



**Red Feather**  
**in**  
**Montreal**

*Anne MacLennan*

ISBN 0-9680794-0-7  
Dépôt legal 1996 BNQ  
Legal Deposit 1996 NLC

© Red Feather Foundation, Montreal, Quebec, 1996.  
All rights reserved.

# CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	v
Preface	vii
Introduction	1
Organizing Charity	3
The Formation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies	4
Financial Federation's Growth	8
The Impact of the Depression	14
The War Years	17
The Post-War Building Boom	24
Toward a Broader Base	25
The Quiet Revolution and Beyond	28
Red Feather Funding and Restructuring	31
Toward a United Appeal	34
Centraide of Greater Montreal	36
The Red Feather Foundation	37
Epilogue	39
Notes	41
Photo credits	45
Further Reading	46
Appendix I: Agencies	48
Appendix II: Leaders	55

## **TABLES**

1. Montreal Council of Social Agencies, 1920	8
2. Financial Federation and Montreal Council of Social Agencies, 1930	13
3. Federation - Council Relations, 1939	17
4. Financial Federation and Montreal Council of Social Agencies, 1940	18
5. Federation Program, 1940	19
6. Red Feather Services, 1950	26
7. United Red Feather Services, 1967	30

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This history was commissioned by the Red Feather Foundation which offered continued support throughout the project. In particular the active involvement of Peter Denis, John Gallop, Sheila Goldboom, Claire Kerrigan, Jo LaPierre, Gloria Menard and Harold Thuringer was of great assistance. Both the reference and circulation librarians at the McLennan Library, McGill University were very helpful. The staff of the McGill University Archives were all invaluable, especially Gordon Burr, Bruce Dolphin and Robert Michel. Centraide graciously opened its archives for use in the project. Additional thanks go to Janice Harvey for sharing her expertise on nineteenth century Montreal charities.

## THE AUTHOR

The Montreal Council of Social Agencies was the subject of Anne MacLennan's M.A. thesis at McGill University. A portion of that research was subsequently published in the *Urban History Review*. Formerly a tenured teacher at Dawson College in Montreal she is currently working on her Ph.D. at Concordia University.



## **PREFACE**

The history of Red Feather is the story of generations of Montrealers who have dedicated their time, their resources and their imagination to helping the less fortunate in their community. The charitable institutions they established and served for over seventy years have made – and continue to make – a major contribution to the well-being of the city.

The federation of social agencies that was to become Red Feather was established in 1922, but commitment to charitable practices had always been a respected tradition among the city's English-speaking Protestant families. While the Roman Catholic Church maintained a broad program of social services for its French and English parishioners, early charitable work in the Protestant community was handled on a personal basis.

As Montreal rapidly grew and became more industrialized, however, surging social problems soon outpaced the resources of individual charity. This situation led to the founding, and funding, of privately sponsored charitable organizations. The English Protestant agencies, which would later carry the Red Feather banner, helped lay the groundwork for the health and social services network we know today.

### **Ahead of Their Time**

It all began in 1815 with the formation of the Female Benevolent Society, which led to the creation of the Montreal General Hospital in 1822. Many other institutions followed, including the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum in 1822, the Montreal Lying-in Hospital in 1843, the University Settlement in 1893, and the Victorian Order of Nurses (V.O.N.) of Montreal in 1897.

Many initiatives of the Red Feather family were very avant-garde. In 1888, at a time when societal values were family-oriented and male dominated, the Montreal Day Nursery – one of the first day care centres in Canada – was founded. The Montreal Diet Dispensary, established in 1879 as a soup kitchen, later won world renown for its pioneering nutrition programs for poor pregnant women. Health clinics were begun as demonstration projects in the 1920s. In the 1950s the Mental Hygiene Institute began the first marriage counselling service in Canada.

When the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and its Financial Federation were set up in 1922 as an umbrella for English Protestant charities, they then numbered thirty-two. Over the years, the Federation which eventually became known as United Red Feather Services – became one of the most successful fund-raising enterprises in North America. At its

peak in the mid-1960s, Red Feather was supporting over a hundred health and social service agencies in Montreal.

Perhaps one of the most significant legacies of Red Feather was its organizational and operational efficiency. The network was highly flexible, continuously adapting to the changing needs of the community. The sound management and financial accountability of its agencies set the standards for the future.

## **Broad Range of Services**

Although family welfare and child care were at the core of its operations, there was no area of social need that was not addressed by the Red Feather network. It supported the city's largest non-sectarian guidance and recreation program for boys and girls in low-income areas: the Montreal Boys' and Girls' Associations, the Boy Scouts, the Parks and Playgrounds Association, the Griffintown Boys' Club, the Y.W.C.A., Unity Boys' Club and St. Columba House.

The health agencies of Red Feather provided the most extensive non-hospital services in Montreal. They included the V.O.N., the (Constance Lethbridge) Occupational Therapy Centre, the Mental Hygiene Institute and the Canadian National Institute for the Blind. Red Feather agencies ran major programs for the aged and the intellectually handicapped. They provided facilities for orphans, delinquent children, unwed mothers, and the homeless at such institutions as the Protestant Orphan Asylum, the Old Brewery Mission, Weredale House and the Sheltering Home.

Many Red Feather agencies operated on an "open door" basis, providing services for all groups in the community regardless of creed or language. As well, they encouraged and aided the establishment of neighborhood community centres involving people at the local level such as the Negro Community Centre and the University Settlement. Red Feather also supported the Greater Montreal Anti-Poverty Coordinating Committee which, in the early 1970s, undertook the first major attempt at promoting consumer involvement in social service issues.

## **Generous and Influential Leadership**

None of these good works would have been possible without the philanthropic Montrealers who provided property and funding for buildings to house the Red Feather agencies. J. W. McConnell was particularly generous in this regard. As well as the many projects with which he was publicly associated, he is frequently credited with being the "unknown benefactor" for many more.

The leaders of Red Feather provided a devoted and intelligent leadership that was recognized not just in Montreal but across Canada. They participated in social welfare on a national level and actively influenced federal and provincial governments for change in health and social welfare policies. For example, Philip Sydney Fisher, a philanthropist who pioneered health and welfare programs in Montreal, co-founded and served on the Canadian Welfare Council for thirty years.

From the beginning, Red Feather was very much involved with the evolution of social work teaching in the city. In 1931, its parent Federation spearheaded the establishment of the Montreal School for Social Workers (which later became a faculty of McGill University). Red Feather agencies served as the training ground for new social workers for over fifty years.

Volunteerism has always been the heart of the Red Feather concept. In the early days, it was promoted chiefly by members of Montreal's affluent families. Their more fortunate economic position provided them with the means to found and finance charitable institutions. But they also served on administrative boards, and provided direct services to the needy. Among many prominent names we find Beatty, Bovey, Currie, Dawes, Drummond, Fisher, Fleming, Graham, Hanson, Hugessen, McConnell, MacDougall, Molson and Reford.

The tradition of giving established by those early benefactors lives on among their descendants who can still be found in the forefront of community service in Montreal. They have been joined over the years by an army of volunteers who continue to sustain the institutions of the English-speaking community. The Central Volunteer Bureau established in 1937, and which still coordinates volunteer activities in Montreal, served as a model for other volunteer bureaus now operating in the Greater Montreal area.

Along with funds raised through annual campaigns, Red Feather was supported through many large legacies and endowments. The investment income from these bequests was used as a permanent source of funds to enable its work to continue and expand. Lady Julia Drummond, Sir Edward Beatty, Duggan Dallis and Sir Charles W. Lindsay were among the major benefactors of the Red Feather network.

## **The End of an Era**

Until the provincial government took on the dominant role in administering social welfare in the early 1960s, Red Feather agencies provided the major support of welfare and social services for the Protestant and non-sectarian communities in Montreal. The introduction of universal health

care and increased impact of unemployment insurance altered their role dramatically.

By the end of 1966, after the Quebec government reorganized health and social services, many Red Feather agencies had become para-public establishments. When Centraide was formed in 1974 to take on fund raising and planning for the voluntary sector in the Greater Montreal area, the remaining Red Feather agencies became part of the Centraide family.

This was an eloquent gesture of trust and openness on the part of Red Feather. In spite of its minority position, the English-speaking Protestant community willingly gave up all the services and structures it had built over so many years as a commitment to the good of the larger Montreal community.

In fact Red Feather was one of the principal founding members of Centraide of Greater Montreal. Its staff and volunteers played a pivotal role in setting up, and serving in, the new organization. Pam Daglish, John Hallward, Derek Hanson, Jack Keith, Claire Kerrigan, Kenneth Place and Jack Shirley represented Red Feather in drawing up the Centraide agreement. Harold Thuringer, former Red Feather Executive Director, became Centraide's first Director of Administration; and John Hallward served as Chairman of the Centraide Board. John Gallop currently sits on both the Red Feather and Centraide Foundation boards; and Ricardo Gill, formerly Red Feather's Administrative Coordinator, has been with Centraide's allocations and agency relations department since the merger.

At the time Centraide was formed, a foundation was set up to manage Red Feather's endowment funds and investment portfolio. The major portion of the annual income from these investments is donated to Centraide each year. During its first twenty years of operation, Centraide has received close to \$2 million from the Red Feather Foundation.

In 1986 the Foundation began publishing a quarterly newsletter on health and social services, the *Red Feather Forum*. The *Forum* maintains links among the old Red Feather agencies and with the English-speaking community and its institutions. It reports on what is happening throughout the social service system and on the people who are continuing the work of those early pioneers.

The Red Feather family has symbolized caring and dedication for over seventy years. The agencies and institutions developed under Red Feather auspices have been the mainstay of social services in Montreal. It is fitting that those responsible for such lasting good work be remembered. This history is a tribute to them and their accomplishments.

GLORIA MENARD  
Editor, *Red Feather Forum*

## INTRODUCTION

The organization which came to be known as Red Feather has evolved over more than seventy years to meet the changing needs of what was originally the Protestant, English-speaking community of Montreal. Red Feather first started in 1922, as the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. It began as the finance committee of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, but soon became a large umbrella organization that undertook to organize and coordinate these agencies and older existing groups. Over its seventy-four year history, Red Feather has undergone several name changes. It became Federated Charities in 1937, then changed to the Welfare Federation of Montreal in 1943, and finally in 1960 became United Red Feather Services.

The agencies which fell under the direction of the Federation had been using the name Red Feather Services since 1947. In 1956 a new campaign symbol was added to the red feather to symbolize "The United Way of Giving" and identify with community chests and federations throughout the continent. The letter "U" was printed under the familiar symbol of the red feather and the word "United" was superimposed below the feather. With the creation of Centraide, in 1974, Red Feather ceased to offer services and the Red Feather Foundation undertook the task of supervising the remaining capital assets of Red Feather. It continues to play this role today.

The Protestant English-speaking community of Quebec has roots dating back over two hundred years. Although there have always been pockets of this population scattered throughout the province, as there are today, its greatest strength has always been in Montreal. Here it continued to grow in number and this growth required a corresponding expansion and coordination of its health, welfare and social services.<sup>1</sup>

Until the latter part of the twentieth century, the burden of responsibility for social services in Montreal fell almost entirely upon the private sector. The language, religious and cultural barriers within the city made the development of a uniform system of private charities very difficult to achieve. The English-speaking, Protestant community, always a minority in the province of Quebec, had ideas about charitable work and how it should be organized which were very different from those of the French-speaking, Roman Catholic majority.

When New France was first colonized, religious orders of priests, such as the Recollets, Jesuits and Sulpicians and sisters such as the Ursulines, Sisters of Charity and Congregation of Notre Dame began to proselytize the native population and provide social services for the colony. These religious orders were later joined by lay groups which tended to the needs

of the Catholic poor through the parish-based St. Vincent de Paul Society.

The need for similar services for non-Catholic groups who settled in Quebec were largely unmet until, gradually, the English-speaking Protestant community began to found its own private, voluntary, charitable agencies.<sup>2</sup> Initially, Protestant charities were formed sporadically, generally in response to specific crises. The Female Benevolent Society which offered to aid the sick and poor, and education for their children, was a typical example.<sup>3</sup> It was formed in 1815 by a group of concerned wives of wealthy English Protestant merchants, largely in response to the sudden influx of immigrants into Montreal, and ceased to function in 1822.

This increased immigration also prompted the formation of a series of "national" societies. In 1834 and 1835, St. Patrick's Society, La Société Saint Jean Baptiste, the St. George's National Society, St. Andrew's Society, and the German Society were all established in Montreal.<sup>4</sup> These organizations extended their work beyond the preservation of ethnic ties and values to offer assistance to needy immigrants. They were joined by other agencies such as the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society, which was revived in 1832 to cope with the desperate conditions provoked by the cholera epidemic. All these groups dealt with immediate needs without any long range planning.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was marked by Montreal's rapid growth and industrialization. More charities founded by the Protestant English-speaking community emerged in response to the new social problems of health, delinquency and child welfare which resulted from the industrial growth in the city. They included the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum in 1822; the University Lying-In Hospital in 1843; the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge in 1863; the Protestant Infants' Home in 1870; the Murray Bay Convalescent Home in 1874; the Montreal Diet Dispensary in 1879; the Society for the Protection of Women and Children in 1882; the Montreal Day Nursery in 1888; the University Settlement of Montreal in 1893; and the Victorian Order of Nurses of Montreal in 1897.<sup>5</sup> All of these charities were the forerunners of or later became Red Feather agencies. As their names reveal, they were nearly all organizations devoted to a single social issue, rather than the overall problem of urban poverty.

## ORGANIZING CHARITY

Cities throughout Europe and the United States experienced the same rapid growth and industrialization as Montreal in this period and progressive thinkers in these cities often looked to the Charity Organization Society in England for solutions to social problems.<sup>6</sup> Founded in 1869, the London Society for Organizing Charitable Relief and Repressing Mendicancy was designed to fill the gap created in England by the passing of the New Poor Law in 1834.

A series of local, private, and often denominationally defined, charitable groups developed to serve the needs of the “deserving poor” but rivalries and duplication often led to waste and confusion.<sup>7</sup> The Charity Organization Society was designed to bring order to these groups.<sup>8</sup> It saw its role as that of a watchdog to monitor the activities of charitable groups and to ensure that what was defined as “scientific charity” was provided.

The Charity Organization Society’s ideals of efficiency and organization spread throughout the United States and England, and by the end of the nineteenth century they were beginning to have some impact on charity in Montreal. The city’s existing Protestant charities were persuaded to transcend their denominational, ethnic, and functional divisions and to cooperate for greater efficiency. In the late 1890s, the Montreal branch of the National Council of Women of Canada advocated the Charity Organization model as a solution to Montreal’s confused network of charitable relief. In 1900 Montreal’s leading citizens adopted a plan and constitution for a Charity Organization Society. The city cooperated closely in this first attempt to organize charity for the city of Montreal and seven members of the city’s Executive Committee sat on the organization’s first board of directors.<sup>9</sup>

The Society hoped to coordinate and expand charity beyond the mere provision of relief and to uplift the lives of the poor, morally and intellectually.<sup>10</sup> Francis H. McLean, a professional social worker from the United States, was the first general secretary of the organization.<sup>11</sup> McLean soon found that Charity Organization Society methods could not be easily applied to the Montreal situation. Montreal lacked an essential element of Charity Organization planning – a system of public relief. In England, the United States, and other parts of Canada, Charity Organization Societies had the option of denying assistance, knowing that the last refuge of the public almshouse was always available to the destitute. In Montreal, this provision had never been made, thus private charity’s role was completely altered.

Because of the lack of a public relief system, the routine aspects of daily relief became the major concern of the Montreal Charity Organization Society and the society could never become the clearing house of charity that it had hoped to be. Nor did it gain authority over all the independent Protestant charities. Without control of funds or private fund raising, the society could not act as the coordinator of the city's charities. Instead, it evolved into a family service oriented agency, with a strong commitment to relief. Although it failed in its initial aim, it introduced the concept of investigation, coordination and the need for trained social workers to Montreal's Protestant charities.<sup>12</sup>

Another idea for an integrated approach to the provision of charity grew out of the social gospel movement which swept across Canada early in the twentieth century.<sup>13</sup> This movement called for the cooperation of churches in applying Christian teachings to society and promoted cooperation, organization and efficiency, all ideas that were consistent with the policies the Montreal Charity Organization Society had hoped to introduce. However, the social gospel movement remained dominated by several Protestant churches, chiefly Methodist and Presbyterian. In Montreal, social agencies feared that association with this movement, and its umbrella organization, the Social Service Council of Canada, might alienate Roman Catholic and Jewish social agencies and make future cooperation between Protestant, Catholic and Jewish charities impossible.<sup>14</sup>

## **THE FORMATION OF THE MONTREAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES**

Instead of joining the Social Service Council of Canada, in 1919 Montreal's Protestant charities opted to form an independent organizing body.<sup>15</sup> The Montreal Charity Organization Society set aside its claims as a coordinating body and in 1920 it officially recognized a shift of authority to the Montreal Council of Social Agencies.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, it changed its name to the Family Welfare Association of Montreal. The boards of both charitable groups shared a number of members, which allowed for some continuity, but the organization and administration of charity for Protestant and non-sectarian groups now lay clearly with the Montreal Council of Social Agencies.<sup>17</sup>

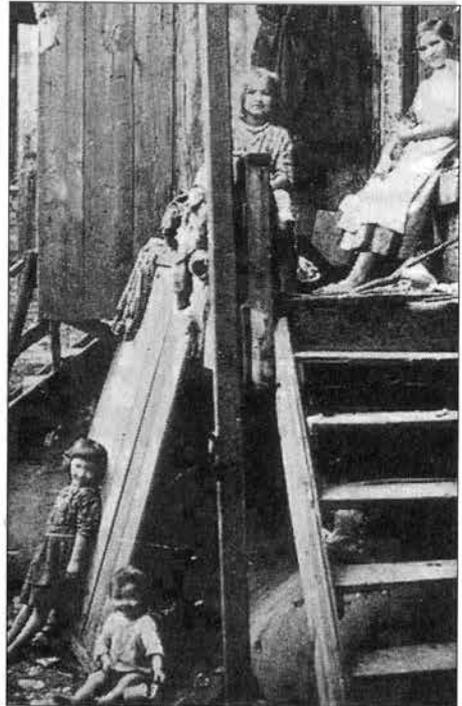
The circumstances faced by this new coordinating body were quite different from those which had faced the Charity Organization Society twenty years earlier. In 1914, the Meurling Municipal Refuge opened its doors as a public almshouse with funds provided by the estate of Gustave



1. Working-class housing, St. Denis Street, early twentieth century.



3. Old Brewery Mission, early twentieth century.



2. Tenement housing in Montreal, early twentieth century.



4. Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society, early twentieth century.



5. Babies at the Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital, early twentieth century.



6. Women using the Protestant Industrial Rooms, Dorchester Street, early twentieth century.

7.  
V.O.N.  
community  
nurses, early  
twentieth  
century.



8.  
Protestant  
Orphans  
Asylum,  
Côte des  
Neiges hill.

Meurling and the city of Montreal.<sup>18</sup> This had allowed the Society to take its first step away from the problem of daily relief and shelter.

The lack of any financial control over other charities had also contributed to the Society's lack of authority. As in Montreal, American Charity Organization Societies dealt strictly with family services, while the new councils of social agencies concentrated on the common goals of their associated agencies.<sup>19</sup> Although financial federation and the unification of social agencies for fund raising drives would prove to be the element that kept the council of social agencies together, cooperation between charitable agencies was stressed initially rather than financial federation.<sup>20</sup>

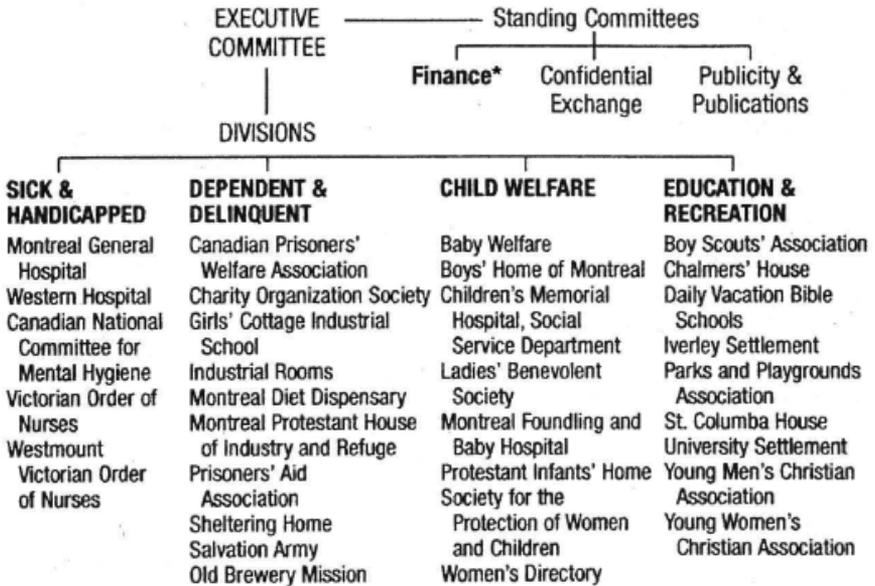
Soon after its formation, the Montreal Council of Social Agencies tried to establish its credibility among the charitable groups in the city by engaging the services of a professional in the field of welfare work, John Howard Toynbee Falk. Falk played a key role in the development of the Council and provided an important link between the Council and the training of social workers at McGill University.<sup>21</sup> McGill was where he organized the Department of Social Study and Training, which later became the School of Social Work. Falk's first step was to organize a survey committee whose report provided a blueprint for the proposed structure of the new Council. It was proposed that the organization be subdivided by four basic functions: sick and handicapped; dependent and delinquent; child welfare; and education and recreation. Although the committee's report encouraged full participation of Protestant, non-sectarian, Roman Catholic and Jewish agencies, none of the Jewish and Roman Catholic agencies were persuaded to join.

J. H. T. Falk was appointed the first Executive Director of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and the Financial Federation in 1922, a position he retained until 1929. Under his leadership, the 1920s were a period of growth for the Council. Most of the decade was spent implementing the survey committee's recommendations and increasing the Council's membership.

As the administrative and financial arm of the organization, this forerunner of United Red Feather Services directed finances and organized the annual fund raising campaign. The number of member organizations within the Council grew from thirty-two in 1922 to forty-seven in 1930. As the Council became more professional it gained greater credibility. The lack of public social welfare services was still a problem, but some improvements in provincial social welfare legislation occurred just as the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and its Financial Federation were in their early stages of development.

The Financial Federation did not emerge from a vacuum in 1922. It grew out of the finance committee of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. Fund-raising and organization had long been a part of the existing social agencies and charities. They were linked from their inception by the need to support and organize a fluctuating group of common social agencies and charities that served the Protestant, English-speaking community of Montreal.

TABLE 1. MONTREAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES, 1920



\*The Finance Committee, which was a Standing Committee of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, the Financial Federation in its earliest form.

Source: "Montreal Council of Social Agencies," 6, McGill University Archives.

## FINANCIAL FEDERATION'S GROWTH

In the 1920s, for the first time, the Quebec provincial government started to give serious attention to social services. Charity Organization and Children's Aid movements were well entrenched in the United States, England, and other Canadian provinces long before any effective public social services were available in Quebec. Social welfare in the province of Quebec continued to depend on a much higher level of voluntary funding

and private initiative. Most educational, welfare and charitable institutions for the French-speaking community in Quebec were still organized, funded and controlled by the Roman Catholic Church, based on the parish structure.<sup>22</sup>

The city of Montreal had made some tentative starts in the area of social service. In 1904 it established a Municipal Assistance Department, but was not actively involved in social problems until the Meurling Municipal Refuge opened its doors in 1914. This department then acted as a referral agency, relying upon services provided by private charities, in particular the Montreal Charity Organization Society. At the same time the department worked actively to rid the city of its "pauper" population through repatriation to home towns throughout the province and deportation to countries of origin.

In an attempt to fund social services, Quebec's Amusement Tax Act was passed in 1915. Commonly known as "the one cent tax for the poor," it claimed 10 per cent of the price of admission to any place of amusement. The proceeds of the tax were to be divided equally between the municipal charities' fund and the province's public charities' fund for institutional charity.<sup>23</sup> Next the provincial government passed the Quebec Public Charities Act, assented to on March 19, 1921. The Act made no significant changes in services but stated that the financial burden of charity was to be shared, one third to be paid by the provincial government, one third by the municipality and one third by private charities.

The 1920s and 1930s were a period of growth and change for the Financial Federation and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. In this early period both the Council and Federation operated as a single organization, since their operations were concerned with essentially the same group of social agencies. In 1922 when the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies was first formed, there were still very few public social services in Montreal. The new Act outlined a partial funding formula requiring the city to collect and distribute the money. Montreal's contribution to public social services fell drastically short of what was provided in other Canadian and American cities.

James S. Brierley, former managing director of the Montreal Daily Herald, who served as Chairman of the Budget Committee of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies from 1922 to 1926, was instrumental in bringing the Financial Federation into being.<sup>24</sup> He explained that "Council and Federation are Mother and Daughter. If Federation falls short of its proper stature Council must share the odium.... Being freed from financial worries [the Council is] ... available for other work."<sup>25</sup>

One of the main goals of the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies was to promote cooperation between social agencies for greater efficiency. An example of this aspect of its work was the Confidential Exchange. The Confidential Exchange, later known as the Social Service Exchange, provided an index and record of aid applicants, and when, where or whether they had received aid. This first non-sectarian system also made the investigation process quicker and more efficient in its fraud detection. It was the only system of its kind, and Montreal depended exclusively upon this service until the city developed an equivalent system in 1929.

The Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies was established just as social work was becoming a profession. It maintained a strong link with the McGill School of Social Workers since the Council's member agencies served as a training ground for new social workers. So it was ready to pick up the pieces when McGill decided to abandon the school in 1931. In the Federation's first year, Dr. Helen Reid and James Brierley were nominated to the advisory committee for the Department of Social Study and Training of McGill University, first formed in 1918.

McGill cited financial pressures as its reasons for closing the school in 1931. The Montreal Council of Social Agencies was gravely concerned over the loss of an educational facility to train social workers. Dr. Reid remarked that the closure of the School "threatened the interests of social work. [It was her hope that] immediate consideration ... be given ... to ... this men ace to a young and growing profession and to the communities who depend so largely on it for the conduct of their philanthropic work."<sup>26</sup>

A Central Volunteer Bureau was founded by the Montreal Council of Social Agencies in 1937, but the need for a school of social work was still felt. As a result the Council and some social workers together opened the Montreal School for Social Workers in 1931.<sup>27</sup> Although the School still maintained some ties to McGill University, its training was more specifically geared to the needs of the Council. The Council's social workers took advantage of the School's extension courses and training was also available for its volunteers.<sup>28</sup>

As an independent school, it was largely dependent upon voluntary staff and funds raised by its board of trustees, upon which the Council was well represented.<sup>29</sup> Dorothy King was appointed director of the new school and retained this position until 1950. Coming directly from experience as Supervisor of Case Work for the Family Welfare Association of Montreal, King remained an active participant on the executive of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and on the national social work scene.<sup>30</sup> The



9. The early Montreal Day Nursery, Belmont Park.



10. New home for the Montreal Day Nursery, Richmond Square.



11.  
Lunchtime  
at the  
Griffintown  
Boys' Club,  
1920s.



12.  
Children play-  
ing in one of  
the Montreal  
Parks and  
Playgrounds  
inner city parks,  
early twentieth  
century.



13. Woodworking class for boys, Rosemount Community Centre, 1930s.

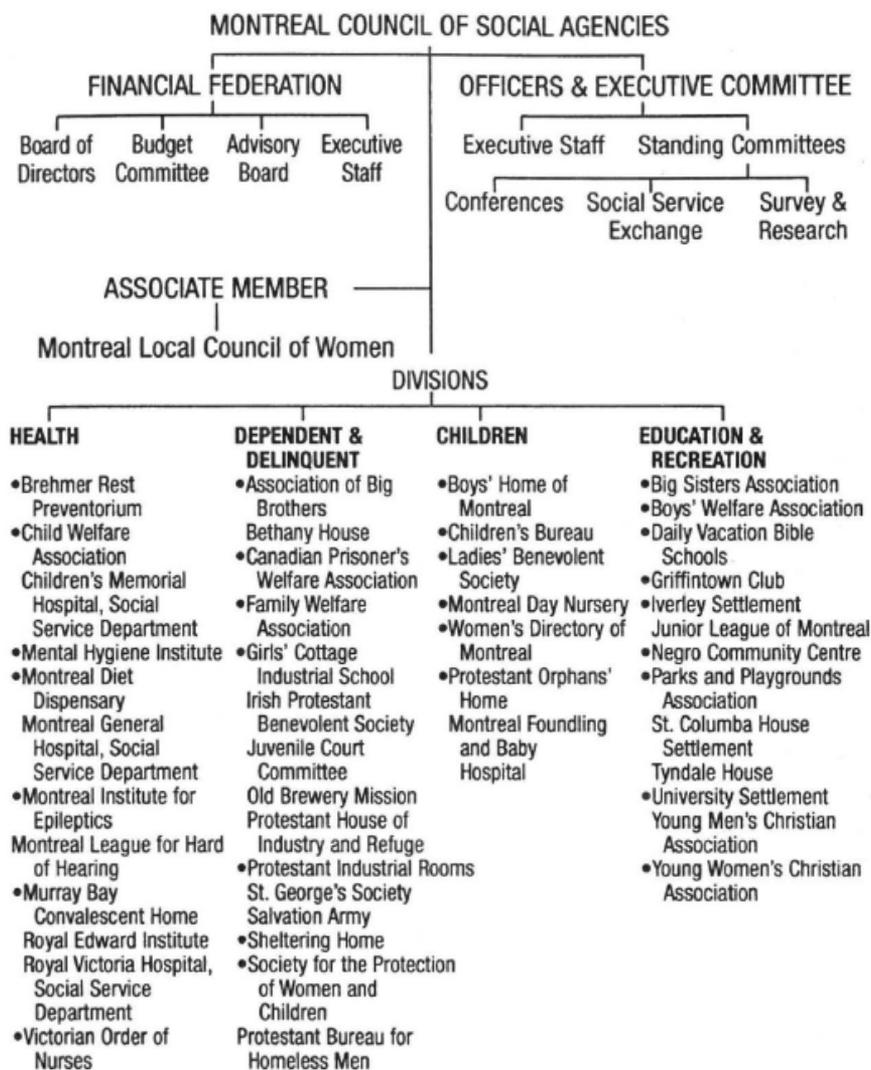


14. Dressmaking class for women, Rosemount Community Centre, 1930s.



15.  
Children's Aid  
Society receiving  
home, Claremont  
Avenue, 1947  
(formerly the  
Hebrew Orphans'  
Home).

TABLE 2. FINANCIAL FEDERATION AND MONTREAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES, 1930



Federation agencies are marked with •

Other agencies funded by the Financial Federation, but not listed as a member of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies:

Protestant Employment Bureau  
 Infant's Home

Westmount Social Service Association  
 Health Service

Source: MCSA, *Welfare Work in Montreal in 1930* (Montreal, 1931), 20-21.

Montreal Council of Social Agencies helped to maintain an independent Montreal School for Social Workers until 1946. After World War II, the School gave up its independent status to join McGill University which then began to grant degrees in social work. However the Council had ensured a steady stream of trained professionals in the field of social work in one of the times of greatest need.

## THE IMPACT OF THE DEPRESSION

The 1920s provided the Federation with a period in which to grow and develop into an efficient and professional organization. However, the Depression of the 1930s proved its real test. As federal, provincial and municipal governments sought to avoid responsibility for the unemployed, an even greater burden was shifted to private charities. The sudden sharp increase in demand for social services compelled private charities to alter their structures and operations in order to make more efficient use of their resources.

Hope for reform came with the creation of the Quebec Social Insurance Commission on October 29, 1930. Immediately the Financial Federation's divisions of Sick and Handicapped, Dependent and Delinquent, Child Welfare and Education and Recreation submitted briefs to the commission. These briefs sought provision of legal guardianship for children lacking natural guardians; the right to mothers' allowances; a strengthening of the court system for the enforcement of maintenance orders for deserted wives; free distribution of drugs and care to isolate communicable diseases; national compulsory health insurance; compulsory contributory unemployment insurance; vocational guidance in public schools; a juvenile labour law to restrict hours and conditions of labour; establishment of a domestic relations court; establishment of a training school for mentally defective children; slum clearance; a public awareness campaign on housing; town planning; and zoning.<sup>31</sup>

These briefs were received enthusiastically, but when the Quebec Social Insurance Commission made its recommendations in 1933, one of the worst years of the Depression, none of them was implemented. The Commission did, however, give a stamp of approval to the Council's effort to coordinate services, by urging a city-wide coordination of social agencies in Montreal.

Initially, the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies fell back upon traditional methods of relief distribution. An Emergency Relief Committee, which had already been established in 1924 to assist the working classes in the difficult winter months, was extended

year round in 1930.<sup>32</sup> A Special Committee on Unemployment was formed as a result of joint planning by the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, the Salvation Army, the Old Brewery Mission, the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge and various Protestant churches. Soon it became one of the Council's own projects to give special attention to the needs of shelter, clothing and relief of the unemployed.<sup>33</sup>

The new phenomenon of unemployment among white-collar workers was also addressed by an innovative proposal sponsored by the Council and Sun Life Assurance. The president of Sun Life, Thomas Bassett Macaulay, served on the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies throughout the Depression and supported a new venture whereby Sun Life offered space and personnel to the Council to set up a registration bureau for unemployed office workers.

Montreal's relief expenditures were dependent upon federal and provincial contributions. The city applied for funds through the federal Unemployment Relief Act of 1930 and for every year in the decade to follow. The Advisory Relief Board was formed by the city in 1930 and was followed by the Unemployment Commission in 1933 in order to distribute funds to the city's four private charitable federations. The Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies had been formed in 1922 and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies in 1917, but the pressures of the Depression forced into existence the Federation of Catholic Charities for English-speaking Catholics in 1929, and the Federation des Oeuvres de Charité Canadienne Française in 1933.

Throughout the Depression, hope that prosperity would return forestalled any long-term planning. In order to provide aid and shelter to accommodate the increased demand, the Financial Federation and the Council of Social Agencies sought all sorts of donations and arrangements aside from the usual fund raising. The Protestant churches were also active participants in the provision of aid, clothing and shelter. Cooperation under umbrella groups such as the Special Committee on Unemployment facilitated this extra effort.

Special donations from the corporate community were solicited more actively at this time. Some of the burden was taken off existing shelters with the addition of one donated by the Canadian National Railway.<sup>34</sup> The Day Shelter for Unemployed Men was established in 1931, with a property and funds from Montreal Tramways. The Montreal Relief Committee contributed \$2,000, the United Church made a library and reading room available, the Anglican Church held daily concerts and supplied theatrical equipment, games and cards.<sup>35</sup>

One of the more innovative schemes was the Community Garden League. Formed in 1932, it lasted until after World War II and distributed vacant lands, tools, and seeds for garden plots for needy families. In its first year, over five hundred community gardens were established in seven residential districts, at a total cost of approximately \$800. The program grew steadily every year with 1,850 gardens in 1933; 2,434 in 1934; and 2,983 in 1935.<sup>36</sup>

A Junior League grant helped the Protestant Board of School Commissioners to set up the Rosemount Community Centre in 1932.<sup>37</sup> In 1934, the Financial Federation joined the Junior League to establish the Maisonneuve Community Centre. In 1933, the Montreal Boys' Association established a farm at Caledonia Springs, Ontario, with land donated by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The organizers hoped to teach city boys elements of farm work. Most of these new activities survived long after the Depression and the dismantling of the Council's emergency relief structure in 1933.

Once the city assumed some responsibility for relief in 1933, the Federation's efforts were no longer completely consumed with the care of the unemployed. In 1935 the Financial Federation appointed a committee to execute a cost efficiency survey, chaired by George S. Currie, a prominent Montreal chartered accountant, who had sat on the board of directors and executive committee of the Financial Federation as early as 1923. Every agency underwent extensive scrutiny.

The first recommendation that emerged from the Report of the Survey Committee was for a streamlining of services and social agencies, with the reorganization of many services on a broader city-wide basis. More organized fund-raising was another focus of the report. Foreshadowing the future, the survey report suggested a single "community chest" to end increasing competition for public donations.<sup>38</sup>

Some of the survey report's suggestions resulted in the elimination, combination or replacement of agencies. Almost all the original members of the Council underwent some form of amalgamation or restructuring.<sup>39</sup> The report also promoted greater efficiency, planning, and professionalism at the administrative level of the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies.

The Depression served in great measure as a challenge to the initial efforts of the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. It enabled it to sharpen its focus and helped to determine what burden private agencies felt should be assumed by the various levels of government.

The Council was also able to extend its influence in a variety of ways, in particular through the work of its members. Frank G. Pedley, Executive Director of the Financial Federation, served on the city council's Civic Commission to Investigate the Unemployment Relief Commission in 1937. Arthur B. Purvis of the Financial Federation was a member of the National Employment Commission in 1936. The severity of the Depression tested the foundations upon which the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies was built. It was not found lacking, but per severed in its search for the correct balance between private and public health and social services.

### THE WAR YEARS

The Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, now led by Sir Edward Beatty, president and chairman of the board of Canadian Pacific Railway, was renamed the Federated Charities in 1937. Although James S. Brierley originally conceived of the Council and Federation as mother and daughter, respectively, their roles started to reverse in the Federated Charities. By 1939, the Federation and Council were described by Beatty as "essentially two phases of the same organization."<sup>40</sup> It was at this point that the Federation ceased to be subordinate to the Council, and began to work as its equal partner.

TABLE 3. FEDERATION-COUNCIL RELATIONS, 1939



Source: Federated Charities, *Federated Charities Year Book, 1939* (Montreal, 1940), 4.

TABLE 4. FINANCIAL FEDERATION AND MONTREAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES, 1940



Source: Federated Charities, *Federated Charities Year Book, 1940* (Montreal, 1941), 11.

By 1939, the Montreal Council of Social Agencies had fifty-four member agencies, thirty-three of which belonged to the Federation. That year the four major federations of the city cooperated to create a War-Time Services Co-ordinating Council. Out of the need for coordination of civilian and special war services came proposals endorsed by the Montreal Council to form the Canadian Central Committee of Community Chests and the Council on Welfare Services in War-Time.

Until 1939 the rehabilitative and social services of the Federation had been eclipsed by the problem of the distribution of relief which had dominated its work throughout the 1930s. With the outbreak of war, as

employment became more readily available, the Federation was able to shift its focus to the areas of health and recreation. In 1940, the services rendered by the family welfare and child care sector of the Federation's agencies still accounted for 55.5 per cent of the funds collected, while the health sector accounted for 21.8 per cent and group and recreation agencies for 16.6 per cent.<sup>41</sup>

However, the city's Unemployment Relief Department made drastic cuts in its funding of relief in 1940, forcing private agencies, again, to fill the gap. Luckily, the provincial government did provide some temporary funding on a per case basis. Meanwhile new services were required by the war.

TABLE 5. FEDERATION PROGRAM, 1940

FINANCIAL FEDERATION (Financing and Budgetting)	COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES (Planning and Co-ordination)
<p><b>HEALTH</b></p> <p>I. Preventive &amp; Curative:            Victorian Order of Nurses            Child Welfare Association            Mental Hygiene Institute            Canadian National Institute for the Blind</p> <p>II. Auxiliary:            Diet Dispensary            Occupational Therapy Centre</p> <p>III. Convalescence:            Brehmer Rest Preventorium            Murray Bay Convalescent Home</p>	<p><b>GROUP WORK AND RECREATION</b></p> <p>I. Community Centre Programs:            Four centres operating in low income areas:            a. University Settlement            b. Griffintown Club            c. Iverley Community Centre            d. Negro Community Centre</p> <p>II. Extension Programs:            Demonstration and Supervision:            Parks and Playgrounds Association            Vacation Program:            Daily Vacation Schools</p>
<b>FAMILY WELFARE AND CHILD CARE</b>	
<p>I. General Service:            Family Welfare Association</p> <p>II. Child Placement:            Intake &amp; Coordination: Children's Service Association            Daytime Care: [Montreal] Day Nursery            Home Placement: Protestant Foster Home Centre            Institutional Placement:            a. Protestant Orphans' Home            b. Ladies' Benevolent Society            c. Weredale House            d. Girls' Cottage Industrial School</p> <p>III. Protective Service:            Society for the Protection of Women &amp; Children            Women's Directory of Montreal</p>	<p>IV. Special Service:            Boys: Montreal Boys' Association            Girls: Big Sisters Association            Single Men: Protestant Bureau for Homeless Men            Women:            a. Sheltering Home            b. Protestant Industrial Rooms            Sick: Westmount Social Service Association (Hospital Social Service)            Prisoners: Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association</p>

Source: Federated Charities, *Federated Charities Year Book, 1940* (Montreal, 1941), 5.

The Federation temporarily assisted in the investigation of Dependents' Allowance applications, prepared for the care of British children through the Council for Overseas Children and joined with other federations to finance a new agency, the Directional Service for the Families of Enlisted Men.

During the 1940s the Federation became more seriously involved in planning for cooperation, education and action. It actively petitioned federal, provincial and municipal governments for changes in the areas of health and social welfare. Its greatest concerns were compulsory school attendance, illegitimacy, disease control, the Quebec Public Charities Act, the Needy Mothers' Assistance Act, and a federal-provincial youth training plan. The Council was constantly making surveys of member agencies to initiate improvements. A camp survey was one of the focuses of the early 1940s, and services for non-resident Protestant unmarried mothers was another area surveyed.

Some of the ongoing war-time concerns were housing shortages, rising costs, and a lack of trained personnel. This lack, and problems created by a rapid turnover of staff, resulted in a major review of the Federated Charities' structure by its personnel committee chaired by Herbert Gilbert, Assistant Secretary and Chief Accountant of the Royal Trust Company. A major reclassification of staff positions was completed, severe cost-cutting measures were implemented in 1942, a cost-of-living bonus for Federated Charities' staff was introduced in 1943 and a long awaited pension plan for Federated Charities' employees became a reality in 1947.

The Council began to work with the Inter Federation Council, an informal alliance of the city's four federations formed in 1941, to pressure the city to develop an active public welfare department. In 1943 the Welfare Federation of Montreal (as the Federated Charities came to be known) was encouraged by the provision of substantially increased government allocations for agencies in the health and child care fields. However these benefits offset a reduction in funding under the Quebec Public Charities Act. Public support was decreased during the war years and only indigent clients, who could not contribute to the cost of their care, continued to be subsidized.

The war affected the work of all Welfare Federation agencies. The tubercular patients of the Brehmer Rest Preventorium in Ste. Agathe des Monts knitted for the Red Cross and the Victorian Order of Nurses and sent scrapbooks to troops overseas. The Community Gardens of the Depression became Victory Gardens during the war.

A few Welfare Federation agencies were able to improve their operations. In 1944, the Ladies' Benevolent Society replaced its rented summer

16. Poster boy for the Federated Charities campaign, 1937.



17. Teenagers producing a newsletter, St. Andrew's Youth Centre, 1940s.

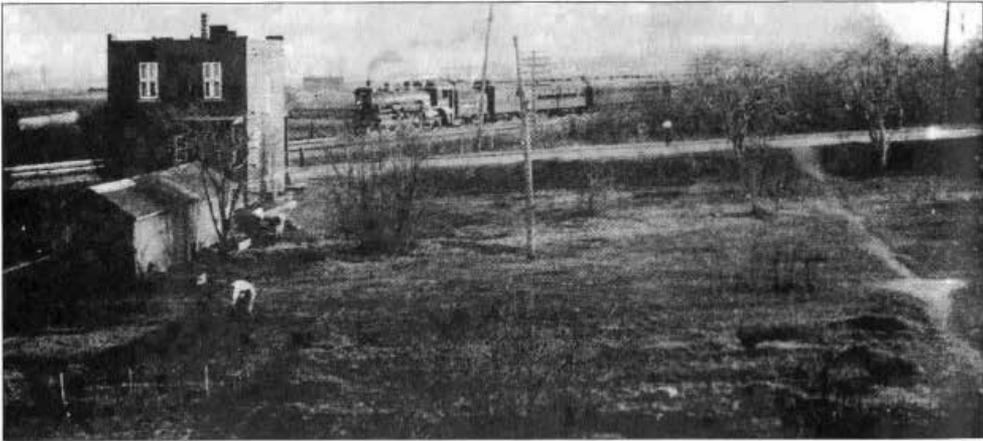


18. Dance for teenagers, St. Andrew's Youth Centre, 1940s.





19. Victory Gardens, new gardeners receiving instructions, 1944.



20. Victory Gardens, Mayfair and Mariette Streets, 1945 (before and after).



home in Chambly with a camp near Grenville, Quebec. The Council was also active in the planning for the children of working mothers through the Montreal Protestant Committee of the Dominion-Provincial Wartime Day Nurseries. The National Committee of Refugees was another wartime concern.

The last year of the war was one of change and the first of several years in which the Welfare Federation's annual fund raising campaign failed to meet its objective. It was in 1945 that the National Department of Welfare introduced family allowances. Many people apparently contributed less to the Welfare Federation's campaign, feeling that family allowances would improve the standard of living of the poor, so social agencies suffered. Children in foster homes or institutions and families assisted by the Family Welfare Association were expected to receive the full benefit of the family allowances either in improved standards or funds kept in trust for the children, thus social agencies could not reduce their budgets.

The Welfare Federation did benefit through increases in subsidies under the Quebec Public Charities Act, which were the result of a joint campaign for this change by the four city federations over several years. While the rates were raised, they still did not amount to the two-thirds of the cost of assistance they were supposed to cover. At the same time, the city of Montreal requested that the province add those considered long-term unemployables to the categories covered by the Quebec Public Charities Act. Small families receiving aid under the Needy Mothers' Act, made some gains, but rates were reduced for larger families. The city's four federations frequently worked together to press for government action. In 1947 they approached the city regarding an increase in the annual grant for the long term unemployable, unchanged since 1941.

Unemployment, lack of adequate housing, and minimal assistance for public welfare continued to plague the Welfare Federation throughout the 1940s. There was another shortfall in fund-raising in 1946, but the campaigns started to enjoy post-war prosperity in the following year. In 1946, the Family Welfare Association increased its food allowances, hoping to reach targeted minimums levels established by local nutritionists. Rising food costs made this an uphill battle for the next decade. The Welfare Federation was finally allowed to use some of the funds in trust from family allowances to increase the rates paid to foster mothers. In addition to pressuring for an increase in subsidies under the Quebec Public Charities Act, the Needy Mothers' Act, and old age pensions had become another area of concern for the Welfare Federation. Although the federal pension plan had become available to the provinces in 1928, Quebec had been the last

of the provinces to participate, joining only in 1936, and unfortunately, no changes had been made since then.

## **THE POST-WAR BUILDING BOOM**

Immediately after the war many Welfare Federation agencies re-located. The first to move was the Ladies' Benevolent Society which sold its building on Ontario Street in 1946, and the Protestant Foster Home Centre its building on Queen Mary Road. The Ladies' Benevolent Society and Summerhill House jointly purchased a new site in St. Laurent to erect a new children's institution. The Protestant Foster Home Centre and the Family Welfare Association both purchased buildings on Dorchester Street. The Child Welfare Association bought the former Iverley Settlement. The Receiving Home of the Children's Aid Society was temporarily closed due to its failure to find an appropriate location, but was able to reopen by purchasing, with the assistance of the provincial government, the former Hebrew Orphan's Home in 1947. The Girls' Cottage School was closed for four years, but then relocated to St. Bruno in 1951.

The late 1940s were a period of growth in terms of acquisitions of property and new buildings for many Federation agencies. In 1948 the Rosemount Boys' Club was built by the Kinsmen Club of Montreal. Weredale House added a major unit to their premises. Belevedere, a new seniors' residence, was completed by the Family Welfare Association. New headquarters were opened by the Protestant Foster Home Centre on Dorchester Street and Crescent House was opened by the Girls' Counselling Centre. Other new projects included the rebuilding of the Y.W.C.A. after a special building campaign; the rebuilding of the University Settlement through a campaign undertaken by the Rotary Club of Montreal; the building of the East End Boys' Club with funds provided by J. W. McConnell; and the building of the Unity Boys' Club by the Westmount Rotary Club. In 1950 the Sheltering Home purchased a new property. These projects reflected the growing interest of the larger Montreal community in these agencies and its support of the growth of the Welfare Federation.

In 1949, the Welfare Federation was able to start construction of what became the Red Feather Building on Atwater Avenue. This new building would accommodate the Welfare Federation of Montreal and six of the Federation's agencies. The Welfare Federation had been fortunate to receive many large legacies, so the purchase of the land and the construction of the building was financed without using any campaign funds. A particularly generous endowment was left to the Federation by Sir Charles W. Lindsay,

however only the investment income was to be used, so the legacy would also serve as a permanent source of funds.

## **TOWARD A BROADER BASE**

The 1950s marked a period of growth and transformation for the Federation and its Red Feather Services. The Children's Service Centre, formed in 1951, emerged as one of the largest child-care organizations in Canada. The Centre was the result of a merger of the Protestant Foster Home Centre (originally the Protestant Infants' Home of Montreal, founded in 1870) and the Children's Aid Society (formed in 1945). It took over the work of the Women's Directory of Montreal and the Children's Service Association (formerly the Children's Bureau, formed in 1921). The long experience of all these agencies was merged in this new large child care agency.

At about the same time the Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre shifted its focus from veterans to handicapped civilians. Another merger involved the Griffintown Boys' Club, which amalgamated its operations with the Montreal Boys' Association. Meanwhile, in 1951, the Immigration and Travellers' Aid Department of the Y.W.C.A. became an independent agency called the Travellers' Aid Society.

Among the major concerns of the 1950s was the provision of services or the English-speaking intellectually handicapped population; dental services for children; the prevention and control of tuberculosis in children; alcoholism; and homeless men. Finally, the problem of multiple financial campaigns in Montreal posed another area requiring attention.

From 1952 onward, the Welfare Federation aggressively approached the problem of multiple appeals. The problem was approached in two ways. Firstly, the Federation announced an "Open Door" program and welcomed eleven agencies into the Federation in the 1950s. These new agencies included the Boys' Clubs of Canada; the Boy Scouts of Canada, Montreal Region; the Dawson Boys' Club; the Family Life Education Council; the Lachine Benevolent Association; Lakeshore Community Services; the Marriage Counselling Centre of Montreal; the Montreal Girls' Association; the Montreal Volunteer Bureau; St. Andrew's Youth Centre; and the St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association. Secondly the Federation approached the Board of Trade and other city groups regarding the desirability of a combined appeal of all federations or at least a federation of health agencies.<sup>42</sup>

By the 1950s, the Welfare Federation's clientele was gradually starting to change and extend over a much larger territory. In 1931, 95 per cent of

TABLE 6. RED FEATHER SERVICES, 1950

WELFARE FEDERATION OF MONTREAL

Advisory Board	Board of Governors	Board of Directors	Budget Committee
RED FEATHER SERVICES			
<b>FAMILY WELFARE</b> Family Welfare Association John Howard Society of Quebec Sheltering Home Society for the Protection of Women and Children		<b>CHILD CARE</b> Children's Aid Society Girls' Cottage School Girls' Counselling Centre Montreal Day Nursery Protestant Foster Home Centre Summerhill House Weredale House	
<b>GROUP WORK AND RECREATION</b> Daily Vacation Schools Griffintown Club Iverley Community Centre Montreal Boys' Association Negro Community Centre Parks and Playgrounds Association Rosemount Boys' Club Unity Boys' Club University Settlement of Montreal Young Women's Christian Association		<b>HEALTH AGENCIES</b> Brehmer Rest Preventorium Child Health Association Mental Hygiene Institute Montreal Diet Dispensary Murray Bay Convalescent Home Occupational Therapy Centre Victorian Order of Nurses	

Source: Welfare Federation of Montreal, *Red Feather Year Book for 1950* (Montreal, 1951), 6-7.

the English-speaking population of Quebec was of British origin. By 1941 this level had slipped to 89 per cent, in 1951 it was 80 per cent, 73 per cent in 1961, 67 per cent in 1971, and 60 per cent in 1981.<sup>43</sup>

At long last, the increased role of the government in social welfare was enabling the Welfare Federation to turn its attention to new services such as recreation and counselling services. New interests, populations, and areas were opening up to Red Feather Services. The English-speaking community had also extended into new areas and the Welfare Federation followed with the Lachine Benevolent Association, St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association and Lakeshore Community Services.

An important addition to the Welfare Federation's committee structure at this time was a Permanent Endowment Committee set up in 1952. Their efforts would help to replenish the funds that had been used to build the Red Feather Building and to guard against shortfalls in the fund-raising campaigns. The volume of services the Federation provided, measured in dollars, had tripled between 1939 and 1953, while returns from the annual Red Feather Campaign only doubled. A series of mergers involving ten agencies had greatly reduced administrative overhead since 1939. Almost

all the agencies had moved into new or better buildings. The agencies and Federation had also made substantial investments in building and equipping appropriate facilities for health and social services throughout the city.

These new services and changes in orientation resulted in clearly delineated roles for both the Council and the Federation. In 1922 the Montreal Council of Social Agencies' membership numbered thirty-two by 1953 it totalled seventy-four. Its interests were more diverse than the Federation which had grown from sixteen agencies to twenty-five in the same period. Clearly they were no longer "two phases of the same organization." The Federation had strengthened its administrative role during the 1940s and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies had changed its focus from administration of the Federation's agencies to planning and coordinating services for the English-speaking community as a whole.

This expansion and growth continued. In 1953 a Boys' and Girls' Club opened in Point St. Charles as a gift of J. W. McConnell. The Mental Hygiene Institute launched Canada's first Marriage Counselling Service. The Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre was given the renovated Griffintown Boys' Club building by an anonymous donor. Other gifts helped to finance an addition to Weredale House and major renovations for the Girls' Counselling Centre and the Negro Community Centre in 1956.

As Red Feather Services started to diversify and serve new areas of the Montreal community, it became clear that its non-sectarian services were being used by many people outside the original English-speaking Protestant community. By 1956 there were thirty-one Federation agencies serving the city in eighty-five centres. The Welfare Federation financed the largest non-sectarian health and recreation program in the city. The health agencies of the Federation provided the most extensive non-hospital services in Montreal. It also maintained one of the major programs for the aged in Montreal and ran the largest guidance and recreation program for boys and girls in the lower-income areas of the city. Additional improvements were made to facilities and equipment as the 1950s came to a close. In 1957 the Negro Community Centre was able to raise the roof of its new location on Coursol Street with a new completely equipped gymnasium with the help of the Montreal Rotary Club. Local businesses donated a child care centre to the St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association; as did the Kiwanis Club of St. George to the Child Health Association. The Lion's Boys' and Girls' Club on Upper Lachine Road made plans to rebuild, while the Kinsmen Club of Montreal donated \$5,000 to equip and maintain a new playground and rink for the Rosemount Boys' Club. In the same year the Women's Voluntary Services changed its name to the Montreal Volunteer

Bureau to reflect its broadened activities. The Montreal Diet Dispensary was able to move to new premises in 1958. Finally, in 1959 the Children's Service Centre was able to move into a building behind Red Feather, on land donated by Weredale House. Funding was supplied by a private donor and the provincial government.

The Welfare Federation of Montreal was by now one of the most successful fund-raising organizations in North America, but it could never hope to invest as much of its campaign money in new interests or issues as it wished, because of the lack of government support. The provincial and municipal governments barely kept up their commitment under the Quebec Charities Act to pay two-thirds of the costs of direct relief, let alone keeping up with the rising cost of living.

Historically the most onerous responsibility was direct assistance to the needy. The responsibility for the administration of the Quebec Public Charities Act, except for hospitals and sanatoria, was transferred in 1956 from the province to the city. Although Montreal assumed responsibility for the needy under its Montreal Department of Social Welfare and Youth, the department assumed double duty as a private institution giving assistance directly to the needy and as a granting agency to other private agencies doing the same work. Even though the city had officially accepted a larger responsibility for the poor, the Federation was left to fill many gaps and consequently faced a serious deficit in 1957. The city's expanded responsibilities did not prevent it from closing the Meurling Municipal Refuge in 1958.

Gradually, however the Federation was able to shift the burden of welfare services to public authorities. This move was so successful that in 1959 the Family Welfare Association announced it was changing its role to that of a counselling service and it was turning over all relief administration to the city. This major shift in responsibility lifted a burden that private charities in Montreal had long shouldered.

## **THE QUIET REVOLUTION AND BEYOND**

The province's new interest in health and social services can be attributed to several federal initiatives through cost-sharing programs. A major example occurred in 1957, when the federal government introduced a universal program of public hospital insurance, to be financed jointly by the federal and provincial governments. Many of the provinces, especially Quebec, were strongly opposed to "socialized medicine" but in January 1961, hospital care became entirely government financed. The Hospital Act of 1962 expropriated the role of religious communities within the hospitals.

This move had a major effect upon the French-speaking community. Then, in 1966, the federal government tried to establish a universal health insurance program, but in Quebec it was only a pilot project for welfare recipients. Even so, it reinforced the public rather than private nature of health services throughout the province. These federal initiatives finally culminated with the Health Insurance Act of 1968.

A similar scenarios unfolded in the realm of social services. In 1957 the federal government passed the Unemployment Insurance Act, which was not applied in Quebec until 1960. In the first year of its operation \$56.5 million were paid out in benefits; by 1965, this figure had risen to \$90 million.<sup>44</sup> Until the 1960s private charities had shouldered much of the burden in this area. The provincial government's lack of a structure for social welfare administration and accusations of misuse of funds led to the appointment of the Study Committee on Public Assistance, known as the Boucher Committee, in 1961.

The Boucher Committee was instructed to study the size and criteria of benefits, means of cooperation between private and public welfare agencies, and "the overall problem of financial assistance at home, its financial and social implications and prevention and rehabilitation."<sup>45</sup> In 1963, the committee's report urged the provincial government to take full control of the administration of public funds for social welfare. It suggested that existing private agencies should be more concerned with prevention and rehabilitation. Thus, this report carved out a large and active role for government in the social welfare arena in which it moved toward an all encompassing role starting with the federal Public Assistance Act of 1966.

In 1962, United Red Feather Services (so named in 1960) was the only federation in Montreal and its suburbs providing family welfare, child care, health, and recreation services on a non-sectarian basis. In that year 129,969 people were served, of these 54.3 per cent were Protestants, 29.3 per cent were Roman Catholics, 10.1 per cent were Jewish and 6.3 per cent were of no given religious denomination. Family welfare and child care cases were traditionally handled by the respective federations, but recreation and health agencies were open to all denominations.<sup>46</sup> In fact, Red Feather had already crossed over to non-sectarian services, although financial contributions still came largely from its original Protestant community.

By the early 1960s a number of new projects were underway. The Mental Hygiene Institute, the University Settlement and McGill University combined forces to combat social problems in the area east of McGill University. Summerhill House sold its property on Cote des Neiges Road and opened two group foster homes as a result of the recommendations

of a Child Welfare League of America survey. In 1965, the St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association moved into a new Community Centre building, which allowed it to expand its services. With the decline in tuberculosis patients, the Murray Bay Convalescent Home after ninety years of service closed its doors in 1964. In 1965, South Shore Community Services became Red Feather's thirty-sixth agency. The Boy Scouts of Canada moved to a new centre in Dorval in 1966. The Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre's new quarters were under construction on Western Avenue. Half the cost of the project was the gift of an anonymous benefactor, while the province approved grants to cover the remainder, some of which came from the federal government. The Montreal Boys' and Girls' Association was the result of a 1967 merger. After over eighty years of service, the Sheltering Home suspended services in 1967. Its building was rented to Elizabeth House, a newly incorporated group sponsored by the Anglican, Presbyterian and United churches which continued to provide the Sheltering Home's service of residential care as well as an educational and vocational program for unmarried pregnant girls.<sup>47</sup>

**TABLE 7. UNITED RED FEATHER SERVICES, 1967**

UNITED RED FEATHER SERVICES	
Advisory Board	Board of Governors
Finance Committee	Board of Directors
	Other Committees
RED FEATHER SERVICES	
Boys' Clubs of Canada	Montreal Girls' Association
Boy Scouts of Canada, Montreal Region	Montreal Ladies' Benevolent and
Child Health Association	Protestant Orphans' Society
Children's Service Centre	Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association
Daily Vacation Schools	Montreal Volunteer Bureau
Dawson Boys' Club	Montreal Y.W.C.A.
Family Life Education Council	Negro Community Centre
Family Service Association	Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre
Girls' Cottage School	Rosemount Boys' Club
Girls' Counselling Centre	St. Andrew's Youth Centre
John Howard Society	St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association
Lachine Benevolent Association	Sheltering Home
Lakeshore Community Services	Society for the Protection of Women and
Marriage Counselling Centre	Children
Montreal Hygiene Institute	South Shore Community Services
Montreal Boys' Association	Travellers' Aid Society
Montreal Council of Social Agencies	University Settlement
Montreal Day Nursery	Victorian Order of Nurses
Montreal Diet Dispensary	Weredale House

Source: URFS, *Federated Charities Year Book, 1967* (Montreal, 1968), 1, 4-6.

During the 1960s and 1970s Red Feather faced a host of new problems. These included: housing and urban renewal, day care, the treatment of minors, services for seniors, a chronic shortage of trained social workers, and unionization of staff. In 1968 Red Feather appointed a personnel director to provide support to agencies in which the staff was unionized, such as the University Settlement, St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association, South Shore Community Services, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, the Y.M.C.A. and other agencies operating under the United Nurses of Montreal, which included the V.O.N., Child Health Association and the Children's Service Centre.

At the end of 1966, Red Feather acquired a planning department, started by the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, for more efficient use of its resources. By now United Red Feather Services' role had changed dramatically. Many of the Red Feather's major agencies had become parapublic, financed basically by the government. The move by the province directly into social welfare and health made much of the original role of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies redundant. Between 1922 and 1967 the Federation and Council had always shared the link of a common Executive Director. With the retirement of Charles H. Young in 1967, the two organizations parted ways. The Montreal Council of Social Agencies had changed its focus to planning for the Montreal community at large, rather than the smaller English-speaking Protestant community within it. In doing so it had moved far away from the agencies it originally needed the Financial Federation to help finance and control when it was first formed in 1922. Starting in 1968 it changed from a council of social agencies into a social planning or a social development council.

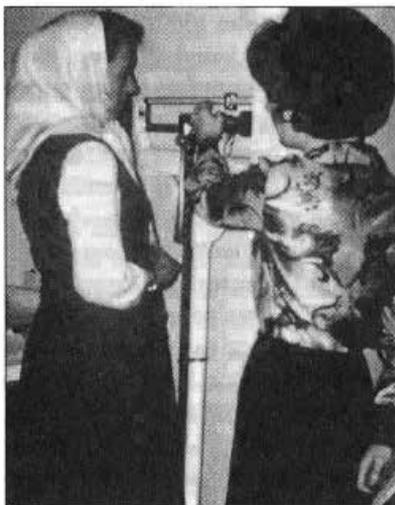
## **RED FEATHER FUNDING AND RESTRUCTURING**

A growing deficit that had plagued the Welfare Federation since the 1950s was approaching a crisis level in the early 1960s when United Red Feather Services was established. By 1964 the accumulated deficit had reached \$450,000. The Endowment Fund was reactivated in this time of crisis. The 1965 campaign achieved 104 per cent of its objective, but the deficit still called for a drastic paring down of expenses and services.<sup>4B</sup> The rehabilitative and preventative role of Red Feather that the Boucher Report had recommended was becoming a reality for reasons of cost efficiency, not because government support was yet firmly rooted in the area of social services.

In the midst of the governmental changes, a survey of Red Feather's fourteen family and child care agencies was launched by the National



21. Filling food bags for clients,  
Montreal Diet Dispensary, 1968.



22. Weighing a client,  
Montreal Diet Dispensary, 1968.



23. A new mother receives nutritional advice at a well-baby clinic, Montreal Diet Dispensary, 1952.



24. Alice Lighthall gives a child a cheque from the Women's Division of the Red Feather campaign, 1950s.



25. Launching the Red Feather symbol, 1940s.



26. Point St. Charles Boys' and Girls' Club members ignite a torch to launch the last Federated Appeal at Place Ville Marie, 1974.

Study Service of New York in 1966. The survey was financed by a private foundation and the provincial government in order to streamline the agencies' work. "Planning for Services to Families and Children in Greater Montreal" appeared in the fall of 1967.<sup>49</sup> Many of its recommendations called upon the federations in Montreal to cooperate more closely, to eliminate overlap and duplication. Community centres and locally based services, as well as a larger role for government services were clear focuses of the report. Many of the specific recommendations and ideas were quickly acted upon by Red Feather, but the provincial government's actions and investigations were to have even greater impact on social services in Montreal and their organization.

In 1966, the provincial government appointed the Quebec Commission of Inquiry on Health and Social Welfare, better known as the Castonguay-Nepveu Commission.<sup>50</sup> Its mandate was to study the establishment of a public health system; the reorganization of health and welfare services; a redefinition of the health and welfare professions with emphasis on training and research; a definition of the roles and status of para-medical personnel; remuneration for professionals; definitions of relations between professional associations and the government; reorganisation and integration of public assistance legislation; citizen participation in the management of institutions; and regional organization.<sup>51</sup>

The Commission's multi-volume report which appeared in installments between 1967 and 1972, recommended a strong, regionally-based, comprehensive system of health and welfare services. The lively debate over Bill 65 was one in which United Red Feather Services was very active. The province decided to introduce new government services through the existing structure of private and para-public agencies. Local Community Services Centres (commonly referred to by the French acronym C.L.S.C.) eventually became the focal points of such services. The resulting Act Respecting Health Services and Social Services introducing Regional Health and Social Service Councils was assented to on December 24, 1971.<sup>52</sup>

## **TOWARD A UNITED APPEAL**

While the provincial government was reorganizing and structuring health and social services, United Red Feather Services was still dedicated to the quest for a united appeal. This had been an enunciated goal since 1919, when it was outlined in the survey report that became the blueprint for the formation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. As early as 1964, George E. Hart, Associate Executive Director of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and United Red Feather Services was on loan to a United

Appeal Study Committee, sponsored by the Montreal Board of Trade and the Chambre de Commerce. The Board of Trade and a number of corporations were eager to encourage a united appeal, due to the problems created by overlapping efforts and repeated appeals to the same corporations.

The idea of a merged appeal was intimidating, particularly because of the political upheaval and linguistic tensions of the time. Anglophones were concerned about becoming a minority, while Francophones worried about the English-speaking community's control of the business community. United Red Feather Services, the Combined Health Appeal, the Federation des Oeuvres des Charité Canadiennes-Françaises, the South Shore Federation and Welfare Council and the Federation of Catholic Community Services all worked together on the United Appeal Study Committee for four long years.

In the spring of 1968 United Red Feather Services was a founding member of first Federated Appeal of Greater Montreal. Once each federation's share in the campaign income was agreed to, United Red Feather Services was able to make a fresh start in January 1, 1968, when their accumulated debt was assumed by the new Federated Appeal. The federations were able to work together for several years prior to their full cooperation under the banner of Centraide in 1974. Only a few community-wide organizations merged completely. These included community referral, the Volunteer Bureau of Montreal and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies.

Other cooperative ventures were carefully crafted in the same years as the Federated Appeal of Greater Montreal. The inaugural meeting of the merged Montreal Council of Social Agencies and the Conseil de Developpement social du Montreal metropolitain, formerly the Conseil des Oeuvres, was held in June 1972. This merger represented years of negotiations dating from 1967, when the Montreal Council of Social Agencies first started to distance its work from that of United Red Feather Services. There was a drive encouraged by the government, and recommended by the National Study Service survey, for greater cooperation across linguistic and religious barriers. Several agencies merged such as the Travellers' Aid Society and La Service d'Accueil aux Voyageurs et aux Immigrants in 1968 and the Girls' Counselling Centre and the Bureau de Consultation Jeunesse in 1971.

One of the largest and most significant mergers of social agencies sparked by the recommendations of the National Study Service, and the cooperative spirit of the time, was the creation of the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973. This involved the merger of Catholic Family and Children's Services, the Foster Home Recruiting Centre, the John Howard

Society, Lakeshore Community Services, the Children's Service Centre and the Family Service Association into a new super agency which would co ordinate all social services to the English-speaking community in the Montreal area. Their financing became the responsibility of the provincial government, no longer that of Red Feather.

The creation of Ville Marie crossed religious lines and was a major concession by the provincial government. It remained one of the largest agencies to serve the English-speaking community until it was broken up in 1993 and all but its youth protection services (now known as Batshaw Youth Services) were transferred to local C.L.S.C.s.

## **CENTRAIDE OF GREATER MONTREAL**

In addition to the United Appeal and other cooperative ventures, the creation of Centraide in 1974 was preceded by certain safeguards and conditions. The Red Cross and the Allied Jewish Community Services remained separate, receiving a set percentage grant from the campaign, but no budgetary supervision. When the Federation des Oeuvres de Charité Canadiennes-Françaises, Combined Health Appeal, Federation of Catholic Community Services, United Red Feather Services, South Shore Federation and Welfare Council and the Federated Appeal of Greater Montreal initiated a joint budgeting process in 1974 there was a two-year moratorium on any cuts in agency funding. Funding could be increased, but not cut. In addition, existing staff was retained for at least two years following this new venture. The other major condition for this experiment was that the leadership on all boards and budget committees would be one-third Anglophone and two-thirds Francophone. The overall objective of these efforts was to combine all the fund raising, allocation, and planning processes for health and social services in greater Montreal.

The culmination of this cooperative work was the formation of Centraide of Greater Montreal in an agreement concluded in September 1974. United Red Feather Services, the Federation of Catholic Community Services, and the Federation des Oeuvres de Charité Canadienne-Françaises were the three central founding members. The Red Cross, Allied Jewish Community Services of Montreal and the Montreal Association for the Blind agreed to join Centraide but did not relinquish their operational autonomy. Other signatories of the merger agreement were the Combined Health Appeal of Greater Montreal, South Shore Federation and Welfare Council, and the Federated Appeal of Greater Montreal.

For the city's major federations, the creation of Centraide represented much more than combined fund raising. Many agencies were blended

and the Centraide Board was given the power to set priorities and make decisions. Centraide was made responsible for all planning and budgeting and would ultimately oversee these newly formed operations.

## **THE RED FEATHER FOUNDATION**

It was hoped that Centraide would prove to be a more efficient design to provide better management of the whole community of greater Montreal. Upon its formation in 1974, Red Feather and each of the other federations formed new foundations to manage their individual financial assets. These foundations were created, at first, as watchdogs over Centraide, the new organization that was being invested with so much trust. In the eyes of many, this was a very courageous and risky undertaking. Each of the founding federations, but especially the oldest, Red Feather, was rooted in a minority community, displayed an extraordinary degree of foresight and faith in the process of unification.

Certain special endowment funds and the proceeds from the sale of the Red Feather Building to the Montreal Children's Hospital, were among the interests managed by the Red Feather Foundation. Therefore some financial security and a central administrative nucleus was retained had there been a major failure of the bold new Centraide experiment. Fortunately there was not. Centraide has continued to grow and prosper, and to respect the needs of social agencies serving the English-speaking community.

Red Feather volunteers and staff played active roles at Centraide, within the agencies and on the administration. Harold Thuringer, a former Executive Director of United Red Feather Services, became the Director of Administration at Centraide. John Hallward, who was very active in the negotiations for the merger of the federations, subsequently served as Chairman of the Board of Centraide. John Gallop has served on both the Centraide and Red Feather Boards of Directors. Ricardo Gill, who was Administrative Coordinator at Red Feather from 1968, continues with Centraide as a planner with the agency relations and allocations department.

The Red Feather Foundation has been a stalwart supporter of Centraide. In the early years of the merger, other foundations still tried to find ways to give partisan support to their own agencies, while the Red Feather Foundation has always turned over to Centraide almost all the interest earned by its financial investments. By 1995 this amounted to nearly \$2 million since 1974.

As well as the Red Feather Foundation's management of its remaining financial resources, one of its most successful ventures has been the introduction of the *Red Feather Forum* in 1986. The *Forum* is a quarterly publication distributed throughout the English-speaking community, as well as to interested individuals in government, health, education and religious groups. It provides an important link between the community and its health care institutions and agencies.

A second major project of the Foundation was the short-term funding of the Region 6A Task Force, a planning arm and lobbying group for geriatric and children's services to ensure that provincial and regional governments would provide for the needs of the English-speaking community.

The Red Feather Foundation continues to be a presence within Montreal's English-speaking community. Aside from lobbying, directing finances, and communication, it serves the Protestant, English-speaking community in its role as an active watchdog of both government and Centraide. It symbolizes the over seventy year legacy of contributions of the English-speaking Protestant community to the health and social needs of the city. The thriving institutions that still exist for the English-speaking community and those that function within what are now French-speaking environments are a testament to three-quarters of a century of labour by Red Feather and its agencies. The impact of these agencies and its organization is felt to this day. In fact, the organization and operation of Centraide is the realization of the earliest dreams of the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies in 1922 and its predecessor the Montreal Charity Organization Society. The cooperation and administration of private and para-public social agencies in the Greater Montreal area exist in large part because of these early dreams and the long years of hard, dedicated work by Red Feather for the better part of the twentieth century. This history is a testament to that impressive legacy.

## EPILOGUE

### The last chapter

At one time, the name Red Feather was synonymous with charity and philanthropy in the English-speaking community of Montreal. In fact, United Red Feather Services served as the major support of welfare and social services for the city's Protestant and non-sectarian communities for some 80 years. At one point over 100 social agencies were being funded under its umbrella. But on March 19, 2002, the Red Feather era came to a close with the dissolution of the Red Feather Foundation. It was the last step in a long and fruitful history.

This 1996 publication, Red Feather in Montreal, has traced the organization from its earliest days through 1974 when United Red Feather Services became a founding partner in the creation of Centraide of Greater Montreal. Its vast network of social services agencies became Centraide agencies. And a new foundation was created to manage the endowment funds and investment portfolio for which Red Feather was responsible. The Red Feather Foundation continued for another 28 years, turning its annual investment income over to Centraide, which by 2002 had totaled some \$2.7 million.

Although Red Feather was no longer in the business of direct grant-giving, the Foundation did undertake two significant initiatives to serve the English-speaking community. In 1986, the Foundation introduced a quarterly newsletter on health and social services, the *Red Feather Forum*, which continues to maintain communication links among the city's anglophone community. In 1996, President Sheila Goldbloom spearheaded an allotment of a special grant to fund a task force set up to lobby the Quebec government for protection of the rights of the province's anglophone minority. A successful endeavour, leading to a clause in the new Health Act confirming access to health and social services in English.

But as time and circumstances changed, it became obvious that Red Feather had served its purpose. Members of the Red Feather family were decreasing in number, and Centraide had proven it was more than up to the task of fund-raising and social services leadership. Under the direction of Jean Lessard and then Michèle Thibodeau-DeGuire, Centraide had reached annual donations of \$39 million and was providing support to over 325 community organizations.

As the Foundation considered its withdrawal from the philanthropic scene, two major decisions were made. By 2001 its assets had grown to \$2.5 million, and conscientious dispersal of those monies from past

benefactors was of paramount importance. In June of that year, Treasurer John Gallop proposed and arranged for a \$500,000 donation to Montreal's newly-formed community foundation, La Fondation du Grand Montréal (FGM) to create a Red Feather Fund within FGM's portfolio.

This sizeable contribution was doubly noteworthy. Not only was it the FGM's first endowment, it was the first directed to its 'Community Fund', a non-designated category that allows for the FGM to use the revenue for its own selection of important community projects rather than having to rely solely on donor-directed funding. It was the crowning achievement in Red Feather's long tradition of innovation and community support. During FGM's crucial formative years, Red Feather was represented by Sheila Goldbloom, who served as vice-president, and John Gallop, as member, of its board.

In December of the same year, the Red Feather board voted to merge their foundation with the Fondation Centraide du Grand Montréal. It was resolved that remaining assets and continuing legacies be transferred to the Centraide Foundation and, to ensure the perpetuity of the Red Feather name, that they be administered as the Red Feather Fund. The agreement with the Centraide Foundation also stipulates that publication of the *Red Feather Forum* would continue to be financed out of that Fund.

On March 19, 2002, a special general meeting of Red Feather members was held to approve the amalgamation with Centraide and the termination of the Red Feather Foundation. (Red Feather's Sheila Goldbloom, Peter Denis and John Gallop subsequently served for several years on the Centraide Foundation's board.)

The story is complete.

\* \* \*

Much credit is due those who served the Red Feather Foundation in its latter years, and continued to informally monitor the evolution of social services in Montreal. The Foundation's last board of directors comprised Sheila Goldbloom, president; Peter Denis, secretary; John Gallop, treasurer; Nicky Aumond, John Hallward, Paula LaPierre, Norma Morgan, Honor Robertson, Sheila Robertson and Robert Saggars.

Gloria Ménard  
Editor, *Red Feather Forum*

## NOTES

For a more detailed analysis of the development of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies and its work throughout the Depression of the 1930s, see Anne MacLennan, "Charity and Change: The Montreal Council of Social Agencies' Attempts to Deal with the Depression" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1984) and Anne MacLennan, "Charity and Change: Montreal English Protestant Charity Faces the Crisis of Depression," *Urban History Review*, XVI (June 1987): 1-16.

For brevity the annual reports of Red Feather and the organizations which preceded it will be referred to as *Report* accompanied by the appropriate year, rather than citing the complete reference in each case.

Abbreviations:	MCOS	Montreal Charity Organization Society
	MCSA	Montreal Council of Social Agencies
	FWAM	Family Welfare Association of Montreal
	URFS	United Red Feather Services

Partial collections of these *Reports* are held by the McLennan Library, McGill University, the McGill University Archives and by Centraide.

1. Fern and Ouellet, *Economic and Social History of Quebec* (Ottawa, 1980) and Census of Canada 1844-1981, as cited in Ronald Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* (Quebec, 1985), 28.

2. Montreal's English-speaking Protestants were overlooked by Quebec's Catholic social welfare system as were members of the Jewish community. Jews settled in the province after the arrival of the English-speaking Protestants and developed a parallel system of social services. The Federation of Jewish Philanthropies Services of Montreal was organized in 1917, the first of all such federations in Canada. For more information about the early development of Jewish charities see Gerald Tulchinsky, "Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890," *Social History*, XVI (November 1983): 359-80.

3. Janice Harvey, "Les protestants et les origines du reseau des services sociaux protestants de Montreal," in Guy Lapointe, ed., *Société, culture et religion à Montréal: XIX<sup>e</sup>- XX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Montreal, 1994), and Janice Harvey, "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty in Mid-nineteenth Century Montreal: A Protestant Example" (unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1978), 62-65.

4. Saint George's Society of Montreal, *Historical Sketch 1834-1904 and Annual Report 1904* (Montreal, 1904); *A History of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society 1815-1920* (Montreal, n.d.).

5. Harvey, "Les protestants," 120-21; MCSA, Report, 1922, 1923.

6. Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada* (1st ed., 1897, repub. Toronto, 1972).

7. According to Charity Organization members, there were two types of poor: "deserving" and "undeserving." "Able-bodied" poor, who were capable of supporting themselves, when employed, were considered "undeserving"

and hence shunned. The victims of poverty who most interested the Charity Organization Society were those who became poor through no fault of their own. Thus an investigation of all appeals for relief was considered necessary.

8. Tamara K. Harevan, "An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of American Influence on Canadian Social Welfare," *Social History*, III (April 1969): 82-98.

9. Veronica Jane Strong-Boag, *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1929* (Ottawa, 1976), 202.

10. Francis H. McLean, "Report of General Secretary," cited in MCOS, *First Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Montreal* (Montreal, 1901), 7.

11. Some of his works include *The Formation of Charity Organization Societies in Smaller Cities* (New York, 1910); *The Organization of Family Social Work Societies in Smaller Cities* (New York, 1923); *The Family Society: Joint Responsibilities of Board, Staff and Membership* (New York, 1927); *Organizing Family Social Work in Smaller Cities* (New York, 1932). See also Josephine Chapin Brown, *Public Relief, 1929-1939* (New York, 1940).

12. Robert Cloutman Dexter, "Secretary's Report;" in MCOS, *Annual Report of the Charity Organization Society of Montreal, 1914-1915* (Montreal, 1915), 13; Grace Julia Drummond, "Foreword;" in MCOS, *The Twelfth Annual Report of the Charity Organization of Montreal, 1912* (Montreal, 1912), 8; MCOS, *Poverty: A Preventable Waste- Annual Report, 1919* (Montreal, 1920), 13.

13. Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-28* (Toronto, 1971).

14. MCSA, *Report of a Committee of the MCSA* (Montreal, 1919).

15. MCSA, "Origins, 1918-1922" (Montreal, 1955), typescript, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

16. MCOS, *Report, 1919*; FWAM, *Report, 1920*; MCSA, *Report, 1922*.

17. *Objects as defined by its constitution as cited in MCSA, An Organization Based on, and Representative of, Social Service Agencies of Montreal* (Montreal, 1920); pamphlet, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

18. The Meurling Municipal Refuge is described in the annual reports as unique in Canada. The Gustave Meurling Estate provided \$72,429.19 for its erection and the city provided an additional \$107,770.81. See also Montreal, Municipal Assistance Department, *Annual Report, 1911* (Montreal, 1912), 27-29; Montreal, Municipal Assistance Department, *Annual Report, 1912* (Montreal, 1913), 38-44; Montreal, Municipal Assistance Department, *Annual Report, 1913* (Montreal, 1914), 27 -33; Montreal, Municipal Assistance Department, *Annual Report, 1914* (Montreal, 1915), 52-59.

19. Scientific charity was the type of charity endorsed by the Charity Organization Society. Statistics, standardization, professionalization and consistent methods were the tools of scientific charity. Frank J. Bruno, *Trends in Social Work 1874-1956: A History Based on the Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Work* (New York, 1957), 193.

20. Charles H. Young, "Informal Review of Red Feather's Origin and Present Status to July 31, 1968," typescript, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

21. For more details about the background of J. H. T. Falk see William F. Shepherd, "Genesis of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies" (unpublished M.S.W. thesis, McGill University, 1957), 47-51; McGill University, McGill University Calendar for the Session 1918-1919 (Montreal, 1918).

22. Jean-Charles Falardeau, "The Role and Importance of the Church in French Canada," in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, eds., *French Canadian Society*, vol. 1 (Toronto, 1964), 345.

23. Quebec, *Revised Statutes of the Province of Quebec, 1925*, c. 125; Montreal, Municipal Assistance Department, *Annual Report, 1915* (Montreal, 1916), 98-104; MCOS, *Report, 1914-1915*, 24; MCOS, *Report, 1915-1916*, 30; MCOS, *Report, 1919*, 26.

24. "Brierley, James Samuel," in W. Stewart Wallace, ed., *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto, 1978), 95.

25. James S. Brierley, "President's Address, January 26th, 1923," *MCSA, Report, 1922,3*.

26. MCSA, "President's Address, January 22nd, 1932," 4, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

27. MCSA, *Report, 1931*, 28; Ann Powell Coulson, *Tribute to Pioneers: McGill School of Social Work* (Montreal, 1993), 5-10.

28. MCSA, *Report, 1933*, 42-43.

29. *The Dorothy King Memorial Lectures* (Montreal, 1971), xiv.

30. *Ibid.*, xi-xv; MCSA, *Report, 1929-1936*; MCSA, *Report, 1937-1939*.

31. MCSA, *Report, 1931*, 30-32; MCSA, *Report, 1932*, 31-32. A comprehensive program of health care and insurance was the concern of many groups. Norman Bethune and his Montreal Group for the Security of the People's Health offered four proposals to the city of Montreal in the hope that a city-wide program of public health assistance could be established. For more details see Wendell MacLeod, Libbie Park, and Stanley Ryerson, Bethune, *The Montreal Years: An Informal Portrait* (Toronto, 1978), 120-39. In addition, the Council Reports shows no evidence of a division among businessmen on the topic of contributory unemployment insurance. Other works have described such a split. See James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own: Unemployment and the Canadian Welfare State, 1914-1941* (Toronto, 1983), 88-89; Carl Cuneo, "State Mediation of Class Contradiction in Canadian Unemployment Insurance of 1930-1935," *Studies in Political Economy: A Socialist Review, III* (Spring 1980): 37-66; Quebec, *Social Insurance Commission, Seventh Report and Appendices to the Reports of the Commission* (Quebec, 1933), 326.

32. MCSA, *Report, 1929*, 33; Unemployment Study Group of the Montreal Branch of the Canadian Association of Social Workers, "The Realities of Relief: A Report Submitted by the Unemployment Study Group of the Montreal Branch of

the Canadian Association of Social Workers" (unpublished typescript, Montreal, 1938), 10.

33. MCSA, "Eleventh Annual Meeting of the MCSA, January 23, 1931" 7, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

34. The Dufferin Refuge made a substantial contribution to shelter for Montreal's homeless. The nights of shelter provided for the homeless between 1931 and 1940 were as follows: 1931 - 5,364; 1932- 6,948; 1933- 5,477; 1934- statistic unavailable; 1935 - 9,616; 1936 - 9,207; 1937 - 6,941; 1938 - 9,010; 1939 - 11,456; and 1940 - 7,373. MCSA, *Report, 1932*, 141; MCSA, *Report, 1933*, 136; MCSA, *Report, 1934*, 67; MCSA, *Report, 1935*, 59; MCSA, *Report, 1936*, 59; MCSA, *Report, 1937*, 57; MCSA, *Report, 1938*, 56; MCSA, *Report, 1939*, 59; MCSA, *Report, 1940*, 90.

35. MCSA, "Report of Special Committee on Unemployment, 1932," 1-2 and MCSA, "Report of the Special Committee on Unemployment 1933," 3.

36. MCSA, "Annual Report of Executive for 1932," 7-8; "Annual Report of Executive Committee for 1933," 9; "Annual Report of the Executive Committee for 1934," 6; "Annual Report of the Board of Governors for 1935," 8, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

37. MCSA, "Annual Report of Executive for 1932," 9; MCSA, *Report, 1932*, 188.

38. MCSA, "Report of the Survey Committee, Section One," 17, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

39. MCSA, "Report of the Survey Committee, Section Two: A Report on Child Care and Protection," 44-46; "Section Three: A Report on Group Work in Recreation and Informal Education," 21-24, 39; "Section Four: A Report on Health Services," 14-18, 26-32, 49-51, 71, 73; "Section Five: A Report on Family Welfare and Problems of Adult Dependency," 62; "Section Six: A Report on Certain Other Agencies," 10-14, 37; "Section Seven and Eight: Final Observations and Recommendations," 7, 15.

40. MCSA, *Report, 1940*, 4.

41. Welfare Federation of Montreal, *Federation Year Book 1944* (Montreal, 1944), 7, 31.

42. Charles H. Young, "Informal Review of Red Feather's Origin and Present Status to July 31, 1968," 4, typescript, McGill University Archives, Manuscript Group 2076.

43. The Census of Canada 1981, as cited in Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers*, 32.

44. Frederic Lesemann, *Services and Circuses: Community and the Welfare State*, trans. Lorne Huston and Margaret Heap (Montreal, 1984), 50.

45. Quebec, *Report of the Study Committee on Public Assistance* (Quebec, 1963), 9.

46. URFS, *Report, 1962*, 5.

47. URFS, *Report, 1966-1967*, 7.

48. URFS, *Report, 1964-1965*, 7.

49. National Study Service, "Planning for Services to Families and Children in Greater Montreal," typescript, a study by National Study Service, 1967.

50. Quebec. *Commission d'enquête sur la santé et la bien-être social* (Quebec, 1967-72), vols. 1-7.
51. Lesemann, *Services and Circuses*, 117-18.
52. Quebec, *Statutes of the Province of Quebec*. Elizabeth II, Second Session, 29 Legislature, c.48.

## PHOTO CREDITS

- 1, Montreal Urban Transportation Commission.
- 2, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 24, 25, McGill University Archives.
- 3, Old Brewery Mission, *Annual Report*, 1910.
- 4, Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Annual Report*, 1910.
- 5, Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1904.
- 6, 8, 9, 10, 15, 23, 26, *Gazette Archives*.
- 7, 11, 17, 18, Junior League of Montreal.
- 21, 22, Montreal Diet Dispensary.

## FURTHER READING

### BOOKS

- Allen, Richard. *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928*. Toronto, 1971.
- Ames, Herbert Brown. *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada*. Toronto, 1972.
- Armitage, Andrew. *Social Welfare in Canada: Ideals and Realities*. Toronto, 1975.
- Copp, Terry. *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. Toronto, 1974.
- Coulson, Ann Powell. *Tribute to Pioneers: McGill School of Social Work*. Montreal, 1993.
- Guest, Dennis. *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada*. Vancouver, 1980.
- Jones, Andrew and Leonard Rutman. In *The Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario*. Toronto, 1981.
- Lesemann, Frederic. *Services and Circuses: Community and the Welfare State*. Trans. Lorne Huston and Margaret Heap. Montreal, 1984.
- Rudin, Ronald. *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980*. Quebec, 1985.
- Splane, Richard B. *Social Welfare in Ontario 1791-1893: A Study of Public Welfare Administration*. Toronto, 1965.
- Sutherland, Neil. *Children in English Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus*. Toronto, 1976.

### ARTICLES

- Copp, Terry. "The Montreal Working Class in Prosperity and Depression." *Canadian Issues*, I (Spring 1975): 85-98.
- Harvey, Janice. "Les protestants et les origines du reseau des services sociaux protestants de Montreal;" in Guy Lapointe, ed, *Societe, culture et religion a Montreal: XIX<sup>e</sup> - XX<sup>e</sup> siecle*. Montreal, 1994.
- MacLennan, Anne. "Charity and Change: Montreal English Protestant Charity Faces the Crisis of Depression," *Urban History Review*, XVI (June 1987): 1-16.
- Rooke, Patricia T. and It L. Schnell. "Child Welfare in English Canada, 1920-1948," *Social Service Review*, LV (September 1981): 484-506.
- Rooke, Patricia T. and R.L. Schnell. "Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth-Century British North America," *Social History*, XV (May 1982): 157-80.
- Sutherland, Neil. "'To Create a Strong and Healthy Race': School Children in the Public Health Movement, 1880-1914," *History of Education Quarterly*, XII (Fall 1972): 305-33.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald. "Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890," *Social History*, XVI (November 1983): 359-80.
- Vigod, B. L. "Ideology and Institutions in Quebec: The Public Charities Controversy 1921-1926," *Social History*, XXI (May 1978): 167-82.

Vigod, B. L. "The Quebec Government and Social Legislation during the 1930's: A Study in Political Self-destruction," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, XIV (Spring 1979): 59-69.

## THESES

Aikin, Dorothy. "The Role of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies in the Establishment of Public Assistance." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1950.

Arsenault, Ann Paulette and Tuula Inkeri Heinonen, "Elite Control at Centraide?" Unpublished M.S.W. research report, McGill University, 1986.

Harvey, Janice. "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty in Mid-nineteenth Century Montreal: A Protestant Example." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1978.

MacLennan, Anne. "Charity and Change: The Montreal Council of Social Agencies' Attempts to Deal with the Depression." Unpublished M.A. thesis McGill University, 1984.

Macpherson, June. "'Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?' The Administration of Unemployment Relief in the City of Montreal 1931-1941." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1975.

Roy, Huguette Lapointe. "Pauperisme et Assistance Sociale a Montreal 1832-1865." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1972.

Sheperd, William F. "Genesis of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies." Unpublished M.S.W. thesis, McGill University, 1957.

## APPENDIX I

### AGENCIES

Members and associated agencies of the Financial Federation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies, the Welfare Federation of Montreal and United Red Feather Services.

\*Founding agencies (see Table 1)

\*Baby Welfare Committee - Founded in 1908, amalgamated with the Child Welfare Association to form the Child Health Association which operated until 1978.

Big Brothers Association - Chartered in 1923, later became the Big Brothers and Big Sisters of Montreal, still in operation as a Centraide agency.

Big Sisters Association - Established in 1923, became the Girls' Counselling Centre in 1943, merged with Bureau de Consultation Jeunesse in 1971 and is still in operation as a Centraide agency.

\*Boy Scouts' Association - Still in operation as a Centraide agency.

Boys' Clubs of Canada - Not a local agency, but received grants from United Red Feather Services. Associated with Dawson Boys' Club and Griffintown Boys' Club.

\*Boys' Home of Montreal - Founded in 1871, operated Weredale House, which changed its name to Youth Horizons in 1980 and is still in operation.

Boys' Welfare Association - Chartered in 1923, became the Montreal Boys' Association, merged with the Montreal Girls' Association in 1967 to form the Montreal Boys' and Girls' Association, operated until 1984-85.

Brehmer Rest Preventorium, Ste. Agathe des Monts, Quebec - Founded in 1905, no longer in operation in 1974.

\*Canadian National Committee for Mental Hygiene - Organized in 1918, merged with the Marriage Counselling Centre and the Family Life Education Council in 1967, ceased operation in 1983.

Canadian National Institute for the Blind - Montreal Association for the Blind organized in 1908, joined the national association in 1918. Quebec division was founded in 1930, still in operation.

\*Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association - Formed in 1892 as the Prisoners' Aid Association, became the Canadian Prisons' Welfare Association (Montreal Branch) prior to 1922, then the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal in 1931, finally changed its name to the John Howard Society in 1947 and joined with five other

- agencies in 1973 to form Ville Marie Social Service Centre which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
- \*Charity Organization Society – Founded in 1900.
  - \*Chalmers’ House – Part of the Federation, 1922-24.
  - Child Health Association – An amalgamation of the Child Welfare Association and the Baby Welfare Committee, formed in 1908, ceased operation in 1978.
  - Child Welfare Association of Montreal – Part of the Federation until 1947.
  - Children’s Aid Society of Montreal – Organized in 1945, taking over the role of the Women’s Directory, formed in 1914, and the Children’s Bureau, formed in 1921. Operated until a merger with the Foster Home Center, previously the Protestant Infants’ Home of Montreal founded in 1870, to form the Children’s Service Centre in 1951, which joined with five other agencies to form the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
  - Children’s Bureau of Montreal – Organized in 1919, the Children’s Service Association assumed responsibility for the bureau’s work in 1936, merged in 1946 with the Women’s Directory, formed in 1914, to create the Children’s Aid Society which merged with the Foster Home Centre, previously the Protestant Infants’ Home of Montreal, founded in 1870, to form the Children’s Service Centre in 1951, which joined with five other agencies to form Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
  - \*Children’s Memorial Hospital, Social Service Department – Became part of the Montreal Children’s Hospital, still in operation.
  - Children’s Service Centre – Originally formed in 1870 as the Protestant Infants’ Home of Montreal. In 1938 it became the Protestant Foster Home Centre, then merged with the Children’s Aid Society, formed in 1945, which had taken over the work of the Women’s Directory of Montreal and the Children’s Service Association, previously the Children’s Bureau formed in 1921. In 1951 became the Children’s Service Centre until it joined with Catholic Family and Children’s Services, Foster Home Recruiting Centre, the John Howard Society, Lakeshore Community Services and the Family Service Association to form Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
  - Children’s Service Association – Organized in 1936 and accepted responsibility for work of Montreal Children’s Bureau, formed in 1921, merged with the Protestant Foster Home Centre, previously the Protestant

Infants' Home of Montreal, formed 1870, and the Children's Aid Society to create the Children's Service Centre in 1951. It subsequently joined with five other agencies to form the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.

\*Daily Vacation Bible Schools - Organized in 1913, ceased operation in 1966.

Dawson Boys' Club - Organized in 1948 with funding transferred from the Griffintown Boys' Club, it was associated with the Rosemount Boys' Club, Unity Boys' Club, East End Boys' Club and Verdun Boys' Club, then became the Dawson Community Centre which is still in operation as a Centraide agency.

Directional Service for the Families of Enlisted Men - 1940-41.

Emergency Unemployment Relief Committee of Montreal - Founded in 1924, ceased operation in 1934.

Family Life Education Council - Founded in 1961, merged with the Marriage Counselling Centre and the Mental Hygiene Institute in 1967.

Family Welfare Association of Montreal- Founded in 1900 as the Charity Organization Society, then the Family Welfare Association in 1922, the Family Service Association of Montreal in 1960, and joined with Catholic Family and Children's Services, the Foster Home Recruiting Centre, the John Howard Society, Lakeshore Community Services, and the Children's Service Centre to form Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.

\*Girls' Cottage Industrial School, Sweetsburg, Quebec, later relocated to St. Bruno, Quebec - Organized in 1911, changed its name to the Girls' Cottage School and became entirely financed by the province in 1967.

Girls' Counselling Centre - Formed in 1943, taking over the Big Sisters Association, founded in 1923, merged with Bureau de Consultation Jeunesse in 1971 and is still in operation as a Centraide agency.

Griffintown Boys' Club - Founded in 1982 as the Nazareth Street Mission, changed its name in 1913, amalgamated with the Montreal Boys' Association in 1951.

Handicapped Workers' Bureau - Organized in 1924, amalgamated with the Victorian Order of Nurses Occupational Therapy Department and the Montreal Industrial Institute in 1937 to form the Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre.

- \*Industrial Rooms - Founded in 1861, operated until 1951.
- \*Iverley Settlement - Founded in 1909, operated until 1945.
- Iverley Community Centre - Incorporated in 1941, following a merger of Iverley Settlement and the Old Brewery Mission Community Centre in 1936, operated until 1955.
- John Howard Society of Quebec - Formed in 1892 as Prisoners' Aid Association, became the Canadian Prisoners' Welfare Association (Montreal Branch) prior to 1922, then the Prisoners' Aid and Welfare Association of Montreal in 1931, finally changed its name to the John Howard Society in 1947 and joined with five other agencies to form the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
- Lachine Benevolent Association - Organized in 1934, still operating in 1968.
- Lakeshore Community Services - Organized in 1956 as the Lakeshore Welfare Services and joined with five other agencies to form Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
- Marriage Counselling Centre of Montreal - Established in 1955, merged with the Family Education Council and the Mental Hygiene Institute in 1967.
- Montreal Boys' Association - Chartered in 1923, formerly the Boys' Welfare Association, operated Camp Lewis, in 1967 merged with Montreal Girls' Association in 1967 to form the Montreal Boys' and Girls' Association, operated until 1984-85.
- Montreal Day Nursery - Founded in 1888, ceased operation in 1977.
- \*Montreal Diet Dispensary - Founded by the Y.W.C.A. in 1879, is still in operation as a Centraide agency.
- \*Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital - Founded in 1891, amalgamated with the Montreal Childrens' Hospital, still in operation.
- \*Montreal General Hospital - Founded in 1822, still in operation.
- Montreal Girls' Association - Organized in 1947 and merged with the Montreal Boys' Association in 1967 to form the Montreal Boys' and Girls' Association, operated until 1984-85.
- Montreal Industrial Institute for Epileptics - Founded in 1920, frequently known as the Montreal Industrial Institute, amalgamated with the Victorian Order of Nurses Occupational Therapy Department and the Handicapped Workers' Bureau in 1937 to form the Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre.

\*Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society - Founded in 1815 as the Female Benevolent Society which ceased operation in 1922. Re-established in 1832, amalgamated in 1947 with the Protestant Orphan Asylum, founded in 1822, to run Summerhill House, Camp Carowanis and Camp Amy Molson. The two camps are still in operation as Centraide agencies.

Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum - Established in 1822, became Summerhill House in 1947.

\*Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge - Founded in 1863.

Montreal Volunteer Bureau - Founded in 1937 as the Central Volunteer Bureau, became the Women's Voluntary Services from 1941 to 1958, still in operation as a Centraide agency.

Murray Bay Convalescent Home, Pointe-au-Pic, Quebec - Established in 1874, ceased operation in 1964.

Negro Community Centre of Montreal - Founded 1926, still in operation.

Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre - Formed in 1937 as an amalgamation of the Victorian Order of Nurses Occupational Therapy Department, the Montreal Industrial Institute and the Handicapped Workers' Bureau, changed its name to the Occupational Therapy and Rehabilitation Centre in 1951, became the Constance Lethbridge Rehabilitation Centre in 1968 and is still in operation.

\*Old Brewery Mission - Began as a soup kitchen in 1890, acquired its building in 1892, is still in operation.

\*Parks and Playgrounds Association - Founded in 1902, by 1974 its activities had been taken over by municipal parks and recreation departments.

Protestant Bureau for Homeless Men of Montreal - Operated from 1930 to 1942.

Protestant Foster Home Centre - Founded in 1870 as the Protestant Infants' Home, changed its name in 1938, then became Children's Service Centre in 1951 as a result of a merger with the Children's Aid Society, joined with five other agencies to form the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.

\*Protestant Infants' Home of Montreal - Founded in 1870, became the Protestant Foster Home Centre in 1938, and the Children's Service Centre in 1951 as a result of a merger with the Children's Aid Society, then joined with five other agencies to form the Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.

Rosemount Boys' Club - Organized in 1948 and is still in operation as part of CLSC Rosemount.

St. Andrew's Youth Centre - Organized in 1944, operated until 1967 when its funds were turned over to the Park Extension Youth Organization, still in operation as a Centraide agency.

\*St. Columba House - still in operation.

St. Laurent Neighbourhood Association - Organized in 1955, operated until 1977.

\*St. Margaret's Home - Founded in 1885, still in operation.

\*Salvation Army - Established in Montreal in 1884, still in operation.

School for Social Workers - Established in 1918 as McGill University, Department of Social Study and Training, then McGill School for Social Workers. In 1931 became the Montreal School for Social Workers, and in 1946 McGill University, School of Social Work, still in operation.

\*Sheltering Home - Established in 1848, ceased operations in 1967. Part of its role was taken over by Elizabeth House in 1971 which still continues its work under that name.

\*Society for the Protection of Women and Children - Founded in 1882, its services were integrated with the work of Ville Marie Social Service Centre in 1973.

South Shore Community Services - Formed in 1964, still operating as the South Shore Community Network.

Summerhill House - Operated by the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society (founded as the Female Benevolent Society in 1815), amalgamated in 1947 with the Protestant Orphan Asylum established 1822.

Travellers' Aid Society - Founded in 1951, merged with La Service d'Accueil aux Voyageurs et aux Immigrants in 1968.

\*University Settlement of Montreal - Founded in 1893, in 1980 changed its name to Centre Multi-Ethnique St. Louis, operated until 1985.

\*Victorian Order of Nurses, Local Association of Greater Montreal - Founded in 1897, still in operation.

Weredale House - Founded in 1871, operated by the Boys' Home of Montreal, changed its name to Youth Horizons in 1980 and is still in operation.

\*Western Hospital - now part of the Montreal Children's Hospital, still in operation.

Westmount Social Service Association - Organized in 1913 and functioned as the Western Hospital Social Service Department until this responsibility was assumed by the Montreal General Hospital in 1941.

- \*Westmount Victorian Order of Nurses - Functioned as a separate division of the V.O.N.
- \*Women's Directory of Montreal - Organized in 1914, merged with the Children's Bureau, formed in 1921, to form the Children's Aid Society of Montreal in 1946, which merged with the Protestant Foster Home Centre, previously the Protestant Infants' Home of Montreal, founded in 1870, to create the Children's Service Centre in 1951. It joined with five other agencies in 1973 to form the Ville Marie Social Service Centre, which operated until 1993 when its services were dispersed to local CLSCs.
- Women's Voluntary Services - Founded as the Central Volunteer Bureau in 1937, changed its name in 1941, changed its name again to the Montreal Volunteer Bureau in 1958, still in operation.
- \*Young Men's Christian Association - Established in 1851 and is still in operation as a Centraide agency.
- \*Young Women's Christian Association - Established in 1874 and is still in operation as a Centraide agency.

## APPENDIX II

### LEADERS OF RED FEATHER AND PRECEDING ORGANIZATIONS

#### CHAIRMEN OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS

1922 Huntly R. Drummond	1943-44 Fred Johnson
1923 Sir Edward Beatty	1945-46 John B. Frosst
1924-25 Herbert Molson	1947-49 Claude S. Richardson
1926-27 Sir Charles Gordon	1950-51 H. P. Thornhill
1928-29 C. E. Neil	1952-53 D. A. Hanson
1930-31 Norman J. Dawes	1954-55 W. W. Ogilvie
1932 Sir Arthur Currie	1956-57 John A. Ross
1933-34 W. F. Angus	1958-59 C. F. Carsley
1935-36 Morris W. Wilson	1960-62 H. G. Norman
1937 J.E. Macpherson	1963-64 H. K. McLean
1938-39 Philip S. Fisher	1965-67 T. R. Meighen
1940-41 Henry W. Morgan	1968-70 Allan G. Magee
1942 J.C. Meakins	1971-76 John M. Keith

#### CHAIRMEN OF BUDGET COMMITTEE

1922-26 James S. Brierley	1947-51 W. W. Ogilvie
1927-32 B. B. Stevenson	1952-60 A. H. Rowland
1933-42 F. J. Campbell	1961-65 Q. C. D. Bovey
1943-46 J. E. Dodds	1966-68 S. H. Dobell

#### EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS

1922-29 John Howard Toynbee Falk	1968-72 Gerald O. Saxton
1930-37 Frank G. Pedley	1972 Harold P. Thuringer (Acting)
1938-68 Charles H. Young	

#### CHAIRMEN OF ADVISORY BOARD

1937-43 Sir Edward Beatty  
1944-57 J. W. McConnell  
1958-68 S. G. Dobson

#### CHAIRMEN OF BOARD OF GOVERNORS (formed in 1937)

1937 Morris W. Wilson	1952-53 H. P. Thornhill
1938 J. E. Macpherson	1954-55 D. A. Hanson
1939 W. F. Angus	1956-57 W. W. Ogilvie
1940-41 Philip S. Fisher	1958-59 Edward C. Wood
1942 Henry W. Morgan	1960-62 A. Deane Nesbitt
1943-45 Morris W. Wilson	1963-64 H. G. Norman
1946-47 R. P. Jellett	1965-67 H. K. McLean
1948 Fred Johnson	1968 T. R. Meighen
1949-51 Victor M. Drury	

#### CHAIRS OF RED FEATHER FOUNDATION (since 1976)

Derek Hanson	Peter Kyle
Robert Carswell	Sheila Goldbloom
John Gallop	