

A Synopsis
of
WOMAN SUFFRAGE
in CANADA



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by
Hilda Ridley

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Many requests have come to me from time to time to write a history of the Woman Suffrage movement in Canada. In preparing the present outline, I realize that it must necessarily be incomplete, because so many of the workers prominent in the movement have passed away, and some of the records have been lost.

While the movement for women's suffrage began in Ontario, and while the pioneer association there established was instrumental in carrying the crusade into other provinces, ironically enough the women of this province were, with the exception of Quebec and some of the smaller provinces, the last to receive the provincial suffrage. Thus the large proportion of space given in this outline to Ontario may be accounted for by the fact that the movement in this province began much earlier and terminated later than the movements in the majority of the other provinces.

For much of the data in this little book, I am indebted to Dr. Stowe-Gullen of Toronto, who played so significant and vital a part in bringing about the successful consummation of the movement for woman's suffrage, initiated years before, in Ontario, by her mother, Dr. Emily Howard Stowe. Without the records preserved by her and the various suffrage organizations throughout the Dominion, I could not have written this outline.

Credit is also due to Dr. Margaret Johnston, who was President of the Toronto Suffrage Association and at the time they disbanded, the residuary of funds were given for this purpose through the President to Dr. Stowe Gullen.

H. M. RIDLEY.

Woman Suffrage in Canada

I.

THE FOUNDER OF THE MOVEMENT

In Canada the woman who was destined to play the part of a Mary Wollstonecraft in starting the demand for political liberty for women, was Dr. Emily Howard Jennings Stowe,—a woman as great in character and intellect as any of the outstanding personalities that from time to time, in the history of the world, have so convincingly demonstrated the capacity of their sex.

Coming of Quaker ancestry, the blood of pioneers beat in her veins, for when her parents settled in Norwich, Oxford County, it was practically a wilderness. Her mother, Hannah Howard, who was born in New York State, had come as a small child to Canada, brought there by her ^{grand-}father, a relative of the American historian Lossing. Her husband, Solomon Jennings, had migrated at a later date from Vermont. The child, Emily Jennings, the eldest of six girls, who was to play so effective a part in the moulding of Canadian thought, was born in 1831. At an early age, she began to evince those talents that launched her on a career that, at every stage, seemed admirably adapted to the part she was to play. At fifteen she was a teacher in a little country school near Norwich. This experience only whetted her appetite for wider knowledge. The young girl, who used to study by candlelight until long after midnight, sought to enter the University of Toronto. Here she received her first rebuff and learned what it was to be a woman. The fact that she was refused admittance set her thinking all the harder. Undismayed, she saved enough money from a small salary to enable her to take a course at the Normal School. After attend-

her
grand-
father
Peter Lossing

ing the session of 1853-1854, she received her First Class Teachers' Certificate. Then followed her initial experience in the role of a pioneer. She became the first Canadian woman principal of a public school. For two years, until her marriage in 1856 to Dr. John Stowe, a dentist, she was the head of the Brantford public school.

Her marriage deepened and enriched her personality; but owing to her husband's ill health, she was obliged to play the part of a bread-winner, and for a time returned to teaching. After the birth of her third child, however, she resolved to study medicine. It seemed a fitting calling to engage all the qualities of her personality,—her intellect, energy, instinct for healing, and deep-seated conviction that women must have more avenues of expression through which to make their proper impress upon life. And here she encountered Rebuff Number Two, for which she had been prepared. Just as she, as a woman, had been refused admittance to the University of Toronto, so as a woman, she was not permitted to study medicine anywhere in Canada. Undaunted again, she arranged to attend the New York Medical College for Women, established by Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, the pioneer woman physician of the United States. In 1868 Mrs. Stowe graduated from this school. Returning to Toronto, she entered upon the second stage of her career as a pioneer, and became the first woman to practise medicine in Canada.

Her own difficulties had but served to intensify in Dr. Stowe a longing and resolution to remove from the path of women some of the disabilities that she had encountered. Instead of resting upon her oars, as she now might well have done, she looked, as always, forward. But her experience had also taught her the wisdom of advancing with care, and of sowing discriminatingly before she attempted to reap.

Public opinion, she knew, must be educated, and deep-rooted prejudices eradicated, and this could be done only by a process that would not too patently antagonize or shock the unprepared. To this end, she organized a Club that for about six years functioned under the innocuous name of the "Toronto Women's Literary Society."

As this Club was actually the nucleus of the women's suffrage movement in Canada, owing its origin to the woman whose career has been all too briefly adumbrated, I shall devote a separate section to it.

II.

THE TORONTO WOMEN'S LITERARY SOCIETY (1876-1883)

Organized in 1876, this Club, with Dr. Stowe as its president, had among its members, Mrs. Sarah Ann Curzon, Mrs. Anna Parker, Mrs. D. McEwen, Mrs. W. B. Hamilton, Mrs. Elias Rogers, Miss Jennie Gray, Miss Faulds, and other kindred spirits. Its foundation marked the awakening of the Canadian woman to a sense of the social and economic injustices suffered by her sex. Beneath the aegis of the unassailable title of her Club, she listened in weekly conclave, to lectures given by the able president and others on all kinds of subjects,—from the cultivation of flowers and good health, to educational, economic, and municipal questions, and gradually she formed a mental attitude that was soon to make itself effectually felt.

During its existence of six or more years, the Club was instrumental in establishing better sanitary arrangements in factories and stores, in providing seats for clerks in stores, and in removing some of the evils of the sweat-shop system. But the more the women studied and attempted to improve social

conditions, the more keenly they realized that, without the ballot, much of their effort must be unavailing. Consequently, the question of women's suffrage became, at an early stage in the life of the Club, a paramount one.

The logical development, following upon this realization, was the merging of the literary club into an organization that adequately expressed the growing convictions of the women. In March, 1883, accordingly, there came into existence the first women's suffrage society in Canada, under the name of the "Toronto Women's Suffrage Club."

1883

III.

THE NEW CLUB (1883-1889)

In March of 1883 the members of the City Council of Toronto were electrified to receive the following communication:—

"The Toronto Women's Literary and Social Progress Club asks the favour of the use of the Council Chamber for the purpose of holding in it a conversazione on the evening of Friday, the 9th inst. The object of this meeting is to discuss the advisability of granting the franchise to those women who possess the property qualification which entitles men to hold it, and then to proceed to form a Club."

This "bold announcement," as a contemporary termed it, was taken in good part by the Council, and the request of the women granted. Thus on Friday, March 9th, in the Council Chamber of the City Hall of Toronto, was inaugurated the first women's suffrage organization in Canada—the "Toronto Women's Suffrage Club." Mrs. Donald McEwen, who with "some palpitation," as she expressed it, found herself

Dr. James L. Hughes was Superintendent of Education for Toronto

in the Mayor's Chair, was elected President, and the other officers were Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, Mrs. Mary McDonnell, and Dr. James L. Hughes. In this organization men were eligible for membership.

Within a year after the formation of the new club, and largely through the spade work of the former Toronto Literary Club, the municipal franchise was given to widows and spinsters who were ratepayers in Ontario. From that time, an effort was made by this pioneer suffrage organization to have this privilege extended in two directions: first, the members urged that the parliamentary franchise should also be given to qualified widows and spinsters; and, secondly, they advocated that the municipal franchise should be extended to married women. In deputation after deputation, usually headed by Dr. Emily Stowe, the women waited in turn upon the Premier, the Attorney-General, and the Mayor and Council of Toronto, to urge these amendments, but without avail.

Another result of the spade work of the Toronto Literary Club was the opening of the doors of the University of Toronto, in the session of 1886-1887, to women.

In 1889 the Toronto Suffrage Club enlarged its boundaries, and was incorporated for national work under the name of the "Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association," with Dr. Emily Stowe as President.

From the foundation of the Toronto Literary Club to the inauguration of the national organization, some distinguished names of advocates of women's suffrage appear in the annals of the movement. Dr. James L. Hughes, well-known Toronto educationist and Chief Inspector of Schools, was from the outset actively identified with it. He served as president of the local association for some years, led several deputations, made speeches in favor of women's enfranchisement.

before various ministers, and finally wrote an admirable book for the cause entitled "Equal Suffrage." Other prominent workers were Mrs. Curson, Miss Archibald, Mrs. W. B. Hamilton, Mrs. Elias Rogers, Mr. William Houston, Mr. Thomas Bengough, Mr. William Munns, and Mrs. Schoff.

And while the suffrage organization was growing in numbers and power, the young daughter of the distinguished founder was preparing, through a successful career, to take a leading part in the movement. Up to this time, she had been engaged in the difficult task of maintaining her position as a woman doctor amid hostile forces, but she had now established herself. I refer to Dr. Augusta Stowe-Gullen of Toronto, so well and widely known. Like her mother she was a pioneer. The first Canadian girl to study medicine in Canada and to take a medical degree from a Canadian University, she had graduated from Victoria University in 1883 and later taken a degree from Trinity. Almost immediately following her graduation, she had been appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy at the newly opened Ontario Medical College, and at about the same time had married Dr. John B. Gullen. A little later she had been made lecturer on diseases of children, and subsequently became Professor of Pediatrics, a position that she held until the Ontario Medical College became amalgamated with the University of Toronto. She had also begun her long association, as a member of the medical staff or as President of the Women's Board, with the Toronto Western Hospital.

1906

IV. DOMINION WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION (1889-1907)

Now that the pioneer Canadian suffrage association had dominion status, it became very active in

establishing affiliated societies in Ontario and in the provinces. In the case of Ontario branches of the association were formed in Ottawa, London, Woodstock, Ingersoll, Aurora, Midland, Newmarket, Peterborough, and Kingston. Looking wider afield, active work in the creating of affiliated societies was done in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba, Alberta, and British Columbia.

Much practical work was also done by the newly incorporated suffrage association in memorializing the Government. In 1889 a large deputation of women waited upon Attorney-General Mowat to urge the passing of a bill to extend the parliamentary franchise to widows and spinsters. But the able speech of Dr. Stowe, and the speeches of her colleagues, Mrs. McDonnell, Dr. J. L. Hughes, Mrs. W. J. Parker, and Mrs. Brethour, who represented the Women's Christian Temperance Union, fell on unsympathetic ears, and the bill was lost.

1890
In 1890 many delegates from the newly formed branches, as well as some distinguished visitors from sister associations in the United States, attended the first Canadian Women's Enfranchisement Convention, which was held in Toronto on June 12th and 13th. Representatives were present from Chicago, Philadelphia, London, Woodstock, Brampton, Midland, West Toronto Junction, Newmarket, Peterborough, etc., and included the Rev. Anna Shaw, M.D., Boston, Miss Lucy Anthony, Philadelphia, and other outstanding people. The Chair was occupied by Dr. Emily Stowe.

A sad loss was sustained by the Association four years after its incorporation. On April 30, 1903, its great president, Dr. Emily Howard Jennings Stowe, passed away. Immediately, newspapers all over the country and in the United States published articles paying tribute to her work and career. While the workers in the movement which she had initiated

were still in the thick of the struggle for a recognition of their rights on the parts of obdurate governments, it perhaps gave them some consolation to read that the struggles of their leader to gain the admission of women into the medical profession, were now found "hard to realize!" I quote a paragraph from an editorial in THE GLOBE, Toronto, of May 1st, 1903, the tenor of which is typical:—

"The death of Dr. Emily Stowe brings to recollection the inevitable hardships of the pioneer on any path of human progress. Now that the rights for which she contended are accorded and enjoyed as a matter of course, it is hard to realize the unreasoning prejudice she encountered, the obstacles which were thrown in her way and the opposition she had to face. Women who now choose the medical profession in Canada and find every facility provided for their various courses of study can never know how deeply they are indebted to the pioneer who opened the path they so easily follow. Intellectual courage, clear conviction, steady, unswerving purpose, a composed philosophic mind, were the qualities that won success in a long struggle against the mental inertia and reaction that would deny to women the right to study and practise medicine."

A worthy successor, however, was ready to take the place of the great leader. In 1903, Dr. Augusta Stowe-Gullen, the daughter of the founder, became President of the national organization, an office which she held for many years. She had proved her ability and public spirit not only by the record she had made in medicine, but by the fact that she had braved the trying ordeal of an election when, as one of the first women in Canada, she was elected to the Board of Education in 1892.

The year 1905 was memorable for the organizing of another great deputation of women, which, in assoc-

iation with the Women's Christian Temperance Union, waited upon the Premier, to urge that the Municipal vote possessed by widows and spinsters be extended to married women. The Premier's evasive reply expressed his willingness to leave the course of events to the Infinite, who, he declared, was "at work, and women being a part of the Divine plan her place was assigned by a greater power."

In 1906 a deputation headed by Dr. Stowe-Gullen, Dr. Margaret Gordon, Dr. Margaret Johnston, and Mrs. Flora McDonald Denison, called on the Mayor and Council of Toronto, and petitioned them to pass a resolution for the extension of the municipal suffrage to married women. They agreed, and sent the Resolution by a deputation to the Legislature, where a bill was introduced and overwhelmingly defeated.

V.

THE CANADIAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION (1907-1916)

The year 1907 marked the change of the name of the Dominion Enfranchisement Association to the Canadian Suffrage Association. Prominent among the workers in the cause of suffrage at this later phase of its history, were Mrs. Flora MacD. Denison, Dr. Margaret Johnston, and Dr. Margaret Gordon. Mrs. Denison, besides being an indefatigable worker and organizer, found time to contribute each week to the Toronto SUNDAY WORLD a page on woman suffrage that was of great informative and propaganda value. In 1906 she represented the Association at the meetings of the International Women Suffrage Alliance in Copenhagen, and again at Budapest in 1913. Both she and Dr. Margaret Gordon served at different periods as presidents of the national association and of its local branches. Dr. Margaret Johnston was

also a prominent officer of the Canadian Suffrage Association and President of the Toronto Suffrage Association at the time of disbanding.

On March 24, 1909, this Association sent a monster deputation to the Parliament Buildings, Toronto, to petition the premier for full suffrage for the women of Ontario. Nothing more impressive in the way of deputations had thus far been seen. One thousand strong, the members thronged the corridors and reception room of the House. Armed with a daffodil the emblem of the suffragists, and a bouquet of pink roses, Dr. Augusta Stowe-Gullen, in an eloquent speech, presented the petition, which represented 100,000 names of such important organizations as the Women's University Clubs, Women Teachers' Association, Medical Alumnae of the University of Toronto, Progressive Club, Trades and Labor Council, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Women's Christian Temperance Union, and the Dominion Temperance Association. Forceful speeches by Dr. James L. Hughes, Chief Inspector of Schools, and Mrs. Flora McDonald Denison, followed. Others who took part in giving vocal expression to the wishes of the deputation were Dr. Margaret Johnston, Dr. Margaret Gordon, Controller Hocken, the Rev. R. J. Hutcheon, Mr. James Simpson, and Mr. William Munns. But Sir James Whitney refused to commit himself. The convincing arguments, the size of the deputation, the important organizations which it represented, were apparently lost upon him.

"Call again, and we will try to give you better accommodation," was his farewell to the deputation, the members of which would have preferred a less pleasant and more effective response to their appeal. No action resulted directly from the demonstration, but its psychological effect must have been extraordinary.

In 1910 the cause of women's suffrage was strengthened by the entrance into the movement of the influential organization of the National Council of Women, who at its annual meeting in Halifax, "placed itself on record in favor of the enfranchisement of women." During the same year, through the efforts of the members of the C. Suffrage Association, two famous English suffragists, Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst and Mrs. Philip Snowden, came to Toronto and lectured to crowded houses in Massey Hall.

More deputations followed. In 1912, through Mrs. Denison, an interview with Sir Robert L. Borden was secured. The Prime Minister took the stand that each province must enfranchise its women before the Federal Government could act.

In 1914 Dr. Margaret Gordon, the president of the Toronto branch of the Canadian Suffrage Association organized a deputation to petition the City Council to submit to the voters at the forthcoming election, simply in order to ascertain their opinion, the question of extending to married women the municipal franchise possessed by widows and spinsters. The Council agreed to do this, and a favorable opinion was returned. Following this up, Dr. Gordon, during 1914, 1915, and 1916, sent letters to the councils of other cities, towns, villages, and rural communities, asking them to hold a referendum or to pass a resolution in favor of the extension of the municipal suffrage to married women, and send it to the Government. Successful campaigns in the various municipalities followed the letters, with the result that 33 referenda were held, all giving majorities in favor of the extension. Dr. Stowe-Gullen then published an open letter setting forth the results and the inferences to be drawn from them, but it had no effect upon the Legislature, which steadily persisted in its course of withholding concessions to the women.

A signal tribute to the memory of the great founder of the national suffrage organization was made in 1914. On the 31st of October the members put on record their appreciation of the pioneer work that Dr. Emily Howard Stowe had accomplished by presenting a bronze bust of the great leader to the City of Toronto. Officially received by Mayor Hocken, it was placed in the main corridor of the Municipal Hall,—the first memorial of the kind to any Canadian woman.

Two more deputations to the Legislature followed. In 1915 the members of the Canadian Suffrage Association waited upon Sir William Hearst to ask once more that the municipal suffrage possessed by widows and spinsters be extended to married women. They reminded him of the favorable verdicts on this point secured through the referenda of 1914. But Sir William, like his predecessors, evaded the issue. In 1916 the Association again approached the Premier with the same unsatisfactory result. In the meantime, they learned that the women of the sister provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia had been given the provincial franchise, which, with the municipal franchise enjoyed by the women of all these western provinces, meant that they were almost completely enfranchised. Good news, but just a little bit trying to the sense of justice of the women of Ontario, who had nourished the pioneer organization, from which emissaries had gone to every province of the Dominion!—and had borne the burden and heat of the day for a longer period than the women of any other province!

VI.

THE WESTERN PROVINCES

Brief reviews of the progress of women's suffrage in the four provinces that in 1916 gave provincial enfranchisement to women might here be in order.

Manitoba: This was the first province in Canada to give women provincial enfranchisement. The event took place on January 27th, 1916. As early as July, 1902, the Women's Christian Temperance Union resolved to support the suffrage movement, and later in the year the Labor Party, through its official organ, THE VOICE, endorsed equal suffrage, and its officers affiliated with the suffrage club. In 1906, when it seemed likely that the municipal vote might be taken from married women property owners, the Liberal party made its retention a plank in their platform, but the Conservative Legislature abolished it. It was restored in 1907. In 1913 the women succeeded in getting a provincial suffrage bill before the Legislature, which was defeated by 21 to 14 votes. The following year the Liberal Party pledged itself to give the provincial franchise to women if it won the election. It was successful, and the pledge to the women was faithfully kept.

Alberta: Extensive work was begun in this province in 1910 by the suffragists to have the municipal franchise possessed by widows and spinsters extended to married women, and later the demand was made to include full suffrage. The Women's Christian Temperance Union was the first organization to work for the franchise for women, but later when the Local Council was formed, the W.C.T.U. affiliated with the Council and a more aggressive campaign was undertaken. On February 24th, 1916, Premier A. L. Sifton, in response to a petition, representing the various women's organizations of the province and containing some 40,000 names, announced before the Legislature opened that the Government would introduce a women's suffrage bill of the widest scope. The bill was passed on March 1st, 1916, and the women of Alberta, like their Manitoba sisters, found themselves in possession of the provincial franchise. Among the prominent workers for suffrage in this

province were Mrs. Arthur Murphy (now Judge Murphy); Mrs. P. S. Woodhall, Mrs. R. R. Jamieson (now Judge Jamieson), Mrs. L. C. McKinney, who later became the first woman legislator in the British Empire; Mrs. G. W. Kerby, Mrs. W. M. Davidson, Mrs. E. P. Newhall, Mrs. Nellie McClung, and Mrs. O. C. Edwards.

Saskatchewan: Like the women of Alberta, the suffragists of Saskatchewan began in 1910 to petition the Government to extend the municipal vote possessed by widows and spinsters to married women. They were unsuccessful, but in 1916 the president of the Franchise Board, Mrs. F. A. Lawton, presented to Premier Scott a petition signed by 10,000 names, demonstrating that public opinion was in favor of the full enfranchisement of women. At an early meeting of the Legislature on March 14, 1916, a bill granting provincial suffrage to women was passed with practically no opposition.

British Columbia: In 1902 and 1903 petitions for women's suffrage were presented to the Government and refused. In 1908 women householders were deprived of the municipal franchise. The women's clubs in Victoria then secured 1,000 names in 3 days protesting against this action, but a bill introduced by a Liberal member, supported by his party, restoring the privilege to women, was defeated. During this year the Local Council of Women at its monthly meeting decided to endorse the women's suffrage cause, and later held two public meetings in its interest. More work was done in 1910 to regain the municipal franchise. In 1911 the Victoria and Vancouver Political Equality Clubs organized a large deputation to wait upon the Attorney General and solicit better property laws for women, equal guardianship of children for mothers, and other much needed laws. They also memorialized the Legislature

for the full suffrage for women. On February 15th, 1913, a monster petition, consisting of 10,000 names, was presented to the Premier by fifty women in the province, asking that full suffrage be given to women. The Premier's reply was that as a matter of Government policy it was impossible. Undaunted, the women persisted, and in the meantime, the provincial enfranchisement of their sex in Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan in 1916 brought the issue to a head. On April 14, 1916, Premier Bowser announced that the Elections Act, which provided for allowing a vote to soldiers over 18, would include women, and would be submitted to a referendum of the electors. This was done by the Legislature, which met on May 31st, and the election took place on September 15th, the amendment carrying by an immense majority. It went into effect March 1, 1917.

VII.

SUCCESS IN ONTARIO

In 1916, cheered by the success of the Western Provinces, the franchise societies of Toronto and the Women's Christian Temperance Union canvassed the entire province, circulating a monster petition for the full provincial franchise. In 1917 the Liberal Party, then out of power, made woman suffrage a plank of its platform, and its leader, Mr. N. W. Rowell, on February 20th, at the opening of Parliament, moved an amendment to the speech from the throne providing for the enfranchisement of women in Ontario. It was declared out of order by Premier Hearst. But this was a war year, and during the two years that Great War had raged, a change had come over the hearts of men. In the days of stress and trial they realized, as never before, how valuable were the partnership, the work, and the sacrifices of women.

A few days later when J. W. Johnson of Belleville, a private member, introduced a bill for woman suffrage, it was indorsed for the Conservative Government by Premier Hearst, who said: "Having taken our women into partnership with us in our tremendous task, I ask, 'Can we justly deny them a share in the government of the country, the right to have a say about the making of the laws they have been so heroically trying to defend?' My answer is, 'I think not'."

The long struggle for women's rights in Ontario, carried on since 1876, was ended. The Liberals united with the Conservatives, and the bill was passed on February 17, 1917.

The provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and the Yukon Territory, were now the only ones that did not enjoy provincial suffrage, and everything seemed to indicate that the next step would be the national enfranchisement of women by the Dominion Parliament. A few words about the status of suffrage in the provinces that at this period still withheld the franchise from women, is here in order.

Quebec: In Montreal the Women's Christian Temperance Union, as early as 1883, espoused the cause of suffrage for women. It was not, however, until about 1912 that a local suffrage association was formed. This was the Montreal Suffrage Association, which was affiliated with the Canadian Suffrage Association, and had as its honorary president, Lady Drummond, and as its first president, Prof. Carrie Derrick. At about this time the movement was endorsed by the Local Council of Women, which organized a committee, with Dr. Grace Richie England as president and Prof. Carrie Derrick as vice-president, for the holding of a Suffrage Exhibition. The enterprising members opened a store, and sold suffrage literature, banners, flags, etc. In the basement of the store, in a small room, daily meetings

were held at which the arguments in favor of women suffrage were presented, and questions answered. The Exhibition did much to open the eyes of the public to the merits and justice of women suffrage. In 1914 the Montreal Suffrage Association opened a splendid campaign for the distribution of suffrage literature and the making of speeches at fall fairs. Booths for such purposes were opened at various points. Mrs. H. W. Weller, Mrs. Wood, and Mrs. John Scott were active in this campaign. Much money was raised, and everything pointed to the success of the enterprise, but the progress of the war put a quietus upon it, and the efforts of the women were transferred to active war work and the raising of funds for the Red Cross.

New Brunswick: In 1908, led by Mrs. Fiske, Mrs. F. W. Hathaway, and Miss Mabel Peters, the suffragists petitioned the Legislature to extend the full suffrage to women, but without results. In 1909 a bill to give the franchise to taxpaying widows and spinsters passed the Upper House, but was postponed in the Lower House. In 1915 the municipal franchise possessed by widows and spinsters was extended to married women.

Nova Scotia: In 1911, when all the western provinces were enfranchising their women, the Lower House of the Legislature passed a bill for it, but later rescinded it on the excuse that it was not desired by the women. Determined to convince the legislators of their mistake, the suffragists reorganized their society, and a resolution was adopted by the executive board of the Local Council of Women and sent to every member of the Legislature. All the members of the Government were interviewed and they promised support. A bill in favor of the measure was introduced and passed without opposition by the Legislature, but was referred to a committee, and postponed indefinitely.

VIII.

THE DOMINION FRANCHISE

When Sir Robert Borden returned from a visit to England and the war front in 1917 he was firmly convinced that conscription would be necessary. A Union party was formed in Parliament, and a War Time Election Act was passed in September, which enfranchised certain women in all the provinces and in the Yukon and the North-west Territories in the following words: "Every female who, being a British subject and qualified as to age, race and residence, as required of a male, is the wife, widow, mother, sister or daughter of any person, male or female, living or dead, who is serving or who served without Canada in any of the military forces or within or without in any of the naval forces of Canada or Great Britain in the present war"

The general campaign came on in November, 1917, with conscription as the issue. The election took place in December and the Union Government carried the four Western provinces, Ontario and New Brunswick, receiving almost the full vote of the women. It had been understood during the campaign that the Prime Minister and his Government, if returned, would at an early date, take up the question of giving the federal franchise to women,—and indeed, Sir Robert Borden had several times pledged himself and his Government to take this step. On February 15, 1918, the Government accordingly announced the extension of the Dominion suffrage to the women of Canada as a part of its policy, and promised its consideration of the measure at the approaching session of Parliament. Parliament was opened on March 18th. The Duke of Devonshire read the speech from the throne to galleries crowded with women, and announced in the course of it that a bill

for extending the franchise to women would be submitted and commended for consideration.

Sir Robert Borden introduced the bill on March 21st. It met with little opposition, except from Quebec, and on its third reading passed without division. Thus, on April 12th, 1918, the full parliamentary or federal suffrage was conferred on every woman who was (1) a British subject; (2) of the full age of 21 years or upwards; (3) possessed of the qualifications which would entitle a male person to vote at a Dominion election in the province in which she was seeking to vote.

With the granting of the Federal suffrage, the few provinces in Canada that had withheld provincial suffrage from their women conceded it. There was one notable exception—Quebec. To-day, in spite of the unremitting efforts of suffragists in well-organized societies, under competent leadership, Quebec remains the only province in Canada where women are in the anomalous position of being able to vote on national issues, while they are denied the expression of their opinions in a provincial way.

Unveil a Memorial to Suffragette Leader

July 14/59
LONDON (AP) — A memorial was unveiled Monday to Christabel Pankhurst, leader of the suffragette movement which won vote for women.

American-born Lady Astor, first woman to sit in the British House of Commons, led the assemblage of ex-suffragettes at the unveiling ceremony.

The memorial is in Victoria Tower Gardens next to the Parliament buildings. It is a low semicircular wall incorporating a bronze relief of Miss Pankhurst, who died last year. Lady Churchill, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Mrs. Pandit, the Indian high commissioner, were among the 700 who subscribed to the memorial.

Lord Kilmuir, a former home secretary, told the ex-suffragettes that as long ago as 1848 a resolution was passed in Parliament that householders should be allowed to vote, irrespective of their sex. But it took 70 years of uncompromising struggle before the women's vote was achieved, he added.

