

References

“Agitate, Educate, Organize”: An Introduction

1. W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick, A History: 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1963), p.48.
2. Marc La Terreur, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 10 (Toronto, 1972), p.289.
3. George MacBeath and Dorothy Chamberlin, *New Brunswick: The Story of our Province* (Toronto, 1965), p.1.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
5. “Occupations of People”, *Census of Canada*, 1911, Table 4, p. xv, Table 7, p. xvii.
6. “Labour Force: Historical Tables”, Bulletin 3. 1-1, *Census of Canada*, 1961, Table 1, p. 1-1, and Isabelle McKee-Allain, Huguette Clavette, *Portrait socio-économique des femmes du Nouveau-Brunswick*, 1, 77 and *Census of Canada*, 1981, Census division and subdivisions, Catalogue E-562, Table 1-1.
7. Calculated from tables from *Census of Canada*, 1961, and McKee-Allain et al, 1, 83 and from calculations based on *Census of Canada*, 1981, Census Tracts, New Brunswick, Catalogue 93-916.
8. *Report of the Eleventh Convention of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Women’s Christian Temperance Union* (Saint Stephen, 1917) p.29.

Chapter I: "Stepping Stones"

1. Margaret Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes", *Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces*, ed. G.A. Rawlyk (Toronto, 1967), p.59; W.S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick. A History: 1784-1867* (Toronto, 1963), p.27; Léon Thériault, *Petit manuel d'histoire d'Acadie de 1755 à 1867* (Moncton, 1976), p. 18.
2. Leo A. Johnson, "The development of class", *Capitalism and the National Question in Canada*, ed. Gary Teeple (Toronto, 1972), p.178, for note on male dominance in European family values.
3. The extent to which the aboriginal, Acadian and German peoples' legal and political systems influenced the dominant British system is beyond the scope of this work.
4. The Blacks counted among their numbers free Blacks, Black Loyalists, slaves or indentured servants brought by other Loyalists, and those who had been slaves in Acadia; see W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1972), pp. 11, 16.
5. The aboriginal peoples and the Acadians, however, ceded territory, in one way or another, to the incoming Loyalists. See G.P. Gould, A.J. Semple, *Our Land: The Maritimes* (Fredericton, 1980), p. 30 and Emery LeBlanc, Jean Daigle, Père Anselme Chiasson, *L'Histoire du Nouveau-Brunswick* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 48-49. Although daily survival needs and work were much the same among the peoples of early New Brunswick, this reorganization of territory and regrouping of ethnic populations were to have long-term political consequences for the minorities. Linguistic, cultural and religious differences would contribute to their further exclusion from the dominant political system.
6. A person's ability to petition depended to some extent on being literate and having a basic knowledge of government structure (whom to petition), or at least on knowing whom to approach for help in drawing up a petition.
7. John Garner, *The Franchise and Politics in British North America 1755-1867* (Toronto, 1969), p. 54.
8. Indian women and men living on reserves in New Brunswick were given the provincial vote in 1963.
9. Garner, p.54.
10. *Ibid.*, also pp. 3-4.
11. *Ibid.*, p.54.
12. "An Act for Regulating Elections of Representatives in General Assembly, and for limiting the duration of Assemblies in this Province", as reproduced in *The Acts of the General Assembly of New Brunswick*, 1824, pp. 221-236.
13. Garner, pp. 56, 147, 155. Thomas Carleton and the leading Loyalists with their "autocratic concepts and Episcopalian beliefs" (*Ibid.*, p. 137) sought to preserve a Protestant, class society.
14. See discussion of *Chorlton v Lings* (1868) and *Nairn v University of St. Andrews* (1909) in Gail Brent's article "The Development of the Law Relating to the Participation of Canadian Women in Public Life", *University of Toronto Law Journal*, 25 (1975), 360-363.
15. *Ibid.*, 361; also see Brent for her discussion of woman's status at law.
16. Property qualifications were required until 1889. Blacks were barred from voting in the early years (Spray, pp. 33-4), and the aboriginal peoples were effectively segregated from the white government since the early 19th century and officially disallowed from voting in New Brunswick provincial elections between 1889 and 1963 (between 1952 and 1963 this restriction applied to Indians on reserves). Catholics could not vote until after 1810 when the oaths which affected Roman Catholics were lifted.
17. The letter signed "One who voted for Mr. Jardine" appeared in the *Gleaner and Northumberland Schediasma*, October 30, 1830.
18. *Reports of the Debates of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick. During the Session of 1870* (henceforth: *Reports*), p. 107; speaker; William Hazen Needham. *Synoptic Report of the proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of*

- 1894 (henceforth: *Synoptic*), p. 158; speaker: Amasa A. Killam; p. 161, speaker: Henry R. Emmerson. Further research needs to be done to establish the accuracy of their statements.
19. *Reports*, 1870, p. 107; speaker: Needham. Further research has not confirmed Needham's statement. The act to incorporate the city of Fredericton was passed in 1848. It restricted voters to all male inhabitants of 21 years. No city charter could be found.
 20. More research is required to uncover the dynamics of this situation. In 1895, during the women's suffrage debate in the Legislative Assembly, anti-suffragist Premier A.G. Blair attested to the fact that female friends and relatives mounted lobbies in private when he warned members to "act regardless of their sympathies or the entreaties of their lady friends and without regard to personal political effects", *Synoptic*, 1895, p.94. Studies of women's influence in other jurisdictions also suggest that it may indeed have been significant. See Gerda Lerner, "New Approaches to the Study of Women in American History", *Journal of Social History*, 3 (1969-70), 61.
 21. The first Acadian was not to be elected to the House of Assembly until 1846 and relatively few Acadian men were to be elected for many years after, due, in large part, to the absence of an Acadian middle class until the end of the 19th century. See Philippe Doucet, "La Politique et les Acadiens", *Les Acadiens des Maritimes: Etudes thématiques*, ed. Jean Daigle (Moncton, 1980), p. 247.
 22. *Spray*, p. 34.
 23. New Brunswick Legislative Library, *Elections in New Brunswick*, ed. Jocelyne LeBel (Fredericton, 1984), pp. 13-14.
 24. See *The Graves Papers*, 6, 73, n.d. and MacNutt, pp. 14-15.
 25. Katherine F.C. MacNaughton, *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick 1784-1900* (Fredericton, 1947), p.47.
 26. MacNutt, pp. 199-200.
 27. Jaddus-N. LeBlanc, "Le Village de St-Antoine", *L'Histoire de la paroisse de St-Antoine*, ed. Evariste Leger, 1967, p.5.
 28. Translation by author of Julien Rioux's letter to Bishop William Dollard, Cocagne, October 18, 1846, Correspondence Dollard-651, Archives of the Diocese of Saint John.
 29. *Ibid.*, original wording: "Cette mauvaise femme menace déjà que lorsque l'église sera finie c'est elle qui en aura les clefs en mains".
 30. *Ibid.*, original wording: "c'est elle qui gouverne tout dans ce village".
 31. *Ibid.* Information on this story was also gleaned from the research of Ronnie Gilles LeBlanc, M.A. (history), Université de Moncton, with verification of the acts of the Grand-Digue registers at the Centre d'études acadiennes (henceforth C.E.A.).
 32. Oral evidence from Juanita Perley, Tobique Reserve; Alma Brooks, N.B. Native Indian Women's Council, Fredericton, August, 1984. Also based on correspondence with researcher Andrea Bear Nicholas, Tobique Reserve, September, 1985. Also see John Upton Terrell and Donna M. Terrell, *Indian Women of the Western Morning: Their Life in Early America* (New York, 1976), pp. 24-8.
 33. D.G. Bell, *Early Loyalist Saint John: The Origin of New Brunswick Politics 1783-1786* (Saint John, 1983), pp. 114-115.
 34. *Ibid.*, p.114.
 35. Much more research is required regarding women petitioning in the late 18th and 19th century in New Brunswick. The information presented here is incomplete.
 36. Bell, p. 58.
 37. *Ibid.*, pp. 137-142.
 38. For example: granting of land to widows Boulet and Giroux, among others, Caraquet, 1787, 1.87-3, C.E.A.; granting of land to Marie Marguerite Daigle, among others, St-Basile, Madawaska, 1791, 1.87-3, C.E.A.; request for land at Bouctouche from Anne Léger and other men, 1794, Al-1-6, C.E.A.; request

- for land at Kouchibouquac from Anne Bastarache, widow of Jean Babineau, 1799, A1-4-4, C.E.A.; request for land at Haute-Aboujagane from, among others, Marie Bourgeois, widow of Joseph Bourgeois, 1815, A1-4-4, C.E.A. More research is required to determine the relative numbers of francophone and anglophone women who petitioned for land during the early history of the province and how many of their requests were heeded.
39. Petition of Phebe McMonagle, 1808. Read July 15, 1808 and referred to the Committee of Supply. Granted. Public Archives of New Brunswick (henceforth P.A.N.B.), S19-P5.
 40. See examples of petitions from widows of old soldiers of the Revolutionary War in "An Act to appropriate a part of the Public Revenue for the services therein mentioned", *Acts of the General Assembly of Her Majesty's Province of New Brunswick* (henceforth: *Acts G.A.*)(Fredericton, 1855). See p. 77 for an example of a daughter of such a widow petitioning for financial aid.
 41. MacNaughton, p. 89.
 42. *Ibid.*
 43. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching", *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto, 1977), pp.49-65.
 44. For examples see section of petitions in the index of the *Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick* (henceforth *Journals*), 1854, p.xiv, for the petitions for teacher's salary of Elizabeth Doiron and Henriette Doiron, and p. xl for the petition for teacher's salary from Deline Pelletier.
 45. Spray, Appendix X1.
 46. See the petitions calling for prohibition in *Journals*, 1854, e.g. pp. xlv, lviii. The petitioners wanted "to prevent the importation, manufacture and sale of all intoxicating liquors in this province"(as stated in the petition of Lydia Porter and sixty other female inhabitants of Queens County, *Journals*, 1854, p. xlix). The Acadian counties would staunchly remain "wet counties"; however, the prohibition lobby from female and male temperance groups in the southern counties was so strong that laws against the sale of liquor were enacted in 1853 and again in 1856. See MacNutt, pp. 350-1, 358-361. Neither of the prohibition laws was long lived.
 47. Recall that class, education, language, geography, and religion were all factors which acted either to restrict or encourage the expression of women's political voice, limited as it was. The relative importance and interaction of these factors require further analysis.
 48. "An Act to improve the Law relating to the Election of Representatives to serve in the General Assembly", as reproduced in *Acts G.A.*, 1845, p.138.
 49. Eleanor Flexner, *Century of Struggle: The Women's Rights Movement in the United States* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1968), p. 164.
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. Brent, 360.
 52. See Garner, p. 155 for dates and discussion of colonies which restricted voting rights to males and Micheline Dumont et al., *L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles*(Montreal, 1982), pp. 125-128, 149-150 for more details on the Quebec experience.
 53. *The Feminist Papers*, ed. Alice S. Rossi (Toronto, 1973), p. 419.
 54. Catherine L. Cleverdon as cited in Micheline Dumont, et al, p. 150.
 55. Records have not been uncovered to indicate that women in British North America exercised the franchise after 1840 (example in Nova Scotia) and in New Brunswick, in particular, not after 1837, Garner, pp. 155-157. Micheline Dumont et al., p. 150. *Reports*, 1870, p.107.
 56. See Brent, 362, 367 for notes on John Stuart Mill's attempt at enfranchising women in 1867. Also see *The Feminist Papers*, pp. 183-196 for more discussion on Mill, especially regarding his wife's Harriet Taylor Mill's large contribution to his work.
 57. Flexner, p. 173.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 163. Flexner notes that the right to vote was removed from Utah women in 1887 when Congress retaliated against plural marriages among Mormons in Utah, disenfranchising women but not men for the crime. Utah women were to regain the right to vote in 1896 when the Mormon Church renounced plural marriages.
59. *Reports*, 1870, p. 107; speaker: Needham.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*; speaker: George E. King.
62. *Ibid.*; speaker: George W. White.
63. *Synoptic*, 1917, p. 157; speaker: David W. Mersereau.
64. *Reports*, 1870, p. 107; speaker: John A. Beckwith.
65. *Ibid.*; speaker: Angus McQueen.
66. *Ibid.*; speaker: King.
67. *Ibid.*; speaker: Needham.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*; p.108; speaker: King.
70. *Ibid.*; p. 107; speaker: Needham.
71. *Ibid.*; speaker: White
72. New Brunswick waited until 1934 to allow women to hold public office, 15 years after granting women the provincial franchise.
73. The asterisks indicate where the wording has been altered for easier reading. The original phrasing is: "I can see no contingencies in giving the vote to educated women the least comparable to the danger in increasing the influence of the ignorant mob over the legislature of the country". See "LETTER 69", dated December 8, 1868, in *Canada Home: Juliana Horatia Ewing's Fredericton Letters 1867-1869*, eds. Margaret Howard Blom and Thomas E. Blom (Vancouver, 1983) p. 240.
74. *Reports*, 1870, p. 107; speaker: Needham.
75. *Synoptic*, 1889, p.65; speaker: Emmerson
76. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 163; speaker: Stockton.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 158; speaker: Herman H. Pitts.
78. Flexner, pp. 142-149.
79. On occasion, disparaging remarks were also made of Blacks. For example, while quibbling over a minor point in the manhood suffrage argument Premier Blair accused his opponent of "seeing a number of negroes in the woodpile", *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 64. In the same session, suffragist Silas Alward, arguing for women's suffrage in New Brunswick, asked, "Shall we say that the former negro slaves are more competent to exercise the franchise than the intelligent refined women of our country?", p. 96.
80. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 163; speaker: Stockton.
81. *Synoptic*, 1895, p. 95; speaker: Emmerson.
82. *Ibid.*, pp. 95-6.
83. Mary Wollstonecraft's work was not widely known by mid-19th century American feminists and the few who were aware of it "were uniform in their disapproval". *The Feminist Papers*, p.39. But "by 1889, when Susan Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton [leading American suffragists] published the first volumes of the *History of Woman Suffrage*, Mary Wollstonecraft's name stood first in the list of earlier feminists to whom the suffrage history was dedicated". *Ibid.*, p. 40. Few women in Quebec were aware of Wollstonecraft's work in the early part of the 19th century. Micheline Dumont et al., p. 128. It has yet to be established whether New Brunswick women had been initiated to Wollstonecraft's work, perhaps during travels through the north-eastern United States, especially to Boston or New York. Also see *The Feminist Papers*, p. 183 for discussion of American suffragists' use of John Stuart Mill's *The Subjection of Women*.
84. In 1895, anti-suffragist Henry A. Powell dismissed John Stuart Mill, as an atheist and Mary Wollstonecraft as a free love advocate. Mary Eileen Clarke, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association 1894-1919" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1979), p.137. In 1886, William Pugsley referred favorably to the suffrage lobbies of John

- Stuart Mill's (step) daughter, Helen. *Synoptic*, 1886, p.22. Members also recalled how Mill's 1867 women's enfranchisement amendment was defeated. For example, *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 90; speaker: Blair.
85. Clarke, p. 84; Catherine L. Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 178-9.
 86. Clarke, p. 65.
 87. *Ibid.*
 88. *Ibid.*, pp. 65, 124.
 89. *Ibid.*
 90. Cleverdon, p. 178.
 91. *Journals*, 1886, p. 79; cited from a petition sent from women of Saint Stephen.
 92. Cleverdon, p. 178.
 93. "An Act to extend the Franchise to Widows and unmarried Women in Municipal Elections", *Acts G.A., 1886*, p. 285.
 94. *Journals*, 1886, p.21.
 95. Cleverdon, p. 178.
 96. Proof of this cannot be found in the *Journals* of 1887. However, Killam refers to the W.C.T.U. petitions of 1887 while speaking in the house in 1894 (p.150). See also Clarke, p.66.
 97. *Ibid.*
 98. Recall that the bill also disenfranchised "lunatics, prisoners, paupers and Indians," Legislative Library, *Elections in New Brunswick*, p. 13.
 99. *Synoptic*, 1889, p.42; speaker: Joseph L. Black.
 100. *Ibid.*, p.65; speaker: Emmerson. A comma has been added after "want".
 101. Clarke, p. 132.
 102. *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 71; speaker: William Wilson.
 103. *Ibid.* Note: "man" was used when Wilson was referring to manhood suffrage.
 104. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 96; speaker: Emmerson.
 105. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 94; speaker: Emmerson.
 106. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 96; speaker: Emmerson. In this quotation the word "adheres" is used. However, in the reproduction of this debate in *The Daily Telegraph*, Saint John, February 27, 1895 "inheres" is used, which is probably the word intended.
 107. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 82; speaker: William F. Roberts.
 108. *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 26; speaker: Leonard P.D. Tilley.
 109. *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 187; speaker: J.W. Baker.
 110. *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 64; speaker: Emmerson
 111. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 91; speaker: Blair.
 112. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 159; speaker: Blair.
 113. *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 66; speaker: William Pugsley.
 114. Clarke, p. 127.
 115. *Synoptic*, 1895, p. 98; speaker: Pitts.
 116. *Ibid.*
 117. Clarke, p. 128
 118. *Ibid.*
 119. *Ibid.*
 120. *Synoptic*, 1895 p. 101; speaker: Henry A. Powell.
 121. *Ibid.*, 1899, p.66; speaker: George Robertson. See also *Synoptic*, 1895, p. 101 when anti-suffragist Powell referred to Edith Archibald's suffrage brief. Archibald was president of the W.C.T.U. of the Maritime Provinces. She had submitted a brief affirming that "women did not want to go begging; that they wanted to become citizens with all their rights and responsibilities". Powell declared that he did not believe Archibald's assertions.
 122. Blair, for instance, insisted that the women's suffrage "question is not one of justice", *Synoptic*, 1895, p. 93.
 123. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 159; speaker: William T. Howe.
 124. *Ibid.*, 1899, p.65; speaker: James E. Porter.

125. *Synoptic*, 1889, p.88; speaker: Stockton.
126. Clarke, p. 114.
127. *Ibid.*, for examples, see *Synoptic*, 1895, p. 95; speaker: Blair, and *Synoptic*, 1894, p. 160; speaker: George F. Hill.
128. *Ibid.*, 1895, p.95; speaker: Blair.
129. For example, *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 92; speaker: Blair.
130. *Ibid.*, p.98; speaker: Robert J. Ritchie.
131. *Ibid.*
132. *Ibid.*, p. 92; speaker: Blair.
133. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 159; speaker: Jean G. Robichaud.
134. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 162; speaker: Powell.
135. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 92; speaker: Blair.
136. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99; speaker: Ritchie.
137. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 162; speaker: Powell.
138. *Ibid.*
139. *Ibid.*
140. One exception was William Currie, who suggested that men must realize their responsibility to the home and be willing to share in its protection. *Synoptic*, 1909, p. 187.
141. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 69; speaker: David R. Moore.
142. *Ibid.*, p. 89; speaker: Wilson.
143. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 83; speaker: Roberts.
144. *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 185; speaker: Alphonse Sormany.
145. Clarke, p. 119.
146. *Ibid.*
147. *Ibid.*
148. *Ibid.*
149. Garner, p.59.
150. Clarke, p. 119.
151. John Edward Belliveau, *Running Far In: The Story of Shediac* (Windsor, Nova Scotia, 1977) p. 117.
152. *Ibid.*
153. *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 97; speaker: Marcus C. Atkinson.
154. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 159; speaker: Pierre J. Veniot.
155. *Ibid.*, 1909, p. 187; speaker: Baker.
156. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 162; speaker: Powell.
157. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 65; speaker: Emmerson. See also *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 65, speaker: Emmerson; and p. 104, speaker: Stockton.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 160; Speaker: Hill.
159. Clarke, p. 117.
160. *Ibid.*
161. *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 99; speaker: Ritchie.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 101; speaker: White.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 98; speaker: Ritchie.
164. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 83; speaker: Roberts.
165. *Ibid.*, 1889, p.91; speaker: Blair. The question mark has been replaced after quotation marks.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 99; speaker: Ritchie.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 98; speaker: Stockton.
168. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 158; speaker: Pitts.
169. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 94; speaker: Emmerson.
170. *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 83; speaker: Roberts. A comma has been added after "politics" in the last sentence.
171. *Ibid.*, p.82.
172. These women would have been from the poorer class, especially women alone (never married, deserted, widowed) or single female heads of families. Their options were mainly restricted to domestic and cleaning work, teaching or caring for children in private homes, and, for a few in extreme circumstances, prostitution. A few women became midwives. As the province developed, becoming a nun

- became a real possibility for Roman Catholic and Anglican women. See also Sheva Medjuck, "Wooden Ships and Iron People: The Lives of the People of Moncton, New Brunswick 1851 to 1871" (PhD thesis, York University, 1978), pp. 137-138 for work patterns of Moncton women between 1851 and 1871.
173. See Clarke, pp. 14-23 for an in-depth discussion of working women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.
 174. However, a woman had little real choice in the type of work she could do outside the home. Societal beliefs about woman's place restricted all but the most defiant woman's choices. And, it was socially acceptable that she work only if she were forced to because she was alone or supporting her family, and because she was poor or in dire straits.
 175. *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 96; speaker: Alward.
 176. *Ibid.*, p.71; speaker: Wilson.
 177. *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 64; speaker: Emmerson.
 178. John G. Reid, *The Mount Allison Ladies' College* (Sackville, 1984), p.1. See also Reid's "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914", *Acadiensis*, 12, 2 (1983), 3-33, for a detailed discussion of women's education at that institution. Note that the first woman to receive a bachelor's degree in the British Empire was Grace Annie Lockhart who graduated from Mount Allison College with the degree of Bachelor of Science and English Literature in 1875. Harriet Starr Stewart graduated from the same institution in 1882, becoming the first woman in Canada to graduate with a Bachelor of Arts degree.
 179. Linda Squiers Hansen, *Those Certain Women* (Fredericton, 1982), pp. 2-3. See also *The Letters of James and Ellen Robb*, ed. Alfred Goldsworthy Bailey (Fredericton, 1983), pp. 3, 26, 28. Note that Mary Tibbits and Florence Caie were the first women to graduate from the University of New Brunswick, doing so in 1889.
 180. *Synoptic*, 1889, pp. 65-66; speaker: Emmerson.
 181. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 159; speaker: James Russell.
 182. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 89; speaker: Wilson.
 183. *Ibid.*, p. 90; speaker: Blair.
 184. *Ibid.*, p. 99; speaker: Ritchie.
 185. *Ibid.*, p. 92; speaker: Blair.
 186. Alfred Tennyson, "The Princess", *Victorian People and Ideas*, ed. Richard D. Altick (New York, 1973), p.53.
 187. *Synoptic*, 1909, p. 185; speaker: Sormany.
 188. *Ibid.*
 189. *Ibid.*
 190. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 96; speaker: Alward.
 191. *Ibid.*, p. 92; speaker: Blair.
 192. *Ibid.*, speaker: Stockton.
 193. *Ibid.*, speaker: Blair.
 194. *Ibid.*, p. 88; Stockton refers to "the scene presented in the gallery and on the floor of this house tonight to find a sufficient refutation to that objection...that ladies had no interest in this matter [suffrage] and were not asking for this legislation".
 195. *Journals*, 1891, p. xxvii.
 196. *Ibid.*, 1892, p.xxix.
 197. *Synoptic*, 1894, p. 157; speaker: Stockton.
 198. *Journals*, 1895, pp. xxix, xxx, 20.
 199. *Synoptic*, 1894, p. 159; speaker: Blair.
 200. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 94; speaker: Blair.
 201. *Ibid.*, 1917, pp. 159-60; speaker: Veniot.
 202. *Ibid.*, 1889, p.88; speaker: Stockton.
 203. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 103; see Phinney's comments regarding intoxicated men at the polls.
 204. Clarke, pp. 63-64. The suffrage club formally affiliated with the

- parent body (Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association) in 1896, becoming the New Brunswick branch of the Women's Enfranchisement Association of Canada.
205. Cleverdon, p. 179.
 206. Clarke, p. 156.
 207. *Ibid.*, p.43.
 208. *Ibid.*, p.41.
 209. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
 210. *Ibid.*, p. 39. The other male member of the W.E.A. was Rabbi Samuel Rabinowitz.
 211. *The Grave Papers*, 1, 88 and 7, part 2, 51.
 212. Clarke, p.91.
 213. *Ibid.*, p.93.
 214. *Ibid.*, p.50.
 215. *Ibid.*, p. 92
 216. *Ibid.*
 217. *Ibid.*
 218. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-2 for tensions between W.E.A. and the Local Council of Women. Also see Cleverdon, p. 181 for note on the W.C.T.U.'s rebuff of the W.E.A.
 219. *Ibid.*, p. 183.
 220. *Ibid.*
 221. *Ibid.*, pp. 180, 183.
 222. See Clarke, pp. 50-62 for her discussion of the real possibilities for leisure time that the W.E.A.'s members had. She found that although half of the club's membership was of the upper class with the financial resources to hire household help, half of the membership was middle class women, who, for the most part, had not the financial resources either to hire such help or to buy the newly-marketed household appliances like vacuum cleaners. These members' time was still largely consumed by the running of their households in long hours of baking and preserving, of cleaning, washing and sewing, and seeing to the replenishment of household needs. A number of the members were also single women with jobs; they obviously had little leisure time after a day's work and an evening of household chores. The fact that these women with only limited leisure time had chosen to use it to promote the cause of women's suffrage rather than one more clearly aligned with the status quo suggests that they were women of innate vision and imagination. They had apparently long questioned, at some level, woman's assigned place in society and were by the mid-1890's ready to voice publicly their views.
 223. Cleverdon, p. 181.
 224. *Ibid.*
 225. *Ibid.*
 226. *Ibid.*, p. 182.
 227. *Ibid.*
 228. Liberal translation from the sentence: "Durant c'temps les femmes souffre d'envie de se rendre au polls pour montrer à nos vieux comment voter", ed. Pierre Gérin and Pierre M. Gérin, *Marichette, Lettres acadiennes 1895-1898* (Sherbrooke, 1982) p. 52; the letter is titled "LETTRE OUVERTE" and dated February 9, 1895. See also p. 59 for expressions of similar sentiment on women voting in a letter dated February 28, 1895.
 229. See Cleverdon, p. 181, for discussion of 1894 suffrage petitions in New Brunswick and p. 160 for discussion of 1895 suffrage petitions in Nova Scotia.
 230. Gérin and Gérin, pp. 35-39; Thérèse Lemieux at Gemma Caron, *Silhouettes acadiennes* (La Fédération des Dames d'Acadie, 1981), pp. 18-19.
 231. Gérin and Gérin, p. 218; reproduction of the editorial of *L'Évangéline*, April 18, 1895.
 232. *Ibid.*, p. 217; reproduction of the editorial of *Le Moniteur acadien*, August 24, 1897.
 233. Cleverdon, pp. 182-3.

234. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
235. *Ibid.* See p. 183 for discussion of this particular lobby.
236. *Synoptic*, 1899, p. 66; speaker: John Douglas Hazen.
237. *Ibid.*
238. *Ibid.*
239. *Ibid.*
240. *Minute Books* of the Women's Enfranchisement Association (2 volumes), held at the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, I, 112. Hereafter cited as *Minute Books*.
241. Clarke, p. 64.
242. *Ibid.*, pp. 75-6.
243. Cleverdon, p. 181.
244. Clarke, p. 70.
245. *Ibid.*, pp. 70-72, pp. 147-152.
246. Cleverdon, p. 185.
247. See R. Philip Campbell, *Challenging Years, 1894-1979: 85 Years of the Council of Women in Saint John* (Saint John, 1979), pp. 21-24 for a discussion on why the Local Council of Women was slow in taking up the suffrage cause. His contention that suffragism frequently appealed to "the emotional, rather than rational faculties" (p. 22) is questionable.
248. *Minute Books*, I, 152.
249. *Ibid.*, p. 153. On April 12, 1902 the W.E.A. withdrew the resolution for severance that had been adopted February 8, 1902.
250. Clarke, p. 83.
251. *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4. Also see *Minute Books*, I, 175-176. The W.E.A. members also examined the educational system in Norway and Sweden. It is interesting to note that women still look to Sweden for examples of legislative reform.
252. Cleverdon, p. 186.
253. MacNaughton, p. 140.
254. Clarke, p. 81. This is Clarke's interpretation of Helmes' opinion.
255. *Ibid.*, quotation from actual letter.
256. *Ibid.*, p. 82; Clarke's interpretation of the letter.
257. *Ibid.*, quotation from actual letter.
258. *Ibid.* The quotation in single quotation marks is from the actual letter; "not the one fettered" is Clarke's text.
259. Cleverdon, p. 186.
260. See Ella Hatheway's letter to the editor of the *Globe*, titled "Mrs. W.F. Hatheway's Proposed Address", *Globe*, Saint John, April 15, 1912, p. 7.
261. See Clarke, p. 86 for explanation of the legislative tactic Murray used.
262. *Minute Books*, I, 182.
263. Cleverdon, p. 188.
264. *Minute Books*, I, 210. See also David Mitchell, *The Fighting Pankhursts: A Study in Tenacity* (New York: 1967), for more information on the Pankhurst family.
265. *Minute Books*, I, 211. Also see "Leader Defends Militant Tactics of Suffragettes", *The Daily Telegraph*, Saint John, January 16, 1912, p.2.
266. Cleverdon, p. 187.
267. *Journals*, 1912, p. 120.
268. Hatheway, letter to the editor of the *Globe*, p.7.
269. Clarke, p. 100.
270. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
271. *Minute Books*, I, 214.
272. *Synoptic*, 1913, p.22; speaker: Munro. Also see Clarke, p. 98 for discussion on why the Saint John W.E.A. changed its name to the Saint John Branch of the Canadian Suffrage Association, as well for discussion on the W.E.A.'s relationship with its parent body.
273. *Ibid.*, p. 25; speaker: James L. Stewart.
274. *Ibid.*
275. Cleverdon, p. 188.
276. Clarke, p.91.

277. Cleverdon, p. 188.
 278. Clarke, p. 105.
 279. Cleverdon, p. 192.
 280. Clarke, p. 101.
 281. *Synoptic*, 1917, p. 157; speaker: Clifford W. Robinson.
 282. *Ibid.*
 283. Clarke, p. 106; Cleverdon, p. 198.
 284. *Minute Books*, II, 104.
 285. *Ibid.*
 286. *Synoptic*, 1917, p. 160; speaker: Veniot.
 287. Clarke, p. 107, for notes on the mobbing of Veniot.
 288. *Ibid.*, Clarke's interpretation of speaker's words.
 289. *Ibid.*, actual words of speaker.
 290. *Ibid.*
 291. *Synoptic*, 1918, p. 58; speaker: James A. Murray; also see Tilley's remarks, p. 59.
 292. *Ibid.*, p. 60; speaker: Walter E. Foster.
 293. The questionable suffrage reforms of the Conservative Prime Minister Borden's government caused splits in suffrage groups as their members tried to reconcile its pragmatism with their own idealism. Borden was intending to fight the next federal election (December 1917) on the conscription issue. In October 1917, after months of negotiation, the Conservatives had formed a coalition government (the Union government) with Liberals who supported conscription. The policy was not only very unpopular in Quebec but also in "those areas of the Prairie Provinces where there were large elements of foreign-born, some of whom had left their native lands partly to escape compulsory military service laws" (Cleverdon, p. 122) and in British Columbia, especially among members of its labor movement. A month earlier the Borden government had passed the *Military Voters Act*, allowing all female and male members of the armed forces to vote in federal elections held during the war. The government had then passed the highly controversial *Wartime Election Act* which disenfranchised all conscientious objectors to the war (including such religious groups as the Mennonites and the Doukhobors) and all people born in enemy countries and naturalized since 1902 (disenfranchising in other words all voters who would likely vote against conscription and the war effort in general in the next federal election). The act then enfranchised a huge group the Borden government believed would be favorable to conscription - all women 21 years or older who were British subjects and who had a close relative serving in the armed forces of Canada or Great Britain. A British subject was a Canadian-born woman or a woman married to a Canadian man or to a British subject; however, a woman who had been a British subject and was now married to a non-British subject could not vote as her marriage had caused her to lose her British citizenship. Borden's unethical suffrage strategy worked. The Conservatives won the 1917 federal election and acknowledged that in large part their win was due to the particular group of women they had chosen to enfranchise. Estimates of the size of that new electorate range from half a million to a million voters. It would seem that most new voters exercised their right. They had been actively encouraged to do so not only by the two major parties but also by preachers and the press. See Cleverdon, pp. 122-130, for further discussion.
 294. Clarke, p. 109.
 295. Cleverdon, p. 195.
 296. *Synoptic*, 1919, p. 12; speaker: A. Allison Dysart.
 297. *Ibid.*, p. 124; speaker: James P. Byrne.
 298. *Ibid.*, speaker: Frank L. Potts.
 299. *Ibid.*
 300. *Ibid.*
 301. *Ibid.*, p. 295; speaker: Francis J. Sweeney.

302. *Ibid.*, p. 294; speaker: Francis C. McGrath.
303. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 97; speaker: Emerson.
304. There were, however, anti-suffragist lobbies elsewhere, as in the United States where breweries and other businesses and industries who feared the women's vote for various reasons actively lobbied against women's suffrage. These groups also gave strong financial backing to those women who worked against women's suffrage (invariably these women were of the upper class and had had little experience in the day-to-day realities of the average women). See Flexner, pp. 294-305, for further discussion on this conflict.
305. *Synoptic*, 1917, p. 158; speaker: Robinson.
306. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 89; speaker: Wilson.
307. *Ibid.*, 1894, p. 160; speaker: Alward.
308. *Ibid.*, 1895, p. 98; speaker: Pitts.
309. See, for example, *Synoptic*, 1889, p. 92; speaker: Blair, who referred to Wyoming and Kansas as "countries but crude and rude, emerging from a state of half barbarism and half civilization". For examples of similar comments or views on the west see also *Synoptic*, 1889, pp.70, 94-95, speaker: Phinney; and pp. 98-9, speaker: Ritchie.
310. *Synoptic*, 1899, p.66; speaker: J.P. Hazen.
311. *Ibid.*, 1889, p. 90; speaker: Blair. While he does not note the date, he must mean 1881, as this is when the Isle of Man enfranchised unmarried and widowed women with property. New Zealand was the first country under the British monarchy to grant universal suffrage to women.
312. *Ibid.*, 1913, p. 22; speaker: Munro, referring to opponents' arguments.
313. Clarke, p. 142.
314. *Synoptic*, 1894, p. 158; speaker: Pitts.
315. Clarke, p. 145. See pp. 144-6 for a discussion about the relative importance of the First World War to the women's suffrage movement's final victory. She notes that the war was not the cause of the victory, but "a catalyst in changing anti opinions both inside and outside the legislative assembly", p. 145.
316. *Synoptic*, 1895, p.96; speaker: Emerson.
317. Clarke, p. 145. She uses the term "tidy rationalization".
318. Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto, 1983) p. 134.
319. See, for example, the Foster government's appeal to farm women in an advertisement in *The Daily Gleaner*, October 5, 1920. The Liberals noted how under their administration the Women's Institutes had been increased and flattered the institutes' members by noting their "good work in bettering conditions on the farm". This ad is reproduced in Arthur T. Doyle's *Front Benches & Back Rooms* (Toronto, 1976), p.221.
320. See also Aileen S. Kraditor, *Up From The Pedestal* (Chicago, 1968), p. 291.
321. Proceedings of the Women's War Conference, February, 1918, received in correspondence from Gail Cuthbert Brandt, York University.
322. Gail Cuthbert Brandt, " 'Pigeon-Holed and Forgotten': The Work of the Subcommittee on the Post-War Problems of Women, 1943", *Histoire Sociale-Social History*, 15, 29 (1982), 239-259.
323. Ella Hatheway, letter to the editor of the *Globe*, Saint John, April 15, 1912, p.7.
324. Rayanne Brennan, "Women have had long, hard struggle in politics", *The Bugle*, Woodstock, June 6, 1984, p.1. Interview with Carolyn Chase, Woodstock, January, 1985.
325. *Ibid.*, and *The Canadian Parliamentary Guide* (Ottawa, 1926) p.293.
326. *L'Évangéline*, "Salaires des instituteurs, représentation acadienne et autre chose encore", January 21, 1926, p.1.
327. Anonymous, "Pour ou contre le vote des femmes?", *Le Fermier Acadien*, pp. 29-30. Translation by author, with paraphrasing. Also see Marie-Claire Pitre's unpublished manuscript on the history of Acadian women for information on reaction to this article, as well as discussion of other articles

- on woman's place and role published both earlier and later in *L'Évangéline* and *Le Moniteur acadien*.
328. For more information on Frances Fish, see Don Hoyt's article, "Ahead of her Time: Frances Fish, Pioneer Woman Lawyer", *The Telegraph-Journal*, February 16, 1963. (Fish Family CB, New Brunswick Museum, Archives Department, Saint John.) For election results see Robert E. Garland's, *Promises, Promises...An Almanac of New Brunswick Elections, 1870-1980* (Saint John, 1979), p. 125.
 329. Oral evidence from interview with Muriel Fergusson, August, 1984. For more information on Fergusson, see Mary Peck, "Lawyer and Parliamentarian: the Honourable Muriel McQueen Fergusson", *The Bitter with the Sweet: New Brunswick 1604-1984* (Tantallon, N.S., 1983), pp.157-164.
 330. Garland, pp. 133, 214.
 331. Campbell, pp. 105-106. *The Municipalities Act* was the act amended.
 332. Gerald Childs, "N.B.'s First Woman Mayor Hopes She Won't Be The Last", *The Telegraph-Journal*, Saint John, June 17, 1967. (Women in Public Life CB, New Brunswick Museum, Archives Department, Saint John.)

Chapter II: "And Justice I Shall Have"

1. The author would like to acknowledge Linda Silver Dranoff's work, *Women in Canadian Law* (Toronto, 1977) which provided a model for the general legal survey that follows.
2. Dranoff, p. 18.
3. M. Bryden, *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 14 (1964), 60.
4. *The Acts of the General Assembly* (henceforth *Acts G.A.*), 1824, chap. 3.
5. W. Peter Ward, "Unwed Motherhood in Nineteenth Century English Canada", *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1981), 40.
6. *Ibid.*, 44.
7. Léon Thériault, "Les Missionnaires et leurs paroissiens dans le nord-est du Nouveau-Brunswick 1766-1830", *Revue de l'Université de Moncton*, 9, 12/13 (1976), 46.
8. *Criminal Code* (Toronto, 1915), Section 305, p.330.
9. J.C. Martin, *The Criminal Code of Canada* (Toronto, 1955), sec. 204, p. 393.
10. Public Legal Information Services, Inc. (henceforth P.L.I.S., Inc.), *Manners, Morals, & Mayhem*, ed. David A. Townsend (Fredericton, 1985), p.45.
11. Alphonse de Valk, *Morality and Law in Canadian Politics: The Abortion Controversy* (Dorval, 1974), p.2.
12. *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.
13. John Upton Terrell and Donna M. Terrell, *Indian Women of the Western Morning* (New York, 1976), p. 131; L.F.S. Upton, *Micmacs and Colonists: Indian-White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867* (Vancouver, 1979), p.6. Evidence from oral history, Alma Brooks, New Brunswick Native Indian Women's Council, August, 1984.

14. Marvin A. Zuker and June Callwood, *The Law is Not for Women!* (Toronto, 1976), p.28.
15. Interview with Donald Poirier, Université de Moncton, November, 1984.
16. Hunter v Hunter, *Reports of Cases Decided in the Supreme Court of New Brunswick*, 10 (1861-1863), 626, 608, 595.
17. Dranoff, p. 102.
18. P.L.I.S., Inc., pp. 56-57.
19. Interview regarding evolution of custody cases with Donald Poirier, November, 1984.
20. Eric Teed, "The Incapacity of a Married Woman to be a Next Friend or Guardian Ad Litem", *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 7 (1954), 29-31.
21. W.L. Hoyt, "Some Aspects of Married Women's Property", *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 13 (1961), 32-39.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Dranoff, p. 45.
24. Hoyt, 33.
25. P.L.I.S., Inc., p.54.
26. Hoyt, 34.
27. Dranoff, p. 52.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*, p.53.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (Ottawa, 1970), p. 246.
34. Dranoff, p.62.
35. *Ibid.*
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Acts G.A.*, 1834, chap. V, sec. XI.
40. P.L.I.S. Inc., p. 51. In 1860, New Brunswick reenacted the divorce section of the 1791 act in an "Act to Amend the Law Relating to Divorce and Matrimonial Causes," reaffirming England's initiative to codify common law in 1857.
41. Dranoff, p. 66.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 65.
44. D.C. McKie, B. Prentice, P. Reed, *Divorce: Law and the Family in Canada* (Ottawa, 1983), p.52.
45. Dranoff, p.47.
46. *Ibid.*
47. *Ibid.*
48. Nanciellen Davis, "'Patriarchy from the Grave': Family Relations in 19th Century New Brunswick Wills", *Acadiensis*, 13, 2 (1984), 92.
49. *Ibid.*, 95.
50. "Intestate Succession Act", *New Brunswick Statutes* (1926), chap. 10.
51. P.L.I.S., Inc., p.62.
52. Notice, *Daily Sun*, Saint John, December, 1884. Also see Mary Peck's *The Bitter with the Sweet: New Brunswick 1604-1984* (Tantallon, N.S., 1983), pp. 131-132.
53. *Ibid.*, and P.L.I.S., Inc., p.62.
54. "Premier chèque aux mères nécessiteuses", *La voix d'Évangéline*, December 16, 1943, p.1. Veronica Strong-Boag, "Canada's Early Experiences with Income Supplements: the Introduction of Mothers' Allowances", *Atlantis*, 4, 2 (1979), 38.
55. J.E. Picot, *A Brief History of Teacher Training in N.B. 1848-1973* (Fredericton, 1974).

56. Katherine F.C. MacNaughton, *The Development of the Theory and Practice of Education in New Brunswick: 1784-1900* (Fredericton, 1947) p. 140.
57. "Martha Hamm Lewis Goes to Normal School", *The Educational Review* (October, 1931), 7.
58. Picot, p.17.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 41.
60. Interview with Soeur Marie-Dorothée, Religieuses de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, Moncton, June, 1985.
61. John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914", *Acadiensis*, 12, 2 (1983), 1.
62. Linda Squiers Hansen, *Those Certain Women* (Fredericton, 1982), p.6.
63. *Ibid.*
64. *Ibid.*, p.7.
65. W.A. Spray, *The Blacks in New Brunswick* (Fredericton, 1972), p.60.
66. Much of the information regarding the founding of a classical college for francophone women in New Brunswick was received in three interviews with Soeur Marie-Dorothée, Religieuses de Notre-Dame du Sacré-Coeur, Moncton, June 1985.
67. Soeur Marie-Dorothée, *Une pierre de la mosaïque acadienne* (Ottawa, 1984), p. 108.
68. See Susan Trofimenkoff's, "One Hundred and Two Muffled Voices: Canada's Industrial Women in the 1880's", *Atlantis* (Fall, 1977), pp. 66-82.
69. See Veronica Strong-Boag's discussion of minimum wage legislation in "The Girl of the New Day: Canadian Working Women in the 1920's", *Labour/Le Travailleur*, 4 (1979), 158-163.
70. Statistics Canada, "Minimum Wage Rates for Employees, New Brunswick, Effective Dates 1950 to 1984", Table C-4, *Historical Statistics of New Brunswick*, p. 52.
71. Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching", *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*, ed. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice (Toronto, 1977), pp. 49-65.
72. Picot, p. 61.
73. "Le traitement des institutrices", *L'Évangéline*, March 13, 1919, p.1. An article published in *L'Évangéline*, April 28, 1919, p.3 reveals that the newspaper supported equal pay scales for female and male teachers.
74. R. Philip Campbell, *Challenging Years 1894-1979: 85 Years of the Council of Women in Saint John* (Saint John, 1979), p. 19.
75. *Ibid.*, and Mary Eileen Clarke, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association 1894-1919" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1979), p. 78.
76. See Health & Welfare Canada, *Day Care, a Resource for the Contemporary Family* (Ottawa, 1982).
77. Statistics Canada, "Labour Force Activity of the Female Population 15 years and over by presence of children 1981", SPE 81 b11, p.3273.
78. Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women, "Canadian Prostitution Law 1839 to 1972", *Prostitution in Canada*, p. 15. Much of the late 19th century and early 20th century information was gleaned from this chapter.
79. Martin, p. 233.
80. Esther Clark Wright, *The St. John River and Its Tributaries* (n.p., 1966), p. 97.
81. The facts in this section on slavery were gleaned from D.G. Bell's "Slavery and the Judges of Loyalist New Brunswick", *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 31 (1982), 9-42 and Spray's, *The Blacks in New Brunswick*, pp. 23-26.
82. Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada* (Montreal, 1971), p.108.
83. Bell, p. 24.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

85. In RE Mabel P. French, *Reports of Cases Determined by the Supreme Court of New Brunswick*, 38 (1905), 359.
86. *Ibid.*, 361-362.
87. *Ibid.*, 365-366.
88. *Ibid.*, 371.
89. Roberta J. Pazdro, "Of British Columbia Suffragists and Barristers", *Canadian Women's Studies*, 2, 4 (1980), 17.
90. Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus* (Ottawa, 1978), pp. 67-68.
91. Sally M. Weaver, "The Status of Indian Women", *Two Nations, Many Cultures* (Scarborough, 1983), pp. 58 -59.
92. *Ibid.*, p.61.
93. Pamphlet: *Native Indian Women and Section 12(1)(b)*, printed through efforts of aboriginal women in New Brunswick to raise funds for the Native Women's Committee, c/o National Action Committee on the Status of Women, Toronto.
94. Weaver, p.66.
95. Information on the Tobique band office occupations was gleaned from interviews with several of the women involved: Bet-te Paul, Glenna Perley, Juanita Perley, Tobique Reserve, August, 1984, and news articles of the time, including articles which appeared frequently in the Saint John *Telegraph Journal* between July and December 1977, in the *Victoria County Record*, December 5, 1979, p. 5 and December 12, 1979, the *Status of Women News*, Fall, 1981, p.7 and Suzette Couture, "Question of Status", *Today*, November 29, 1980, p.6.
96. The facts regarding Sandra Lovelace's correspondence with the U.N. Human Rights Committee have been gleaned from: *Selected Documents in the Matter of Lovelace versus Canada Pursuant to The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, New Brunswick Human Rights Commission, 1981.
97. Information on the Native Women's Walk was gleaned from articles of the time, including Couture, pp. 5-7, and relevant correspondence received by the New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women regarding the walk.
98. Couture, p.5.
99. See Dranoff, pp. 96-97 for discussion of women and citizenship.
100. Peck, p. 161. Also from interview with Muriel Fergusson, August, 1984.
101. *Saint John Gazette*, September 2, 1796, p.3.
102. P.L.I.S., Inc., p. 96.
103. Rita Godin, "La femme et la profession juridique au Nouveau-Brunswick: Quelques statistiques", *Egalité: revue acadienne d'analyse politique*, 10 (1983), 123, 126.
104. M. Louise Lynch, "Women in the Law", *University of New Brunswick Law Journal*, 3,1 (1950), p.16.

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“You might as well attempt to dam Niagara as to stop this agitation.”

An 1899 Saint John politician.

The agitation for women’s legal and political rights in New Brunswick, still with us today, began hundreds of years ago. *We, the undersigned* gives part of the untold history of the province’s female founders, of 200 years of challenges to the laws and accepted ideas about women.

Hundreds of petitions, some signed by over 10,000 New Brunswickers in the 1890s, are evidence that women’s rights have a lively history. The right to vote was a key issue that took 50 years of efforts, but it was only one of many battles in women’s history. In 1905 Mabel French passed her law exams but was rejected as a lawyer because she was not a person. Martha Hamm Lewis wore a veil to train as New Brunswick’s first female teacher. Marichette wrote her lively essays on women’s rights in a newspaper adamantly opposed to women’s vote years after it was won. Discriminatory laws based on the notion of women as property survived until the 1980’s.

The ongoing struggle to gain equal rights for women already has a long history of progress. *We, the undersigned* documents some of the early issues and actors in women’s history in New Brunswick.

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