[76]

In the epilogue to *The Rally Story*, the writers concluded that "the Rally had far-reaching effects for the growth and the politicization of the women's movement in BC," and that "as an example of organization and collective decision-making, our Rally/Lobby was a great success."[77] Likewise, the front-page story of *Kinesis* reflecting on the event stated: "Women's Rally for Action is a beginning […] We have experienced the strength that comes with knowledge and organization and co-operation and numbers […] we can share our experiences, and provide ideas and knowledge to help still more women organize to fight for our rights."[78]

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[76] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 9.
[77] Women Rally for Action, *The Rally Story*, 42.
[78] "AND NOW…," Kinesis vol. 5, no. 54 (April 1976): 1. http://dx.doi.org/10.14288/1.0045492

By employing a national feminist strategy of organized political pressure, women's organizing in even the smallest of municipalities had national implications. Their collective voices on a national scale pressed the federal government to pass legislation ensuring gender equality and protection of women. In 1976, *Status of Women Canada* became an official department of the federal government.[79] In 1977, Prime Minister Trudeau passed the *Canadian Human Rights Act* which specified that there was to be no discrimination based on sex, and further that there must be "equal pay for work of equal value."[80] In 1979, the federal government released a Plan of Action on the Status of Women in Canada, citing the federal government's furthered commitment to "achievement of equality and economic independence of women."[81] Then, in 1981, the NAC lobbied for changes to the Canadian Constitution through submissions made to the Special Joint Committee on the Constitution. Their goal was "to provide constitutional direction for the judicial interpretation of equality," guaranteeing equal rights on the basis of gender.[82] As a result, feminist organizations played a significant role in amending the Constitution.[83]

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[79] Canada, "Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada."
[80] Marjorie Griffin Cohen, "The Canadian Women's Movement and Its Efforts to Influence the Canadian Economy," in *Challenging Times: The Women's Movement in Canada and the United States*, ed. Constance Backhouse and David H. Flaherty (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 215-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt81bsh
[81] Status of Women Canada, *Towards Equality for Women*, Minister of Supply and Services Canada, 1979, 9.
[82] Manfredi, *Feminist Activism in the Supreme Court*, 44.
[83] Manfredi, *Feminist Activism in the Supreme Court*, 46.

Conclusion

The *Women Rally for Action* event exemplified the Canadian feminist process of using highly organized, politicized pressure tactics to urge large-scale policy change. The rally further demonstrated the movement's goal of inclusivity, as women from all regions of British Columbia came together to collectively lobby against the government in the name of gender equality. By rallying together under a national feminist strategy of political pressure and unity, BC's feminists showed an unwavering dedication to their cause.

The creation and development of the NAC and its member branches show the importance of institutional organizing and real political action in the development of the Canadian women's movement. Begin concurs, stating that:

> Between 1971 and [1976], the Canadian state quite rapidly adopted all the simple reforms requested, integrating women's issues in official discourse, and taking action on several fronts that did improve the daily lives of thousands of women in Canada. It did so exceptionally rapidly and smoothly when compared with state action in the most industrialized countries, including the United States.[84]

In her 1979 article on the then-current evolution of the Canadian women's movement, Lynne McDonald foreshadowed these conclusions in stating that, as she saw it, the movement was

[84] Begin, "The Royal Commission," 36.

distinctive from those in other countries in its "solidarity across class lines," and "commitment to the ordinary political process."[85]

For the women of *Women Rally for Action*, this comprehensive commitment to influencing legislative policy was the only way forward – the only way to legitimize their cause and to create real change. When the Social Credit government turned its back on the women of British Columbia at the end of International Women's Year, women from across the province rallied together to show the power of their collective voice. They had clearly defined goals, an abundance of organizational ability, and a commitment to carrying their planned actions to completion. That the majority of the MLAs either did not read, or did not engage with, the policy brief created by the rally organizers showed that sexism was still pervasive within the provincial government in 1976. For many of the MLAs, it was the first time their attention had even been brought to the issues women faced in the province, and as such these women were responsible for paving a road to progress in gender equality in the province.

The countless hours of persistent dedication that the event organizers and women across the province put into making their political presence known did not dissipate after March, 1976. Women's groups in British Columbia continued, and continue today, to organize in their fight for gender equality in the province and beyond. As can be gleaned from the Social Credit party's reversal of the BC NDP's gender equity legislation in 1976, these two dominant provincial governments would struggle to push their opposing

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[85] Lynne McDonald, "The Evolution of the Women's Movement in Canada," *Branching Out* vol. 6, no. 1 (1979): 39. http://riseupfeministarchive.ca/publications/branching-out/branchingout-06-01-1979

visions for human rights in the province for decades to come, and BC's feminists fought with and against them each step of the way.[86]

Following the collapse of the conservative Social Credit Party in 1991, the BC NDP party returned to power and introduced the BC Ministry of Women's Equality as a freestanding ministry, headed by feminist NDP MLA Penny Priddy. When the BC Liberals were elected in 2001, some BC feminists again felt that their government opposed gender equality. The standalone Ministry of Women's Equality was rebranded as Women's Services and Social Programs, becoming one of several organizational elements in the newly-created Ministry of Community, Aboriginal and Women's Services.[87] One feminist organization, the BC Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women group (BC CEDAW), stated in their 2003 report to the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women that the "drastic and discriminatory changes to provincial legislation and programs which have been made since May 2001 violate the obligation [outlined by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women] to 'take, in all fields […] all appropriate measures…to ensure the full development and

[86] For further discussion of the history of sexism and human rights in British Columbia during the Social Credit party years, see: Dominque Clement, *Equality Deferred: Sex Discrimination and British Columbia's Human Rights State, 1953-84*, (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014).

[87] For further discussion of the differences between BC NDP and BC Liberal policies regarding women's equality, see: Katherine Teghtsoonian, "W(h)ither Women's Equality? Neoliberalism, Institutional Change and Public Policy in British Columbia," *Policy and Society* vol. 22, no.1 (2003): 26-47. http://doi.org/10.1016/S1449-4035(03)70012-5

advancement of women.'"[88] Following the 2017 election of the BC NDP party, a Gender Equity Office with a Parliamentary Secretary at its head, whose role is to ensure the government commits to gender equality in all budgets, policies and programs, and to act as the government liaison for feminist and women's organizations, has been introduced.[89] Alongside all of these changes and challenges, BC's feminists made their voices heard from their own organizations and within levels of government. We can look at the *Women Rally for Action* event of 1976 and recognize their exemplary show of the power of women's organizing as a causal factor in creating the Gender Equity Office in the provincial government.

Today, we still see sexism, pay inequity, and a struggle for affordable childcare – but we can certainly reflect, for example, on the comments given by some MLAs on the day of the rally to see just how far gender equality has come. The *Women Rally for Action* organizers, and feminists across the nation, demanded that governments push aside old gender stereotypes to embrace equality in legislation and in practice. Through strength in numbers, the women of *Women Rally for Action* organized a politically engaged event that ensured that women's issues would be widely acknowledged, both in public and political realms. The organized and institutional action of the women of British Columbia, and of Canada's second wave feminist movement more generally, initiated a final push towards gender

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[88] BC Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, "British Columbia Moves Backwards on Women's Equality," 3. http://www.westcoastleaf.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/2003-01-23-CEDAW-SUBMISSION-BC-Moves-Backwards-on-Womens-Equality.pdf.

[89] British Columbia, "Gender Equity in B.C." http://www2.gov.bc.ca/gov/content/gender-equity

equality legislation, creating lasting structural change and a framework for continued progress in gender rights.

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ARTICLE

"I'm Goan Because I Eat Goan Food": A Critical Look at the History of Goan Canadians

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Abstract:

The conceptualization of identity around food is not new to Canadian historiography. Many contemporary historians have, by analyzing culinary narratives such as cookbooks and oral interviews, illustrated how food acts as an intellectual and emotional anchor for immigrant subjects and becomes a source of identity for them in their new country. This study, which examines menus from various Goan Canadian cultural events, finds that Goan Canadians have a complex relationship with traditional foods, and that food was not as important a boundary marker for their identity as the scholarship might suggest. Instead, Goans in Canada developed their own distinct sense of identity based on community, celebrations of holidays, village feasts, and other social events.

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South Asian. Indian. Pakistani. Christian. Hindu. Muslim. All different ways to describe people who identify themselves as Goans…but what about "coconuts"? "Coconuts" is the word most commonly used by Goan Canadians when they were asked to identify themselves by researcher Andrea D'Sylva. Many chose to use this word because they described themselves as being "brown on the outside and white on the inside."[1] This is an interesting way to identify oneself. It seems clear that there are differences beyond skin colour that are important for Goans, and that it is through these differences that they distinguished themselves from other South Asians. These characteristics could have included their religion, because the many of them were Christian, but so were others in South Asia. It could have been the fact many Goans spoke Konkani as their mother tongue, but according to the 2011 census, so too did nearly 2.3 million Indians.[2] In the absence of a distinctive skin colour, religion, or language, it was Goan food that allowed Goans to have a unique identity in South Asia. This difference is most explicit in the Goan dish *sorpotel*, which is made from beef and pork.[3] *Sorpotel* is one of many dishes that allow Goans to distinguish themselves from Hindus, who do not eat beef, and Muslims, who do not eat pork, making it possible for Goan Canadians to form a community around

[1] Andrea D'Sylva, "'You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food.' The Intersection of Gender, Food and Identity: A Case Study of Goan Women in the Greater Toronto Area," (master's thesis, Mount Saint Vincent University, 2009), 72. http://dc.msvu.ca:8080/xmlui/handle/10587/646

[2] "Data on Language and Mother Tongue," Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, 2011. http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/Language_MTs.html

[3] "Sorpotel a Goan Delicacy," Goan Food Recipes. http://www.goanfoodrecipes.com

food. This is one of the conclusions that D'Sylva and Brenda Beagan, the only two scholars to write about Goan Canadians, arrive at in their exploration of the experience of thirteen Goan Canadian women, and the efforts those women made to conserve their dietary habits.[4] While conducting their study they found that the cooking and eating of Goan food was central to Goan identity.

The conceptualization of an identity around food is not new to Canadian historiography. In her exploration of Mennonite cookbooks, Marlene Epp argues that the cookbook itself shaped knowledge about a Mennonite ethno-religious identity, and that this happened in specific sections of the cookbooks titled "ethnic foods."[5] Andrea Eidinger's essay analyzes a popular Jewish cookbook that, for her, contains more than recipes in that it shares a discourse about a particular form of "Jewishness" that could be passed on to young, Jewish women in 1950s Montreal.[6] In their discussions of Goan, Mennonite, and Jewish women, these authors reach similar conclusions while explicating the role that cooking and eating ethnic

[4] Andrea D'Sylva is a Goan Canadian woman who conducted a case study of thirteen Goan women in the Greater Toronto Area exploring the intersection of gender, food, and identity for her master's thesis. D'Sylva's research was supervised by Brenda Beagan, a sociologist at Dalhousie University. Together, they published three journal articles on Goan Canadian women using D'Sylva's research.

[5] Marlene Epp, "More than 'Just' Recipes: Mennonite Cookbooks in Mid-Twentieth-Century North America," in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 180.

[6] Andrea Eidinger, "Gefilte Fish and Roast Duck with Orange slices: *A Treasure for My Daughter* and the Creation of a Jewish Cultural Orthodoxy in Postwar Montreal," in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 203.

food plays in maintaining one's identity. They arrive at these conclusions by analyzing similar culinary narratives, using either cookbooks or oral interviews, to illustrate how these narratives act as "intellectual and emotional anchors" for immigrant subjects, and become a source of identity for them in their new countries.[7] Ian Mosby, a food historian at Ryerson University, is less convinced. He states:

> it is always difficult to write a truly national history in a country as linguistically, ethnically, culturally, and geographically fractured as Canada, and in many ways, this is doubly true of food history. Tastes, traditions, and practices differ not just among regions or ethnicities, but also within households and between individuals.[8]

The uniformity of the role cuisine plays in the construction of identity is precisely the idea that this paper seeks to explore, specifically in problematizing Beagan and D'Sylva's conclusions. In their exploration and interviews of Goan women, the narrative that they present seems to lack the complexity that Mosby alludes to. Instead of seeing differences within households and individuals, they argue that there is a common thread that unites the women's narratives. This paper seeks to complicate this understanding. In contrast to the authors previously mentioned who relied mainly on cookbooks and interviews, this paper will look at menus from various Goan Canadian cultural organizations that problematize the

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[7] Anita Mannur, *Culinary Fictions: Food in South Asian Diasporic Culture* (Temple University Press, 2010), 27. http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt14btcd6

[8] Ian Mosby, *Food Will Win the War: The Politics, Culture, and Science of Food on Canada's Home Front* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014), 17.

centrality of food in the Canadian context as it relates to immigrant communities. This source has been ignored in Canadian historiography and, when looked at, one sees a different argument emerging. This essay will establish the distinctiveness of Goan cuisine from all others in South Asia and the importance that various Goan women attached to the food they prepared. However, by comparing the interviews conducted by Beagan and D'Sylva with menus from various Goan religious and social events, and accounts from other Goan Canadians, this paper will argue that for the Goan diaspora, being "Goan" went beyond the food they ate and was not as important a boundary marker for their identity as the scholarship suggests. Instead, Goans in Canada developed their own distinct sense of identity around the celebrations of holidays, village feasts, and other social events, and around a community of people with whom they shared a common heritage.

Part 1: Food and Identity

Goa is tiny state on the southwestern coast of India that was one of several Asian ports that were taken control of by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. While India achieved independence in 1947, Goa was not liberated until 1961, meaning that the state was under Portuguese rule for 450 years.[9] During this time, Goans were heavily impacted by a cultural imperialism that saw one-third of the population convert to Roman Catholicism.[10] Many

[9] Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, "Catholic Goan Food," in *The Anthropologists' Cookbook*, ed. Jessica Kuper (London: Routledge, 1997 [1977]), 207. http://doi.org/10.4324/9780203038857

[10] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 21.

Goans adopted Portuguese names, and many to this day persist with Western practices related to their dress, the language they speak, and the music they listen to. One other important impact of colonialism occurred by way of the Columbian Exchange, a network of Portuguese and Spanish trading posts which facilitated the introduction of many new foodstuffs to India through Goan ports.[11] The Portuguese brought potatoes, chillies, okra, papayas, pineapples, cashews, peanuts, maize, sapodilla, custard apples, guavas, and tobacco.[12] Chili pepper was also introduced and would later be indigenized and become an important component of Indian cooking. Along with chillies, the white potato became an indispensable vegetable in the Indian diet, and today, "potatoes are valued by all classes, especially the Hindus on days when [they are] forbidden the use of grain."[13] Despite the influx of new crops into India, Goan cuisine would become famous for its meat dishes, especially those made from beef, pork, and seafood. This is interesting because despite 66 percent of the population being Hindu, meat and fish is consumed by nearly all Goans.[14] Brahmins are the highest caste in the Hindu hierarchy and are strict vegetarians in most of India, but in Goa, they regularly consume fish.[15] Furthermore, pork, which is forbidden in Islam, tends to be eaten by Goan Muslims, who make up 8 percent of

[11] Colleen Taylor Sen, *Feasts and Fasts: A History of Food in India* (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), 211.
[12] Sen, *Feasts and Fasts*, 212.
[13] George Watt, *The Commercial Products of India* […] (London: John Murray, 1908), 1030. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t1tf54m51
[14] "Goa Population," http://www.populationu.com/in/goa-population
[15] Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes, "Catholic Goan Food," in *The Anthropologists' Cookbook*, ed. Jessica Kuper (Routledge, 1997 [1977]), 207. http://doi.org/10.4324/9780203038857

the Goan population.[16] As such, one can see that one major impact of colonialism was that it saw a shift in the ideologies of what food was permissible to eat for people of different religious backgrounds.

The other major impact was the dispersal, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, of Goans to various parts of the globe. In the 1960s and 1970s, an estimated twenty-three thousand Goans emigrated to Canada, 90 percent of whom arrived from East Africa and Pakistan.[17] However, according to the 2016 census there were only 6,070 Goans in Canada.[18] Why are these numbers so different? While Statistics Canada may not consider the immigrants from East Africa and Pakistan to be Goan, it is clear that they themselves do. The estimated total population of twenty-three thousand that was cited previously is calculated based on the 1995 membership numbers of the Toronto-based Goan Overseas Association (GOA), the Montreal-based Canorient Christian Association (CCA), and Goan associations and clubs in the cities of Hamilton, Ottawa, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, and Vancouver.[19] This number would presumably be higher in 2021 with an increasing number of Goan immigrants arriving in Canada from the aforementioned regions, as well as from other parts of the world. However, despite not coming

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[16] "Goa Population," http://www.populationu.com/in/goa-population

[17] Brenda L. Beagan and Andrea D'Sylva, "Occupational Meanings of Food Preparation for Goan Canadian Women," *Journal of Occupational Science* vol. 18, no. 3 (August 2011): 213. http://doi.org/10.1080/14427591.2011.586326; Goan Overseas Association 25th Anniversary Booklet, 6, box 2, folder 8, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.

[18] Statistics Canada, Census Profile, 2016 Census. http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/index-eng.cfm

[19] Goan Overseas Association 25th Anniversary Booklet, 6.

directly from Goa, or, never having resided in Goa and being generations removed from Goa, the immigrants and their descendants born in Canada identified as Goans. One such Goan Canadian is Andrea D'Sylva, whose family immigrated to Canada in 1970 from Karachi, Pakistan.[20] Neither of D'Sylva's parents was born in Goa, but she identified as Goan based on her maternal grandparents.[21] Her adopted Goan identity was reinforced by her grandmother and mother who routinely cooked Goan food, and this was the common thread that tied together Goans regardless of where in the world the migrated from. In D'Sylva's case, she would not be identified as Goan in the Canadian census based on her birthplace, her native tongue (English), or her religion at birth (Roman Catholic), and this was true for most of the Goan Canadians that she interviewed as part of her own dissertation. According to D'Sylva, food was an "emblem of ethnic identity" that differentiated Goans from Indians and serves to maintain their connection to their colonized past.[22] One of her interviewees said, "I'm Goan because of the foods we eat […] the traditions we celebrate."[23] Another woman stated that, "You can't be a Goan and not eat Goan food. You have to eat Goan food. Whether it's the curries or it's the sweets, you have to eat. No, everything revolves around food for Goans."[24] Because of their varied origins, eating Goan food linked immigrants not to their

[20] Three of D'Sylva's articles, co-authored with Dr. Beagan, are referenced in this paper. D'Sylva currently resides in Halifax, Nova Scotia and was gracious enough to take out the time to help me gain a better understanding of Goan food.
[21] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.
[22] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 32.
[23] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 51.
[24] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 112.

birth country, but an ancestral homeland that they identified with.[25] Even for those participants who would have never been to Goa, who originated from Pakistan, Africa, Britain, or grew up in Canada, there was a sense that they belonged to an imagined community, and it was food that gave them the sense of belonging to that community. Therefore, Goans lacking strong cultural markers place particular "salience" in Goan food and even emphasized that aspect of their identity.[26] The importance of this identity to Goans could also be seen in how some participants in D'Sylva's study chose to self-identify. One stated: "I say I am from the Indian subcontinent or I am South Asian. I don't usually identify myself as a Pakistani because Pakistanis are generally Muslim and I am not from a Muslim background."[27] Another woman expressed a similar hesitancy in revealing her Pakistani background because "[she did not] want to be identified as a Pakistani because that means [people] immediately think Muslim."[28] Other Goan women identified themselves as being Indian, but quickly added that they were Catholic, because that for them was a distinguishing and important part of their identity.[29]

Part 2: What is Goan Cuisine?

[25] Andrea D'Sylva and Brenda L. Beagan, "'Food is culture, but it's also power': the role of food in ethnic and gender identity construction among Goan Canadian women," *Journal of Gender Studies* vol. 20, no. 3 (September 2011): 284. http://doi.org/10.1080/09589236.2011.593326

[26] Beagan and D'Sylva, "Occupational Meanings of Food Preparation," 215.

[27] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 55.

[28] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 55.

[29] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.

Goan cuisine is unique from all the rest in South Asia and can be broken down into two major styles. The first is similar in preparation to classic Portuguese dishes that are enlivened by aromatic spices. These dishes include: *chorizo*, a garlicky pork sausage; *caldo verde*, a chicken and spinach soup flavoured with pork pie, pork sausages, ginger, and black pepper; *sopa de camrao*, shrimp soup; and *feni*, a local liquor made from the fruit of the cashew tree.[30] Desserts consist of pastries and layered cakes like *bebinca*, a cake made from stacking layers of pancakes that have been prepared using egg yolk, flour, and a coconut milk batter, and *boliho de coco*, little coconut cakes.[31]

The second style of cooking is hotter and spicier and includes several famous Goan dishes: *vindaloo* (from the Portuguese carne de vinha d'alhos, meat in wine and garlic), which is a hot pork curry made with coconut, vinegar, spices and red chillies; *sorpotel*, a stew made with pork, pig's liver, heart, and brain with a sauce made using pig's blood which has been seasoned with various spices and vinegar; *arroz regado*, a *pulao* of rice that uses piquant Goan sausages; and *xacuti*, which is a sautéed chicken dish made using roasted coconut, spices, ginger, garlic, and vinegar.[32] Though sausages are eaten in many European and American countries, the Goan sausage is unlike any other because it requires the meat to be preserved in a freezer

[30] Olivia Mesquita, "Caldo Verde (Portuguese Green Soup)," Olivia's Cuisine. http://www.oliviascuisine.com/caldo-verde; Colleen Taylor Sen, *Food Culture in India* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 2004), 105.
[31] Kishore Reddy, "Bebinca Recipe," NDTV Food. http://food.ndtv.com/recipe-bebinca-218328; Sen, *Feasts and Fasts*, 256.
[32] Michelle Peters-Jones, "Indian Classics - Vindalho de Galinha (Chicken Vindaloo)," The Tiffin Box. http://www.thetiffinbox.ca/2011/11/vindalho-de-galinha-chicken-vindaloo.html; Sen, *Food Culture in India*, 105.

after being thoroughly marinated in spices and vinegar. Biting into the sausage also provides a different texture because one should be able to taste pieces of red chili and cinnamon within the casing.[33] These dishes are unique in that they are born out of a marriage of Indian and Portuguese cuisine, and that is evident from the start in not only the names of the dishes, but also their preparation. They are not prepared as such anywhere else in India, and are seldom eaten in Portugal even today.

Goan cuisine occupies a unique place in South Asian cooking. All of the dishes described above incorporate various Indian spices, but also often have the addition of a special vinegar, and use many coconut-based ingredients that distinguish them from other regions in India. The vinegar that Goans use is called toddy vinegar, which is made from coconut sap that is retrieved from stems, and is then left to ferment for four to six months.[34] Prahlad Sukhtankar, owner of The Black Sheep Bistro, in Panjim, Goa, says that "Goan delicacies with European roots – specifically Portuguese – traditionally include cooking with coconut vinegar."[35] Goan dishes also distinguish themselves by not using tomato in their sauces, unlike other regions of South Asia. Many Goan dishes are described as being time consuming and labour intensive to prepare because the sauces tend

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[33] Minu Ittyipe, "Goa Delights," *Hindu* (Chennai, India), 25 October 2004. http://web.archive.org/web/20071009055032/http://www.hinduonnet.com/thehindu/mp/2004/10/25/stories/2004102500930300.htm

[34] Bindiya Chari, "The Versatility of VINEGAR," *Times of India*, 23 May 2016. http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/goa/The-versatility-of-VINEGAR/articleshow/52403417.cms

[35] Sparshita Saxena, "A Secret Ingredient That Makes Goan Food Taste So Good," NDTV Food. http://food.ndtv.com/food-drinks/a-secret-ingredient-that-makes-goan-food-taste-so-good-757485

to be thicker, and have to be slow cooked to allow for meats to release their juices and make a natural stock and spice-based gravy.[36] In addition, grated coconut is used to garnish many dishes and desserts, whereas, in other parts of South Asia, the garnishing would be done using primarily coriander.

There is a misconception that Goan cuisine consists mainly of fish and pork, or food that is cooked with only spices and vinegar. However, there are plenty of vegetarian dishes that cater to the majority Hindu Goan population. Though Goan Hindus do consume fish, they also eat dishes such as: *bhaji*, *shaak*, *usal*, *tondak*, and *ross* (coconut-based dishes); *hoomans* (curries); *karams* (salads); and the "queen of Goan vegetable dishes," *khatkhatem* (mixed vegetable curry).[37] These dishes are usually be eaten with *sannas*, steamed savoury rice cakes, which are served with fermented palm wine. Rice is consumed all across India and is a staple component of most Indians' diet. However, Goans treat the rice that is used to make *sannas* differently than others by incorporating salt into its preparation.[38] Furthermore, the way Goans make pickled vegetables is unique. Goans use vinegar, while other Indians use something called *achar*, which consists of lemon, limes and tamarind.[39] Interestingly though, most of these dishes are only found in households and would not be available in restaurants. Along with food, the Portuguese introduced Goa to techniques for distilling

[36] Michelle Peters-Jones, "Indian Classics - Vindalho de Galinha (Chicken Vindaloo).
[37] Sulekha Nair, "Goan Delight," Financial Express.
http://www.financialexpress.com/archive/goan-delight/412024
[38] Mascarenhas-Keyes, "Catholic Goan Food," 207.
[39] Mascarenhas-Keyes, "Catholic Goan Food," 207.

alcohol and now the Goans make their own distinct form of it called *feni*. There are two main types of *feni*. The first, *madachi*, is made from the fermentation of palm toddy while the second, *katchi*, is produced by fermenting the juice of the cashew fruit.[40] Another popular drink is called *solkadi*. This is a blend of kokum (a native fruit that grows primarily in Goa) and coconut milk, which is a renowned cure for indigestion.[41] Thus, Goan food is a unique amalgamation of two diverse cultures, Portuguese and Indian.

Part 3: "You Can't Be Goan and not Eat Goan Food"

Anthropologists Helen Vallianatos and Kim Raines note that "migration to a new country often results in a variety of social and economic challenges, often reflected in foodways," and this was true for Goan families who tried to preserve their culture in Canada.[42] Food is important for most immigrant societies that wish to maintain connections to the homeland and display their ethnic identity. Losing one's traditional culinary practices can be equated with the "abandonment of community, family, and religion."[43] Having established how Goans can distinguish themselves from other South Asians through their cuisine, it is important here to assess the role of Goan women because it is they who were doing the cooking and therefore reproducing a significant symbol of Goan cultural identity.

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[40] Mascarenhas-Keyes, "Catholic Goan Food," 208.
[41] Ittyipe, "Goa Delights."
[42] Helen Vallianatos and Kim Raine, "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities among Arabic and South Asian Immigrant Women," *Food, Culture, and Society* vol. 11, no. 3 (2008): 357. http://doi.org/10.2752/175174408X347900
[43] Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 54.

Despite an expanding role for men, women were primarily responsible for preparing meals, and they were responsible for deciding what to cook.[44] Goan women's decision-making power over the menu seems to be unique because, as Vallianatos and Raine learned while interviewing Indian women, in other South Asian cultures women were responsible for all food related duties, but power over food choices was found to lie with their children and husband. Most women interviewed privileged the tastes of their family members over their own. One woman said, "I don't like seafood, but my husband loves it so I have to cook it. I don't even like the smell of it, and my kids love it too, so I have to."[45] Other women mentioned how from the moment they were married, they tried to adapt their cooking style to their husband's palette. However, Goan women felt powerful in their role as cooks in the household, and as holders of a specific knowledge that was tied to their identity. The power gained from cooking food acted as "culinary capital" for these women who had mastered a technical skill and were better equipped to transfer a food-based culture to their families and especially children. This culture originated in places they "had come from but never been."[46] According to D'Sylva, power over Goan food was doubly important because in the absence of other cultural signifiers, food was a unifying aspect of being Goan – "you can't be a Goan and not eat Goan food."[47] As such, it was through food that Goan culture would be passed down to the subsequent generation, and it would be

[44] Beagan and D'Sylva, "Occupational Meanings of Food Preparation," 216.
[45] Vallianatos and Raine, "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities," 362.
[46] Christine Choo et al., "Being Eurasian: transculturality or transcultural reality?" *Life Writing* vol. 1, no. 1 (2004): 89. http://doi.org/10.1080/10408340308518243
[47] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 112.

food that would continue to allow Goans to foster a unique Goan identity, one that distinguished them from all other South Asians.

Despite having this "culinary capital," Goan food and culture does not seem to be reproduced in the household or be given as much importance as is being emphasized by the various women interviewed. Members of the Goan Overseas Association (GOA) spoke of how Goan culture was dying because "people are not showing their kids how to [cook Goan food] it's tiring."[48] D'Sylva herself said, "I don't make certain dishes because honestly they're so time consuming and labour intensive, I'm not even going there. *Sorpotel* is way too much work. I'd much rather prepare something like a fish curry, which I can whip up relatively quickly."[49] She was not the only one for whom time was a key factor in the decreased consumption of Goan food at home. Another woman stated that she would rather "do a stir fry which is much faster and healthier […] I mean talk about *xacuti*. Look at all the coconut going into that."[50] Therefore, there exists a contradiction between the stated importance of Goan food and the amount Goan Canadians actually eat themselves, or feed their children. For someone like D'Sylva, who lives in Halifax, Nova Scotia, it was difficult to prepare Goan meals on a regular basis not only due to time constraints, but because the ingredients she required were not available in stores in Halifax. The Toronto-based women D'Sylva interviewed, however, did have access to the necessary ingredients, but still chose not to prepare Goan food.

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[48] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 109.
[49] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.
[50] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 121.

Along with the challenges that existed outside of the household, there were other unique challenges at home. Migration sees a shift in identity when old foodways encounter new food elements and consumption patterns and it is often women who act as gatekeepers in balancing traditional foods and cuisines with foodways in a country like Canada. As mentioned above, this was no different for Goan women, for whom food held a particular symbolic importance for Goans within the household, and it provided them with a sense of accomplishment, especially when it came to passing down their culture to their children. However, herein lay another contradiction in terms of what was being said, and what was being practiced. Goan women believed that cultural transmission was their primary role and responsibility. This was described to D'Sylva as being of crucial importance for Goan women, because it would be the cooking of Goan food that would continue to foster a Goan identity in the diaspora, and there was a fear that many women had that if their children rejected Goan cuisine, it would be a rejection of their entire identity. One woman expressed her fear that:

> [Goan culture] seems to be something that is going to die out with the next generation. It is important to me and to my generation. I have a lot of Goan friends, and they love Goan food…But their kids, I think without exception, are like mine…very Canadian. They don't like the curry thing…all these traditions that we bring along with us will probably die out with our generation. Or weaken at least.[51]

[51] D'Sylva, "You Can't Be a Goan and Not Eat Goan Food," 109.

This concern from Goan women also seemed to be true for other South Asian mothers who discussed how their children were "picky eaters" and were developing tastes for non-traditional foods.[52] Children began to describe Indian food as pungent, disturbing, and unhealthy. Here women expressed concerns that their children's rejection of traditional cuisine would result in a rejection of their values. South Asian women found that their children liked eating pizza and spaghetti and began to incorporate "Indianized" versions of these meals into their household cooking.[53] By changing the toppings, sauces, and spices to make Western foods less foreign to the palate, immigrant women tried to continue to evoke and connect with the homeland for a sense of belonging through the passing down of culinary practices. As such, Indian mothers faced increasing challenges while trying to continue to serve as gatekeepers by balancing their traditional cuisine with the new tastes being developed by their children. Similarly, for many Goan households, despite the importance and "culinary capital" placed on Goan food, time pressures and health concerns, amongst other things, hinder the transmittance of Goan culture. Many Goan mothers found themselves having to adapt to their children's changing palates, similar to other South Asian women. While the husband and wife still ate Goan food, many Goan families mentioned that they would have to serve their kids Western meals like burgers or baked chicken instead of *sorpotel*.

D'Sylva also mentioned how some women that she interviewed would remove the seasoning or additional spices from the food before

[52] Vallianatos and Raine, "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities," 367.
[53] Vallianatos and Raine, "Consuming Food and Constructing Identities," 368.

feeding their children, in order to better suit their milder palates. This trend persisted even on holidays, which were of great importance for Goans. During Christmas or Easter, Goan food like *vindaloo*, *sorpotel*, and *xacuti* would be prepared, but would be served along with a "'Canadian' food like turkey or ham."[54] The turkey and ham that is being described as "Canadian" food would likely be to accommodate the younger generation who would be described as not having any interest in Goan food as compared to their parents' generation. This was true for D'Sylva's household where her Christmas feasts include Canadian dishes, but "everybody wants to make sure there's *pulao* and *sorpotel* - you can do all the other add-ons, but the *pulao* and *sorpotel* has to be there."[55] One may be able to excuse Goan women from not preparing dishes like *sorpotel* or *xacuti* on a regular basis, but Goan Canadians do not seem to be consuming other traditional dishes, such as fish curry and rice, which is consumed twice a day by many Goans in Goa.[56] Thus, one can see that Goan mothers face increasing challenges while trying to continue to serve as gatekeepers in balancing their traditional cuisine with the new tastes being developed by their children, but as suggested by the evidence, they themselves have partially abandoned their duties as self-described gatekeepers in favour of preparing convenient and quicker meals. Instead of cooking traditional Goan cuisine, dishes such as stir-fry, pizza, and baked chicken have been preferred. If the saying, "you can't be a Goan and not eat Goan food," holds true, then Goan mothers are allowing an entire generation to lose what some scholarship suggests

[54] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.
[55] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.
[56] Andrew Marshall, "The World on a Plate," *Vancouver Sun*, 15 February 2020, G3.

is a significant part of their ethnic identity. Moreover, if that culinary tradition is not being passed down, and Goan food is being consumed less, what does it mean for the identities of the children of Goan Canadians?

Part 4: Cracks in the Façade

It may be true that Goan mothers were not cooking Goan food at home on a regular basis, but Goan food was definitely being prepared during Christmas and other holiday feasts. For one Goan mother, cooking dishes that were a must, like *pulao* and *sorpotel,* during Christmas strengthened and reinforced her Goan identity. For her, making Goan food at Christmas was part of being Goan and she described how, "we get together […] and we make...all the Goan sweets...the *nankatis* and the *neuries* and the whole *kulkuls*...And that is what I thought was [being] Goan."[57] Similar importance was given to Christmas and Easter in the D'Sylva household. These were holidays that were important to all Catholics, but that had to be quietly celebrated in Karachi because Pakistan was a Muslim-majority country. As such, for her own family, because they could not go out to eat Goan food in Karachi, where "there were no Goan restaurants you could go to," special food being prepared at home was significant, and this was a tradition that continued in Canada.[58] The one big change for her family upon arriving to Canada was that they had access to other Goans upon becoming members of the Goan Overseas Association (GOA). The GOA was the first Goan cultural organization in Canada, and continues to have a presence today,

[57] D'Sylva and Beagan, "Food is culture," 283.
[58] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.

celebrating its 50th anniversary in 2020. Not only did organizations like this provide Goans a space to meet people from a common background, they also prioritized the preservation of Goan culture. In attempting to preserve Goan culture, the GOA organized many social events throughout the year that included balls, dances, and charitable fundraisers. The Panjim Pavilion was one such fundraiser that would revolve around a beauty pageant. Traditional foodstuffs, sweetmeats, household items, clothes and Goan art would be sold during this pageant that could see upwards of one thousand people attending.[59] The GOA, realizing that many Goans held sentimental attachments to their ancestral villages, hosted special feasts that celebrated various villages in Goa. These villages were diverse, and celebrated their own Catholic patron or patroness, but they all had Goan food in common.

Thus far, this paper has acknowledged the importance of Goan cuisine in allowing Goans to identify themselves as being distinct from other South Asians, and has argued that Goan families, especially the women in the household, saw food-related knowledge as the way to pass on their cultural and ethnic heritage to the next generation. However, despite the importance that the Goan Canadians placed on food, they were not cooking it as regularly as one would assume. Given the importance of holidays and feasts in Goan culture, and the presence of food at places like the GOA, one would expect that Goan food would be ever-present at all social events and village feasts. However, the menus from various feasts, religious festivals, and social events held by Goan Canadian cultural associations between 1992 and 2008 tell a different story.

[59] Goan Overseas Association 25th Anniversary Booklet, 11.

One of the most significant feasts for Goans happens in the village of Navelim, Goa, and consists of an extensive celebration beginning with traditional processions and novenas that celebrate Our Lady of the Rosary every third Wednesday in November. It began when the Portuguese built the Church of Our Lady in Navelim in 1597.[60] The event begins on the third Wednesday in November at three in the morning, and continues for ten days.[61] On the third day of the feast, the villagers invite their families and friends over to celebrate in their own homes, and guests show their gratitude by bringing trays of traditional Goan sweets for all to eat. The final three days of celebration include large feasts involving the whole village. This method of celebrating feasts was taken directly from the Portuguese, and is a tradition that continues today. In Canada, this annual feast was organized by the Union of Navelim Toronto (UNT), with the very first having taken place in 1975. Despite being an annual feast, records for only four are available, all of which took place at the Claireport Banquet and Convention Centre in Etobicoke, Ontario. The menu for the 1992 feast includes chicken rice soup, steak, potatoes and vegetables, and baked Alaska. There was a separate children's menu which offered chicken rice soup, hamburgers, French fries, and soft drinks.[62] There was a surprising absence of not just Goan food, but any South Asian dishes. This would change for the twentieth anniversary of the feast in 1995. That year's menu presented a variety of South Asian dishes including *pakoras*, *tandoori* chicken, chicken *makhanwalla*, *pulao*, *sorpotel*, and

[60] Navelim Feast, 22 November 1992, box 10, folder 1, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.
[61] Navelim Feast, 1992, Goan Archives Canada fonds.
[62] Navelim Feast, 1992, Goan Archives Canada fonds.

daal. Again, there was a separate children's menu, which consisted of lasagna, green peas, *pulao*, and *pakoras*.[63] There was a stark change in three years between the two menus listed above, and a clear shift away from Western to South Asian cuisine. However, despite the change, there was still only one traditional Goan dish on the menu - *sorpotel*. One may put this down to the lack of availability of Goan ingredients, or restrictions from the banquet hall. However, in the same booklet in which the 1995 feast was advertised, there was an advertisement for Sadroo's Grocery Supplies, an East Indian Food and Spices store that was advertised as not only carrying spices, but also takeout options such as shrimp *balchao*, *vindaloo*, *sorpotel*, sausages, and *kebabs*, only one of which was served at the feast.[64] In addition, Sadroo's was not the only store which offered South Asian food. Kohinoor Foods, which was the first store in Ontario to sell East Indian groceries, opened in Toronto in 1978.[65] This means that the UNT could have offered Goan food at their events had they chosen to do so.

The absence of Goan cuisine, and the inclusion of separate children's menus which consisted of "Canadian" food, continued at the feasts in 2005 and 2008. There were, however, an increased number of South Asian dishes including *naan*, basmati rice, *tandoori* chicken, *daal*, *aloo palak*, shrimp *masala*, mutton *qorma*, shish kebab,

[63] Navelim Feast 20th Anniversary, 19 November 1995, box 10, folder 1, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.
[64] Navelim Feast, 1995, Goan Archives Canada fonds.
[65] Navelim Feast, 1995, Goan Archives Canada fonds.

pulao, and chicken *makhanwalla*.[66] There was no Goan dish in 2005, but *sorpotel* found its way on the menu in 2008.[67] Another interesting aspect of the four menus was that there was no mention of a Goan dessert. The desserts consisted of ice creams, fruit trays, puddings, and pastries. It's possible that no Goan desserts were included due the difficulty of obtaining ingredients. However, traditional desserts like *bebinca* and *boliho de coco* rely on coconut, which was readily available.

The lack of Goan cuisine at the Navelim Feasts is made more surprising when one reviews the menus of two events organized by the GOA as part of their 25th Anniversary celebrations. On 16 April 1995, the GOA celebrated Family Day and the menu included many Goan dishes such as Goan sausages, *bebinca*, *pulao*, roast chicken, and *vindaloo*.[68] The second event was the GOA's Gala Ball held on 22 April 1995. Advertising promoting the ball featured a "surprise Goan traditional dish."[69] The menu also listed Cornish hen with periguex sauce, French string beans, Parisienne potatoes, and a variety of midnight snacks including sandwiches. During this week of festivities, one can see that sausages, *vindaloo*, and *bebinca*, being amongst the most popular Goan dishes, were served as part of these events. This shows that these dishes were available in Toronto and that there was likely a desire to consume them. Nevertheless, alternatives to Goan cuisine were also offered. The children's menu for both GOA events consisted of only hamburger and fries. When

[66] 33rd Navelim Feast, 22 November 2008, box 10, folder 1, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.
[67] Navelim Feast, 2008, Goan Archives Canada fonds.
[68] Goan Overseas Association 25th Anniversary Booklet, 24.
[69] Goan Overseas Association 25th Anniversary Booklet, 25.

asked about this peculiarity, D'Sylva simply stated that, "None of the children like Goan food. I moved to Canada in my teens and even my generation adapted to Canadian cuisine. It was only later that I wanted to cook more 'culturally appropriate food.'"[70] The inclusion of children's menus is a signifier that not only were Goan parents seeing a loss of culture amongst their children at home, as reported by the various Goan women interviewed, but also at Goan cultural centres where one would expect to see Goan culture be put on full display. Thus, as it relates to food, there were clearly adjustments made to accommodate the changing tastes of the younger generation, rather than keeping a distinctive Goan menu and having the children eat the food that has been reported as being a key component of their identity. More surprising than this was the overall lack of Goan cuisine present on the menus at the events organized by the UNT and GOA, even for the adults.

The Calangute Association of Canada (TCAC), whose membership catered to Goans with a connection to the village of Calangute, Goa, also held annual village feasts in Canada. The TCAC celebrated the patron saint Alex, and these feasts were seen as being an important component of maintaining their culture and heritage. This was reflected in the menus for the 1996 and 1997 events. In 1996 celebrants were offered goat *rogan josh*, *pulao*, *vindaloo*, *sorpotel*, and *sannas*.[71] The 1997 feast advertised a "buffet lunch including Goan

[70] Andrea D'Sylva, interview with the author, 9 March 2020.
[71] Calangute Association Canada Feast, 20 October 1996, box 10, folder 6, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.

traditional dishes."[72] Neither of these feasts included a children's menu or listed any "Canadian dishes," and this sets them apart from all the other Goan organizations that were analyzed. For the villagers from Calangute, eating Goan food may well have been tied to being ethnically Goan for them. These Goan menu items are what one would have expected to see reflected in the menus at events hosted by all Goan cultural organizations if food was the core cultural signifier as suggested by Beagan, D'Sylva, and other scholars.

The last organisation that this paper will discuss is also the newest. The 55 Plus Goan Seniors Group (55PGA) was formed in 2005 and held their first social event, a Christmas dinner dance, on 21 December 2005. More than 250 members attended.[73] By 2015, the 55PGA consisted of over 600 members and hosted various holiday and other social events.[74] The menu for the first Christmas dinner dance consisted of soup, roast beef, grilled chicken breast, Parisienne potatoes, and mixed vegetables. For dessert, there was tartufo ice cream, crepes, and fruit.[75] The menu for the Christmas event in 2006 was almost the same, with the only difference being that there was tiramisu for dessert. The menu from an Easter Brunch that took place on 16 April 2006 is also available. Guests were offered an assortment of Western dishes including baked ham, salmon, scalloped potatoes,

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[72] Calangute Social Brochure, 21 September 1997, box 10, folder 6, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.
[73] 55PGA, *CELEBRAT10N*, 2015, 5.
http://home.55pga.com/content/4-community/celebration10.5-lr.pdf
[74] 55PGA, *CELEBRAT10N*, 10.
[75] Christmas Dinner Dance, 21 December 2005, box 4, folder 7, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.

and a variety of salads and pastries.[76] The lack of Goan dishes is surprising, and what is more surprising is that unlike other Goan events, there was also a complete omission of any South Asian cuisine. Since the 55PGA catered to an older generation of Goans, one would expect that they would prefer to eat *sorpotel*, *xacuti*, and *vindaloo* at these cultural events, especially considering how difficult and labour-intensive it is to prepare these dishes at home. Interestingly enough, this was also the demographic of people interviewed by D'Sylva, and the ones who expressed a strong desire to eat Goan food. It is difficult to know exactly why the members of 55PGA made the menu choices they did without asking them, but it is clear that for many Goan Canadians, Goan food was not necessarily an important part of events held to celebrate Goan culture and community.

Conclusion

Historically, two potent markers of identity for Indians have been language and food. This was certainly true for the Sikhs who began settling in Victoria and Vancouver as early as 1903.[77] This group faced a great deal of hostility. Historian Julie Mehta writes that these immigrants were confronted with concerns that they would pollute the "'clean' Canadian cultural landscape," adding that white Canadians did not want these "supposedly 'un-assimilable' settlers

[76] Easter Brunch flyer, 16 April 2006, box 4, folder 7, Goan Archives Canada fonds, Peel Art Gallery Museum and Archives, Brampton, Ontario, Canada.
[77] Helen Ralson, "Canadian Immigration Policy in the Twentieth Century: Its Impact on South Asian Women," *Canadian Woman Studies* vol. 19, no. 3 (1999): 33. http://cws.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cws/article/view/7872

with their 'smelly cuisines' [and] strange modes of dress and habit" to settle in Canada.[78] For these Sikh immigrants, "food [was] a marker of belonging and identity" amongst their imagined community.[79] However, it may also be the case that what one generation deems to be an important part of their cultural identity may not be understood in the same way by another. Beagan, who in her earlier articles with D'Sylva argued that food was a significant market of ethnic identity for Goans, shifts her opinion in her later works. According to a 2013 article written by Beagan and Gwen Chapman, "the relationship between food and identity is much more complex than simply being a marker of ethnicity."[80] Food practices are also bound by other facets of identity including gender, social class, and age, all of which are constantly evolving and changing. This idea is complicated further in a book co-authored by Beagan titled *Acquired Tastes: Why Families Eat the Way Do*, which makes the argument that shifts in identity can also come as a result of social pressures. Some people may undergo dietary changes as a result of "overt social pressures" while others "may eat in differing ways in varying social settings because they want to be seen in a certain light by those around them."[81] Geographer Francis Collins, whose research focuses on international migration, adds that

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[78] Julie Mehta, "Toronto's Multicultured Tongues: Stories of South Asian Cuisines," in *Edible Histories, Cultural Politics: Towards a Canadian Food History*, ed. Franca Iacovetta, Valerie J. Korinek, and Marlene Epp, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 156.

[79] Mehta, "Toronto's Multicultured Tongues," 159.

[80] Gwen E. Chapman and Brenda L. Beagan, "Food Practices and Transnational Identities," *Food, Culture & Society* vol. 16, no. 3 (September 2013): 368. http://doi.org/10.2752/175174413X13673466711688

[81] Brenda L. Beagan et al., *Acquired Tastes: Why Families Eat the Way They Do* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014) 16-17.

while "food and drink provide one way to bridge the sensual gap between 'here' and 'there,'" food "there" does not remain static.[82] It changes as it is affected by globalization and this complicates the process of identity construction for transnational migrants. As India increasingly gains access to processed foods and American fast-food chains, its own foodways are changing. Ironically, for Indo-Canadians who migrated prior to this process of globalization taking place in India, the traditional foodways that Indian mothers are trying to impart are evolving in their own homelands. Thus, it begs the question as to what tradition these women are trying to protect and also problematizes the idea of tying the creation of identity to the food one cooks and eats.

Yet, for many of the Goans discussed in this paper, the continued consumption of "Goan food" was integral to maintaining a connection to an imagined homeland and for preserving a sense of "Goan identity." Further research will be needed to fully understand why the Goan Canadians discussed in this paper made the food choices that they did. One would have to ask the various event organizers about their menu decisions. One might even ask the venues where the events were held about the catering services available to them. Perhaps the members of the GOA, UNT, TCAC, and the 55PGA consumed Goan cuisine at home on a regular basis, and did not want to eat the same types of food during festive occasions. This paper has taken a critical look at the existent scholarship on Goan Canadian food history and has raised questions

[82] Francis Leo Collins, "Of *kimchi* and coffee: globalisation, transnationalism and familiarity in culinary consumption," *Social & Cultural Geography* vol. 9, no. 2 (March 2008): 155. http://doi.org/10.1080/14649360701856094

about the importance of Goan food for the identify of Goan Canadians. By examining the menus for events held by various Goan cultural organizations and noting the lack of Goan foods listed on those menus, it becomes clear that the construction of a Goan identity in Canada is as complicated as the histories of the various migrations that Goan Canadians have made throughout their lives, and not as simple as the conclusions that Beagan and D'Sylva arrived at in their research. It also becomes clear that there was a clear shift away from Goan cuisine to a more "Canadian" menu at the Goan Canadian events examined. There is more that has to be uncovered about how Goan Canadians construct their identity in order to determine whether or not food holds the same significance for them today as it did for D'Sylva, and the thirteen women that she interviewed as part of her own study. Furthermore, there is also a lacuna that needs to be filled in Canadian food historiography as a whole, and this paper demonstrates that in filling that void, future scholars need to go beyond cookbooks and interviews to arrive at conclusions about any immigrant community, and one place to start may be the cultural organizations who exist to celebrate ethnic identity.

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ARTICLE

To Mentor and Control: How the North Bennet Street Industrial School Became a Pioneer of Philanthropy and Americanization at the Turn of the Century

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Abstract: This study explores how Progressivism, and a belief in the benefits of "Americanizing" immigrants, affected educational institutions such as Boston's North Bennet Industrial School at the end of the nineteenth century.

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This study seeks to explore the links that exist between industrial education, immigration, and the women's movement during the Progressive Era, using the North Bennet Street Industrial School as a case study. This school, established by wealthy, elite women in 1881, became a powerful support system for immigrant and working-class children and their families, and contributed to the education reform movement in Boston. Situated in the city's North End, the school catered to European immigrants who arrived during the late 1870s and early 1880s. This group included Italians, as well as Russian and Polish Jews. Unlike the "old immigration" immigrants who had preceded them, these new arrivals were looked upon with suspicion by native-born Americans, and, as a result, were subject to programs of assimilation.[1] Native-born Americans feared that the changes occurring in American society resulted from rapid industrialization and urbanization, originated abroad, and threatened the American way of life. The study will demonstrate that the school was primarily established by wealthy benefactors, middle-class teachers, and social workers. The aim was to provide educational opportunities to immigrants living in the poor conditions of the North End. However, influenced by the Progressive movement, the school became an agent of cultural transformation, while it embraced Americanization programs intended to prepare immigrants to deal with the realities of the urban industrial age.

[1] The term "Nativism" is derived from the "Native American" parties, such as the "Know-Nothing Party," that emerged in America during the mid-eighteenth century. In this context, "native" does not refer to Indigenous persons but to those descended from the inhabitants of the original thirteen colonies. Native-born Americans spearheaded the anti-immigration movement.

Settlement Movement Scholarship: The Dualistic Debate

Although the North Bennet Street Industrial School (NBSIS) differed somewhat from the settlement houses that emerged in the late 1880s, scholarly debate on the settlement houses and American philanthropy during the Progressive Era interlinks with this study. The Settlement Movement arose amid great social and political uncertainty at the turn of the century. Settlement houses sought to remedy poverty in needy neighbourhoods, and provide significant support to poor immigrant communities who often spoke little English and lacked an established support system. As a result, the houses often offered recreational facilities and food, as well as basic and higher education. Historians disagree on whether or not American philanthropy was singularly benevolent. The most seminal study of the settlement movement, *Spearheads for Reform*, written by historian Allen Davis, was one of the first to acknowledge women's contribution to the movement.[2] Davis argues that while some settlement reformers believed that settlement houses had a responsibility to control the community that they served this idea was not shared by the majority of reformers. For Davis, the legacy of the settlement house "lay not in its teaching […] but in its insisting that immigrants preserve the customs and traditions of the old country, assuring immigrants that it was not necessary to reject the past to become an American."[3] Davis's work, which drew its conclusions from sources written by the settlement leaders themselves, has been

[2] Allen F. Davis, *Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements and the Progressive Movement, 1890-1914* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 5, 10-11. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t56f3h58z
[3] Davis, *Spearheads for Reform*, 89.

challenged by historians who followed for its generous depiction of settlement reformers and their attitudes toward the immigrant community.[4] Scholars such as Walter Trattner argue that charities and settlements were used primarily to control certain populations.[5] Ruth Crocker attempts to neutralize this dualism by arguing that social reformers often "entered the slums with brave but contradictory purposes."[6] In other words, reformers had both benevolent and controlling motives. This study intends to examine the motivations of reformers in order to confront this dualism. Focusing on one institution, the NBSIS, will allow for an interpretation of reformers' intentions within their context.[7] Although the institution was established in 1882 by perhaps the most "benevolent" reformer in Boston at the time, the programs that it came to adopt indicate motivations based on "control." Thus, this study will argue that the Progressive environment in which the institution emerged transformed the school into an establishment guided by conflicting philanthropic aims.

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[4] Ruth Hutchinson Crocker, *Social Work, and Social Order: The Settlement Movement in Two Industrial Cities, 1889-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 1-9. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t9q31k242

[5] Walter I. Trattner, *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America*, 5th ed. (New York: The Free Press, 1994), 93-98. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t4sj2kz8r

[6] Crocker, *Social Work, and Social Order*, 225.

[7] Ramsey's work, which focuses on a singular philanthropic organization has been methodologically valuable to this study. Paul J. Ramsey, "Wrestling with Modernity: Philanthropy and the Children's Aid Society in Progressive-Era New York City," *New York History* vol. 88, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 153-174. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23183310

Immigration and Education: The Amalgamation of Two Movements

Before exploring the role that the NBSIS played in transforming the North End immigrant community, it is essential to contextualize the state of immigration and education at the turn of the century. As industrialization, urbanization, and, most importantly, immigration expanded in Northeastern cities, America's education system transformed drastically. Progressives believed first and foremost in education and interpreted the education system as part of the broader political and social reform of the era. Perhaps one of the most important political and social problems that the education system was used to address was immigration. Between 1880 and 1924, education was used throughout the United States — though mainly in larger eastern cities — to assimilate the "new" immigrants who arrived in the late 1870s and early 1880s.[8] The Progressives quickly became aware that newly arrived immigrants suffered from poorly conditioned slums, terrible working conditions, and other problems that arose as a result of rapid industrialization, overpopulation in the cities, and the economic exploitation of robber barons.[9] Education became a tool used to both assist and assimilate the immigrant.[10]

Native-born Americans perceived "new" immigrants who arrived between the 1870s and 1880s in a completely different light

[8] Joel Morton Roitman, "The Progressive Movement: Education and Americanization," (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 1981), 18-19.
[9] Robber barons is a derogatory term that refers to industrial businessmen during the late 1800s whose practices were often considered unethical and exploitative.
[10] Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 1.

than the "old immigrants" who preceded them. Between 1800 and 1870, immigrants came mostly from western and northern Europe and typically had relatives already living in America, resulting in higher living standards and immigrants feeling fairly at ease in their new country.[11] While particular groups, such as Catholics, suffered from discrimination during this period, the nativist movement was not just opposed to certain groups, but became opposed to all immigration. As historian John Higham writes, the nativist saw immigrants "as symbolic of a generalized foreign danger" and therefore, attacked foreigners indiscriminately.[12]

While journalist and public figures "indiscriminately" blamed immigrants for economic depressions, low wages, poverty, and crime, respected intellectuals endeavoured to cloak anti-immigrant feeling in academic legitimacy. Intellectuals claimed to be non-partisan as they used eugenics, which they claimed was science-based, to develop their racist attitudes into "a generalized, ideological structure."[13] Nativist intellectuals claimed that the "new immigrant," typically from southern and eastern Europe, appeared identifiably different from the native-born in appearance and culture, despite there being no evidence that this was true.[14] Native-born Americans were warned that their "good looks" would be degraded by interbreeding with "so many persons with crooked faces, coarse

[11] Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 2-3.
[12] John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*, rev. ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 64. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t5mb0mr5x
[13] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 64, 133.
[14] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 133.

mouths, bad noses, heavy jaws, and low foreheads."[15] Although German anarchists and Slavic contractors were attacked as individuals, the xenophobes mostly interpreted their target as emblematic of foreign danger.[16] The immigrant was blamed for several social ills and environmental conditions that came about as a result of rapid industrialism. Journalists were quick to attack immigrants for the growth in crime rates. Factory workers often blamed immigrants for the lowering of wages. Perhaps most commonly, though, immigrants were blamed for the poor conditions of the slums. Racial nativism in this period was made up of two patterns that often interlinked. This involved, firstly, taking advantage of popular emotions, developed from a historical popular mistrust of groups distinctly different in appearance from white Americans. The other depended on systematic ideas formed by racist intellectuals and their speculations on race matters. The power of this form of racist ferment is evident in the intersection of racial attitudes with nationalistic ones. Racial nativism extended "that sense of absolute difference which already divided white Americans from people of other colors."[17]

After 1900, as xenophobia increased, so too did efforts to implement immigration restrictions. Higham suggests that the strengthening of anti-immigrant xenophobia was a Progressive response to social problems and came about as an "outlet for

[15] Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Old World in the New: The Significance of the Past and Present Immigration to the American People* (New York: The Century Co., 1914), 287. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t53f4nd0b
[16] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 64.
[17] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 132.

expectations which progressivism raised and then failed to fulfill."[18] The problems of assimilation became more vivid in this period. "Native stock" appeared drastically different from the new immigrant.[19]

E.A. Ross, one of the leading social science scholars of his day, published one of the most influential studies of the decade. In his research, he emphasized that the "gulf between the Americans of today and the new immigrants" was wider than the "Americans of a generation ago and the old immigrants."[20] According to Ross, these new immigrants had many failings. They lacked substantial mental ability, were often alcoholics, and were more violent than "old immigrants."[21] The northern Italians were frauds, and southern Italians were extremely violent.[22] Ross's conclusions were by no means reflections of far-right groups such as the Ku Klux Klan; they were simply that of an intellectual of the time. To ensure that the foreigner did not continue to be an economic burden to the American, Ross believed that the immigration problem could only be fixed through the process of Americanization.

Despite Ross's interpretation, he can still be defined as a humanitarian — a distinctly Progressive trait. His understanding, however, was that humanism could be too extreme. He did not "consider humanity and forget the nation, who pity the living but not

[18] Higham, *Strangers in the Land*, 179.
[19] Roitman described how "being different, 'he [the immigrant] was perceived as a problem — almost immediately so.'" Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 2.
[20] Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 232.
[21] See "Lack of Mental Ability," 113-117, "Mental and Practical Traits," 85-92, Alcoholism, 32-33, 60-61, 72-73, 127-129, 229, Violence, 33, 98-101, 106-111, 118-119, 128-129, 136, 169-170, 175, 193, in Ross, *The Old World in the New.*
[22] Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 98-99.

the unborn."[23] Although Ross believed that assimilation worked for some immigrants, he felt it was almost impossible for others. The "new immigrants" were so different in terms of culture and language, that it was difficult for them to adapt to "American" life.[24] Therefore, Ross concluded that unrestricted immigration was a danger to the American people.

Although nativists blamed the natural characteristics of certain immigrants for the failures of assimilation, they also — with a Progressive spirit that was emotionally invested in "helping" others — believed that the environment could produce positive and significant changes.[25] Along with the immigration problems that emerged in the late nineteenth century, prominent Progressives were concerned with the education system. Progressives examined ways to ensure that the education system was preparing students to cope with the new realities of industrialization. Influenced by the Progressives, schools that developed at the end of the nineteenth century moved away from a curriculum based on classical and liberal art classes to programs that focused on science and industrial training for the immigrant and poor classes.[26]

Jane Addams, a pioneering settlement activist and social worker who was particularly vocal on education reform, believed that education programs should be established in the community, and used as a form of philanthropy. In a 1904 essay she wrote that if all public schools followed the educational practice adopted by the Progressive Hull-House:

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[23] Ross, *The Old World in the New*, xi.
[24] Ross, *The Old World in the New*, 112.
[25] Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 23.
[26] Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 51-55.

> We could imagine the businessman teaching the immigrant his much needed English and arithmetic and receiving in return lessons in the handling of tools and materials so that they should assume in his mind a totally different significance from that [which] the factory gives them.[27]

Born into a prosperous family, Addams was among the first generation of women to pursue a higher level of education, and like many of the women that emerged during this period, she dedicated her life to bettering the lives of the less fortunate. Addams's dedication to transforming America's education system grew out of her experience establishing America's first settlement house, the Hull-House in Chicago, Illinois. The Hull-House, situated in a working-class neighborhood, was designed to provide education and recreational facilities for immigrant women and children. Volunteers at the Hull-House, who were known as "residents," were mostly social reformers. The majority of them were women. Their work was often two-fold. Intent on creating a centre of modern education that could improve the lives of immigrant and working-class men and women, they established a curriculum with the aim of preparing immigrants for industrial work. During this process, the residents also closely studied the surrounding neighbourhood so that they might suggest improvements and influence social and legislative reform.[28] As a result, the residents not only helped to define the lives of the

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[27] Jane Addams, "The Humanizing Tendency of Industrial Education," *Chautauquan* vol. 39, no. 3 (May 1904): 271. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t05x2r85h

[28] See David A. Badillo, "Incorporating Reform and Religion," in *Pots of Promise: Mexicans and Pottery at Hull-House, 1920-40*, ed. Cheryl Ganz and Margaret Strobel (Chicago: University of Illinois, 2004), 31-54.

immigrants around them, but contributed to national and international public policy.[29]

John Dewey was another influential education reformer of the Progressive Era, and a frequent visitor to the Hull-House. Dewey shared Addams' philosophy regarding education. In a number of his theories about education, Dewey voiced the necessity for educators and schools to adapt to the rapidly evolving landscape of America. In 1899 he wrote:

> It is radical conditions which have changed, and only an equally radical change in education suffices […] when we turn to the school, we find that one of the most striking tendencies at present is toward the introduction of so-called manual training, shop work, and the household arts.[30]

Additionally, he argued that education was a social process and, therefore, the school should act as a place of social reform and a beacon of democracy. As a result, he complained that traditional, textbook based methods of education left "great gaps in [the student's] grasp for knowledge [that gave] no place to the part that action plays in the development of intelligence [and did] not develop the practical qualities which are usually weak in the abstract person."[31] In other

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[29] The residents of the Hull-House became involved in a number of social reform programs. See Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House with Autobiographical Notes* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1910), 201-202, 302-308, 323-341. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015005115111

[30] John Dewey, *The School and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, (1899) 1907), 9-10. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t1zd6g582

[31] John Dewey and Evelyn Dewey, *Schools of To-Morrow* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Company, (1915) 1919), 305. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044029545449

words, he believed that the school should provide students with the instruments to flourish in their community, and thereby positively contribute to society in general. In addition, it should act as an institution in which a social consciousness is welcomed, with the intention of creating an environment in which social reform could take place.

With a Progressive fever to transform social ills without amassing support from the government, schools became more than institutions for mentoring. The school was seen by many Progressives as an institution that could solve social and political issues believed to have stemmed from the arrival of immigrants. Education became a tool to cure all ills of the time, transforming the system into an article of Progressive faith.[32] In other words, the school was to act not only as "a moral agency to curb the motives of evil," but to also enable "the state to protect itself against the dangers of ignorance and vice."[33]

NBSIS was, in many ways, a product of such reform efforts. The school's roots as a settlement house emphasized its charitable beginnings. Moreover, the school's benefactor, Pauline Agassiz Shaw, played a large role in the implementation of an education philosophy that was modelled on that of progressive education reformers, ultimately transforming the school into a symbol of Progressive faith. As a result, the school emerged from an education movement founded on dual motivations: first, the need to prepare the younger generation for an emerging industrial society, and second to protect

[32] Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 18.
[33] James Grant Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York* (New York: New York History Co., 1893), 602, 612, quoted in Roitman, "The Progressive Movement," 18-19.

and uphold American middle-class ideals against the social ills believed to be brought about by immigration. These goals, however, were interlinked with another pivotal campaign that escalated from the 1880s to 1920: the women's movement.

Pioneers of Reform: Women's roles in Education and Immigration Reform

The women's movement was important to the education movement and the immigration reform movement, as well as to the development of the NBSIS. The movement emanated from the rapidly changing industrial society and the desire for reform in the late nineteenth century. For the first time, women — the majority of whom were white and middle-class — were granted educational, occupational, and professional opportunities that drove them to become social reformers.[34] Many of these women believed that the most effective way to implement social change was not to amass government support for reform but to transform the government through their efforts. They were often drawn to the settlement movement and education movement for two underlying reasons that stemmed from their middle-class backgrounds.

The first was a sense of obligation. As the first generation of college-educated women, many women felt that they had an obligation to prove their right to the privilege of higher education by passing their knowledge on to those less fortunate. These women left

[34] Lois Rudnick, "The New Woman," in *1915, The Cultural Moment: The New Politics, the New Woman, the New Psychology, the New Art & the New Theatre in America*, ed. Adele Heller and Lois Rudnick (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991), 70. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t0kt6853m

college "with a longing to know life at its barest and hardest, to grapple with cold physical facts, to stand on a common footing with those who have had no special advantages."[35] Moreover, their education — often in anthropology and sociology — drew them into professional fields that they then helped shape: "social work, consumer and juvenile protection, industrial health, progressive education, and day care."[36] Despite the social and economic advantages that came with their bourgeois backgrounds, these women "nonetheless identified more with labor than with capital and hoped for the elimination of exploitation by capital and the interventions of a democratically controlled state."[37] Addams described the sentiment behind the settlement movement and the women's sense of obligation in an essay titled "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," writing that, "There is a heritage of noble obligation which young people accept and long to perpetuate. The desire for action, the wish to right wrongs, and alleviate suffering haunts them daily."[38]

The second reason was more closely related to cultural pressures. Middle-class Progressive women were expected to conform to Victorian-era social constructs that forced onto them "the guardianship of American morals and manners."[39] These women were also influenced by the Protestant social gospel movement that argued, "Christianity has to be revealed and embodied in the line of

[35] Mary B. Sayles, "The Work of a Woman Tenement-House Inspector," *Outlook* vol. 75, no. 2 (12 September 1903): 121. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101075972347
[36] Rudnick, "The New Woman," 71.
[37] Rudnick, "The New Woman," 71.
[38] Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 118.
[39] Rudnick, "The New Woman," 74.

social progress."[40] As many upper and middle-class women believed that they possessed an inherent morality and regarded it as essential to live up to such cultural expectations, they also considered it necessary to pass on these societal standards to others. Many female reformers, "spurred by the revolt against the 'harsh pedagogy' of the existing schools and by the ferment of change and new thought in the first two decades of the twentieth century," established Progressive educational institutions.[41] According to historians Alan Sadovnik and Susan Semel, the "distinct philosophy and practice of each school" were contingent on the "particular vision of its founder."[42]

North Bennet Street Industrial School and its "Founding Mother"

The NBSIS, established in June 1881, grew out of a benevolent institution known as the North Bennet Street Industrial Home. This settlement house, was founded in 1879 and run by volunteers from the Associated Charities, which worked with recent immigrants in the North End. The school, therefore, acted in some ways as an additional program of an already established organization. The individual responsible for founding the school was Pauline Agassiz Shaw. Born in Switzerland on February 6, 1841, Shaw moved to the United States in 1850 when her father, Louis Agassiz, became a professor at Harvard University. Shaw's step-mother, Elizabeth

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[40] Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 122.
[41] Otto F. Kraushaar, *American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 81.
[42] Alan R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel, "Introduction," in *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders During the Progressive Era*, ed. Alan R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 1.

Cabot Cary, was involved in the founding of Harvard's Radcliffe College for women in 1879, and later became its president. The influence of her parents' involvement in education resulted, as one friend later remembered, in Shaw working to develop "in public and private schools the kind of teaching which she had seen her father give."[43]

Although her family was prominent in Boston's upper-class society, Shaw's wealth dramatically increased when she married Quincy Adams Shaw, a successful businessman in the copper mining industry. Pauline Shaw used her new financial resources "not for any purpose of private luxury but altogether for purposes of public usefulness and beneficence."[44] Although she put money into various charitable endeavors, most of her support went toward educational institutions. Championed as the "angel to [the] poor children of Boston," Shaw established some of the first kindergartens and nurseries for them in the United States.[45] After seeing the benefits of Shaw's generous funding of kindergartens over a period of ten years, the Boston's school board recognized their value and decided to include kindergartens in the public school system.[46] Like other educated women of her generation, Shaw felt that her standing and wealth as obliged her to help those who she witnessed suffering, and Boston's North End was certainly a suitable location for Shaw to apply her philanthropic spirit.

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[43] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes Paid in Her Memory* […] (Boston: Privately Printed, 1917), 30. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t8qb9xx90
[44] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes*, 29.
[45] "Angel to Poor Children of Boston," *Boston Globe*, 14 May 1905, 59.
[46] "Angel to Poor Children of Boston," *Boston Globe*, 14 May 1905, 59.

Once a center of Boston's commercial and intellectual activity, and later home to a homogeneous Irish community, by the late nineteenth century the North End had become a poor and densely populated home to unskilled laborers from Italy, Russia, and Germany.[47] Like many industrial cities on the East Coast, the conditions immigrants were expected to live in were extremely harsh. A story published in the *Boston Globe* describes the North End as having "the odor of decaying vegetables and other filth."[48] The author goes on to describe how, due to overcrowding and a lack of ventilation, immigrants who lived in the area were "driven out upon the streets and crouch in the doorways or against the brick walls, upon the shady side of the street […] even the children, who die like flies in this section of the city, are listless from the heat."[49] Another newspaper wrote that the overcrowded North End tenement houses were a "serious menace to public health."[50] While many Progressives viewed such conditions as justification for the implementation of further immigration restrictions, others saw the environment as an opportunity for reform.

Prominent members of the community, such as Unitarian Clergyman, Reverend Christopher R. Eliot, defended the Italian population, arguing that "they welcome education […] and seek it for their children. Herein lies our safety. They are a docile people. Passionate, but not lawless; ignorant, but not unintelligent; superstitious, but not immoral." Importantly, Eliot concludes that

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[47] Linda C. Morice, *Flora White: In the Vanguard of Gender Equity* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017), 105.
[48] W. Bert Foster, "Counter Currents," *Boston Globe*, 3 December 1898, 8.
[49] Foster, "Counter Currents," 8.
[50] "Clean Slums," *Boston Post,* 21 June 1895, 2.

"they are capable of becoming good citizens." In his opinion, the "danger lies in our not doing all that is possible to protect them from their own ignorance and inexperience."[51] Between 1880 and 1920, Progressive reformers, like Shaw, flooded into the North End seeking to not only improve the conditions of the slums but to do as Eliot suggests: to teach the immigrants the values of American citizenship as a means of ensuring that they adapted to American society. It is important to note that this sentiment represents the kind of class and ethnic condescension assumed by some, though not all, reformers.

Shaw did not believe that the immigrants were to blame for the conditions that surrounded them. After her death, she was described as having disliked the word "foreigner," which she found "repugnant to [her] democratic instincts."[52] She clearly felt, as Eliot did, that the North End's community and condition could be improved by teaching good citizenship to immigrant children. In other words, as one individual wrote, Shaw held that "the cause of good government and patriotism is halting because the rear detachments of our citizenship are not brought forward into the contest."[53] She therefore applied her philanthropic ambitions to educating children at the NBSIS in American citizenship and democracy, transforming the school into a pioneer in this field of Americanization.

The vision of Shaw and the NBSIS's other founding members — who were nearly all women — can be discerned from the changes that occurred once they had full control over the building that housed the school. The NBSIS originally took the building on a three-year

[51] "Are the Italians a Menace?" *Boston Globe*, 26 April 1896, 28.
[52] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes*, 80.
[53] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes*, 78.

lease, purchasing it in 1885.[54] During the lease, the school taught a few manual education classes as it adopted the charitable programs of the North Bennet Street Industrial Home. These programs included an industrial home, sewing-rooms, a cooking school, a day nursery, and a kindergarten.[55] Upon the creation of a new Board of Managers in 1885 — which included Shaw and other female members of Boston's upper-class, such as Harriet Hemenway, the socialite who founded the Massachusetts Audubon Society — the school began to "emphasize the matter of industrial and manual training, and they soon eliminated some of the purely charitable features of the earlier work."[56] The school's Annual Report proudly boasts that for the "first time in the history of education in Boston, manual training was systematically and scientifically directed toward its legitimate objects."[57] This statement shows that the school placed the practical and social motives of its establishment higher regard than its pedagogical or strictly educational ones.

The Report emphasized the necessity of this shift by voicing its concerns about the rapidly shifting population in the North End and explaining that its mission was to "instruct this alien procession in the best American ideals, and to hold steadily before the young high standards of skill, taste, and citizenship."[58] One scholar studying the

[54] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, The Work of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, 1881-1906, Gutman Education Library Special Collections, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 4.
[55] Annual Report for the Year 1881-1887, The Work of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, 1881-1906, Gutman Education Library Special Collections, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 2.
[56] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, 3.
[57] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, 3.
[58] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, 5.

North End at the turn of the century praised the school for its "flexibility, its power of quick adaption, [and its ability] to change its methods as its environment may demand."[59] While the school expanded to offer a number of interesting programs, this study will focus on three and assess the extent to which the school's efforts were philanthropic or directed by a desire to control and shape the immigrant population in a certain way.

Sloyd Training School

Shaw introduced the Sloyd training method to the North Bennet Street Industrial School in 1888. This method was proposed by Otto Salomon, a Swedish educator and writer, in 1894. It was designed to "secure the constant and proportionate development of mind and body."[60] The North Bennet Industrial School explained that the "aim of Sloyd is to train hand, eye, and brain, and to stimulate the moral sense by teaching the use of tools, a nicety in measurements, and strong feeling for order."[61] By teaching a structured program involving tool processes and construction methods, the school believed that the Sloyd method helped students prepare for their futures, not only physically but mentally.[62] In other words, Sloyd educators were certain that this teaching method ensured that students developed marketable skills that relied on manual dexterity

[59] T.S. Rockwell, "North End Settlements and the Foreigner," (Unpublished essay, Harvard College, 1912), 5. http://iiif.lib.harvard.edu/manifests/view/drs:3847745$1i
[60] Theodore F. Chapin, "The Educational Value of Manual Training," *Charities Review* vol. 6 (March-August 1897): 337. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101068339462
[61] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, 6.
[62] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, 6.

and fitness while they simultaneously developed their mental abilities.

Shaw appointed Gustaf Larsson as director of the Sloyd Training School in 1890. Larsson emigrated from Sweden in 1888 with the intention of promoting the Sloyd method in industrial America and adapting it to meet the needs of American pupils.[63] He came into contact with Shaw during his visit and was impressed by her promotion of the principles of Foebel's education theory in her kindergartens, as well as her knowledge of Sloyd training.[64] Larsson remained director of the training school, working continuously to modify the Sloyd system to meet the needs of American school children, until his death in 1919. The teaching of Sloyd, Larsson wrote, encouraged "manual training for the sake of general development, physical, mental, and moral" by promoting the "kind of hand-work which will best stimulate the right kind of head-work."[65] Bertha Johnston, editor of *Kindergarten Primary Magazine*, pointed out that Larsson distinguished the Swedish variant of Sloyd taught at the North Bennet school from Finnish and Russian training methods. Johnston agrees that Sloyd "was superior" and quotes an article written by Larsson in which he argues that "the Swedish system […] is based upon the Froebelian idea of the harmonious development of all powers of the child, tools, and exercises being chosen with

[63] Morice, *Flora White*, 103-104.

[64] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes*, 43-44.

[65] Gustaf Larsson, *Sloyd* (Boston: Sloyd Training School, 1902), 20. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t3320b29m

reference to this end, and all merely mechanical methods being carefully avoided."[66]

While the Sloyd Training School became an important addition to help the teaching at NBSIS meet the demands of the industrial era, it was also considered valuable to the school because it encouraged the immigrant: "to require and promote orderliness and exactness"; "to develop cleanliness and neatness"; and "to provide an opportunity to exercise and develop the sense of form."[67] These elements made up the "mental" teachings of Sloyd. Progressive reformers, such as Shaw, came to believe that the practicality of Sloyd contributed heavily to the healthy development of a child's morality, which helped create "good American citizenship." Given the lack of faith that existing government structures could produce moral Americans, it was hoped that new, Progressive programs like that of Sloyd that taught self-restraint and discipline could instill morality in the common citizen. As Larsson wrote in 1902:

> the moral effect of manual training is often apparent in the child's behavior and in his respect for his skillful schoolmates […] he loves good work, likes to be useful, prefers occupation to idleness; and thus the germs of good citizenship are planted at the time most favorable to growth and development.[68]

As one editor observed, teaching immigrant children practical skills provided an "opportunity to catch the little Russian, the little Italian,

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[66] Bertha Johnston, "Manual Training Up to Date," *Kindergarten Primary Magazine* vol. 20 (September 1907 – June 1908): 99. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t7hq4st69
[67] Annual Report for the Year 1888-1889, The Work of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, 1881-1906, Gutman Education Library Special Collections, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 5.
[68] Larsson, *Sloyd*, 13.

the little German, Pole, Syrian, and the rest and being to make good American citizens of them."[69]

The adoption of the practices of Sloyd education at the Industrial School adds an interesting layer to the analysis of the extent to which the school pursued practices of Americanization. It is clear that Shaw believed in the effectiveness of Sloyd training for ensuring that the immigrant was ready for the industrial workforce, regardless of whether the mind of the student was Americanized. The educational program that Larsson describes focused on the mental and moral growth of the student and allowed the school to mold students into American citizens.

Military Drill

A program of military drill was established at the NBSIS in 1885 when the Board of Managers began replacing the school's purely charitable features with programs that were considered more practical for reforming the North End. The NBSIS, echoing the objectives of the Sloyd program, argued that physical activity helped develop both the child's mental ability and their moral sensibility. This was believed to be particularly necessary for the North End due to the high crime rates among young boys in the area — often prompted by ethnic disputes. One scholar argued that the boys "were at one time or another pickpockets and thieves until they came in touch with [the school]."[70] The NBSIS characterized military drill as the "best thing that can be done for the rough boys, who gather on

[69] Addresses and Proceedings, *National Education Association of the United States 1866-69*, Vol 42, Boston: Massachusetts, 1903, 390.
[70] Rockwell, "North End Settlements," 21.

our street corners every evening."[71] Military drill was intended to teach these boys discipline and provide a moral compass that was otherwise lacking in their life. The school aimed to "transform undisciplined boys into erect young fellows with quite a soldierly bearing, attentive, quick to obey, eager to learn."[72]

The NBSIS was not the only institution to incorporate military drill into its curriculum. In fact, it became a popular program in a number of schools across America. The programs were relatively similar in what they taught. Patriotism and good citizenship, including daily routines such as a pledge of allegiance to the flag, were at the forefront of the lessons. What is striking is the difference in the rhetoric used by reformers when discussing the implementation of the military drill in schools for immigrants as compared to schools for Anglo-Americans.

The military drill was considered a significant contribution to the continued strength of the Anglo-American race in white schools. Educators vouched for this form of education as a way to strengthen the moral center of boys through "general order and discipline" techniques and, at the same time, "develop the muscular system, quicken the circulation, and arouse those physical energies" in children.[73] Many believed it was even a helpful program for the upper-classes due to their "impractical fashions, overindulgent life-styles, and mania for nightlife [that had] abused their bodies, a

[71] Annual Report for the Year 1888-1889, 22.
[72] Annual Report for the Year 1888-1889, 22.
[73] "Military Education," *New York Times*, 9 March 1862, 6.

voluntary physical neglect tantamount to sin."[74] It was the Progressive's goal to ensure that a moral society remained intact and was not diminished by the immoral effects of industrialism. John D. Philbrick, Boston's School Superintendent, wrote that the "Anglo-American race in the United States [was] the model race — the highest specimen of humanity yet known," but warned that a great proportion of society lacked "a sound mind in a sound body."[75] As a result, reformers did not view the military drill in Anglo-American schools as completely essential to the development of the boy's moral obedience but instead as a subsidiary tool to ensure that the strength of the Anglo-American race remained intact.

In contrast, the Progressive reformers' rhetoric toward advocating the implementation of the drill in immigrant schools focused on the program's function as a tool to mold immigrant children into subjects of "good citizenship" and "patriotic thought."[76] One reformer wrote: "It is believed that no other system of physical training affords superior advantages…than the military drill…it forms habits of obedience the most prompt and exact, and thus greatly aids in giving to the moral nature its rightful and just control."[77]

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[74] Peter J. Wosh, "Sound Minds and Unsound Bodies: Massachusetts Schools and Mandatory Physical Training," *New England Quarterly* vol. 55, no. 1 (March 1982): 40. http://www.jstor.org/stable/365702

[75] John D. Philbrick, quoted in Wosh, "Sound Minds and Unsound Bodies," 45; John D. Philbrick, "Report," in *Semi-Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Schools of the City of Boston* (Boston: Geo. C. Rand & Avery, 1860), 7. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.59730133

[76] John D. Philbrick, quoted in Wosh, "Sound Minds and Unsound Bodies," 45; Philbrick, "Report," 7.

[77] Joseph White, quoted in Wosh, "Sound Minds and Unsound Bodies," 52.

Women were major advocates for the implementation of the military drill in schools. Consistent with values held by middle and upper-class Progressive women, reformers believed that the drill was particularly useful in transforming immigrant children into morally oriented beings. In other words, transforming them into individuals compatible with America's middle-class values. The Women's Relief Corps (WRC), the auxiliary to the Grand Army of the Republic (GAR), was particularly essential to the implementation of military drills in American schools. Although much of the Corps' work involved promoting militarism in Anglo-American schools, it recognized military education as a beneficial form of Americanization. The GAR devised a number of programs designed to reach immigrant students with hopes of instilling in them American patriotic values. Historian Cecilia O'Leary argues that the "GAR made special efforts to reach immigrant students, convinced that military instruction would bind the children to their new country and its institutions."[78] Women of the WRC, due to their mistrust of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, believed that these immigrants were opposed to the American government. The women understood that it was unlikely for immigrants to learn American core values in their homes and, therefore, saw school as a beacon of transformation for the younger generation immigrants.[79]

The rhetoric used by the NBSIS was consistent with that of other reformers. One volunteer remembered the strict rules that immigrant students were forced to follow at the school. They were

[78] Cecilia O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1999), 183.
[79] O'Leary, *To Die For*, 97.

not allowed to "get excited, chew gum, spit, swear, cheat or talk Italian."[80] For reformers who blamed the North End's sanitary conditions and crime rates on the immigrant population, the military drill was revolutionary as it reinforced American middle-class morals and manners. The teachings of citizenship in this program were consistent with the work of Reverend Eliot and other reformers based in the North End. The NBSIS praised the military drill for its capacity to transform children who possessed a "vulgar bravado" and were "lawless follies" into "details of quiet, decent, straight youths."[81] Not only did these children learn "habits of order, neatness, punctuality, honesty, gentler ways of speaking and acting," but they were assimilated into American society — and their families were expected to benefit from their example.[82] Unlike the Sloyd Training School, there was no intention for the military drill to help ensure the young immigrant boy secured a job in the industrial economy. Instead, the program was established to ensure that the immigrant behaved in a way that American society deemed acceptable.

Saturday Evening Girls' Club

The Saturday Evening Girls' Club, established by the school in 1899, was an agent of socialization in the North End Community. The purpose of the club was to give young, poor Italian girls access

[80] Eric C. Schneider, *In the Web of Class: Delinquents and Reformers in Boston, 1810s-1930s* (New York: New York University Press, 1992), 135. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t9p34j629

[81] Annual Report for the Year 1888-1889, 22.

[82] Annual Report for the Year 1897-1898, The Work of the North Bennet Street Industrial School, 1881-1906, Gutman Education Library Special Collections, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, United States, 11.

to educational and cultural resources through a library club program.[83] The young women met on Saturdays to accommodate those who worked during the week. The club offered members a platform to engage in intellectual conversation as well as courses on literature, music, art, and social and economic problems.[84] The club grew out of the expansion of the school's library and reading rooms. Before the expansion, the club focused on teaching cooking, sewing, and other domestic skills. With access to around 600 volumes of juvenile works in the Girls Library, the club created an alternative atmosphere — outside of the sewing and various domestic circles — where intellectual conversation flourished.[85] Thus, the Saturday Evening Girls' Club stood out from the other clubs by providing young women with an educational program dedicated to the intellectual life of women. The group also performed plays and concerts, visited places of historical interest, and held theatre parties and dances.[86]

The girls' club was established by three women in particular: Edith Guerrier, Edith Brown, and Helen Storrow. These three women expanded the club to include 250 members by 1914 and even published a newspaper, *S.E.G. News.*[87] Essential to the group's running was the financial support offered by Helen Storrow, a prominent upper-class philanthropist who had joined the NBSIS's Board of

[83] Annual Report for the Year 1904-1905, 14.
[84] Edith Guerrier, "A Brief Survey of the L.C.H. Groups," *S.E.G. News* vol. 3, no. 1 (14 November 1914): 5. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217
[85] Guerrier, "A Brief Survey of the L.C.H. Groups," 5.
[86] Guerrier, "A Brief Survey of the L.C.H. Groups," 5.
[87] Guerrier, "A Brief Survey of the L.C.H. Groups," 5; Fanny Goldstein, "The Story of the S.E.G. in Storytelling," *S.E.G. News* vol. 3, no. 7 (8 May 1915): 3. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217

Managers in 1898. Storrow, who was married to a wealthy Brahmin lawyer, James Jackson Storrow Jr., came from a long line of liberal reformers. Like Shaw, she was financially secure and dedicated her life to reform and charitable efforts. Edith Guerrier and Edith Brown met while enrolled in an evening course at the Museum School of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts and became lifelong partners. According to The History Project's *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland*, Guerrier secured a position in the nursery at the NBSIS in 1892, while Brown "taught drawing at North Bennet Street and in 1908 became director of the pottery studio."[88]

After the NBSIS's Board of Managers was established in 1885, newly graduated college professionals replaced volunteers at the school. Guerrier and Brown were part of this new generation and their middle and upper-class backgrounds shaped the kinds of programs in which they introduced to the club. The women worked to ensure that the club promoted white Protestant middle-class values. The *S.E.G. News* reprinted an unattributed quotation which argued that democracy did not solely "depend on ballot boxes or franchise laws or constitutional machinery. These [were] but its trappings."[89] Instead, democracy was a "spirit, and an atmosphere, and its essence is trust in the moral instinct of people."[90] Many reformers believed that such a "moral instinct" was not apparent in the immigrant body and therefore needed to be taught. The editor of

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[88] History Project, *Improper Bostonians: Lesbian and Gay History from the Puritans to Playland* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 79. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t1qg2mq7d
[89] *S.E.G. News* vol. 4, no. 1 (13 November 1915): 11. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217
[90] *S.E.G. News* vol. 4, no. 1 (13 November 1915): 11.

the *S.E.G. News*, Fanny Goldstein, wrote that "the ideal of American womanhood which you good friends have helped to place before us, we, the S.E.G., will aim to exemplify by our living, and to pass the ideal on to others."[91] By adopting the values of American womanhood taught by the club, the young women strove "to be better friends, better daughters, better wives, better mothers; and always pure and simple women."[92]

Because many immigrant families in the North End relied on the young women in the family to contribute to the family income, reformers recognized that young women missed out on many educational opportunities. Historian Kate Clifford Larson argues that, due to this financial pressure, "the threat of prostitution and entrapment in white slavery was real for some vulnerable, single, poor, and immigrant women."[93] For many middle-class reformers, this translated into the need to teach immigrant women the value of morality and the need to be physically protected. In the same way that the NBSIS felt a responsibility to ensure that morality was taught to young immigrant boys, the club believed it had a "deep responsibility" to "promote [its] moral and intellectual ideals" to immigrant women to ensure that "a big city like Boston is […] kind."[94] They found it "astonishing to see how rapidly the immigrant learns the English

[91] Fanny Goldstein, "The Voice of Appreciation," *S.E.G. News* vol. 3, no. 2 (12 December 1914): 2. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217
[92] Goldstein, "The Voice of Appreciation," 2.
[93] Kate Clifford Larson, "The Saturday Evening Girls: A Progressive Era Library Club and the Intellectual Life of working Class and Immigrant Girls in Turn-of-the-Century Boston," *Library Quarterly: Information, Community, Policy* vol. 71, no. 2 (April 2001): 208. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4309506
[94] Maurice M. Shore, "Our Attitude Towards the Immigrant," *S.E.G. News* vol. 4, no. 4 (12 February 1916): 10. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217

language and adapts […] to the ways of this country."[95] Quite clearly, these reformers sincerely believed that they were saving the immigrant from being "sneered and ridiculed" by teaching them American morals.[96]

A long-lasting contribution that the Saturday Evening Girls' Club has made to our understanding of the era is the glimpse it offers into the opinions of the immigrant members themselves. The majority of members speak to the club's success. In an interview with the *Boston Globe*, Barbara Maysles Kramer recalled the impact that the club had on her mother, who was the first of her family to go to college. Originally from Russia, Kramer's grandparents arrived in Boston in 1895 and lived on Salem Street in the North End. Kramer described how, "like many of the Saturday Evening Girls, [her mother] became a teacher."[97] More importantly, however, she notes that, "it was not only determination for education that influenced members of the group. Like others, [my mother] stood straight and tall. And because they learned as girls to understand the social system, as women, they knew how to help others to get things done."[98] Kramer did not describe these acts of assimilation in a negative light. Instead, she believed that "it gave [my mother] an education in the broadest sense…a knowledge of art, literature, acting, singing, and dancing. It gave her grace [and] taught her to be selfless."[99]

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[95] Shore, "Our Attitude Towards the Immigrant," 10.
[96] Shore, "Our Attitude Towards the Immigrant," 10.
[97] Jean Dietz, "Extending the bond of the Saturday Evening Girls," *Boston Globe*, 12 May 1991, B12.
[98] Dietz, "Extending the bond," B12.
[99] Dietz, "Extending the bond," B12.

Another successful member of the club was a Russian immigrant, Fanny Goldstein, who, in 1922 became the director of the West End branch of the Boston Public Library, making history as the first Jew to direct a public literary branch in Boston.[100] In a 1914 editorial in the *S.E.G. News*, Goldstein wrote of her appreciation for the club, stating that "our hearts overflow with the highest type of love for, and gratitude to, those kind friends who have afforded us so many wonderful opportunities and pleasures in the past, and which we have all most democratically shared."[101] Goldstein also makes it clear that immigrant women involved in the school and the club were well aware of the assimilationist agenda pursued by both. She writes that "we have throughout the process of American assimilation, retained our originality and racial traditions, and helped to maintain and to prosper the integrity of our homes."[102] Goldstein indicates that while the school was perhaps not worried about the damaging aspects of Americanization, the immigrants themselves were and made an effort not to abandon their cultural heritage. At the same time, however, Goldstein seems to take pride in the fact that she and other members of the group "[grew] from foreign little girls into American young women."[103] So while these girls may have tried hard to keep intact elements of their heritage, they willingly — guided by the programs offered at the school — gave up parts of their cultural identity in order to assimilate.

It is unclear from either the school's, or the club's, reports how parents responded to the schools assimilating programs. Although

[100] Larson, "The Saturday Evening Girls," 221.
[101] Goldstein, "The Voice of Appreciation," 1.
[102] Goldstein, "The Voice of Appreciation," 2.
[103] Goldstein, "The Voice of Appreciation," 2.

the *S.E.G. News* published articles written by club members, it is unlikely that it would have given parents the opportunity to voice any misgivings. Nevertheless, some editorials speak to the tone of what some parents may have been feeling. Writing in 1916, Goldstein describes the "tragic gap [that existed] between the first and second generation [of immigrants]" and asserts that this was the "high price of assimilation."[104]

Despite this, most articles in the *S.E.G. News* spoke of the assimilation process positively and as a necessary component for the immigrant's success in America. Rose Casassa wrote that "the Italian mothers and fathers who come here seldom change their ideas of life or their ways of living."[105] While immigrant parents "[did] not venture boldly forth into the world," many ensured that their children received further education through the club and "applied themselves very diligently to the studies for which they seemed best fitted with the result that they are an excellent example of American assimilation and progress."[106]

Historian Kate Larson, who conducted interviews with descendants of the club in the 1990s, would argue, however, that this is not an accurate perception of the majority of immigrant parents. Larson suggests that there was clear resistance from parents who feared the process of Americanization for their daughters as a threat to their cultural and religious traditions. This was especially true for women, who traditionally remained in the control of their families

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[104] Fanny Goldstein, "Editorial," *S.E.G. News* vol. 4, no. 3 (8 January 1916): 2. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217

[105] Rose Casassa, "Immigration: The Italian Family," *S.E.G. News* vol. 4, no. 2 (11 December 1915), 6. http://n2t.net/ark:/13960/t72v3w217

[106] Casassa, "Immigration: The Italian Family," 6, 7.

until they married. One daughter described how many of the girls had to hide their books from their parents, who tried to prevent them from visiting the school.[107] Another woman, Dora Cohen, spoke of having to sneak out of her house on Friday evenings so that she could attend the Friday Evening Girls' Club, "a junior group of the Saturday Evening Girls' Club."[108] "I had to be one step ahead of my father to get out on the Sabbath," she remembered, "but to me, it was worth it."[109]

Conclusion

Shaw's philanthropic perspective is expressed in a statement she wrote to her children in 1913: "I had too much. You will have too much — and it will require great effort, with God's help, to determine 'to give' rather than 'to hold,' and to think deeply as you spend to spread for progress and welfare rather than for 'pleasure.'"[110] Shaw spent an "aggregate expense per year" to ensure that others less fortunate than her were given the opportunities she felt they deserved.[111] The NBSIS was an outgrowth of Shaw's philanthropic efforts, and much of her work was a "labor of love."[112] In the same way that Storrow invested her money into the Saturday Evening Girls' Club, and Guerrier and Brown dedicated their time and lives to the cause.

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[107] Larson, "The Saturday Evening Girls," 209.
[108] Larson, "The Saturday Evening Girls," 195.
[109] Larson, "The Saturday Evening Girls," 196.
[110] Morice, *Flora White*, 103.
[111] "Angel to Poor Children of Boston," *Boston Globe*, 14 May 1905, 59.
[112] "Angel to Poor Children of Boston," *Boston Globe*, 14 May 1905, 59.

These women, however, were also a product of their era. They clearly had some fears about the state of immigration and the poor living conditions that they witnessed in the North End. More importantly, they believed in the power of American citizenship and that its teaching was what was needed for the immigrant to succeed in American society.[113] For Shaw, education was the most powerful tool to prepare the immigrant for the "highest citizenship," even if it came at the cost of maintaining the immigrant's culture.[114]

The three programs adopted at the school, the Sloyd Training School, the Military Drill, and the Saturday Evening Girls' Club, emerged despite a social and political climate that did not value the education of the immigrant or the working-class populations. By attending and graduating from such programs, immigrants were challenging late nineteenth-century characterizations that depicted them as intellectually flawed. Although the NBSIS provided industrial training for immigrants to go into factory work, the training allowed them to enter the workforce at a higher level. In the same way, young women who attended the Saturday Evening Girls' Club defied American society's low expectations of them by suggesting that they wanted more from life than to work in a factory or become a domestic homemaker or housemaid.

However, this is not to say that these reformers saw the immigrants as equals. The benefactors and middle-class teachers viewed immigrants as people who needed to be taught morals and skills in order to improve American society as a whole. They clearly believed that by teaching the ideals of American morals and culture,

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[113] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes*, 78.
[114] *Pauline Agassiz Shaw: Tributes*, 48.

they were providing immigrants with the opportunity to make an honest living. From all three programs highlighted above, it is clear that no effort was made to avoid stripping immigrants of their ethnicity, including their language and religion. Instead, the programs were implemented to teach the immigrants useful skills to succeed in American society by completely transforming them into American citizens.

In many ways, then, the reformers at the school acted with similar intentions to the reformers in the settlement houses and carried out their reform efforts "with brave but contradictory purposes."[115] The reformers clearly dedicated much of their wealth, time, and lives to help and to mentor immigrant children at the school. They wanted immigrants to succeed as best they could and guide them away from the terrible conditions of the North End slums. At the same time, however, the reformers used this mentorship to control and shape the immigrant community that they served. Reformist programs were based on the belief that the immigrant needed moral and mental enrichment. Thus, the benevolent nature of these reformers, who wished to ensure that the immigrant was prepared not only for the realities of industrial work but for American adult life, was undermined by a belief in the need to assimilate the immigrant into American culture.

[115] Crocker, *Social Work, and Social Order*, 225.

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