

A Historical Study of Women in Canadian Banking, 1900-1975

Barbara Hansen



The Bank of Nova Scotia Archives

Cet article fait le bilan historique du rôle des femmes dans les entreprises bancaires de 1900 à 1975. En 1900, les femmes ne représentaient que 1% du personnel dans les banques. En 1975, elles occupaient 72% des positions. L'article examine la situation des femmes, prises comme elles sont dans les emplois les moins importants, les moins payants et les plus routiniers, une situation qui reste, en dépit du progrès qu'ont fait les femmes, toujours pareille aujourd'hui.

When women first entered the banking world approximately eighty years ago, they filled the lowest ranks in the occupational hierarchy and received the lowest levels of pay. After many years of participation, during which female staff rose from less than one per cent in 1900 to an overwhelming seventy-two per cent in 1975, banking women continued to be relegated to the lowest occupational ranks and therefore continued to receive the lowest wages. In this paper the historical process of female employment in Canadian banks from 1900 to 1975 will be examined in three major periods: 1900-39, 1939-67, and 1967-75.

1900-39

Although pre-war information concerning female participation in the banking labour force is very scarce, an employment pattern can be determined through information drawn from articles in old banking journals and from archival material.

The Bank of Nova Scotia hired its first woman stenographer in 1898, a step which was described as an 'experiment' . . . courageously and gallantly undertaken by Mr. Anderson, manager of the Bank of Nova Scotia in St. John's, Newfoundland. The success of this 'courageous experiment' led the manager of the Bank of Montreal to follow suit with the hiring of a female stenographer — the bank's first female employee.¹ By 1906, the Bank of Nova Scotia had increased its total female staff to 13 members: 8 stenographers, 1 bookkeeper, and 4 stationery clerks.² Another major bank hired its first woman in a clerical capacity as early as 1887. By 1901 there

were only 5 women on its staff; an incredibly small increase over a fourteen-year period.³

However, owing to national economic expansion and population growth this pattern of almost negligible female participation in the business world had changed dramatically by 1911. In response to economic stimulation, the second decade of the century was characterized by a growth of industry and a proliferation of clerical jobs. The bank mentioned earlier, which in 1901 employed only 5 female workers, had increased this figure to 125 in 1911, 225 in 1912, 325 in 1913, and 630 in 1915. Of the 630 women, only 7 were tellers, 350 were stenographers, and 273 were clerks.⁴ A new phase in the clerical employment of women had begun.

However, before World War I women still constituted a small percentage of total banking staffs and their posts were almost entirely limited to tasks that required no public interaction. Banks were the most reluctant of the business and financial institutions to bring women into their staffs.⁵ Management wanted to keep female staff a hidden quantity in bank dealings. An article written by a female bank employee in 1915 states that 'at the time of the entrance of the first woman clerk into an Ontario branch of one of the largest of our Canadian banks the manager discussed with the head office in all seriousness the advisability of having a screen — a good high one too — placed all around her to shut her off completely from the observation of the public.'⁶ That this attitude persisted until the war years is illustrated by the fact that until 1915 there was only a handful of female tellers. The rest of the female staff remained in clerical jobs which required no communication with customers.

With the onset of World War I, the trend of rapidly increasing female employment that had begun in 1901 was intensified. Because Canada had never been involved in a major war, its business and industry were totally unprepared to meet the huge manpower shortage resulting from enlistments and from business growth due to a booming war economy.

Banking institutions had no choice but to resort to the pool of female labour. This conclusion was reached with much

reluctance. A letter written in April 1916 by the General Manager's Office of the Bank of Nova Scotia to its management and staff outlined the problem: 'We *might just as well* realize at once that the services of young women will *have to* be utilized for ledger-keepers, and *at the smaller branches* for tellers. . . .'⁷ Management clearly felt pushed against the wall in taking this decision, and the phrase 'at the smaller branches' indicates that they planned to minimize the public impact of this personnel change.

Bank hiring policy indicates that management was determined to ameliorate this distasteful situation through the hiring of only the 'highest-quality girls'. When interviewing two sisters who started working with the Royal Bank of Canada in 1917, I asked the question: 'Was bank work regarded as a good occupation when you joined the bank?' The response was: 'Oh yes! You had to have a letter from a doctor, from a priest or minister, and from a prominent businessman. You had to practically get references from the King to get into banking in those days! All the girls came from a good family. They were all nice girls.'⁸ Such requirements reflected a clear class bias and served as a more subtle way of saying, 'No lower-class women need apply.' The recollections of these two women are confirmed in an article written in 1915 which states: ' "Try to get into a bank" is becoming more and more frequently the advice given to women, and more particularly gentlewomen ' In this period, it was the general rule that middle- and upper-class married women did not work. As one study of female occupations in Montreal during the war years observed, 'In the banks the proportion of married women was very small, being only about 3%. Speaking generally, married women are found among the manual rather than the clerical workers in industry.'¹⁰

The 'necessary evil' of female employment was made less objectionable by the fact that women were hired on a temporary basis during the war. It was clear that they would be replaced as soon as the men were able to return to their former banking positions.¹¹ In the meantime, extreme manpower shortages enabled women to fill posts which had formerly been a strictly male domain, and they formed about a quarter of the wartime staffs.¹² Most of these young middle-class women had no former job training. Because the loss of so many experienced men placed great pressure on the senior men who remained, the time that they could allot to the training of new staff was minimal. Within a few weeks women were expected to take over positions for which male employees had received years of training.

The situation was described by Jessie Murray as follows: 'The only two positions which are not at present occupied by women . . . are those of accountant and manager. . . . She is giving to the public just as speedy, just as efficient service as that heretofore received. And all this without anything like the preparatory training given to the juniors who enter the professions.'

Although these virtually untrained women proved to be extraordinarily successful in executing formerly 'male' tasks, their wages remained substantially less than those of their male counterparts. Thus, as Murray observed, 'We find women working side by side with men, doing the same work and doing it quite as well at a lower scale of remuneration; and this discrimination extends as well to the more advanced positions where women have taken over the work of senior clerks and are performing it just as competently.'¹³ The banks argued that because women were considered only temporary staff their value in the long run was less than that of the male employee who was willing to commit himself to a career in banking.¹⁴ Although this argument was contradicted by the fact that many women stayed in banking throughout the

inter-war period, and that males often quit the banks for more lucrative professions,¹⁵ it was the myth and not the reality that prevailed. The temporary nature of female employment because of the imminent prospects of matrimony was accepted as the general truth, and it was used successfully by bank management to obscure the value of female labour and to maintain wage differentials. As two veteran female bankers pointed out: 'The women never questioned this to a great degree. We had been brought up expecting that men would always get more pay than we did.'¹⁶

The social ethos ensured that the myth of 'woman's place at hearth and home' would obscure the reality of her tremendous, though unexpected success in the male banking domain. One woman writing in the *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association* claimed that 'Women are splendid at rising to an occasion and at coping with an emergency but they lack the capacity for sustained effort.'¹⁷ It seemed imperative that the undeniable achievement of these female novices be understood as an aberration, made possible solely within the context of the war years. Another woman states that ' . . . when the opportunity offers the most successful banking woman amongst us will cheerfully retire to her own hearthstone, preferring the love of a husband and little children to thousands a year and a seat in the council of the mighty!' Certainly no woman would stay in the workforce because she enjoyed the job or the economic independence which it afforded. Only the woman who found herself in 'sad circumstances' would continue to work, and 'it must be remembered that she has done so from necessity'.¹⁸

Although the employment of women was initially to be a purely temporary measure, a substantial number of women remained, constituting about thirty per cent of banking staffs in the inter-war years. This occurred for two reasons. First, the great number of war casualties and the refusal of many veterans to return to low-paying banking careers resulted in shortages of male staff. Secondly, the expansion of banking business necessitated the breaking down of clerical tasks into simpler, more routine, lower-level office jobs which became the preserve of the female clerk.¹⁹

Bank management sang the praises of women's marvellous ability in the performance of routine clerical work: 'A large part of the work of a bank is routine, and girls seem to take more kindly to a routine job than do men Girls are better than boys when it comes to operating the machines'²⁰ The Ross sisters described the situation in a rather different way: 'Women did the "dirty work" and the boys were put ahead, they did the work that the men couldn't be bothered with. Banking was considered to be a man's world. They never seemed to give the girls the benefit of having any brains. There were girls who practically ran the branch but they never got any credit for it. They could do everything, any job in the bank, but they never got credits in either titles or pay.'

Women were never considered to be career material by the bank, by society, or, consequently, by themselves. The banks provided no pension plans for their female employees, as it was considered unlikely that women would work until retirement age. The social ethos and bank policy demanded that women leave the bank upon marriage, and the highest position that the exceptional female worker might hope to achieve was that of teller. The idea of aspiring to the position of accountant or manager was never entertained. In the inter-war years women were once again relegated to the lowest ranks, and they were to remain there until the exigencies of the Second World War demanded their participation in the broader range of 'male' banking tasks.

1939-67

The experience of female bank workers during the period of the Second World War was similar in many ways to that of the women in World War I. Once again wartime conditions resulted in a great increase in the volume of business, large numbers of men enlisted, and women were hired in their place for the duration of the war. As with the First World War women assumed, with just a few weeks' training, positions which men assumed only after months of apprenticeship. And again women received lower wages for doing the same work as men.

There were, however, a few changes. Severe staff shortages than in the first war necessitated the recruitment of even larger numbers of female replacements to fill a broader range of 'male' positions. The clerical jobs that women had held throughout the inter-war years offered little public exposure; thus with the coming of the Second World War the utilization of female employees was considered by the public to be quite an innovation, when in reality females had been a considerable portion of banking staffs for the previous twenty years. Married women were now allowed to work for the banks, simply because single women were being aggressively and successfully recruited by government staffing campaigns for war industries. Similarly, competition for women workers allowed more lower-middle-class women into the industry.²¹ In a voice of regret, Gertrude Ross recalled in an interview with the author, 'Up until the Second World War they were all fairly nice girls, but then they started to go down. One girl who had previously worked for a chocolate factory came in to the bank!'

Bank management had no intention of maintaining women in responsible career-stream positions, and after the war female workers were pushed back into the lowest job levels.²² The banks rationalized that the women had met the challenge of a special 'wartime effort', but were not capable of continuing such strenuous tasks. Increasing banking business resulting from post-war expansion required further routinization of job functions and the introduction of widespread mechanization. Predictably, it was women, with their 'pendant for routine work', who filled the ever-increasing clerical ranks, and in this period the percentage of female bank employees doubled. The maintenance of females in jobs that ensured lack of career motivation and a high rate of turnover proved to be a profitable banking policy. In 1953 the Canadian Bankers' Association sponsored an essay competition and first prize was awarded to a young man who outlined the benefits of female occupational ghettoization and assessed astutely the cost of promoting women to non-clerical positions open only to men:

Minor clerical jobs, while essential to the overall operation of the banking system, are not of sufficient importance to warrant the keeping of male staff on them for extended periods of time. As a result of this, by substituting women workers, who may only have a few years' experience and probably will be employed for only a short time, it is possible to keep down the salary costs to the particular office or bank without impairing the efficient handling of routine work.

Probably one of the more important features of additional positions within the banks for women employees would be the item of salary costs. In all probability these costs would decrease to some extent; but, if women are going to replace men as appointed officers, in time they are going to demand satisfactory remuneration, and each day we are aware of new endeavours to obtain equal pay for equal work. Fringe

benefits, such as full pension plans, etc., are not normally extended to women but it is likely that they would campaign to have these additional compensations included in their terms of employment.²³



The Bank of Nova Scotia Archives

Such mercenary discrimination resulted in the fact that throughout the 1950s when females were over half of the total staff, more than 96 per cent of all clerical tasks were performed by women; many women doing the work of accountants did not receive that title (or, therefore, pay); and very few had access to the training programs given to men. Social institutions of the bank such as staff publications and staff clubs trivialized the career interests and capabilities of female bank staff, and accountants' clubs were open to men only, although a few females held that position.²⁴

By the late 1950s a few women had been appointed to junior management and accounting positions, but only when their proven experience and seniority were far in excess of those of men in the same positions. For instance, of the first two assistant managers appointed by the Bank of Montreal in 1957, one had been an employee for forty years and the other for twenty-one years.²⁵

In September 1961, the 'big breakthrough' came for women in the banking field. With much fanfare, and a carefully planned publicity campaign,²⁶ the Bank of Nova Scotia announced the appointments of two women bank managers in Toronto and Ottawa—the first two female managers in Canada. When Gladys Marcellus states: 'It is not that the young junior wasn't ambitious; secretly she occasionally dreamt of becoming an accountant, though no girl had ever risen to such dizzy heights within the bank. But in 1942, the very thought of a female branch manager would have been preposterous.'²⁷

Both women were apprehensive of the reactions with which they would have to deal because of their sex. At the time of her promotion Giles stated that: 'I really feel I have to make good. I have to work at it because it seems like all eyes are on me. Besides, a girl has to perform as well as, or even a little better than a man if she is to be successful in business.'²⁸ Both Giles and Marcellus found that initially staff and customers (especially males), would react in a negative manner; however, after a short 'testing period', both women were accepted as

being competent bankers. Both were posted in smaller branches located in residential areas, in which banking business was limited to personal banking needs such as depositing and withdrawal functions, counter services, and residential and small-business loans.

When interviewed by the *Financial Post* on 23 September 1961 the Bank of Nova Scotia president, F. William Nicks, stated that: 'these appointments are a natural development....Today, sixty-five per cent of our total staff are women. Many show a great deal of ability. We shall continue to appoint qualified women to senior posts.' Seven years later, in 1968, the Bank of Nova Scotia had increased its number of female managers by only three, and amongst the other banks there were only nine female managerial appointments,²⁹ making a total of thirteen female bank managers in Canada. Clearly banking institutions considered the 'natural development' of female employees to be a process that would span a century!

1967-75

The 1960s were a period of expansion for the Canadian economy and, as we have seen historically, the form and functions of banking organizations are greatly affected by economic change.

Even greater changes were effected in the banking industry with the revision of the Bank Act in 1967, which allowed for the expansion of bank services into new areas of finance. These changes in banking functions affected the occupational structure through the creation of new job categories, and women's occupational opportunities seemed to broaden. By 1969 there were 29 female bank managers and 709 accountants; however, a significant feature of this development was that females were appointed to management positions only in small residential branches and were concentrated at the lowest levels of accounting. Notwithstanding the changes of the Bank Act, women remained the clerical backbone of the banking industry. By 1971, 89.7% of all women in banking earned less than \$5,000 per year while 72.3% of all men in the field earned more than \$5,000. Only 17 women occupied senior positions, compared to 5,483 men.³⁰

In 1969 bank training programs remained highly discriminatory, with management training being offered to 3,145 men and only 128 women. Men were hired on the assumption that they would proceed to management levels, while women were hired largely to fill routine jobs. Before being placed in a training program, a woman had to 'prove' her commitment to a career. This 'validation process' required that a woman have a minimum of five years' employment with her bank before she could hope to convince her supervisor of the sincerity of her career aspirations. Thus any male candidate had at least a five-year jump on an aspiring female employee.³¹

The standard arguments used by banking institutions as a justification for keeping women in lower positions and denying them equal access to training programs were: immobility, a high turnover rate because of marriage and family obligations, and a lack of career motivation on the part of the female employee. A closer examination of the banking structure and employment patterns as they had developed by the late 1960s reveals that the validity of these arguments is highly questionable.

In those banking operations that required that a career candidate be transferred to a number of branches to gain a wide variety of banking experience, immobility is a valid obstacle to career advancement only in a rural situation. Large metropolitan areas offer numerous branches amongst which women could be transferred without disruption of their domestic life.

In those banking operations centred in regional and head offices, the mobility argument is totally invalid.

A high turnover rate because of marriage and family obligations is a rationale used by bank management to justify their lack of investment in training programs for their female employees. Although management acknowledges that males also have a high turnover rate, they argue that the financial industry as a whole benefits from their training because of the interchange of male personnel amongst competitors. Marianne Bossen says that if banking institutions chose to appreciate the fact that the employment pattern of women is discontinuous rather than short-term, management would have to acknowledge that large numbers of women return to banking after the family-raising period, and that women too could be a valuable asset as a source of trained personnel.³² That banks have chosen to ignore the possibilities of creating career programs that would acknowledge and deal with the discontinuous nature of the female labour force suggests to this author a continuation of the banks' historical policy of keeping females as a pool of cheap clerical labour.

Lack of career motivation is one of the 'old standards' which are constantly dragged out to justify the occupational ghettoization of female employees. Considering the job prospects held out to the majority of female employees and the lack of career stimulation offered by the banks, it is not surprising that most female workers do not perceive themselves as career bankers.³³

In the first half of the 1970s banks showed an unprecedented interest in creating a public image that portrayed them as innovators in the field of female employment. Some bank managements introduced equal training programs for men and women; the Royal and Toronto Dominion banks eliminated all sex differentials in their benefits plans; the Bank of Montreal improved its policies in the area of maternity leaves; and the Royal Bank adopted an affirmative-action program in 1972.³⁴ This raises the question: Why were banks, notoriously conservative and uninnovative institutions, adopting and publicizing this unique policy of 'equal opportunity'? An examination of social, political, and economic pressures gives a more clear understanding of the motivating factors.

By 1969 the women's movement was gathering momentum. The appointment of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women indicated that the feminist movement had gathered enough power to affect social consciousness and to engender political response. Marianne Bossen's study for the Commission revealed a clear-cut case of sexual discrimination in the hiring and training policies of Canadian banks, and naturally the banks were concerned to ameliorate their damaged public image. Thus, various banking and business journals publicized the new 'progressive' policies of the banks *vis à vis* their female employees.

An even more pressing factor which contributed to the creation of a more 'progressive' image lay in the threat of white-collar unionism. In 1972 the Canadian Labour Congress sponsored the formation of the Association of Commercial and Technical Employees (ACTE), for the purpose of organizing office workers. Although ACTE achieved little success and had petered out by 1975, the banking industry could not help but note the huge billboards and the advertisements in buses and subways informing Toronto office workers of 'Mary the signed-up secretary'³⁵ Organized labour was clearly committed to the unionization of white collar workers and was willing to devote many thousands of dollars to the task. Because women represented by far the majority of bank workers who would be affected by unionization, it was in the bank's interest to impress upon their female employees management's commitment to a policy of innovation.

Although an important function of the banks' proclaimed policy of 'equal opportunity' was the diffusion of certain social and political pressures, it has served primarily to obscure the continued exploitation of female bank employees. The banking industry experienced an unprecedented growth in the post-1967 period in the area of automation and in such specialized (male-dominated) fields as: international finance, mining, agriculture, corporate lending, etc. Bossen says that, 'according to a senior bank officer, banking has changed more in the past five years than in the four preceding decades.'³⁶ This period coincided with a decline in the male age group 35-44 from which managerial and executive talent is usually drawn.³⁷ The problem was further aggravated by the fact that banks were 'having difficulty securing sufficient numbers of capable young men who wished to make banking a career'.³⁸ Consequently, the urgently needed scarce male management material was drawn upwards at an unprecedented pace. In 1968 the *Financial Post* reported:

The traditional long and tedious climb up through the banking system is becoming a thing of the past. Before long, bankers say, branch managers will average 30 years of age or less. Already there are many in the age bracket. A few have become managers of important branches in 2 or 3 years—unheard of a decade ago.

At the top level of banking, the average age is dropping too. There are now several men who have reached the chief general manager and deputy general manager level before they turn 40.³⁹

Although the large majority of female employees remained in the lowest levels of employment, some were being trained to fill the vacuum created at junior and middle management levels. By 1975 there were 186 female bank managers, and

female participation had greatly increased in other areas such as personal lending, systems, personnel, and data processing. The majority of women who were advanced were placed in junior management positions and only a few had reached middle management levels. Bossen found that the attainment of senior management and executive positions was considered to be beyond the foreseeable future and that men were still considered to be very much the bosses in all areas of the banking industry.⁴⁰ Rather than reflecting a policy of innovation, this utilization of female labour follows a pattern similar to that which operated in the two war periods: scarcity of male employees + business expansion = utilization of female employees in more senior positions, at lower levels of pay. With the expansion of banking into previously untapped areas of specialization, and with the development of mass automation, positions such as accountants, supervisors of savings and current account departments, personal loans officers, etc., are becoming routinized and less significant, as did the once-important clerical functions in the post-war period.

Historically, banks have relegated women to the least important jobs to permit the concentration of their male employees in the positions of the highest responsibility, authority, and remuneration. Banks are struggling for male management expertise in a field which has become highly competitive, and if they are to be successful in their recruitment they are going to have to pay a high wage. Junior management posts and supervisory positions in bank branches are now becoming 'small potatoes' in the ever-expanding bank industry. In appointing women to supervisory and junior management positions, banks simply followed the historical pattern of bringing women in to do the routine work, while advancing males to the positions of importance and power. A historical perspective reveals that banking policy in the area of female employment is merely a continuation of the established policy of efficient economic exploitation and does not represent a new trend of 'progressive innovation'.



FOOTNOTES

The opinions expressed and the conclusions reached in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of the women whose interviews were extremely helpful. A more extensive version of this paper was written in fulfilment of the requirements for the History of Women in Canada course under the direction of Dr Sylvia Van Kirk. The author would like to thank Dr Van Kirk for her valuable support and direction in this research.

- 1 *The Bank of Nova Scotia Magazine*, November/December 1960.
- 2 The Bank of Nova Scotia Archives, File on Women in Banking.
- 3 Jessie Murray, 'Women in the Banking World', *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*, 23, 1915-16, p.317.
- 4 'Women in Banking', *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*, loc. cit., p. 295.
- 5 Graham S. Lowe, 'Trends in the Development of Clerical Occupations in Canada, 1901-1931', paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, Fredericton, N. B., June 1977, p. 20. This point was also made by Gertrude and Verna Ross, employees of the Royal Bank for fifty years, in an interview in their home in Toronto, 13 March 1978.
- 6 Jessie Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 316.
- 7 Bank of Nova Scotia Archives, Correspondence of the General Manager, April 1916.
- 8 Interview with the Ross sisters, March 1978.
- 9 Jessie Murray, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
- 10 Enid M. Price, *Changes in the Industrial Occupations of Women in the Environment of Montreal during the Period of the War, 1914-1918* (Montreal: Canadian Reconstruction Association, 1919), p. 84.
- 11 A. B. Jamieson, *Chartered Banking in Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1962), p. 47.
- 12 Walter L. Lund, 'Women in the Banking World', *The Canadian Banker*, 60, Autumn 1953, p. 121.
- 13 Jessie Murray, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-317. Murray's comments concerning male/female wage differentials were confirmed by G. S. Lowe, *op. cit.*, p. 21, and by the Ross sisters.
- 14 Jean Graham, 'The Woman Employee and the Canadian Bank', *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*, 26, 1918-1919, p. 365.
- 15 A. B. Barker, 'Banks Still Have Staff Problems', *The Monetary Times*, 76, 8 January 1926, p. 29.
- 16 Interview with the Ross sisters.
- 17 Agnes Graham, 'The Future of the Business Woman', *Journal of The Canadian Bankers' Association*, 24, 1916-17, p. 317.
- 18 Mrs E. G. Chowdry, 'Women in the Banking World, Elements of Her Success', *Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association*, 23, 1915-16, pp. 318, 320.
- 19 These explanations were made by G. S. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-1, and the Ross sisters.
- 20 A. B. Barker, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
- 21 On World War II bank training programs for women see T. Thompson, 'Gentlemen—The Ladies', *The Canadian Banker*, 54, 1947, pp. 126-7. On staff shortages and single and married female replacements, see Clifford Ince, *The Royal Bank of Canada: a Chronology 1864-1969* (Montreal: The Royal Bank of Canada, 1970), p. 61; Bank of Nova Scotia Archives, File on Women in Banking; and James Montagnes, 'Canadian Banking', *The Burroughs Clearing House*, December 1942, p. 28, and May 1942, p. 28. Ruth Pierson's 'Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women into the Labour Force in World War II' in Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds, *The Neglected Majority* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977), pp. 125-45, deals with federal recruitment efforts directed to women.
- 22 James Montagnes, 'Canadian Banking', *The Burroughs Clearing House*, March 1941 and July 1946, p. 38; G. S. Lowe, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 14; and *Bank of Nova Scotia Staff Magazine*, Spring/Summer 1953.
- 23 Walter L. Lund, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-5.
- 24 Statistics are based on *Bank of Nova Scotia Staff Magazine*, Spring/Summer 1953; H. Stephens, 'Women in Canadian Banking', *The Canadian Banker*, 64, Summer 1957, p. 115; and N. Mallory, 'A Banking Career and Marriage', *The Canadian Banker*, 65, Summer 1958, p. 96. On training programs see *Bank of Nova Scotia Staff Magazine*, loc. cit. This issue and that of Autumn 1956 also contain information on staff publications and clubs.
- 25 H. Stephens, *op. cit.*, p. 118.
- 26 Shirley Giles, an employee of the Bank of Nova Scotia since 1943 and the first female bank manager in Canada, recalled this incident in an interview in her office, Toronto 10 March 1978.
- 27 'People in the News, Marcellus and Giles: a banking tradition shattered', *Canadian Business*, December 1961, p. 38.
- 28 *Ibid*, pp. 38, 40.
- 29 'Meet Metro's Prettiest Bank Managers', *The Toronto Star*, 19 August 1968.
- 30 Statistics drawn from Marianne Bossen, *Manpower Utilization in Canadian Chartered Banks*, Study No. 4 for the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1971), pp. 1, 6, 14-17.
- 31 *Ibid*, p. 20.
- 32 These issues and arguments are developed in M. Bossen, *ibid*, pp. 26, 29.
- 33 *Ibid*, p. 29.
- 34 Marianne Bossen, *Employment in Chartered Banks, 1969-1975*, Report sponsored by the Advisory Council on the Status of Women and the Canadian Bankers' Association, May 1976, p. 41; J. Bennett and P. Loewe, *Women in Business* (Toronto: Maclean-Hunter, 1975), pp. 77, 93; and Earle MacLaughlin, 'Women in Business: Policies of Three Canadian Corporations', *The Royal Bank of Canada, The Canadian Business Review*, Summer 1975, p. 9.
- 35 Graham Lowe, 'Insurance Union Squelched', *Ontario Report*, March-April 1975, p. 16.
- 36 M. Bossen, *Manpower Utilization*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.
- 37 M. Bossen, *Employment*, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
- 38 Elizabeth Smith, 'Women, an Untapped Human Resource', *ICB Review*, Summer 1972, p. 2.
- 39 'Banks Scramble for Managerial Talent', *The Financial Post*, 1 June 1968, p. T9.
- 40 M. Bossen, *Employment*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

WOMEN'S HISTORY. DOES HISTORY BELONG TO MEN?

New scholarship in the history of women suggests that the introduction of the sex variable into historical studies radically alters our perspective on the past. The Department of History and Philosophy of Education at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education provides an opportunity to explore this new scholarship at the graduate level through Masters of Education programmes especially for teachers (with the possibility of a curriculum development component) as well as programmes proceeding to the M.A. or Ph. D. The Department designed the *Women in Canadian History Project* to do

research and to develop curriculum materials and other aids to teaching and research in the history of women and the relations between the sexes in Canadian history. The historical documents reprinted in CWS/CF were uncovered through this graduate and project research. For information concerning the graduate studies programme and the Women in Canadian History Project, contact Beth Light, Department of History and Philosophy, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, (416) 923-6641 ext. 522.