

# *Domesticity and Discipline: The Girl Guides in British Columbia 1910-1943*

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The Girl Guides, a movement of imperialist origin, provided British Columbia's middle-class women and girls with increased social status and independence. Guiding was considered permissible for young girls as it fell within the confines of patriotism combined with spiritual and educational enhancement. In keeping with this era of gender-segregated activities, women were the natural leaders for girls. The movement was promoted by a number of prominent women's groups, and in time, would gain the endorsement of the Canadian government. From its conception in British Columbia in 1910, until the end of the Second World War, Guiding in British Columbia would maintain a dual character of domesticity and militarism: while persistently serving the community with traditional forms of female work, patriotic Guiders and girls organized their activities in military style around military celebrations.

By 1910 the populace of British Columbia was feeling the impact of numerous women's social groups.<sup>1</sup> Conscious of the changing times, girls became interested in youth organizations such as the Scouts. Some were even envious:<sup>2</sup>

In the early spring of 1910 a company of Scouts was formed at St. James Church in Vancouver. Phyl Munday could not see why boys alone should be able to enjoy such a movement, so she asked the Scoutmaster if they could have a troop of Girl Scouts. Evidently this was not acceptable, so Phyl bullied her mother into becoming their Scout Mistress.<sup>3</sup>

Girls in British Columbia had grasped the ideology of equality, yet for them to have similar opportunities as their brothers, a young women's organization had to be instituted.

Nevertheless, the girls believed they were doing something quite daring.<sup>4</sup>

Barbara K. Latham and Roberta J. Pazdro, Eds., *Not Just Pin Money*  
Victoria: Camosun College, 1984

The Guide movement provided an organizational alternative that would afford girls a sense of freedom:

In the early days of Guiding, camping was the main highlight for many girls in the Vancouver area. They discovered that they could go off on their own without a cook, a nurse or a life saver and survive. They were just a group of happy, enthusiastic untrained girls shifting for themselves.<sup>5</sup>

This was not an isolated experience because girls in rural areas also enjoyed the liberating effects of camping:

Travelling in a democrat [a two-horse rig], a buggy [a one-horse rig] and a riding horse, Guides in Sardis set off on their first camping trip. They went hiking, swimming, and had bonfires with singing in the evening. Without a nurse or anyone to help them, they felt jolly and free.<sup>6</sup>

The image of liberated girlhood dominated the early years of Guiding. However, that image essentially came from the camping experiences and skill development activities such as swimming and hiking.

While this enjoyment of greater freedom may have been the popular image of Guiding, most of the aims of the movement were educational. Thus, Guiding proved to be an ideal situation for middle-class women. It did not threaten the status quo since women's domestic duties were simply enlarged under the banner of service to the community and the nation: "Guiding was designed to train girls as good housekeepers and good citizens so that they might develop into healthy, happy women, able and willing to serve their fellows, and their country at all times."<sup>7</sup> Women in British Columbia had already been sold on the ideology of the Victorian cult of domesticity which "endowed Home, Woman and Mother with transcendent moral force based on a view of women as the conservers of life, the natural guardians of the young, and the creators of the home."<sup>8</sup> Essentially, the movement in British Columbia endorsed traditional forms of women's work whereby Girl Guides could render valuable aid to the Empire in time of war.<sup>9</sup>

The fact that Guiding was grounded in British values provided another persuasive reason for women to join. Indeed, "several companies in the early days of British Columbia Guiding began life as an IODE Company."<sup>10</sup> A 1929 definition of purpose showed that the primary goal of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) was "to stimulate and give expression to the sentiment of patriotism which binds women and children of the Empire around the Throne and person of their Gracious and Beloved Sovereign."<sup>11</sup> The Girl Guide movement simply provided another means for fulfilling those goals; guiding educated girls along the lines of character, skill and patriotism in the hopes that they would attain a high standard of patriotic citizenship.<sup>12</sup> In order to encourage British Columbia's female youth to attain high standards of citizenship, the Guide movement incorporated an educational program that recognized and rewarded a Guide's achievements. On an individual level, subject to the approval of a Board of Examiners, a Guide could earn various cords, pins, bars and proficiency badges based upon

successful completion of appropriate tests.<sup>13</sup> Any badges earned were then affixed to pre-designated positions on a standardized uniform.<sup>14</sup> While the uniform itself acted as an equalizer, its accessories served as a public checklist of each Guide's status and achievements. On a group level, the movement gave special awards, such as trophies, to winners of various company competitions. For the most part, areas of study fell into four major categories: intelligence, handicraft, service and health.<sup>15</sup>

Although Guiding tried to work in areas of progressive education, in many ways it conformed to society's ideals of women's proper sphere. The domestic sciences constituted a major emphasis within the movement. Female service was seen as a sign of honour. A Guide who qualified as cook, child nurse, needlewoman, laundress, homemaker and hostess could win the Little House emblem which surmounted mere proficiency badges and was worn above them on the right sleeve.<sup>16</sup> In order for a Guide to achieve and maintain status within the movement, she had to be proficient in activities suitable for girls. The fundamental idea of these activities was to promote a more practical knowledge of homekeeping, mother-craft and citizenship.<sup>17</sup>

In order for Guides to gain practical experience in the aforementioned activities, it became necessary for the movement to gain the interest of like-minded individuals. This was done through the establishment of the Local Association: "a body of representative women from any one district, whose standing ensured the soundness of the movement in the estimation of parents and public."<sup>18</sup> Indeed, all Guide Companies were expected to have the backing of a Local Association before they registered.<sup>19</sup> Almost as soon as the first Guide company started in British Columbia the need for a supporting effort from mothers and friends was clear. The women were prevailed upon to act, among other things, as teachers and testers.<sup>20</sup>

The Local Associations in British Columbia were put to good use, especially since many Guiders worked unceasingly for badges.<sup>21</sup> Although Guides learned a variety of subjects, domestic sciences took a high priority.<sup>22</sup> During an eighteen-month period between 1916-17, Guides from the Victoria area earned the following number of badges: twenty-five ambulance badges, twenty-two cooking badges and sixteen laundry badges.<sup>23</sup> The only badge earned during this period that was not of a domestic nature was one for a clerk. The emphasis on traditional female endeavours was not exclusive to Victoria. A program pamphlet of a Grand Rally held by Guides in Burnaby pointed out that there were annual competitions between Companies for a Miller Cup. This Cup was the highest award won at the Rally, and was presented to the Guide Company having the best display of sewing, knitting, and embroidery.<sup>24</sup> The inculcation of classical female skills was an acceptable practice within the Guide movement: Girl Guides were expected to know cookery, housework and first aid.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, First Class Guides had to renew the Ambulance or Sick Nurse Badge every other year.<sup>26</sup> Nursing represented a significant amount of a Guide's training. The seriousness of these activities was emphasized by the use of a hospital setting:

In 1914 the Matron of Nanaimo Hospital allowed Guides to use a private ward to work for their Hospital



Victoria Guide House Archives

Early Guide troop, Victoria. Note the military-style dress.



Victoria Guide House Archives

An early Guide encampment, Victoria.

Nurse's badge. They practised bedmaking, temperature and pulse-taking, fermentations and poulticing. One Guide even earned her Child Nurse badge for taking care of her baby sister for six months. She only lived to be a year old and was sick most of the time.<sup>27</sup>

Learning to be good homemakers was expected, but helping others through nursing was the ideal.

In June of 1919, the Victoria District held a Rally in the Pemberton Woods. The predominant theme of the Rally was to demonstrate the most important work done by Guides, and this was Service for others. Along with the demonstrations of ambulance work, sick nursing and various kinds of domestic work, there was also a badge of merit awarded to a young Vancouver Guide who had taken charge of a family of three, all seriously ill with influenza.<sup>28</sup>

The Badge of Merit was awarded to Guides who did their duty exceptionally well.<sup>29</sup> Indeed, the emphasis on nursing remained a constant feature in a Guide's training. Other subjects of study covered such things as: "Germs of Disease, Their Growth and Prevention; Infectious Diseases; and Feeding in Sickness and Convalescence."<sup>30</sup> "Girls were needed at home where there was much work to be done and smaller children to be cared for."<sup>31</sup> No doubt mothers also saw the value of an organization that would teach their daughters to be useful around home.

Unfortunately, this veneration of female roles limited the movement's potential. In 1916 at a Country Fair, both Guides and Scouts were honoured with an inspection by the Duke of Connaught, then Governor-General. In conforming with prevalent views of domesticity, the Guides spent the rest of the day washing thousands of cups to set an example that they hoped would be emulated by the public at large.<sup>32</sup> Community housekeeping was simply another duty. So much so, that a special day was set aside strictly for community service; Guides from Victoria honoured it with a "Cleaning-Bee."<sup>33</sup> Demonstrating their training in tidiness, they cleaned the recreational beaches.<sup>34</sup> And yet, the ideals that limited the movement's participation in the community also contributed to its expanding membership.

One of women's roles at the turn of the century was performing philanthropic deeds. The Guide movement, which was no exception, actively supported a number of charitable organizations. On occasion they held plays or fairs to make contributions to such agencies as the Travelers' Aid of the YWCA or the Red Cross.<sup>35</sup> Quite frequently fund raising had a threefold purpose: monies raised contributed to Company Funds,<sup>36</sup> Guides gained valuable experience to help them earn entertainer badges, and the movement received greater public recognition for its charitable activities. This recognition came in many articles such as one published in the *Woman's Western Weekly*: "Two concerts were given in November which proved to be a huge success financially and in this way Guides were able to help considerably with the Christmas Hamper Fund in Burnaby."<sup>37</sup> The benevolence of the movement in British Columbia reached various contemporary causes. Guides collected linen for the Isolation Hospital when the influenza epidemic was at its height,<sup>38</sup> and they also used their pay

received from work done as ushers for the Princess Dramatic Society, to make contributions to Craigdarroch Hospital, and to the Zenana Mission, the Canadian Memorial to Indian Soldiers.<sup>39</sup>

In times of war, however, eleemosynary endeavours would become national duty. The true purpose of the Guide movement, "Empire defence,"<sup>40</sup> would receive its due in time of war: the Girl Guides hoped to be found capable of rendering a real service to the troops in the field.<sup>41</sup> In British Columbia, charitable activities were subordinated to patriotic duties and Guides worked for War Service Badges, which were awarded to those who had given one hundred hours' free service in any effort definitely connected with the prosecution of the war.<sup>42</sup> Activities included the sponsorship of a bed in the Royal Columbian Hospital, the printing and sending of a paper *News from Home* to local boys at the front along with bandages and socks,<sup>43</sup> and the making of clothing for the Maternity Committee of the Patriotic Service Committee for the use of soldiers' children.<sup>44</sup> Every War Service Badge awarded meant that the Guide had knitted at least four perfect pairs of socks and made a shirt or pair of pyjamas.<sup>45</sup> Guides also assisted at Tag Days for the Navy League, the YWCA, the Great War Veterans, the Army and Navy Veterans and the Next of Kin Association.<sup>46</sup> In fact, any activities that supported the war effort could be supported by Guides. They also offered occasional service to mothers who needed a safe place to leave small children for two or three hours once or twice a week (particularly when fathers were overseas).<sup>47</sup> Because patriotism was of paramount importance, many Guides gave up camping in order to help soldiers' families with farm chores and harvesting.<sup>48</sup> The list of services rendered is endless. Guides in British Columbia understood their patriotic duties and had been educated well in their role as a support unit on a national level. Under the wings of patriotism, the girls' organization grew.

Increased social status provided another persuasive reason for belonging to the Guide movement. Many prominent provincial and national women's groups vocally supported the same idea for women's service beyond the family and home. During the war, the *Western Woman's Weekly*, the official organ of the IODE, Local Council of Women, Women's Canadian Club, King's Daughters, Vancouver Women's Forum, Women's Auxiliary--Vancouver General Hospital, University Women's Club, American Women's Club, WCTU and the New Era League, demanded that women "as never before in the history of the world,...play their part in winning the great issues at stake...in short, [do] everything in their power to lessen the horrors and misery of the war."<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, the Guide movement had a close relationship with the YWCA, Parent--Teachers'<sup>50</sup> and the Women's Institutes.<sup>51</sup> On the whole, membership in Guides ensured substantial support and recognition from other respected organizations of women.

Not the least of its status was due to its ties with Christianity. The Guide movement has always officially been non-sectarian,<sup>52</sup> but for the people of British Columbia it appeared originally as an affiliate of the Anglican Church. An article in the *Daily Colonist* stated: "At St. John's Church on Sunday afternoon there was a memorable service. It was the first Church parade of the Victoria Corps, Canadian Girl Guides."<sup>53</sup> While the Guide

movement fostered an attitude of both respect for and belief in Christianity, religious rituals and observances were supposed to be of the simplest character and attendance was voluntary.<sup>54</sup> Dorothy Abraham remembered time spent with the youngest members of the Guide movement, the Brownies:

Meetings were held at the Christ Church Memorial Hall where the Dean at that time frequently visited them, but he had no more idea of Brownies than the man in the moon, and always insisted upon leading them around the hall in single file piously singing hymns.<sup>55</sup>

Although Guiding was locally associated with the Anglican Church, except for practical purposes like meeting space and the occasional Church parade, Guiding was non-denominational.<sup>56</sup> Yet, girls of the Catholic faith, backed by the Catholic Women's League did not form their own troop until 1932.<sup>57</sup> Furthermore, the Salvation Army, who had adopted the principles and badge system for their girls in 1925, would not be completely amalgamated with Guides until 1937.<sup>58</sup>

While the Anglican Church did not control or direct the activities of Guiding, it shared with Guiding its imperialist views. It was not uncommon for the clergy to attend and participate in the promotion of Guides.<sup>59</sup> In fact, the early history of Guides greatly contributed to its image of "Britishness." This is understandable since British women of social status, particularly members of the IODE, belonged to the Church of England. The political ideology of British imperialism was well established in the Anglican Church. In British Columbia, patriotism meant love of Britain.

Although Guiding evolved around the ethnocentric ideals of the British way of life, ideally membership did not depend on racial origin. More to the point, Guiding in British Columbia endeavoured to teach the younger generation international tolerance.<sup>60</sup> It was hoped that good relations between all peoples would result in peace.<sup>61</sup> Guides in British Columbia took the peace initiative seriously. One Guide company during the early twenties in Vancouver's East End represented ten different nationalities.<sup>62</sup> However, in other instances, segregated troops were established ostensibly so that ethnic minorities would have the benefits of the Guiding "Canadianization" program.<sup>63</sup> These definitions of tolerance which would lead to world peace were ideals that generated a great deal of lasting pride.<sup>64</sup>

Undoubtedly, the Guide movement in British Columbia greatly enhanced feelings of self-esteem and purpose for many of its early members, particularly since they lived through a period when cultural norms were being called into question and were being redefined by numerous women's groups.<sup>65</sup> However, these changes in female roles must have created a great deal of confusion for many women. While Guiding appears to have provided a socially acceptable alternative that allowed girls and women a broad range of activities in harmony with the changing socioeconomic and political atmosphere, it also demanded non-traditional female behaviour of its leaders.

On an international level, Guiding could boast of its vice-regal patronage. His Majesty, King George V, had granted the movement a Royal Charter.<sup>66</sup> Both the Queen, and the Princess Royal, were among its many



prestigious members.<sup>67</sup> Nationally, the Guide movement was endorsed by the Canadian government by way of an annual grant.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the wife of each successive Governor-General acted as Honourary President.<sup>69</sup> In the Twenties in British Columbia, the Lieutenant-Governor's wife, Mrs. W.C. Nichol, also acted for a time as Guides' Provincial Commissioner.<sup>70</sup> And, with the additional support in British Columbia from various men's service clubs,<sup>71</sup> the female populace would virtually feel no barriers towards their participation in Guides. Indeed, they were welcomed by many, including some of the province's leading educators.<sup>72</sup>

The Guides' educational program aptly suited the times in British Columbia. It had been long hoped by teachers in the province that society in general would play a larger role in the raising of children.<sup>73</sup> Guiding fulfilled the need. Consequently, many educators involved themselves with the promotion of Guiding.<sup>74</sup> It was believed that education was essential to the rearing of good citizens.<sup>75</sup> Thus, it became a common practice to establish Guide companies within various school systems.<sup>76</sup> In the case of Miss Norah Denny, Headmistress of Queen Margaret's School, Guiding was inseparable from education. So much so, that she enrolled children into the school who belonged to Guides before other girls on the waiting list.<sup>77</sup> Guiding in her opinion was obviously an organization that trained girls well.

Yet, the key to a Guide's training was that of discipline based on militaristic principles. In England, at the turn of the century, the Scouting movement had been founded in order to provide military training for young boys.<sup>78</sup> Although most of the skills of Guiding stayed within the confines of women's work, the movement kept the trappings of militarism which originated with the Scouts. It was believed that girls would benefit physically from military training while it simultaneously gave them practical lessons in patriotism.<sup>79</sup> And the Guides' organizational structure resembled the military hierarchy. When a Guide company was established it was broken into units under the command of a Patrol Leader and her assistant, the Patrol Second, who in turn was under the command of a Guide Captain and at least one Lieutenant, who in turn were under the command of the District Commissioner and so on (see Diagram 1). The incorporation of a hierarchy in the Guide movement served to unify the children and separate them from the leaders. Having a chain of command was considered necessary for carrying out the cohesive regime of discipline. Typical of a military paradigm, it was not highly democratic:

Patrol Seconds are appointed by Patrol Leaders and by those above them etc. Each then serves a probationary term to establish their capabilities, and if successful they receive their warrants.<sup>80</sup>

However, not all appointees wished to be promoted. Some women did not have the extra time that a promotion would involve or the money required for trips in which case the position was filled by volunteers.<sup>81</sup>

Appropriately enough, even the name harkened back to a military tradition: a corps of soldiers in India was known as the Guides.<sup>82</sup> The Guide movement fully embodied militaristic terminology in its naming of officers and its various divisions and regulations. In military fashion, both Guides and



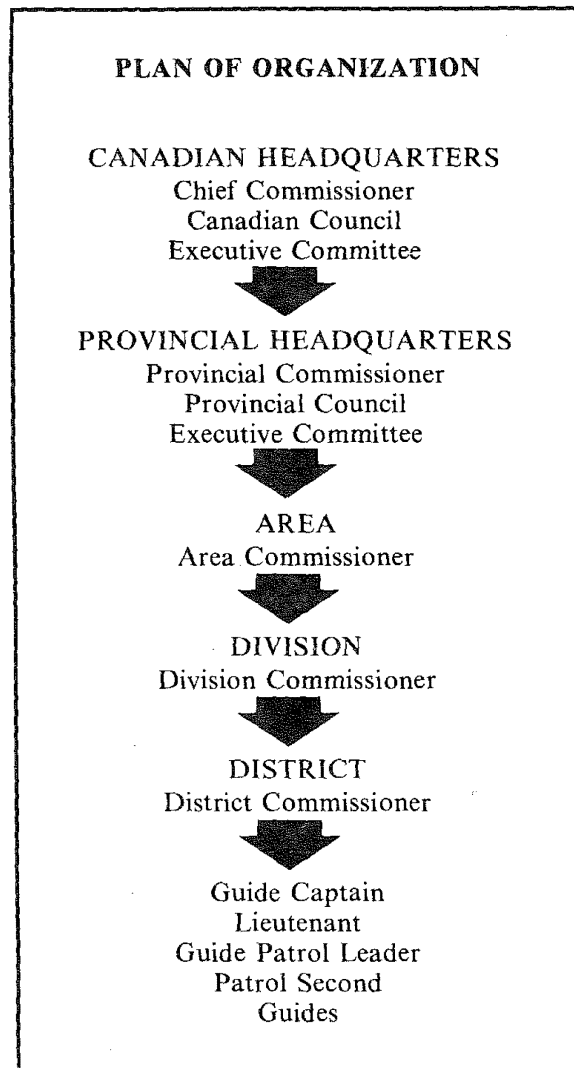


Diagram 1: Chain of Command for Canadian Girl Guides.

Source: *Policy Organization and Rules 1945* (The Canadian Council of Girl Guides Association, Canadian Headquarters, 22 College Street, Toronto): 8.

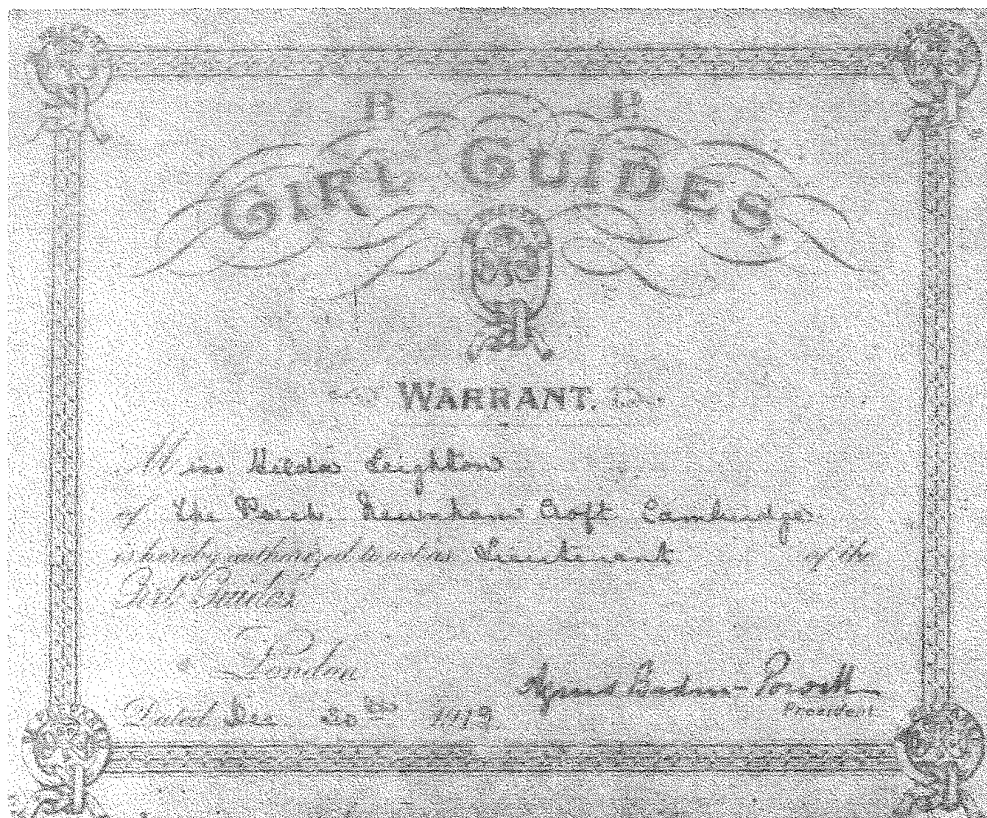
Guiders wore official uniforms complete with military regalia. Distinguishing features such as stripes were worn according to rank.<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, "Roll Call Formation,"<sup>84</sup> and various other drills were a direct adaptation of established military forms. Essentially, Guiding was a paramilitary organization.

"Be Prepared"<sup>85</sup> is their motto, and being prepared was facilitated by military protocol. Training classes became a regular part of the Guide program and Guides learned such things as how to properly salute<sup>86</sup> and how to kneel in military style to receive the flag.<sup>87</sup> This was put to good use as Guides were frequently called upon to form Honour Guards for visiting dignitaries.<sup>88</sup> One particularly momentous occasion was in 1939, when Guides were inspected by King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.<sup>89</sup>

Patriotism within the movement was more than just a token observation. Instead it was an abiding love for all that Britain symbolized. Guides in British Columbia did more than just keep the sentiments of loyalty to Britain alive; quite frequently they fanned the already existing flames. A Guide Captain in Coldstream learned, much to her horror, that her troop was to be inspected by a Brigadier and six ladies of the Local Association; with only two weeks' notice they worked out a program of marching (military formation), signalling, ambulance work and stretcher drill.<sup>90</sup> Patriotism was by no means left to chance.

Although the Guide movement was sometimes a vehicle for peace, its members saw no contradiction in their participation in war efforts. Indeed, they believed that when what they valued most (read: Britain) was attacked they should have the courage to defend it. Some Guides in British Columbia took this more literally than others for they had been instructed in rifle shooting.<sup>91</sup> Guides were indeed prepared.

Guiding maintained and promoted traditional roles for women while simultaneously insisting that women behave like men at least in formal organizations and in many rituals. The career of Frances Morkill, the BC Provincial Commissioner (1926-1943),<sup>92</sup> embodied both ideals of the Guides: service to the country through women's work and respect for militarism. Also, her strong patriotic ties with Britain were demonstrated by her scathing letter to a local paper:



Lieutenant Hilda Leighton's warrant, issued in London, England, 1912.

As a representative of the Society for the Overseas Settlement of British Women...I am in a position to state that Canada has not to any appreciable extent availed herself of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922...Canada needs a good type of settler, preferably of British stock.<sup>93</sup>

With the Guide movement representing the best of British values, it was undoubtedly "a made to order" program for Frances Morkill. She performed her community duties by acting for a number of years as President of the Women's Workroom, Victoria, in aid of elderly women during the Thirties.<sup>94</sup> She was also a charter member and an executive of the Women's Canadian Club and served for five years as president of the Victoria Hostess Club. Her military inclinations led her to become assistant commandant of the BC Women's Service Corps and later Provincial Commandant.<sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> Morkill was not alone in her interest to combine roles; at least 101 Guiders in British Columbia cancelled their warrants so that they could go into the armed forces.

While this essay only provides an outline of Guiding in British Columbia, certain generalities are quite apparent. According to Mirra Komarovsky, in "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles": "Sometimes culturally defined roles are adhered to in the face of new conditions without a conscious realization of the discrepancies involved."<sup>97</sup> This was definitely the case with Guides who maintained women's support role while simultaneously training women in male social roles. Komarovsky continues: "the problems raised by these discrepancies are social problems in the sense that they engender mental conflict or social conflict or otherwise frustrate some basic interest of large segments of the population."<sup>98</sup> So it was with Guides. In its attempt to take a greater role in society, it seems ultimately to have taken a step backwards in the liberation of women from sexual stereotypes. Of necessity, more research is needed on the consequences that Guiding has had for women and society. Only when people fully appreciate that such groups keep alive the contradictions of women's role in society can there be any kind of equality.

## Footnotes

1. Barbara Latham and Cathy Kess, eds., *In Her Own Right: Selected Essays on Women's History in B.C.* (Victoria: Camosun College, 1980): 55.
2. *Sixty Years and More*, A British Columbia Dictionary Especially for Guides of Canada/British Columbia Council (Vancouver: 1971): 56. Victoria Guide House Archives (VGHA), 938 Mason, Victoria, BC.
3. *Ibid.*: 70.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*: 65. The first all Canadian Guide Camps were held in Victoria in 1927 under Commandant E. Frances Morkill. Letter of Joan Kennedy to Major-General Brown, 14 Dec. 1940. Public Archives of Canada, Army File.
7. Hilda Leighton, "News Clipping, 1917," *Memorial Scrapbook*. The name of the paper is unknown; however, the Scrapbook can be found at VGHA.
8. Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1979): 200.
9. "Organize Corps of Girl Guides," *Victoria Daily Times*, July 27, 1910: 4.
10. *Sixty Years*: 63.
11. "Aims and Objects of the Order," *Echoes*, March 1929.
12. Mrs. J.P. Lake, "Girl Guide Movement," *Western Woman's Weekly*, Vol. 5, No. 46, October 21, 1922: Front Page. (Legislative Library Reference Dept., Victoria. Hereafter referred to as LLRD.)
13. The Girl Guides, "66 Proficiency Badge Rules": 108. (Girl Guides of Canada, British Columbia Council, 1462 West 8th Avenue, Vancouver, B.C. Hereafter referred to as GGC.)
14. *Ibid.*: 60. "Where to Wear the Badges": 104.
15. *Ibid.*, "65 Groups": 107.
16. "The Empire's Dutiful Daughters," *Maclean's Magazine*, August 15, 1952: 35.
17. *Western Woman's Weekly*, Vol. 5, No. 46.
18. *Policy, Organization and Rules: 1945* (The Canadian Council of Girl Guides Association: Canadian Headquarters, 22 College Street, Toronto): 11.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Sixty Years*: 43.
21. *Ibid.*: 61.
22. Hilda Leighton, *Annals of the Victoria District Canadian Girl Guides, 1915*, loose leaf, "Report of Victoria Branch of the Girl Guides." (VGHA)
23. *Ibid.*, "Report of the Canadian Girl Guide Corps." Victoria, BC, from July 1916 to November 1917: 3.
24. *Grand Rally*, "British Columbia Girl Guides, Municipal Hall Grounds, Burnaby, B.C." Saturday, July 3, 1920: 4. (VGHA)
25. *Annals of the Victoria District, 1915*, "News Clipping, 1915," "Girl Guide Movement Has Been Organized," Speech by Miss Leighton. (VGHA)
26. *The Girl Guides*: 106.
27. *Sixty Years*: 21.
28. *A Pageant of Guiding* (Vancouver: Arena, April 27, 1929): 11.
29. *The Girl Guides*: 101.
30. "Guide Activities," *Mrs. Morkill-Mara Scrapbook*, Vancouver Sun, February 23, 1923, News Clipping. (GGC)
31. *The Thunderbird*, "Canadian Girl Guides Association, Golden Jubilee, 1910-1960": 20. (VGHA)

32. *Annals of the Victoria District, 1915*. "The beginning of Guiding in Victoria" loose leaf letter written by Miss Leighton. (VGHA)
33. "Guides Will Clean Up Beaches," *Victoria Daily Times*, October 8, 1937: 9. (LLRD) microfiche.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Annals of the Victoria District, 1915*. "Report of the Canadian Girl Guide Corps, Victoria, B.C., from July 1916 to November 1917": 2. (VGHA)
36. *Ibid.*
37. "Girl Guides," *Western Woman's Weekly*, March 17, 1922, Vol. 5, No. 14: 10. (LLRD)
38. *Annals of the Victoria District, 1915*. "Annual Report of the Victoria Companies Canadian Girl Guides Corps, from May 1, 1918 to March 20, 1919": 4. (VGHA)
39. "Organize Corps of Girl Guides," *Victoria Daily Times*, July 1910: 1. (LLRD)
40. *Ibid.*: 4.
41. *Policy Organization*: 156.
42. *Sixty Years*: 10.
43. Hilda Leighton, *Annals of the Victoria District, Canadian Girl Guides, 1915*, "Report of the Victoria and District Companies, Canadian Girl Guides Corps, from April 30, 1917 to April 30, 1918": 4. (VGHA)
44. *Ibid.* "Report of the Canadian Girl Guides Corps, Victoria, B.C., from July 1916 to November 1917": 3.
45. *Ibid.* "Annual Report of the Victoria Companies, Canadian Girl Guide Corps, from May 1, 1918 to March 20, 1919": 4.
46. *The Canadian Girl Guides Wartime Emergency Service Test for Rangers and Older Guides* (Canadian Council of the Girl Guide Association, Toronto). (VGHA)
47. Hilda Leighton, *Annals*, "Annual Report of the Victoria Companies, Canadian Girl Guides Corps, from April 30, 1917 to April 30, 1918": 3.
48. *Western Woman's Weekly*, Vol. I, No. 1, "Front Page," December 13, 1917. (LLRD)
49. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, No. 45: 5. October 14, 1922. (LLRD)
50. *The Thunderbird*, "Canadian Girl Guides Association, Golden Jubilee, 1910-1960." (VGHA)
51. *Policy Organization*: 3.
52. "Hilda Leighton," *Memorial Scrapbook*. *Victoria Daily Colonist*, October 19, 1915: Front Page. (VGHA)
53. Hilda Leighton, *Annals*, Newspaper Clipping. "Girl Guide Movement Has Been Organized." July 20, 1915.
54. Dorothy Abraham, *Tu Whit Tu Whoo*, "Hoots From a Brown Owl" (1125 Faithful Street, Victoria, B.C.): 6. (VGHA)
55. Hilda Leighton, *Annals*, Newspaper Clipping, "Girl Guide Movement Has Been Organized." July 20, 1915.
56. *Sixty Years*: 63.
57. *Ibid.*: 64.
58. Hilda Leighton, *Annals*, Newspaper Clipping, "Girl Guide Movement Has Been Organized." July 20, 1915.
59. Lake, *Western Woman's Weekly*. "What Girl Guiding Means to Canadianization," Vol. 5, No. 46, October 21, 1922: 1. (LLRD)
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *The Thunderbird*, "Canadian Girl Guides Association, Golden Jubilee, 1910-1960," n.d.: 14-15, photographs of Guide Troops.

63. *Personal Interviews*: Molly Thompson, Mrs. Will Rook, Mrs. J. Morley Headlam and Mrs. Dianne Pollock, Victoria, BC: May 15, 1984.
64. *In Her Own Right*: 229.
65. *Policy Organization*: 8.
66. *Ibid.*
67. *Historical Sketch of Guiding in Canada, 1910-1940* (Toronto: Canadian Council of the Girl Guides Association, 1940): 4. (VGHA)
68. *Ibid.*: 3.
69. Hilda Leighton, *Annals*, "Provincial Conference Opened By Girl Guides," April 6, 1923.
70. *Sixty Years*: 64.
71. Call No. N/I/Im 79-Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, "Provincial Chapter Minutes". In this file there is an outline that was to be used for the magazine *Echoes*. On page four, space was set aside for the insertion of a photo of Agnes Deans Cameron and her niece in their Guide uniforms. Guide uniforms could only be worn by members. (PABC)
72. *In Her Own Right*: 106.
73. Hilda Leighton, *Annals*, news clipping "Reports Read at Recent Meeting Give History of Activities of Various Companies During Interesting Period," November 2, 1920. (VGHA)
74. Lake, *Western Woman's Weekly*, Vol. 5, No. 46, October 21, 1922: 1.
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General Browne in Public Archives of Canada, Group Record 24, Vol 2152, Army File HQ54-27-32-7, Vol. 2.

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