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**"IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE": THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
MOVEMENTS OF MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK**

By

Shannon M. Risk

B.A. University of Northern Iowa, 1994

M.A. University of Maine, 1996

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
(in History)

The Graduate School  
University of Maine

May 2009

Advisory Committee

Marli F. Weiner †, Professor of History, Advisor

Richard W. Judd, Professor of History, Advisor

Amy Fried, Associate Professor of Political Science

Mazie Hough, Associate Director Women in Curriculum

Scott W. See, Professor of History

Carol Nordstrom Toner, Maine Studies Program Director and

Research Associate

† Deceased

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Shannon M. Risk

May 2009

**"IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE": THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY WOMAN SUFFRAGE  
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By Shannon M. Risk

Thesis Advisor: Dr. Marli F. Weiner †  
Dr. Richard Judd

An Abstract of the Thesis Presented  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
(in History)  
May 2009

The study of the nineteenth-century woman suffrage movements in Maine and New Brunswick brings to light the struggles of Americans and Canadians to define a wider democracy and citizenry amid times of profound socio-economic changes. Targeting the struggle for the female vote allows the historian to explore time-honored ideas about womanhood, manhood, and membership in a national political body.

In the Borderlands of Maine and New Brunswick, a place where historians see cultural connections, the border loomed large. Borderlands historians have virtually ignored women's political behavior in this region. This study will demonstrate that although Maine and New Brunswick women both tapped into the ideals of the Enlightenment and individual and property rights, their political work diverged by the turn of the twentieth century. The women, with a history of working together on issues of temperance, religion and slavery that transcended the border, were more tuned into the work of their national organizations and political structures when it came to suffrage.

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† Deceased

Maine woman suffrage was shaped by the American Revolutionary War and its ideals, the rights of citizens, which allowed for a process of professionalization and radicalism. Maine women also had training in the anti-slavery movement, which strengthened their ideas about woman suffrage. By the turn of the twentieth century, Maine suffragists had strong ties to national and international suffrage organizations, and drew upon these to bolster their own stateside cause.

In New Brunswick, the Loyalist legacy continued, in the nineteenth century, with its emphasis on hierarchy and the importance of property ownership, to influence ideas about suffrage and women's place in society. Despite a brief blossoming of female leadership connected to the Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Saint John suffragists, female reformers could not always target the vote as their chief goal, nor did they attempt to fight for it as citizens, but rather, as property owners. In this respect, the New Brunswick suffrage movement was dampened by the social gospel movement that sought to bring religion to the streets, other women's reform causes, and the limitations of land-owning suffrage, by the early twentieth century.

**DEDICATION**

For my grandfather, William Franklin Ball

And Marli F. Weiner

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Since the 1930s, when the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace series, The Relations of Canada and the United States, was undertaken to illuminate the complex relationship between Canada and the United States, historians have focused on what is known as a "Borderlands" society. They have proposed that in New England and Atlantic Canada, the inhabitants were closely tied by history, economics, politics, and culture. Thus far, however, borderlands historians have not addressed how this theory applies to women, specifically in terms of women's politics.<sup>1</sup>

A comparative history of the nineteenth century woman suffrage movements of Maine and New Brunswick complicates this thesis of congruity. Applying borderlands thinking assumes that Maine and New Brunswick suffragists observed a fluid border, corresponding with each other, trading pro-woman's vote tactics, and, in general, giving each other support in the movement. But this was not the case. Rather, women in both places operated fairly independently of each other. They were more tied to their national suffrage organizations. In Maine, the suffragists were able to keep their work for the franchise separate

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<sup>1</sup> Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Series, The Relations of the United States and Canada (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-1943). Historian P.A. Buckner believed that the border was important. See his and other examples of borderlands history in Stephen J. Hornsby, Victor A. Konrad, and James J. Herlan, The Northeastern Borderlands; Four Centuries of Interaction (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), especially 64-96, and 152; Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, editors, New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), specifically, Graeme Wynn's "Peeping Through the Cracks: Seeking Connections, Comparisons, and Understanding in Unstable Space," 295. Within this series, only Betsy Beattie addressed women's history by looking at the impact of outmigration of Maritime women to the "Boston States."

from that of the prohibitionists (although they received considerable support from pro-temperance advocates). Maine suffragists continued to argue for the vote as a right of citizens. In New Brunswick, the vote was tied to property ownership, and suffragists argued that single property-owning women should be included. Also, in New Brunswick, temperance was closely tied to the suffrage movement, and it led to fragmentation among the suffrage ranks by the turn of the twentieth century. While the Maine suffragists continued to engage their political representatives in the early twentieth century, the social gospel movement - a concentrated effort by clergy and reformers to take religion to the streets - and political disagreements all but swallowed up the energies of the New Brunswick suffragists.<sup>2</sup> Adding to the complexity of women's politics in the borderlands region was the outcome of both movements: New Brunswick women gained the parliamentary vote in 1918 and the provincial vote in 1919. Despite the continuity of their movement in the early twentieth century, Maine women achieved the vote later, for state and federal elections in 1920.

If the woman suffrage movements in both places operated independently of each other, is there any value in comparing the two? This challenge of the borderlands thesis is useful in that it shows how and why woman suffragists in Maine and New Brunswick did not associate closely with those across the border, especially since there was a marked fluidity of people crossing between the two countries.<sup>3</sup> Indeed,

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<sup>2</sup> By the late 1890s, the Saint John suffragists established the headquarters for agitation. See Mary Eileen Clarke, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, 1894-1919." M.A. Thesis. (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1979), 80-96, for details on the fragmentation of this group.

<sup>3</sup> Bruno Ramirez, in Crossing the 49<sup>th</sup> Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), demonstrated that Anglo New Brunswickers and Nova Scotians moved back and forth across the national border into Maine and

there were two political movements developing in close geographical proximity, but still operating under their national value systems. Their goals were nuanced in the frame of unique regional culture and nation building in both countries.

The split in suffrage strategies can be linked to the early history of Canada and the United States. Although woman suffragists of the nineteenth century in both places drew on the ideas of the Enlightenment and democratic principles, they had different ideas about how to go about obtaining the vote. The two movements were certainly aware of each other, and tracked each other's progress, but they remained provincial.

Maine suffragists were part of the legacy of Republican Motherhood, while New Brunswick suffragists came from a Loyalist ancestry that incorporated liberal ideas in the nineteenth century. Historians Mary Beth Norton and Linda Kerber published studies of how the American Revolutionary War transformed women's lives, particularly in terms of their political participation. Women, in colonial times, for the most part, were not part of the political dialogue; they were raised to be wives, mothers, and household mistresses. Their education was limited to the training they received from their mothers in needlework, cooking, and the like. If American females did receive an education, it was centered in the arts: music, fancy needlepoint, and dance. The American Revolution changed all that.<sup>4</sup>

Norton detailed how women's work was crucial to the success of the Revolution, and how their work became politicized. Kerber added to

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Massachusetts with relative ease up through the 1890s. See pages 11-14, 23-24, 107, 112.

<sup>4</sup> See Laura Fecych Sprague, Agreeable Situations: Society, Commerce, and Art in Southern Maine, 1780-1830 (Kennebunk, Maine: Northeastern University Press, 1987), for details on the cultural lives of girls and women in Maine after the War.

this thesis, writing that before 1770, women did not have a lot of experience in petitioning their governments for redress of their grievances. This too, changed, and women used what means they had to influence the government. What developed was the concept of Republican Motherhood. A virtuous woman in post-war America had a small foothold in the political dialogue of the day. She could aspire to be politically aware, obtain an academy education that increased her literacy to that close to her male counterpart, and turn this awareness and education towards operating a well-run household, and, perhaps more importantly, raising civic-minded boys.<sup>5</sup> This worked for the first generation of women, to a certain degree, but their daughters had different ideas about their political role in society.

In the early years of the republic, women were still expected to perform domestic roles, but Norton and Kerber noted a significant shift in their options, and access to a wider spectrum of activities, many of them political. Elite women expressed these thoughts in private letters and in public documents. The confidential words of Abigail Adams to her husband, John Adams, second president of the United States, asked him to, "remember the ladies," in his nation-building efforts. Abigail's wishes fell on deaf ears.<sup>6</sup> Adams's contemporaries, Judith Sargent Murray and Mercy Otis Warren, the latter of whom wrote a history of the Revolution, posed the sentiment to the greater public. Other women expressed their frustrations differently: through bread riots in New

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<sup>5</sup> Daughters were not expected or trained to engage in the political arena. See Mary Beth Norton, Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1980); Linda Kerber, Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

<sup>6</sup> Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776, Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society  
[http://www.masshist.org/adams/manuscripts\\_1.cfm](http://www.masshist.org/adams/manuscripts_1.cfm).

Jersey; in Philadelphia, by forming a society to aid the Revolution; and, for Loyalist women, by requesting recompense from the British government for their sufferings.

In post-war America, women petitioned their local and national government for pensions, relief from bad marriages, property disputes, and so on. They entered marriages with pre-nuptial agreements, curbed the number of children they bore, and read and discussed tracts from the first generation of modern female philosophers like Mary Wollstonecraft, Frances Wright, and Margaret Fuller.

What ideas did the female philosophers offer to a new generation of politically-minded American women? And how did these ideas help to inspire the suffrage movement that followed by the mid-nineteenth century? The most well known of the female intellectuals, or bluestockings, was an English woman named Mary Wollstonecraft. A school teacher in a girls' academy in England, Wollstonecraft developed a broad design for women's equality that included equal, useful, and physical education for girls, so that they might engage in the professions (from which women were barred in the late eighteenth century); separate legal rights from their fathers, brothers, husbands, or other male familial representatives; and the rights of citizenship, mainly, the absolute right to participate in a Republican government. Wollstonecraft's untimely death silenced her call for female equality, but other women continued her sentiments across the Atlantic into the new century.<sup>7</sup>

Wollstonecraft's ideas were built upon by a Scotswoman-turned-American. Frances "Fanny" Wright was born in Scotland in 1796 to

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<sup>7</sup> Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, The Wollstonecraft Debate, Criticism, editor Carol H. Poston (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988, second edition).

comfortably well-off parents. She was orphaned by age three and lived with a cruel aunt during her early years, and with a benevolent, scholarly uncle during her teen years. From this experience, she was able to comprehend the enormous disadvantages placed on women, and the power that an advanced education could bring to them. Wright became fascinated by the American republican experiment and traveled to the new country as soon as she could. Her early views, published in the form of letters to a friend, greatly extolled the virtues of the Americans, but subsequent trips to the United States soured her, especially in regards to the status of women.<sup>8</sup> How could a nation fostered on individual liberties, Wright questioned, deny civil rights to women?

Wright soon began to pour her enormous energy and talent into the formation of a new kind of community, perched on the banks of the Nashoba River near Memphis, Tennessee. "Nashoba" was Wright's utopian dream, fostered by Robert Owen and his son, Robert Dale Owen, who were conducting their own social experiment in New Harmony, Indiana. Nashoba blended white and black settlers, to prove that men and women, black and white, could live and prosper together. Wright had hoped to demonstrate, through the example of Nashoba, that all were created equally. Wright's community ultimately failed, however, due to lack of financial support, and a very public scandal about free love principles advocated within the community. Wright's progressive ideas would not find a home in 1828 America.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Frances Wright, Views of Society and Manners in America: In a Series of Letters from That Country to a Friend in England, During the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820 (New York: Printed for E. Bliss and E. White, 1821).

<sup>9</sup> Frances Wright, Course of Popular Lectures as Delivered by Frances Wright in New York, Philadelphia, ...and Other Cities...of the United States. With Three Addresses on Public Occasions, and a Reply to the



Thus began Wright's most significant contribution to suffragists in the late nineteenth century - that of publicly speaking and writing on the equality of women and the need for women's participation in a republican government. Wright, probably the best-traveled woman of her time, spoke to sell-out audiences across the east coast and into the new West of Ohio and Indiana. Although her ideas fell out of favor by the late 1830s, a few women remembered her bravery as the first woman to address a co-gendered audience on the lecture-circuit.<sup>10</sup>

By the early 1840s, American women, like transcendentalist Margaret Fuller, reformer Ernestine Rose, and abolitionists Angelina and Sarah Grimké, continued to break ground in public speaking, writing, and general agitation for their political beliefs, despite heavy resistance from the general population.<sup>11</sup> All of this culminated in the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, New York, called by Mary Anne McClintock, Lucretia Mott, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, all beneficiaries of the first academies for girls. The convention lasted three days in late July and finished with its own feminist document on citizenship: The Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions.<sup>12</sup> As is well known among women's historians, Elizabeth Cady Stanton held her ground in asking for the right of woman to vote to be placed in the new Declaration. Her only supporter, ex-slave and orator Frederick Douglass,

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Charges Against the French Reformers of 1789 (New York: Office of the Free Enquirer, 1829).

<sup>10</sup> Frances Wright, Life, Letters, and Lectures, 1834/1844 (New York: Arno Press, 1972).

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Fuller, Woman in the Nineteenth Century (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999; New York: Greeley & McElrath, 1845); Carol E. Kolmerten, The American Life of Ernestine L. Rose (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1999); and Gerda Lerner, The Grimké Sisters from South Carolina: Pioneers for Woman's Rights and Abolition (New York: Schocken Books, 1971).

<sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, McClintock, Elizabeth, and Mott, Lucretia, Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments and Resolutions 19 July 1848, taken from Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joselyn Gage, and Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage vol. I (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1881).

argued so eloquently that the motion was kept. Stanton, Douglass, and the other attendees believed that women deserved rights as citizens of the United States on par with men. They used the nation's founding documents as their template to make this argument.

The Loyalist women of eastern Canada left a different legacy. To be sure, they tapped into the ideas of the female Enlightenment thinkers, but they also upheld the Loyalist tradition. Society in New Brunswick, in the days after the American Revolutionary War, was founded upon a rigid hierarchy, eschewing individual liberties in favor of law and order and membership in the British Empire. In this respect, did women's participation in Loyalist society delay liberalism, and, in turn, affect the woman suffrage movement in the long run? Until recently, very little was written of the women who either left, fled, or were removed from the United States after the War. Works by Mary Beth Norton, Janice Potter-MacKinnon, and Atlantic Canadian women's historians, headed by Margaret Conrad, paved the way for a greater analysis of female Loyalist experiences by the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>13</sup> Although Potter-MacKinnon studied women who left the United States for Ontario - not New Brunswick -, her thesis was that despite their desperate situation, Loyalist women's very survival indicated their fortitude. The rejection by the Loyalists of American revolutionary principles and the right of individual liberties over the leadership of a monarch and parliament, fostered an atmosphere of continued pro-British culture in Canada, but did not detract from women's desire to improve their lives.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Margaret Conrad, et. al., "Loyalist Women in New Brunswick" <http://atlanticportal.hil.unb.ca/acva/loyalistwomen/en/about/>.

<sup>14</sup> But, as Jerry Bannister asserted, by the nineteenth century, Loyalism became infused with liberalism. See "Canada as Counter-Revolution: The Loyalist Order Framework in Canadian History, 1750-1840," in Jean-

Loyalist women in New Brunswick experienced their own version of Republican Motherhood. Similarly, they attended the early female academies, both in Canada and the United States (though Canadian academies, like the population, in general, were scarcer than those in the United States), read widely through novels (Kerber noted that novels were the one medium in those times that featured female protagonists), and hoped to shape their sons' and daughters' lives in the British tradition.<sup>15</sup> The government of New Brunswick consisted of a male hierarchy based on the British model. Meanwhile, provincial leaders, like those elsewhere in British North America, sought to define their place in the British Empire and their tenuous geographic position next door to an emerging and unpredictable power – the United States.

A strong part of society building in New Brunswick centered on being "loyal" to British traditions, while discouraging any "American" behavior: selfishness, lawlessness, and lack of social hierarchy. According to legal historian David V.J. Bell, the American Revolution "produced not one country but two: a nation and a non-nation."<sup>16</sup> But did that mean that the "non-nation," British North America, lacked a national political identity? John Brebner, writing in the mid-1940s, saw the Loyalist character forming in the late eighteenth century because they *had* to develop a new identity. Brebner made the case that

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François Constant and Michel Ducharme, Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Deborah Cottnam provided educational instruction to the Winslow daughters in New Brunswick after the war, <http://atlanticportal.hil.unb.ca/acva/loyalistwomen/en/context/biographies/cottnam.html>; Davies, Gwendolyn, "Consolation to Distress: Loyalist Literary Activity in the Maritimes," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (Spring 1987): 51-68; Kerber, *Women of the Republic*, 263.

<sup>16</sup> David V.J. Bell, "The Loyalist Tradition in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 5 (May 1970), 22.

the differences between American and Canadian identity were very few. He wrote, "The Loyalist builds an American society and calls it by British names."<sup>17</sup> In 1965 Seymour Martin Lipset built upon Brebner's early scholarship, describing the Canadian Loyalist tradition as one that encompassed:

A counter-revolutionary past, a continuing need to differentiate itself from the United States, the influence of monarchical institutions, a dominant Anglican religious tradition, and a less individualistic and more governmentally-controlled frontier expansion than was present on the United States Frontier.<sup>18</sup>

Lipset's view reflected many elements of the woman suffrage movement, mainly an adherence to socio-political hierarchy, a close relationship with the church, and a sense of societal order (The Anglican influence, however, faded as the years passed). H.A. Morton underlined this feeling of belonging and order of the Loyalists. When the Americans sought revolution, they placed their economy, trade relations, and populations in a state of flux. Loyalists believed that only through the British Empire could a citizen have economic, social, and political options. Belonging to an empire ensured access to non-domestic markets, a sense of political stability, and a sense of *identity*. Loyalists, claimed Morton, could still be individuals without having to give up the "family."<sup>19</sup> Finally, John Herd Thompson and Stephen J. Randall argued that post-revolutionary Canadian society was "spiritually British, but materially American."<sup>20</sup> These concepts played out in the

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<sup>17</sup> John B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945), 24-25.

<sup>18</sup> Seymour M. Lipset, "Revolution and the Counter Revolution - the United States and Canada," in Thomas R. Ford, ed., The Revolutionary Theme in Contemporary America (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1965), 23.

<sup>19</sup> H.A. Morton, "The American Revolution: A View from the North," Journal of Canadian Studies 7 (May 1972), 45-46.

<sup>20</sup> Canada and the United States: Ambivalent Allies (Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1994), 16-17; for another treatment of male Loyalist exiles (and some female content), see Ann Gorman Condon,

woman suffrage movements of the northeastern Borderlands. Maine women argued that their right to vote was based on the founding of the United States and its emphasis on the rights of citizens. New Brunswick women seized upon the widening of property-owning male franchise in the 1880s to make their case.

Loyalists in New Brunswick envisioned and tried to realize a hierarchical system, wherein a sympathetic, but wise, monarch ably led law-abiding citizens. Loyalists looked on, in disgust, as their former American homeland was transformed into what they viewed as a lawless, raucous, and unstable populace-led government. They were convinced that the republican system as conceived by Americans could not work and would quickly fall apart.<sup>21</sup>

Within all of the past, male-centric interpretations of the Loyalists, was there evidence of an emerging liberal society under the British monarchy if the elite still ruled in New Brunswick and greater Canada? And what of the new ruling elite in the United States? How did continuing elite leadership affect Maine and New Brunswick women in the coming century? Women's fates were heavily influenced both by a king in New Brunswick, but also by their immediate male relatives (as well as not so immediate males in their lives) in this "family hierarchy" in both places. In New Brunswick, did women have a different role to play

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The Loyalist Dream for New Brunswick: The Envy of the American States (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Ireland Press, 1984); Condon wrote, "perhaps this sentiment (leaving America for fear, necessity, pride and pangs of separation) would be felt by their womanfolk, those faithful companions of the Loyalists who never fired a shot or wrote a pamphlet, but who endured all the sufferings that war and exile inevitably bring," 38.

<sup>21</sup> Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, 46; Bell wrote, "The debate did not juxtapose one ideology with another. Instead it featured the conflict of two views of the existing situation derived from identical premises." Whigs endorsed the American Revolution; while Tories saw British blunders as 'stupid' but not 'tyrannical', "The Loyalist Tradition," 22. Bell also conjectured that the Loyalists were "Revolutionary waste material!" 29.

than Maine women in building a society out of the wilderness? Family units would be the foundation of a new world, crucial to the health of the new state. With these expectations, did Maine and New Brunswick women, emerging out of the ashes of the American Revolution, actively shape their own political futures?

Historian Mary Beth Norton was the first to tap the voluminous Loyalist claims housed at the Public Record Office in London to get at the experiences of Loyalist women.<sup>22</sup> Norton argued that women did a great deal to help shape Loyalist society in Revolutionary times. The family was seen as the central unit in society, and women were supposedly queens of their domain. But Norton and other historians also documented the feeling of helplessness and despair that Loyalist women felt, with only prayer, resignation and fortitude to see them through. There was still, in their world, a strict division by sex in society.<sup>23</sup>

The early experiences of Canadian Loyalist women paint a picture of resilience, but also of pride in a law-abiding, hierarchical, and patriarchal society. Historian Margaret Conrad's work, "Recording Angels: The Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1950," focused on women living in pre- and post-Revolutionary War times. Conrad and others disagreed that the Maritimes

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<sup>22</sup> Mary Beth Norton, "Eighteenth-Century American Women in Peace and War: The Case of the Loyalists," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ser., Vol. 33, No. 3 (July 1976), 386-409; There are 281 Loyalist women's claims on record.

<sup>23</sup> See also Beatrice Spence Ross, "Adaptation in Exile: Loyalist Women in Nova Scotia After the American Revolution," Dissertation (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1981), 106; and the same author under a different name, "Beatrice Ross Buszek," entitled, "'By Fortune Wounded': Loyalist Women in Nova Scotia," *Nova Scotia Historical Review* 7, 2 (1987): 45-62: 45-46; Norton described the discrimination the women faced in their claims to the British Government due to the fact that they did not directly serve in the King's army and also the pervading idea that women (or their children) did not need as much as men to survive; see also Mary Beth Norton, *The British-Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1972).

were a place of social conservatism. This image endured, she argued, because of the lack of scholarship since Catherine Cleverdon's pioneering work, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada. Historians in central Canada, like Cleverdon, interpreted New Brunswick women's actions as conservative, despite evidence, especially in the realm of temperance, to the contrary.

Conrad, along with several other historians, began work in the 1980s on the Maritime Women's Archives Project, in which they attempted to gather as many primary sources on women's history as they could. Using some of this material, Conrad shaped her article with the largely unexploited and rich collection of materials left behind by women in the Maritimes. Conrad acknowledged that the bulk of the material dated from the 1850s to the present and she cautioned the researcher that this body of material held class and ethnic biases: "Diaries were written overwhelmingly by Protestant, Anglo-Saxon women from rural and small-town environments." Indian, black and Acadian women were left out of the picture. Also, to be noted was that after 1850, new influxes of immigrants re-shaped the demography of the region. Conrad touched on works by Mary Fisher, Sarah Frost, Hannah Ingraham, Elizabeth Johnston, and Rebecca Byles. Their diaries and correspondence revealed that these Maritime women were educated and their letters encompassed women's rights, discussions of the status of women, as well as what was expected of Loyalist women in society.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Margaret Conrad, "Recording Angels: The Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1950," in The Neglected Majority: Essays on Canadian Women's History, Volume 2, edited by Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1985), 41-60. Conrad believed that the lack of Indian, black, and Acadian women's written materials may have correlated to a bias "of public record collections and the largely oral culture of Maritimers of non-British origin;" See Leslie Francis S. Upton, Micmacs and Colonists: Indian White Relations in the Maritimes, 1713-1867

Until recently, there were few assessments of Loyalist women. Gail Campbell wrote in 1990 about the paucity of Atlantic Canadian women's research. At that time, Campbell lamented:

The women of Atlantic Canada were not more silent, less notable, less active or less worthy than their western counterparts; there have, to date been no scholarly monographs or books of essays that focus exclusively on the [women's] history of the region.<sup>25</sup>

Even now, there remains a large body of records to be tapped by the academic community. Some records, however, were not saved. One historian said this latter issue was a "reflection of the bleak society in exile."<sup>26</sup>

Conrad and colleagues, after years of work, attempted to rectify this paucity of information by launching a website devoted to the "letters, diaries, memoirs, poems, and newspaper records" of Loyalist women in New Brunswick, <http://atlanticportal.hil.unb.ca/acva/loyalistwomen/>. The site features works from five Winslow women (a prominent Loyalist family in New Brunswick): Penelope, Sarah, Mary, Penelope (niece), and Hannah, as well as Mary Symonds Winslow, whose lives encompassed the years of Loyalist exile and rebuilding. Five other women's pieces are also displayed here: Deborah Cottnam, Polly Dibblee, Sarah Frost, Hannah Ingraham, and Sylvia Johnson. Their writing revealed a combination of helplessness and agency, support of the British government and cultural framework, and rejection of the American Revolution. The women were also adamant and outspoken in their communiqués, demonstrating the roots of New Brunswick female intellectual thought.

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(Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1979) for more information on this issue; Catherine Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada (Toronto: The University of Toronto, 1972).

<sup>25</sup> Gail Campbell, "Canadian Women's History: A View from Atlantic Canada," *Acadiensis* 20 (1) Autumn 1990, 192.

<sup>26</sup> Buszek, "By Fortune Wounded," 47.



Some of the Loyalist refugees to Nova Scotia (a part of which later became New Brunswick) had only survival on their minds. Sarah Frost was a young married woman from Connecticut whose entries covered a tumultuous month. The very pregnant Frost and her husband and children, along with 250 other passengers, were gathered on a ship called the *Two Sisters*, anchored off the coast of New York City, from May 25 to June 15, 1783. Her diary offers a poignant reminder of the stress under which the Loyalists traveled. Frost described the mood of the passengers as they waited day to day for news that their ship would depart for Nova Scotia. Their fleet waited upon other ships from other places, in order to depart en masse: "We bear it pretty well through the day, but as it grows towards night, one child cries in one place and one in another, whilst we are getting them to bed. I think sometimes I shall be crazy." By June 15, the winds were suitable and fifteen other ships, containing a total of 2,000 people, launched from New York harbor the migration of the Loyalist exiles. Frost reported their adversity: "We have measles very bad on board our ship." Her diary ceased, not in the safe haven of Halifax, but rather as the exiles reached the Saint John River in New Brunswick where they were informed that they would found a new settlement eventually called Kingston, thirty miles up the river. The continuing theme of suffering and ill preparedness was apparent in Frost's diary: "We are all ordered to land to-morrow, and not a shelter to go under."<sup>27</sup> Another passenger, Mrs. Mary Fisher, reminisced: "How we lived through that awful winter, I hardly know. There were mothers who had been reared in a pleasant

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<sup>27</sup> Walter Bates, Kingston and the Loyalists of the "Spring Fleet" of 1783 (Saint John, New Brunswick: Barnes and Company, 1889; reprint, Fredericton, New Brunswick: Centennial Print & Litho Ltd., 1980), 28-32.

country enjoying all the comforts of life, with helpless children in their arms."<sup>28</sup>

Once in Nova Scotia, others, like Sally Winslow struggled to survive. She wrote her brother, Edward in England on the status of the family in March 1784, reporting that a servant girl had stolen their money, with only a portion of it recovered. "But its gone," Winslow lamented, and resolved that, "we must make the best of it. Do you come to us, my dear friend?"<sup>29</sup> With almost everything lost, New Brunswick Loyalist women relied on their family ties to see them through such tough times. Some, however, were not so fortunate, as family ties were often severed during the war as well.

Writing in 1787 from New Brunswick, widow Polly Dibblee documented her family's impoverished misery on the new frontier: "I have been twice burnt out and left destitute of food and raiment; and in this dreary country I know not where to find relief. For poverty has expelled friendship and charity from the human heart and planted in its stead the law of self-preservation, which scarcely can preserve alive the rustic hero in this frozen climate and barren wilderness. O gracious God, that I should live to see such times under the protection of a British government for whose sake we have done and suffered every thing, but that of dying."<sup>30</sup>

But the women of New Brunswick were also enterprising and not afraid to lay claim to the promises of the British government. For

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<sup>28</sup> "The Grandmother's Story," in Peter Fisher, The First History of New Brunswick, ed., W.O. Raymond (Reprint, Woodstock, 1980), 126-130. See the appendices in Ross' dissertation for more excerpts from Loyalist women's writings.

<sup>29</sup> Letter from Sarah Winslow to Edward Winslow, 8 March 1784, [n.p.]. Loyalist Women in New Brunswick, 1783-1827, Atlantic Canada Virtual Archives, document no. 17\_114.

<sup>30</sup> Letter from Polly Dibblee to William Jarvis, 17 November 1787, Kingston. Loyalist Women in New Brunswick, 1783-1827, Atlantic Canada Virtual Archives, document no. 13\_41.

example, in 1784, Sarah Winslow was given power of attorney by her mother Hannah and her sister Penelope in order to travel to England to appeal on their behalf for compensation.<sup>31</sup>

And when they could, women sought reading and education to better their minds, despite such dire circumstances. Deborah Cottnam taught school in Saint John and wrote poetry. Her work, "A Piece for a Sampler," demonstrated the importance of cultivating a woman's mind. "Expand your Genius in its prime," she wrote, "Your mind inform, improve your time."<sup>32</sup> Hannah Ingraham, a young girl of eleven when her family fled the United States and settled near Fredericton, recalled her sacrifices in order to gain an education, even towing her lame brother in a sled in the snow so that her father would allow her yet one more semester at school.<sup>33</sup> Sarah Winslow asked Ward Chipman, "If you have any newspapers or magazines you can spare do favour me with them. I am very desirous to see something new, have nothing to read."<sup>34</sup> Penelope Winslow, writing in 1814, requested of her brother, Edward Winslow, "Should my father ever have another box coming across the Atlantic I wish, my dear Edward, you would throw in a few books no matter what they are or whether they are bound. You have no idea how much we feel the want of such articles."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Letter from Hannah and Penelope Winslow to Sarah Winslow, 1 November 1784, [n.p.]. Loyalist Women in New Brunswick, 1783-1827, Atlantic Canada Virtual Archives, document no. 4\_04.

<sup>32</sup> Carole Gerson and Gwendolyn Davies, editors, Canadian Poetry: From the Beginnings Through the First World War (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc, 1994), 32-34.

<sup>33</sup> "Reminiscences of Hannah Ingraham, 1772-1868 [9]," *Generations: The Journal of the New Brunswick Genealogical Society*, 19, 4 (Winter 1997): 26-29.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from Sarah Winslow to Ward Chipman, 8 January 1788, Fredericton. Loyalist Women in New Brunswick, 1783-1827, Atlantic Canada Virtual Archives, document no. raymond\_1788\_01\_08.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Penelope Winslow Jenkins to Edward Winslow, 21 August 1814, [n.p.]. Loyalist Women in New Brunswick, 1783-1827, Atlantic

Black, white, rich, poor, or living under duress, in the end, Loyalist women in the Maritimes did the best they could. In their hardships, they reaffirmed their identity within the British Empire; but simmering under the surface was a pride in survival - a pride that would aid their granddaughters in their struggle to attain the vote. Beatrice Buszek wrote: "Mothers reluctantly muted their expectations, and settled for a roof over their heads and food on the shelves." Loyalist women persisted and made a life for themselves, passing on to the second generation their value system under patriarchy. The Loyalist women in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia contrasted with the image of the "stoic, long-suffering, self-sacrificial female, who bore her unhappiness bravely, worked from dawn to dusk, fulfilled the words of the Scriptures, [and] carried her lot in life without complaint."<sup>36</sup>

Canadian literature has also reflected this Loyalist experience. The themes seen in Loyalist literature emerged again in the New Brunswick suffrage movement. Mary Jane Edwards pointed to "The earnest moral values, lofty religious beliefs, and law, order, and hierarchy," in her article, "Early Canadian Literature in English: A Survey and a Challenge." Gwendolyn Davies's study, "Consolation to Distress: Loyalist Literary Activity in the Maritimes," argued that the Loyalists left behind "an identifiable literary tradition."<sup>37</sup> This tradition fed cultural values for the coming century - manifesting itself in the woman suffragists' desire to pursue the vote in very structured ways (tied to property ownership), to keep close ties with the church, and to eschew the actions of radical British suffragettes.

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Canada Virtual Archives, document no. 39\_45. Original document: MG H2 The Winslow Family Papers, vol. 39, no. 45.

<sup>36</sup> Buszek, "By Fortune Wounded," 60.

<sup>37</sup> Mary Jane Edwards, "Early Canadian Literature in English: A Survey and a Challenge," College English, Vol. 51, No. 5 (September 1989), 508-516; Davies, "Consolation to Distress," 51.

Women's social actions expressed their political views, and contributed to the political fabric of the Loyalist experience. Gail Campbell believed that "historians need to reformulate old definitions of politics, broadening their perspective in order to take women's as well as men's political activities into account."<sup>38</sup> By reviewing the early roots of the Loyalist tradition in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, it was apparent to the author that these women adapted to the "universal confusion" of the Revolutionary War and postwar years. They did not choose to uproot themselves and settle in a new and undeveloped land. They did, however, claim their destinies by continuing the traditions from their homeland. They followed dutifully the lines of patriarchy and hierarchy where they existed in urban centers, and pursued their just reward in claims filed after the war. They also passed on their value system to the next generations through child-rearing practices. In this way, they overcame the setbacks of a wilderness existence in their new homeland in British North America.

Repeatedly, the suffragists called upon the memory or the writings of early reformers. Thus, this early history is crucial to understanding the greater woman suffrage movements in both Canada and the United States. They worked towards the principles advanced by Wollstonecraft, Wright, Fuller and the rest, whether they fully acknowledged them or not.

The following study, though not comprehensive, looks at how woman suffrage movements of Maine and New Brunswick developed side by side, despite what some historians have called a somewhat "porous" border.<sup>39</sup> In Chapter Two, the development of the new American republic and British North America are examined against the backdrop of women's

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<sup>38</sup> Campbell, "Canadian Women's History," 197.

<sup>39</sup> Wynn, "New England's Outpost," 67.

political work. In Maine, women gained experience in benevolent groups and applied this experience and the rhetoric of the Revolutionary War to the burgeoning cause for woman suffrage. To them, the promise of the republic remained unfulfilled until all of its citizenry had the right to vote. One community - Ellsworth - was particularly active due to the efforts of three women. These women promoted the first woman's rights and woman suffrage activities in the state, less than a decade after the Woman's Rights Convention of Seneca Falls. In New Brunswick, women's political work still existed within a Loyalist frame: however, as Jerry Bannister suggested, liberalism and Loyalist ideas co-existed in the nineteenth century.<sup>40</sup> New Brunswick women attempted to vote in small-town elections based on property qualifications, they promoted female educational institutions, and they formed benevolent groups, but they did not advance woman suffrage in the years leading up to Canadian Confederation. Finally, this chapter looks at how the 1848 Seneca Falls Woman's Rights Convention influenced women on both sides of the border.

Chapter Three explores the aftermath of American Civil War and Canadian Confederation. In Maine, a charismatic woman suffrage leader emerged: John Neal. There was no similar figure in New Brunswick to marshal suffrage forces at the time. In both places, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) took root in the 1870s, but in Maine, it existed simultaneously with woman suffrage, sharing some of the same leaders. This chapter looks at reasons why woman suffrage was not promoted earlier than the 1880s in New Brunswick. Were New Brunswickers

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<sup>40</sup> Bannister, "Canada as Counter-Revolution," 1. Bannister wrote: "We have to understand Canada as not just a modern liberal order but also the product of an early modern loyalist order. This loyalist order preceded the apotheosis of liberalism and ensured that the nascent liberal order in British North America remained distinct from the American one. I want to suggest that Canada is, at bottom, an experiment in counter-revolution fueled as much by its imperial legacy and external relations as by its domestic imperatives."

burdened with the complications of nation building, economic downturn, outmigration, and a stagnancy of old Loyalist political leadership?

By the 1880s, suffragism was a hot topic in both Maine and New Brunswick. Chapter Four examines the petition campaigns for woman suffrage in both regions, the Maine Woman Suffrage Association conventions and the lack of such gatherings in New Brunswick. In the former, national suffrage leadership developed by the late 1840s; in the latter, the first national suffrage activity came from Toronto in 1883. No official suffrage organization in the province developed until the 1890s. Was this due to the power of the Maritime WCTU to distract from strictly suffrage intentions? Or did the M-WCTU actually foster greater suffrage effort than would have existed otherwise? The open suffrage debates of the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly on manhood and womanhood suffrage produced a widening of manhood suffrage by 1889 and "spinster/widow" municipal suffrage in 1886. Why, despite all of the suffrage work, did Maine women not gain municipal suffrage at this time? Did their stance on gaining the vote due to citizenship rather than property ownership stymie their cause?

In Chapter Five, the anti-suffragist strategies in Maine and New Brunswick are presented. How did anti-suffrage forces differ in Maine and New Brunswick? In Maine, an elite female anti-suffrage group operated out of Portland and used petitions to make its point. In New Brunswick, the MLAs (Member of Legislative Assembly) functioned in the same role. Does this latter development relate again to the co-existence of liberalism and Loyalism? This chapter also looks to the words of the most outspoken and published British opponent - Goldwyn Smith, who influenced Canadian politics (as well as British Parliament) at the time.

By the 1890s, the Maine Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA) had experience in stumping for its cause. In New Brunswick, the suffragists of Saint John took a leadership role and formed the Woman's Enfranchisement Association. Both groups worked with leaders from the WCTU. Chapter Six discusses the strengthening of the MWSA in Maine and the advent of the Social Gospel in New Brunswick. In Maine, the antis helped to spur the now all-female led MWSA to higher professionalism at the turn of the century. Because of this, their organization, despite its ideological shift to maternal feminism, continued to strongly agitate in the early 1900s. In New Brunswick, a look at the Saint John suffragists of the 1890s demonstrated the urban and rural shift from suffrage agitation to that of social reform in the Maritime Social Gospel Movement. The lack of public female opposition and the unbending anti-suffrage MLAs did nothing to strengthen the New Brunswick suffrage movement, despite the advent of a pro-suffrage Premier, Honorable Henry Emmerson, and it fragmented by the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The conclusion addresses why there were radicals (e.g. Florence Brooks Whitehouse) in Maine in the twentieth-century suffrage movement and not in New Brunswick. Gertrude Harding, the one New Brunswick radical, chose to work in England with the Pankhursts instead. Finally, the outcome of both suffrage efforts is discussed, as well as what questions remain.

This study will respond and contribute to the scant information about regional woman suffrage movements. Moreover, it will demonstrate the complexities of women's politics in a time of uncertainty about women's position in society. This study will show that Maine and New Brunswick women, seemingly relegated to the geographical outskirts of the progressive and reform movements, respectively, were a creative force that contributed to national affairs. Finally, this work will



challenge the idea that women fought for the vote for simplistic reasons, and will dispute the contention that these women agreed on one agenda only - the vote.

## Chapter 2

### "IS EQUALITY AN IDEA ONLY?"<sup>1</sup> EARLY CHALLENGES TO WOMEN'S PLACE IN MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK

The Post-Revolutionary War period was a time of self-definition for the populations of Maine and New Brunswick. In each place, the population sought to identify what it meant to be a citizen of the new country or the old, and women were a part of this inquiry. From the early 1800s through the American Civil War (1861-1865) and Canadian Confederation (1864-1867), women made tangible gains in education, benevolence work, and political reform. There was one chief difference between the two regions in the outcome of this period, however: woman suffrage agitation.

The early Loyalist population in New Brunswick worked to build a new society in what appeared to them a wilderness with very few resources. They relied on their heritage, appealed to the British government for reimbursement for what they had lost in the Revolutionary War, and came to value their property as the currency of the times. New Brunswick was established as a province in 1784 and men over age 21 were allowed to vote in elections - but this soon changed to a property franchise. The Constitutional Act of 1791 gave Thomas Carleton, the first lieutenant governor of New Brunswick instructions to establish an elected legislative assembly to complement the appointed Executive Council.<sup>2</sup>

By the early 1800s, New Brunswick had become a strong lumbering center. Businessmen, both locally and from afar, jockeyed to control

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<sup>1</sup> Quote from Mary Electa Adams, Elsie M. Pomeroy Papers at Mount Allison University Archives (Box II, Mary Electa Adams), #5001, 132.

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.gnb.ca/elections/history-e.asp>.

the land and its abundant forests, and politics became a popular pastime. An extractive economy was already in place in the Maritimes, with the British Empire relying upon New Brunswick's crop of trees for the masts of its famous fleet.<sup>3</sup> The Loyalists who settled the region established a system of patriarchy and hierarchy, which defined civil society, and leadership passed from father to son.<sup>4</sup> As Janice Potter-MacKinnon wrote about Ontario Loyalists, women's perseverance during the War, once lauded, faded in memory, and women were relegated once again to non-entities in society.<sup>5</sup>

But in the midst of the political scramble and land grab of the early 1800s, women had begun finding ways to exist and prosper in a society that afforded them few legal rights. Already acquainted with pleading their cases for war relief before the British government, women turned to other political outlets. Some female property owners tried to vote as was outlined in their provincial laws. They also used the petition to express their grievances. Although they did not have the same scholastic options, as did their American counterparts, New Brunswick women still pressed for education. Finally, they responded to what ailed society by organizing into reform groups, to achieve political voice.

Although New Brunswick women would realize their greatest gains towards the franchise in the nineteenth century, with arguments based

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<sup>3</sup> The timber trade picked up in New Brunswick during the Napoleonic Wars when Britain was cut off from its traditional supplies in the Baltic.

<sup>4</sup> See Graeme Wynn, Timber Colony: A Historical Geography of Early Nineteenth Century New Brunswick (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), and Gary Burrill and Ian McKay, editors, People, Resources, and Power (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Gorsebrook Research Institute of Atlantic Studies by Acadiensis Press, 1987), for more information about the forming Maritime economy and how it affected New Brunswickers.

<sup>5</sup> Janice Potter-MacKinnon, While the Women Only Wept: Loyalist Refugee Women in Eastern Ontario (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1993), xv.

on the rights of property ownership, their continued challenge in the face of a strict patriarchal and hierarchical society kept their views in front of male politicians throughout the century. One of their earliest attempts to test the waters came in the form of voting. Law in New Brunswick, which was based on British Law, did not forbid women to vote. As Kim Klein described in "A Petticoat Polity," women took advantage of the lack of legal restriction by voting in elections in the 1820s and 1830s. For example, in 1827, 43 women voted in Kings County; in 1830, women voted in the October election in Kent County; and in 1839, 39 women voted in Sunbury County.<sup>6</sup> The women adhered to the same legal requirements as those required of male voters; mainly they were at least 21 years of age, owned real estate in the county in which they voted, were "femmes soles," or women unattached to men by marriage, and heads of households. Klein noted that political contests in these years were "intense," and that the candidates did not discourage the women from voting, unless of course, the women voted against them. If, in fact, women did vote against the party in power, their votes were thrown out -- not because they violated the law, but because, as women, their votes did not count. It was a gendered decision.<sup>7</sup> By 1843, the New Brunswick Assembly codified the act of voting as male, attempting to bar women from political activity. But as Klein pointed out, this did not work.

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<sup>6</sup> Kim Klein, "'A Petticoat Polity'? Women Voters in New Brunswick Before Confederation", *Acadiensis*, XXVI, 1 (Autumn 1996), 71-72. See also *The Gleaner and Northumberland Schediasma*, 26 October 1830, and Ellspeth Tulloch, *We the Undersigned: A Historical Overview of New Brunswick Women's Political and Legal Status, 1784-1984* (Moncton, New Brunswick: New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1985), 3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Klein, "Petticoat Polity", 71-75. Klein cited "In the Case of Sunbury County," 1839, Controverted Elections Court Cases, RS 60C, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB); See also "In the Case of John Humbert," 1827, Controverted Elections Court Cases, RS 60C, PANB.

Disenfranchised women could not vote but they could, for example, campaign for their favoured candidates, participate in election crowds, and petition the government to address their concerns. These activities were undoubtedly more influential in the long run than the isolated episodes in which women were allowed to vote.<sup>8</sup>

These political skills, learned in the early days of male-run politics, continued into the 1840s and well beyond for New Brunswick women.

Gail Campbell agreed with Klein. She wrote: "Denial of the franchise had not prevented women from being actively involved in the political life of their communities."<sup>9</sup> Many men, too, were disenfranchised in New Brunswick due to property qualifications. Voting regulations shifted during the political turmoil in Canada in 1838. In the era just before Canadian Confederation (1867) voting was restricted as a privilege to the male, propertied class alone. Campbell focused on women petitioning in Charlotte, Sunbury, and Albert Counties in New Brunswick in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, because: "Only through the medium of petition could a woman gain official access to her government or express her views about policy to the legislators." Petitioners sought to enforce the current law or rail against it.<sup>10</sup> These women petitioned as widows seeking financial recourse due to them, as female teachers asking for the provincial school allowance, and, after 1847, as women reformers who sought to change the law.<sup>11</sup> Women in the latter group, along with men, petitioned for temperance legislation, the limiting or

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 75.

<sup>9</sup> Gail Campbell, "Disfranchised But Not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century," in P.A. Buckner and David Frank, editors, The Acadiensis Reader: Volume One - Atlantic Canada Before Confederation (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1990), 261. Campbell stated that the 1843 statute was barely noticed by society because it had always been assumed that women lacked the facility to vote. The 1843 statute was to "promote the public peace," and, Campbell said, gave sheriffs clear guidelines in deciding whether or not a scrutiny was called for, 261.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 263.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 267, 269, 275. Campbell noted that the latter group was the only one consisting of married women petitioning on their own.

complete curtailing of alcoholic beverages in their community. They saw their responsibility as a community one, according to Campbell, not an individual one, and blamed alcohol for most of society's evils. In fact, their work was so aggressive that the "monster petition" presented to the New Brunswick Legislature in 1852 contained 9,000 signatures.

Women were usually involved in ancillary roles in temperance societies in New Brunswick, but began to take independent action in 1847, when the "Ladies' Total Abstinence Society for the City and County of Saint John" submitted a temperance petition. The women of Woodstock's Victoria Union No. 4 of the Daughters of Temperance followed suit in 1850. By 1852 the Woodstock women had influenced the women of greater Fredericton to file petitions as well in the name of temperance.<sup>12</sup> They succeeded in getting a Liquor Bill passed in 1853, but it immediately came under attack. "Women who had never before signed a petition took up their pens," Campbell wrote. "They begged their legislators not to repeal the new law. Men had achieved the law; the women were determined to keep it."<sup>13</sup> Campbell said that Baptists and farm women were overrepresented among the women who signed the temperance petitions in Sunbury County in the 1850s.<sup>14</sup> Their battle was lost by 1856 in the Legislature, but women had gained more valuable political experience.

Campbell's point was that:

Politics has been regarded as an activity outside the 19<sup>th</sup> century woman's "proper sphere", as defined for her by a patriarchal society and women's political involvement is usually dated from the rise of provincial and national women's organizations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The political awareness evinced by the women who joined such organizations is viewed as a new departure, which

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<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 276-277.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 277.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 277-284

saw women becoming active outside the domestic sphere for the first time. Yet there was a far greater degree of continuity than such interpretations would lead one to expect.<sup>15</sup>

There were no efforts to question women's disfranchisement in New Brunswick., either in 1843, when it was entrenched in law, or in the following decades. When leaders of New Brunswick debated their participation in talks in Montreal, Quebec and Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island regarding confederation with the Canadas, the latter representing Ontario and Quebec, the topic of women's roles did not come up. Also in on the political conversation were provincial leaders from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Newfoundland representatives stayed out of the debate and there was not thought of including British Columbia, or the Northwest Territories (managed by the Hudson's Bay Company) in the discussions at this time.

During the talks surrounding Confederation, an opportunity presented itself to talk about suffrage and the rights of Canadian citizens upon Confederation of the Provinces. Women were left out of this dialogue completely.<sup>16</sup> This did not mean, however, that the question of their rights was silenced. Women had agitated for rights via the petition, and they continued to voice their concerns through this medium.

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 273. New Brunswick historian James Hannay, in History of New Brunswick Vol. II (St. John, New Brunswick: John A. Bowes, 1909) wrote, "The prohibitory liquor law came into operation on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January 1856, the result of the attempt to enforce it was what might have been expected. The law was resisted, liquor continued to be sold, and when attempts were made to prevent the violation of the law, and those who violated it were employed to defend them, while the sale of liquor by the same parties was continued, thus setting the law at defiance," 177.

<sup>16</sup> Donald Creighton, in The Road to Confederation: The Emergence of Canada, 1863-1867 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1964), mentioned that a party of over 30 Maritimers, including wives and children of representatives, journeyed to Montreal, but had no comment about the wives' views on the matter, 132.

After the dramatic negotiations, and not one, but two, elections on the issue, New Brunswick finally joined the Dominion. The province anticipated its new economic and political fate as part of a larger entity within the British Empire. At the time of confederation, the province was fairly well situated, economically and politically. The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, signed in 1854, had been good to the province, though that treaty had been abrogated in 1864 and questions remained over fishing rights in territorial waters. The Aroostook War, a war waged without bloodshed between the United States and New Brunswick in 1838-39 over where to draw an official boundary through valuable forestland, had been settled by arbitration, first by the Dutch monarch, and then finalized through the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. New Brunswick was poised to participate further in the growing world economy through its lumber trade, and, some hoped, in other capacities. Its leaders had not forgotten the adversities their forefathers (and foremothers) had overcome in the "wilderness" of New Brunswick, and they carried with them still the Loyalist sense of order, hierarchy, and patriarchal entitlement.<sup>17</sup>

But along with Confederation and modernization in New Brunswick came new perceived social ills. In the pre-Confederation period, the arrival of large numbers of poor immigrants fleeing famine in Ireland had occasioned fear as well as sympathy, at a time when the Irish, and specifically, the Catholic Irish were not seen as part of the white race. Such fears were not allayed when immigrants from places outside of the British Isles began to appear: a small group of Doukobors

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<sup>17</sup> See Howard Jones, To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783-1843 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1977), for more on this topic.



(Russian immigrants) near Saint John, and Jews from Eastern Europe.<sup>18</sup> Immigrants, bringing with them unfamiliar and sometimes all too familiar perceived vices, seemed to threaten the very fabric of colonial society. In 1866, the Fenian raids, grounded as they were in Irish Roman Catholic nationalism, urged New Brunswick as well as the Canadas towards Confederation. In the popular press of the day, the immigrant Irishman was often portrayed with a bottle in his hand. And in New Brunswick, the anti-liquor legislation men and women had fought so hard for had failed to take root. In the minds of many, poverty and drunkenness went hand in hand. By the 1870s, a rising number of poor people inhabited New Brunswick's cities, and there seemed to be no solution to their plight.

On the eve of Canadian Confederation in 1867, New Brunswick women had gained some political experience, while barely having cast votes. Some historians might see their political activism as non-existent in these years, but their experience was demonstrated in local and provincial protests, and passed on to their daughters. Women's political participation, fledgling though it was at the start of the Loyalist province of New Brunswick, continued to build in the years leading up to Confederation.

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<sup>18</sup> See Marcia Koven, Weaving the Past into the Present: A Glimpse into the 130 Year History of the Saint John Jewish Community (Saint John: n.p., 1989), and Sheva Medjuck, Jews of Atlantic Canada (St. John's: Breakwater Books, 1986); For more on the racial classification of Jews and the Irish in the nineteenth century, see Karen Brodtkin, How Jews Became White Folks and What That Says About Race in America (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1998); Noel Ignatiev, How the Irish Became White (New York: Routledge, 1995); Matthew Jacobson, Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1999); and David Roediger, Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class (London and New York: Verso, 1991; reprint 1999). In New Brunswick, the Irish conflict was poignant in the 1840s. For more on this topic, see Scott See, Riots in New Brunswick: Orange Nativism and Social Violence in the 1840s (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

If women were not yet arguing for their right to vote in New Brunswick in the 1840s and 1850s, or publicly reacting to the 1848 Woman's Rights Convention in Seneca Falls, they were building a base towards female political empowerment through their efforts to access higher education. The evangelical churches, especially the Methodists, known for their class meetings, gave women more scope than did the Anglican, Roman Catholic, and other liturgical churches. There were early attempts at female education. In Fredericton, the Baptists established a coeducational seminary in 1836. In the first two years, 94 young women and 109 young men enrolled. Unfortunately, without government subsidy, the Fredericton seminary closed in 1842.<sup>19</sup> Another attempt occurred in Fredericton in 1848, when a Normal School offered teacher training. This school later became the Provincial Normal School. By 1852, 49 of the 92 students were women and they continued in the minority after that.<sup>20</sup> In another community, however, an experiment in female education turned into a groundbreaking achievement for women of Canada. In Sackville, New Brunswick, the emergence of a powerful educational leader encouraged a pro-woman environment in social reform.

Historian William B. Hamilton posited that the region of Sackville, geographically situated at the crossroads of three provinces - New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island - was ideal for such an institution. Moreover, Hamilton asserted, the founders of Sackville held a more open view to American ideas. Why? Because, he

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<sup>19</sup> See Jjames Doyle Davison, Alice of Grand Pré: Alice T. Shaw and the Grand Pré Seminary (Wolfville, Nova Scotia: Acadia University, 1981).

<sup>20</sup> For more on this early school in Fredericton, see RS113, Records of the Board of Education (Fredericton: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, n.d.). It is also worth noting that the original Grammar School Act opened the government subsidized grammar schools to girls as well as boys and although a later act changed this, girls continued to attend grammar schools in the less populous counties (but not in Saint John, Fredericton, or Charlotte).

wrote, the settlers were primarily New Englanders who had come to the region in the 1750s. According to Hamilton, "Their parting with New England was their own decision, and as a result they came to have a leavening influence on the anti-Americanism often expressed by some Loyalist settlers." Yorkshire migrants in the 1770s brought with them staunch Methodism, which sowed the seeds for the educational institution.<sup>21</sup> In Sackville, a new academy was built by the Wesleyans for the religious instruction of boys in the community and from afar. It was not long before a girls' academy was conceptualized in 1847. The economic depression of 1848 delayed plans for the school, but by 1851, organizers were again interested in pursuing it.<sup>22</sup>

The chief preceptress hired for the Mount Allison Ladies' College, Mary Electa Adams, dismissed contemporary trends in female education in her day as "Tending to produce that impatience of thought, that tendency to the desultory and the superficial, which are proverbial failings of young ladies."<sup>23</sup> Female education had been orchestrated to suit a life of domesticity in the past, but Adams understood that women could be trained in service to their communities. With this in mind, Adams came to Sackville in 1855 with the intention of making the curriculum at the school as rigorous as possible. Adams had the support of the principal of the Ladies' College, J.R. Inch, in her ambitious program. Although Inch was sympathetic to Adams's goals, it was telling that a man still held the position of principal of the Ladies' College. He said that "years of experience had taught him that

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<sup>21</sup> William B. Hamilton, At the Crossroads: A History of Sackville, New Brunswick (Gaspereau, Nova Scotia: Gaspereau Press, 2004), 14-15, 61-63, 67, 69, 71; W.C. Milner, in History of Sackville, New Brunswick (Sackville: The Tribune Press, Ltd., 1970) wrote that in 1767, 343 out of the 349 residents of Sackville were American, 20.

<sup>22</sup> John G. Reid, Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963, Volume I: 1843-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 49-57.

<sup>23</sup> Mary Electa Adams, editorial, Mount Allison Academic Gazette, 1855.

young ladies [could] compete with the sterner sex in either intellectual acuteness or the power of acquisition."<sup>24</sup>

Mary Electa Adams demonstrated a new wave in women's education in Canada and the United States, between roughly the 1820s and 1850s, in that she refused to see that young females should only be given a decorative instruction. Adams and others like her helped to fuel the next generation of female reformers. These female students took the general purpose of Adams's training, to be useful to society, and did just that. Through their education in places like Mount Allison University, they envisioned a role for women that transcended the one portrayed in journals and newspapers of the day. This era in female education helped to spur the rise of reformers by the 1850s and beyond.

Adams, herself, provided the model of an alternate lifestyle for women - a life outside the duties of wife, mother, and housekeeper. Adams, a descendent of the American president John Adams, was born in 1823 in Quebec. Her branch of the family had left the United States during the Loyalist exile of the Revolutionary War.<sup>25</sup> Adams received the best education she could by attending the Montpelier Academy in Vermont and the Cobourg Ladies' Seminary in Upper Canada, earning her MLA (Mistress of Liberal Arts) from the latter.<sup>26</sup> Adams's education in the United States demonstrated the continued cross-border fertilization in women's education since the days following the American Revolution. Adams could have been content to believe she had achieved the highest degree possible, but she strove for even more educational training. She obtained a teaching position with her alma mater, and followed the

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<sup>24</sup> *MTA Record*, Spring 1994; see also Milner, *History*, 30-32 for more on Dr. James R. Inch.

<sup>25</sup> Elsie Pomeroy, "Mary Electa Adams: A Pioneer Educator," *Ontario History*, Vol. XLI (1949), No. 3, 107.

<sup>26</sup> "Upper Canada" was the term before Canadian Confederation for the province now known as "Ontario."

college when it was relocated to Toronto and was renamed the Adelaide Academy. But Adams was ambitious still, perhaps searching for a place where she could teach a more rigorous coursework to female students, and took a position as Lady Principal of the newly-established Picton Academy. She followed that position with one at Albion Seminary in Michigan as lady preceptress of the Female Department. According to Adams's biographer, Elsie Pomeroy, it was at Albion Seminary that the young teacher began to "first experience, to a large extent, the fulfillment of her ideals."<sup>27</sup>

Adams was pulled back to her home country by 1855 with the promise of an even more progressive teaching and administrative position. The newly-proposed Wesleyan College at Sackville, New Brunswick, now known as Mount Allison University, needed a lady preceptress for its Women's Department. The Reverend Humphrey Pickard, M.A., chief organizer of the new university on behalf of the Methodist Church of Eastern Canada, had heard of Adams's teaching style, and invited her to take up the position. Although she stayed only three years, resigning in order to take care of her mother after numerous deaths in the family, Adams's impact was felt for many years to come. The position of lady preceptress was kept, and her students reflected on her vision at each reunion.<sup>28</sup> And for these reasons, it was no coincidence that Mount Allison University graduated two women with Bachelor of Science and Arts degrees, at the time thought to be the first in the British Empire.<sup>29</sup> The first female graduate with a

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<sup>27</sup> Pomeroy, "Mary Electa Adams," 108-109.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., 109-110. For some of her students' reminiscences, see pages 109-110. Adams, reunited with her mother and sister, Augusta, took a position at the Wesleyan Ladies' College in Hamilton, Ontario in 1861.

<sup>29</sup> Lockhart was the first to earn a B.S. in the British Empire in 1875. Harriet Starr Stewart received a B.A. from Mount Allison University in 1882, but it was learned later that a woman in New Zealand was first to

Bachelor's degree in 1875, Grace Annie Lockhart, married a classmate and became a minister's wife. Although she was not officially a suffragist worker, Lockhart did give a lecture five years later supporting the woman's franchise.<sup>30</sup> Examples like that of Lockhart led Pomeroy to believe Adams influenced the direction the school continued to take after her departure.

Did the availability of higher education in New Brunswick by the 1850s create a generation of suffragists as it did in Maine? No evidence points to direct suffrage activity in those immediate years, but rather New Brunswick female reformers channeled their activities into temperance. In fact, the earliest support of suffrage came largely from temperance advocates (this was also true in other parts of Canada). The bond between temperance issues and the desire for the woman's vote became entwined in some areas of New Brunswick (for example, Woodstock, Sackville, Saint John, and Saint Stephen). This trend continued throughout the nineteenth century, perhaps even before the formation of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU).

Women, who had been a part of church missionary work from the beginning, found a wider role in social justice in this era, despite their lack of legal rights and strict expectations about their roles in society that presumed to keep them at home. They had already begun to formulate their new social role in the days of the American Revolution and Loyalist settlement of New Brunswick as one of maternal care to the greater community. This new role was buffered by the growing

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get her B.A. degree in 1877. See Beryl Hughes, "Kate Milligen Edger, 1857-1935," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz>.

<sup>30</sup> Lockhart Dawson said of women, "Their particular grievance is that they desire the voting power. If taxation without representation is tyranny when applied to man, is it less so when woman is made to suffer by it," in "New Woman," *Chignecto Post*, 10 June 1880.

evangelicalism of the early 1800s, which continued to challenge the authority of the Anglican Church well past mid-century. Historian Hannah Lane detailed how some women in the Methodist faith were able to preach in the early-to-mid 1800s, with and without reproach in the Saint Stephen area.<sup>31</sup> But typically women, under the umbrella of Christian benevolence, could enter public life as caregivers.

In this way, women began to formulate the first wide-scale welfare system outside of military benefits (Revolutionary War soldiers and wives in the United States received benefits; in Canada, the Loyalist claims). They had also already begun to separate their temperance work from that of the men, including new self-government. Their social welfare organizations took on a professional tone by the mid-to-late 1800s, and they began to utilize community resources for specific causes, and created budgets and committee officers to manage it all. Still, these groups had not yet bridged their work to that of woman suffrage. Elizabeth McGahan, for example, noted that the St. Stephen Maternal Association had ties to similar groups in South Berwick, Maine and Boston, but "religious divisions rather than political or gender differences concentrated their attention."<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Innes of Portland (near Saint John) was part of a temperance association that attempted to help the large group of Irish immigrants living at the almshouse nearby. Any Irish men willing to take the temperance pledge were provided jobs, and the temperance group built a

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<sup>31</sup> Hannah M. Lane, "Methodist Church Members, Lay Leaders, and Socio-economic Position in Mid-nineteenth Century St. Stephen, New Brunswick," Dissertation. University of New Brunswick, 2004, 190, 196, 201-209.

<sup>32</sup> Whispers from the Past: Selections from the Writings of New Brunswick Women (Fredericton: Fiddlehead Poetry Books & Goose Lane Editions, Ltd., 1986), xviii, 106.

school for Irish children.<sup>33</sup> Although reformers like Ida Harding crossed over the Canadian-U.S. border from St. Stephen, New Brunswick, to Calais, Maine, in the late 1870s to visit relatives and participate in temperance activities, this did not lead to suffrage agitation in that decade.<sup>34</sup> But these examples aside, and despite the advances in education, the use of petition for causes dear to women, and a continued questioning of what it meant to be a Canadian Maritimer, no coordinated effort was made to secure the woman's vote. Governmental institutions were still unquestionably elite, white male bastions, enforcing the idea of law and order.

In Maine, still a part of Massachusetts until 1820, women continued to utilize the rhetoric of the American Revolution to their benefit. Like New Brunswick women, Maine women joined early maternal societies and church benevolence groups, gaining organizational experience. They too joined early temperance groups.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, they had access to academy educations, and, at Oberlin College in Ohio, the first university women were graduated in 1841.<sup>36</sup> The early American

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 142-143. See also Diary of Elizabeth Innes, A273 (Saint John, New Brunswick: New Brunswick Archives and Research Library); and Daphne Rae, "Nineteenth-Century Midwifery Case Studies from Britain and New Brunswick: Tradition in Transition." M.A. Thesis. (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 2002).

<sup>34</sup> McGahan, Whispers, 40. Some women from St. Stephen did petition for suffrage, for example Mrs. Mary Chipman, Mrs. Joseph Porter, and Mrs. D. Upton, all wealthy married women, in 1886 (see Lane dissertation for more details on these women).

<sup>35</sup> Helen Coffin Beedy, Mothers of Maine (Portland: The Thurston Print, 1895), 250 described temperance societies in the towns of Industry (established 1829) and Wilton. For more on maternal associations in Maine, including the first of the nation in Boston, see Address to Mothers: Which Preceded the Constitution and Rules of the Maternal Association of Portland (Simsbury, Connecticut: N.p., 1817); and for information about Maternal Associations in the United States, see Mary P. Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 60, 230.

<sup>36</sup> Lillian M. N. Stevens, a Maine suffragist and temperance reformer, for example, attended the Westbrook Seminary in Portland (opened in 1834), as did her daughter, Gertrude Stevens Leavitt, a social worker.



suffrage movement gained momentum through the participation of two Oberlin women, Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown, and a former schoolteacher and temperance leader, Susan B. Anthony. The early publications and agitations of these women gained them notoriety, and women in other places, including Maine, adopted the revolutionary rhetoric in their own communities.

In Maine, as in New Brunswick, women had become interested in temperance agitation by the 1850s. In New Brunswick, a temperance law was on the books by 1847, but without enforcement provisions. In Maine, a temperance law was on the books by 1851 as well. Although Maine men and women would often have to defend the Maine Law, its very existence afforded them more time to spend on other reform movements, such as anti-slavery and suffrage.<sup>37</sup> Also, married women in Maine gained the legal right to own their own property in 1844; New Brunswick women gained the same in 1851.

Woman suffrage advocates in Maine followed events like the Seneca Falls convention with scrutiny and worked to tilt public opinion in their favor in their own communities. The first known community to take up lengthy dialogue on the topic of woman suffrage after Seneca Falls in Maine was Ellsworth. Three women in particular - Ann Jarvis Greely, Sarah Jarvis, and Charlotte Hill, promoted the issue in print and

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<sup>37</sup> For an excellent treatment of the transition from temperance to anti-slavery to woman suffrage, see Ann D. Gordon, editor, In the School of Anti-Slavery, 1840-1866, Vol. I of the Selected Papers of Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1997); For more on the female anti-slavery advocates of Maine, see Rev. Elizabeth J. Bachelder, M.Div., A Flame for Their Souls: the Antislavery Work of Maine Women, 1838-1856, M.A. Thesis (Portland: University of Southern Maine, 2004); Richard Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, Joel W. Eastman, editors, Maine - the Pine Tree State from Prehistory to the Present (Orono: The University of Maine Press, 1995), see Richard Wescott and Edward O. Schriver, Chapter 9, "Reform Movements & Party Reformation," 193-216, for more information on early reform movements in Maine.

society. Ellsworth's suffragists were the first to set an example that repeated itself in many other Maine communities: the awakening of women to the idea that they should have the right to vote as citizens in the American Republic. In a time when New Brunswick women petitioned on behalf of temperance and promoted the first higher educational institutions for women, Ellsworth suffragists established dialogue with American national suffragists, and referred to their nation's founding documents to argue their cause. The Ellsworth suffragists provided a template for other communities, their overt social actions demonstrating courage and resolve.

It was precisely because of the nation's founding documents, in fact, that Maine women questioned their status as citizens without the vote. At the time, New Brunswick voters did not have similar founding documents in which to refer. The young Maine woman suffrage movement looked to citizenship as the basic reason they should have the vote. Thirty years later, New Brunswick suffragists would lean on their right as property owners for enfranchisement. Although Maine and New Brunswick women had a lot in common, in terms of education, early political experience, and participation in benevolent groups, and even in their exposure to Enlightenment ideals, their strategies for attaining the vote demonstrated the complexities of female politics in the Borderlands, and the national border.

Women in towns like Ellsworth were not isolated. Geographically situated on the coast, close to the prosperous lumbering town of Bangor, Ellsworthians enjoyed a decent standard of living. Ellsworth had successful, active sawmills and a growing shipbuilding industry, and the town became the logical center of commerce and social reform in Hancock County. But such prosperity invited social, religious and political differences. Charles Lowell described Ellsworth in 1853:

Few towns ever experienced a greater crisis than did Ellsworth from 1850 to 1860. Religious and political feeling ran high. Life, itself, was often in the balance, and a civil war nearly came to pass. Each party, the Democratic and Republican, had its own press, and their newspaper battles were frequent and hot. Water Street was termed "Rum Row," and was, as might be supposed, the "hang-out" of an exceedingly rough and lawless element. Bloodshed and riots were often the principal amusements in that section. The people learned to respect or fear some of several organizations or clans which then existed [representing an anti-Irish sentiment]. Some of them did good work and others meddled with iniquity.<sup>38</sup>

Ellsworth women absorbed the debates born in this raucous political climate. They had access to education, middle-class values, and print culture, which kept them engaged as citizens. Because of these factors, women like suffragist Ann Greely came of age in the 1850s unafraid to challenge social conventions. Greely and others went on to directly influence the state organizational suffrage activity of the 1870s and beyond.<sup>39</sup> A study of Greely and her collaborators is constructive, because their work demonstrates how charismatic female leaders in small Maine towns were able to have a larger impact. Greely, Jarvis, and Hill were the first women known to organize events related to suffrage in Maine.

Greely was born Ann Jarvis in Ellsworth. She and her sister, Sarah Jarvis were members of the prestigious Black family. Their mother was Mary Ann Black. Greely was granddaughter of Colonel John Black, a well-known lumber tradesman in Ellsworth. Perhaps it was no surprise

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<sup>38</sup> Albert H. Davis, History of Ellsworth, Maine (Lewiston, Maine: Lewiston Journal Printshop, 1927), 94-95.

<sup>39</sup> Other suffragists worked in Maine coastal towns in the 1850s and 1860s. For example, Lucy and Lavinia Snow, and their sister Elvira Thorndyke worked for suffrage in Rockland. In Bangor, author and editor Jane Sophia Appleton and Maria Booker were suffragists. See Appleton's work, co-edited by Cornelia Crosby Barrett, Voices from the Kenduskeag (Bangor, Maine: D. Bugbee, 1848), for more on her pro-woman views. There were suffragists in Portland in the 1860s, but their records burned in the great city fire of 1866. In the same year, a pro-suffrage league was formed in the state capital of Augusta.

that his granddaughter, Ann Jarvis Greely, would work in the millinery business for most of her adult life. Their father, the Hon. Charles Jarvis, whom historian Albert Davis called "One of nature's noblemen," served in the Maine State Legislature, built a military road between Mattawamkeag and Houlton during the Aroostook War, and married Mary Ann Black in 1820.<sup>40</sup>

In 1851, in this bustling town, twenty-year-old Ann Greely opened the "Old Stand," a millinery shop on Main Street. With this act, Greely became one of the first recognized businesswomen of Maine.<sup>41</sup> In a time when there were few commercial opportunities for women, Greely was able to run her business successfully. This desire to travel her own road carried over into other things like woman suffrage.

Greely, born in 1831, was fortunate enough to have access to education. Like many other woman suffragists, Ann's privileged background allowed her to pursue a life outside of grueling farm work or industrial labor. She was educated at the Reverend Peter Nourse's school and private schools. Her early connection to the Reverend Nourse was significant, because he had fostered a peaceful ideological schism in Ellsworth, providing an example of how to advance one's own beliefs in the face of adversity. Nourse arrived in Ellsworth in 1810, sent by the Evangelical Missionary Society in Massachusetts, to institute the first Congregational society in that town. He had graduated from Harvard in 1802, the bastion of Calvinist orthodoxy, but he could not ignore the appeal of religious flexibility advanced during the evangelical fervor of the early republic. Throughout his tenure as a

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<sup>40</sup> Davis, *History of Ellsworth*, 27, 32-33, 159. See also the *Black Family Papers* (Augusta, Maine: Maine State Archives, 1987).

<sup>41</sup> The *Ellsworth American* featured Greely's ad on May 15, 1857. The *Ellsworth American* ran Greely's advertisement for her millinery shop at least until April 27, 1882.

Congregational minister in Ellsworth, Nourse was known as a most capable and warm-hearted man, but one who suffered a conflicted religious conscience.<sup>42</sup>

Nourse and his brethren succeeded in having a Congregational Church constructed by 1818, and he was also appointed superintendent of education in the town at that time. He encouraged education, so much so that by 1825, there were four schools in Ellsworth. He promoted a progressive form of scholarship, training his students to be teachers. Ann Greely was one of the town's youngsters to benefit from Nourse's educational supervision. Greely received, in other words, an education well above that of most girls in Maine.<sup>43</sup>

Controversy followed the kindly minister. According to Ellsworth journalist Herbert Silsby, Nourse's parishioners considered him "far too liberal, or Unitarian, in theological matters." Nourse increasingly found himself more in concert with Unitarian beliefs, and gracefully resigned his Congregational post in 1835.<sup>44</sup> Another prominent Ellsworthian, Llewellyn Deane, acknowledged Nourse's hard work had far-reaching influence:

Rev. Peter Nourse was a famous man in those days, renowned for his zeal in the gospel ministry and for the goodness of his heart. The godly man was indeed rarely useful in his day and generation in education as well as gospel matters, but, his life was not a

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<sup>42</sup> Herbert Silsby, II, A Church Has Been Gathered: A History of the First Congregational Church, Ellsworth, Maine (Ellsworth: Dilligaf Publishing, 2004), 11-12.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 14, 23-27; Davis, History, 128-133. Greely's father, John Jarvis, served on the board of trustees for the first high school in 1833, and it was probable that she attended the school, just down the street from the Jarvis home. It should be noted that no colleges were open to women at the time. Oberlin College in Ohio first opened its doors in 1833 to women in non-degree programs. Greely, born in 1831, probably attended school under Nourse's supervision, until his death in 1840.

<sup>44</sup> Silsby, A Church Has Been Gathered, 27. For more about the Unitarian-Congregationalist dilemma of the 1820s and 1830s, see Lawrence F. Small, "Unitarianism Down-East: A Study of the Movement in Maine." M.A. Thesis, University of Maine, 1951.

gay period of enjoyment, or rich with present rewards for work well done.<sup>45</sup>

When Reverend Nourse took up a Unitarian ministry, he may have influenced the religious choices of students like Ann Greely. Greely's ancestry was linked to Channing's Unitarian Church, but her parents were Congregationalists.<sup>46</sup> The charismatic Nourse advocated a church doctrine that allowed for more self-interpretation.

Unitarianism lent itself to the reform movements of the day. Temperance workers and abolitionists looked to the Scriptures and directly to the life of Jesus to demonstrate that one should lead a sober life, and not enslave another human being. Woman suffragists also found value in the Bible, believing that, as separate souls, they too had the right to govern themselves. The suffragists felt that everyone was equal in the kingdom of heaven. Ann Greely remained partial to Unitarianism her whole life, and her 1914 funeral was conducted by a Unitarian minister.<sup>47</sup>

Reverend Dr. Sewall Tenney, a Dartmouth graduate, was Nourse's replacement at the Congregational Church. Tenney, however, was also not a hard-line Calvinist. Silsby wrote that Tenney "preached most of the old precepts of Puritanism, but with new evidence, a new point of view, and a new emphasis."<sup>48</sup> Judge Clarence Hale of Ellsworth spoke of him: "I do not know where there could be found a better type of minister of this generation. The secret of Dr. Tenney's success and popularity was

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<sup>45</sup> Silsby, A Church Has Been Gathered, 30.

<sup>46</sup> "Obituary, Ann F. Greely," *Ellsworth American*, 28 October 1914.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. For more information on early Calvinism in America, see Richard Archer, Fissures in the Rock: New England in the Seventeenth Century (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2001), especially chapter three, "'All Things Are Turned Upside Down Among Us': Religion, Power, and Order," 27-58, and Susan Juster, Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics & Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

<sup>48</sup> Silsby, A Church Has Been Gathered, 34-37.

his ability to merge the old and the new, to bridge the gap between Puritanism and modern congregationalism."<sup>49</sup> Tenney also remained a friend of the Black and Jarvis families throughout the course of his forty-year tenure at the Congregational Church.<sup>50</sup>

If Nourse had helped to foster feelings of independent thought in Ann Greely, then perhaps Tenney's softer Calvinism served to underline the more traditional beliefs of those who opposed woman suffrage, like Judge Clarence Hale. Women had a role to play in this version of Calvinism, but their position in society was still secondary, politically, in comparison to men's. The judge's wife, Margaret Rollins Hale, later extolled woman's Christian duties and submission to men in her defense of anti-suffrage.<sup>51</sup>

Ellsworthian suffragists who came later were likewise affiliated with progressive church doctrine. The Honorable John A. Peters, a member of the Congregational Church, but perhaps more lenient in his beliefs on women than the more traditional Tenney, later served on the 1914 Men's Equal Suffrage League of Maine, under the leadership of Robert Treat Whitehouse.<sup>52</sup> The Reverend William H. Savary, pastor of the

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<sup>49</sup> Davis, History of Ellsworth, 133.

<sup>50</sup> Silsby stated that the leading Ellsworth citizen, Colonel John Black, gave the Congregational Church a pipe organ in 1854.

<sup>51</sup> See Chapter 5 on the anti-suffragists. Judge Hale's brother, Eugene Hale, was considered one of the top senators in the United States at that time. He and his wife were very involved in the Congregational Church of Ellsworth, and Mrs. Eugene Hale and the church ladies came to the aid of the church after a devastating fire, Silsby, 49-60.

<sup>52</sup> Davis, History, 221-222. John Peters was born in 1864 and graduated from Bowdoin College. He served as Judge of the United States Court for the District of Maine, and served as Speaker, in the Legislature. Peters served on the executive committee of the men's Equal Suffrage League of Maine. Whitehouse's wife, Florence Brooks Whitehouse, was the most outspoken suffrage "radical" in Maine in the 19-teens. She was a member of the National Women's Party and worked with Alice Paul.

Ellsworth Unitarian Church in 1865, signed the 1873 suffrage convention call.<sup>53</sup>

Ann Jarvis married Everard H. Greely in 1853. He was one year younger than she, and had a long career in business in Ellsworth and beyond. He first engaged in the grocery business, then the coal business, and finally, in the stable business with the Hale family.<sup>54</sup> Historian Albert H. Davis said that Everard Greely "built up one of the finest race horse stables in the state, owning some very famous horses."<sup>55</sup> The Greelys did not have a child until 1867 -- Mary Ann Greely.<sup>56</sup> In marriage and motherhood, Greely continued her millinery shop, possibly for income, and possibly because she saw no reason to retire into motherhood. From her mid-20s, she was also an avowed and outspoken temperance worker and suffragist.<sup>57</sup>

By the 1850s, Greely could no longer remain silent when women's place was deliberated publicly. Americans' debate over woman's so-called "proper sphere" had grown more intense. Early American women had at least some access to the franchise, but saw this right stripped away by the turn of the nineteenth century. Outcry from women over the topic

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<sup>53</sup> See Deale Salisbury, Ellsworth: Crossroads of Downeast Maine: A Pictorial Review (Virginia Beach, VA: Donning Company, 2005), 73-74; Davis, History, 142.

<sup>54</sup> The Hales came out against woman suffrage by the 1900s. Clarence Hale, Jr., however, would change his vote in the Maine Legislature to favor suffrage in 1919.

<sup>55</sup> Davis, History, 192.

<sup>56</sup> Davis, in his genealogy of the Black family, 32-34, noted that Greely's mother, Mary Ann Jarvis, gave birth 11 times. Greely's daughter, named for her mother, Mary Ann, was the only child born to her and Everard. A fewer number of births per couple was part of an historic trend during the early Victorian period. For more about this topic, see Mary Ryan, Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 155-165.

<sup>57</sup> See The Family of Charles, Sr. and Mary Ann (Black) Jarvis (Woodlawn Museum Archives, 1996); "Obituary, Mrs. Ann F. Greely."



of the lost franchise was rarely heard.<sup>58</sup> Instead, successive religious revivals defined a new role for women in what has been termed by historians as the "Cult of True Womanhood." At least in the rhetoric of the times, women were to be the nurturers of hearth and home, rarely venturing out into the male world of politics and commerce.<sup>59</sup> But some women vehemently disagreed with this prescribed role.

The year 1857 was pivotal, not only because of suffrage activity in Ellsworth, but also because the first suffrage petition, called a "memorial," was presented to the Maine State Legislature. Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell headed it along with other women from the American Woman Suffrage Association based in Massachusetts, but it was signed by men and women from the Bangor region. With this action, Maine became one of the earliest states to submit a suffrage petition to its elected officials.<sup>60</sup>

N.K. Sawyer, the editor of the *Ellsworth American* from 1855 to 1872, gave much attention to the position of women in society within his newspaper. An article appeared on December 26, 1856, which set off

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<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, editors, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. I. (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), 441-456. Even the *Ellsworth American* noted the right of women to vote in early America. See "Female Suffrage in New Jersey," vol. III, no. 44, November 27, 1857. Mary Beth Norton, in *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1980), 191-193, did not detect outcry from women or men against losing the vote, because they had not generally voted before that time. Instead, the religious revivals diverted active women's attention. For more on one Maine woman's participation in the revivals of the 18-teens, see Shannon M. Risk, "A Search for Sweet Serenity: The Diary of Sarah Connell Ayer, 1805-1835." M.A. Thesis (Orono, Maine: University of Maine, 1996).

<sup>59</sup> The very public activities of Maine women, however, railed against this idea that women were seen and not heard. For more on the "Cult of True Womanhood," see the article of that same name by Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174; See "Sweet Serenity," for more on Maine women accessing political power and solidarity through religious revival by the 1820s.

<sup>60</sup> Stanton, et. al., *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. II (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), 184.

a debate over the course of 1857 on woman's place. Its title, "What a Woman Should Be," indicated alphabetically the litany of desirable traits to follow:

Amicable, Benevolent, Charitable, Domestic, Economical, Forgiving, Generous, Honest, Industrious, Judicious, Kind, Loving, Modest, Neat, Obedient, Pleasant, Quiet, Reflecting, Sober, Tender, Urbane, Virtuous, Wise, Exemplary, Yielding, Zealous.

In the same issue of the *Ellsworth American*, another article noted the meeting of pro-temperance advocates at Union Hall. The meeting was led by Dr. M. R. Pulsifer, and by all accounts, was headed by male advocates. But 1857 was to be a transitional year in terms of temperance leadership.<sup>61</sup> By the end of the year, women like Ann Greely entered the temperance organization, and were so noted in the *Ellsworth American*. Perhaps this prompted more conservative elements to react publicly to women's participation in such groups.

In Ellsworth, there was some hostility to changing female roles in society. Contemporary journalist Herbert T. Silsby noted a very active discussion of the issue of women's entrance into the public sphere in the *Ellsworth American*. The dialogue took place in the early 1850s between Ellsworthians such as the Baptist Reverend James Belcher, the editor of the *Ellsworth Herald*; Dr. G.A. Phillips; and "Eros," a Bible scholar adamantly opposed to woman's rights. Each endorsed the pervasive view of a woman's "sphere," which consisted of the home and church. Public activities such as voting, conducting business, and speaking in public, they argued, should be left to the men.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Other editorials about temperance followed in the *American*: "The Temperance Question," January 16, 1857, no. 51, vol. III; "Temperance," February 13, 1857, vol. III, No. 3.

<sup>62</sup> Herbert Silsby, "Looking Backward - the Development of Women's Rights Part II," The *Ellsworth American*, 15 March 5, 2001; "Part III," 22 March 2001; "Part IV," 29 March 2001; "Part V," 5 April 2001.

"Ichabod Willoughby" wrote to the *American* calling attention to what he considered to be a grave social problem - the female lecturer:

There is something so irresistibly "funny" in this class of woman and their speculations and theories. . . The idea of a woman or a class of women, appearing upon the platform or rostrum, and putting forth ideas, which have no precedent in any past time. . . Does not Paul say, "wives submit yourselves to your husbands," "man is the head of the church as Christ is the head of the church," and "Let woman learn in silence and subjection; but suffer not a woman to teach nor to usurp authority over man, but to be in silence &c."<sup>63</sup>

Ichabod also thought that those interested in woman's rights were either women wishing to don men's breeches, or men who yearned to wear women's petticoats. Old maids, too, would adhere to such a movement, having lost their "opportunity" to "submit to the "tyranny of men."<sup>64</sup> These women would leave their homes to "start off on a tour 'Down East' or 'Out West' and give vent to their spite against men." But the joke, thought Ichabod, was on the woman reformers. Probably, he said, most who attended lectures and woman's rights events would be merely entertained, and life would go on as normal. Ichabod sought closure to the subject. "Probably there has never been a movement started from which there is so little to fear; its very ludicrousness renders it perfectly harmless and its incompatibility with common sense will

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<sup>63</sup> Vol. III, No. 4.

<sup>64</sup> "Old maids" would continue to vex the opponents of woman suffrage. Not only had these women rejected (or been denied) the covenant of marriage, but many older unmarried women did join and support the woman suffrage movement. "Old maids" were not the only ones devalued as they aged. Even those women who played by the rules were seen as out to pasture in their golden years, and they too, resisted the stereotype. The first Maine woman suffrage petitioner, Lydia Neal Dennett, was in her elder years at the time. The most obvious example of an "old maid," and the very woman Ichabod was referring to, Susan B. Anthony, one of the foremost woman suffragists in the United States, remained vigorous up until her last days. She died in 1906 at the age of 86. Anthony and others in the woman suffrage movement, like her sister, Mary Anthony, and Alice Stone Blackwell (the daughter of Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell), challenged the concept of an "old maid," as a worthless, manless woman, who made no social, economic, religious or political contribution to society.

finally give it its death blow."<sup>65</sup> Certainly, however, Ichabod's comments revealed his uneasiness that these issues would not go away.

Ichabod's comments demonstrated the breadth of feeling on woman's place in society. To combat such sentiments, women like Ann Greely would have to address long-standing beliefs of women's abilities, as well as the pervasive use of the Bible to define their place. Even though women had been speaking in public since the late 1820s, worked as missionaries far and near, received more and more education, and participated in temperance and abolition societies, asking for the vote had real stigma attached to it. A rebuttal appeared written by "Qui Est."<sup>66</sup> Silsby speculated that Ann Greely, known for her outspokenness, was "Qui Est" and also "fanaticism." Qui Est began in sarcasm: "Has his mouth regained its original dimensions after the convulsions of mirth into which he was thrown while contemplating the 'ridiculous' and 'funny' spectacle of the female lecturer?" Qui Est employed a tactic, using humor, both to make her point, but also to show that Ichabod's ideas were old-fashioned and ignorant. Using this humor, she chastised him: "How they and their sympathizers will blush to the roots of their hair, and look frantically for a knot-hole, when they learn what you think of them!"<sup>67</sup> Qui Est disputed his caricature of the men and women involved in the woman suffrage movement, instead classifying them as those of "finished education... undoubted intellect...talented educated, and accomplished."

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<sup>65</sup> Vol. III, No. 4.

<sup>66</sup> Above the rebuttal, the editor placed a short piece that announced the woman suffrage petitions of Antoinette Brown Blackwell and others had been submitted to the Maine Senate, and had been referred on to the Judicial Committee. The *American* later reported on 13 March 1857, that the petition headed by Stone and Brown Blackwell had a hearing in the Maine Legislature recently. The author of the short article joked, "The dear souls! *Don't* they have their rights now?" vol. III, no. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Vol. III, No. 5.

As for the old maids whom Ichabod thought merely rejected as vengeful women, Qui Est said: "Among those ladies who took a part in the late convention at New York, there was but one unmarried lady, and I would like Ichabod to prove her an old maid [She was referring to Susan B. Anthony, who was 37 years old at the time]. He will have an opportunity to judge of her age when she lectures in Ellsworth, as she will do in March. Why, the ladies interested in this movement are in such demand that they can't stop to be old maids."<sup>68</sup>

Qui Est worked to debunk Ichabod's and most likely others views on women's roles in society. Unlike Ichabod, Qui Est believed that a precedent for pro-woman reform was not needed: "We are creating one for future generations to look at! How much, think you, would have been accomplished in the world if people had always waited for precedent?" She attacked his use of Bible Scriptures to keep women in a subservient position by invoking the very foundation of the United States of America. "If you will look at the first part of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, you will see that if the American colonies had obeyed the injunction of St. Paul, as there expressed, there would not have been any United States of America; they would have bowed to the 'higher powers,' and we should still have been 'subjects of necessity.'"<sup>69</sup> Qui Est touched upon a key component of the woman suffrage movement as it emerged in the 1850s: the idea that the rhetoric of the American Revolution, the fruits of the Enlightenment, applied to woman's situation more than the archaic words of St. Paul. In this respect, Qui Est showed that those in favor of woman's rights

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

in Ellsworth were using foundational themes to make their point that would be employed by others after the Civil War (see Chapter 3).<sup>70</sup>

Another debate, possibly between one man, "A. Prince," and two women, "fanaticism," and "anti-fanaticism," also raged in the 1857 *Ellsworth American*. Prince, in an article titled, "Woman's Rights Triumphant," criticized appointing a woman -- Almira Clark -- to the position of Surry postmistress. Surry was once part of Ellsworth. Clark's position was classified as part of the Buchanan presidency "spoils."<sup>71</sup> He continued his barrage, wondering whether Clark could be "rendered to perform the [Republican] party duties required of office holders now-a-days." How could Clark, he wondered, serve a political party for which she could not vote? An anonymous person responded the following week. "I cannot consider [Clark's hire] a triumph of "Woman's Rights." The anonymous writer continued:

When men [who] are wholly opposed to what is termed the "Woman's Rights movement," appoint a woman to a paltry office, which pays so little [it is] anything but a "virtue," or a "triumph," however much it may be a "necessity."<sup>72</sup>

Regrettably, the anonymous author of these words will never be known, but the writer zeroed in on questions still unresolved in contemporary society in her or his final rebuke:

When men give to woman the right to vote because it is right for them to have it; when they appoint her to an office because she is capacitated therefore, and deserves it; when colleges, offices, professions, trades, arts and sciences, are open to women equally

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<sup>70</sup> See Chapter 4, "Mr. Editor, Have We Digressed," for more examples of the clash between Scripture and Reason.

<sup>71</sup> *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 11, 10 April 1857. President Buchanan had succeeded Franklin Pierce that spring and A. Prince believed that Clark was assigned the job because she was a loyal Republican. In Davis, *History*, 82, he wrote, "The changing of town lines by the Legislature in 1820 (when Maine became a state separate from Massachusetts), made the limits of Ellsworth much smaller. All of the land on the west side of the river became a part of Surry, and the Union River, from its mouth to the gore line, became the western boundary."

<sup>72</sup> *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 12, 17 April 1857.

with men, and her entering them or not depends upon her capacity therefore, or inclination thereto, and not upon the "necessities," interests, convenience, or prejudice of any class of men; where any or all of these are attained, and you announce it in your paper, just head *that* article, Mr. Editor, in large capitals, "Woman's Rights triumphant."<sup>73</sup>

By 1870, another Maine woman suffragist, John Neal, would echo these words. They were written first in Ellsworth.

The *Ellsworth American* editor may have recognized that good debate sold newspapers, and so continued to publish letters on the matter. The debate shifted gears to focus on the approaching appearance of Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, one of the first female doctors in the United States, in Ellsworth.<sup>74</sup> Hunt's appearance in Ellsworth also demonstrated the evolution of the woman suffrage movement in one Maine community, which would become representative of so many others in the days after the Civil War.

The editor provided a leader to the next letter, addressing the woman question: "Our new and fair correspondent, 'Anti-fanaticism,' with a good deal of vigor and spirit, attacks the 'strong-minded' women in general, and Dr. Harriot K. Hunt in particular. We hope it will not lead to an internecine war."<sup>75</sup> Anti-fanaticism did not disappoint. This writer referred to the female doctor as "a woman that has made herself notorious in protesting against her taxes on her property, in forcing herself upon a medical class in defiance of custom and their wishes,

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<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> See Hunt's work, Glances and Glimpses, Or, Fifty Years Social, Including Twenty Years Professional Life (Boston: J.P. Jewett and Company, 1856). Silsby speculated that Hunt did not end up speaking in Ellsworth after all, and no documentation has been found to support her actual appearance there either. Hunt, of Boston, began practicing medicine in 1835 at age 30. She was the first woman to practice medicine in the United States. She served in the early woman suffrage organization in the United States, and was noted for protesting paying her taxes every year because she could not vote. See Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. I, 37, 224, 259-260.

<sup>75</sup> *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 16, 15 May 1857.

and in attending three motley assemblages which are verily a disgrace to the age, known as 'Woman's Rights Conventions,' where all such notorious women can usually be found."<sup>76</sup> Hunt represented to Anti-fanaticism a breed of woman who threatened all that she or he held dear. "If Dr. Harriot thinks her title of M.D. is becoming to her as a woman, let her enjoy the delusion, and we pity the few fanatics who attempt to sustain her; but in behalf of our wives, our sisters, and our mothers, let us beware of the influence of female M.D.'s and female reformers."<sup>77</sup>

The very next week, "Fanaticism," whom Silsby believed to be Ann Greely, stabbed back with acerbic humor:

None of us "female fanatics" were ever so foolish as to presume we had intellect equal to that of the males: we only claimed the right to opportunities for cultivating what precious little we had, and we hoped thereby to be better able to appreciate the sound logic, the able reasoning, and the chivalrous compliments which have met these demands from our intellectual superiors.<sup>78</sup>

"As to Harriot K. Hunt, M.D.," Fanaticism continued, "where they [men] can get through college and take their honorary degree, she could not then enter college, none being open to her. She studied under an eminent physician, and practiced *eighteen years* before she obtained hers; thus learning that only through long years of experience could she obtain what they could, by far less experience, and in far less time."<sup>79</sup>

In this context, Ann F. Greely, Sarah Jarvis, and their friend Charlotte Hill devised a lecture series aimed at enlightening their fellow Ellsworth citizens on subjects including women's rights. Greeley and the others, then, demonstrated that Maine women were in keeping with leaders in the two biggest pro-suffrage states at the time - New

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 17, 22 May 1857.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.



York and Massachusetts - in attempting to bring the debate out into the open. Lectures and lyceums were a chief form of entertainment for the day, and good orators could support themselves financially by traveling from town to town. Greely, Jarvis and Hill only defied convention in that they asked controversial speakers to come to Ellsworth to challenge conventional thought on woman's place, race, and other topics.

Charlotte Hill, who remained unmarried, was no stranger to public exhibition and business herself. She was a skilled violinist, who taught boys and girls, and performed at balls and parties. Hill had been warned by some of her musical patrons to stop stirring up trouble with these lectures on reform topics. "Very well," Hill retorted, "I shall maintain my principles, and if you break up my classes, I can go back to the sea-shore and dig clams for a living as I have done before."<sup>80</sup>

Despite the threats, the lecture series was a success, widely attended by those in favor for or against the reforms of the day. The editor of the *Ellsworth American* acknowledged the success of the women's lecture series: "Many thanks to a few ladies of our village for this treat. Whether they obtain all the civil and political rights for which they contend or not, they will receive at the hands of our community a large share of praise for their successful effort to obtain able lecturers."<sup>81</sup> Praise aside, the women seemed not to be chastised outside the pages of the *American* for their efforts. Stanton's History

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<sup>80</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1886), 365.

<sup>81</sup> "Independent Lecture," *Ellsworth American*, March 20, 1857, Vol. III, No. 8.

of Woman Suffrage noted that Hill continued her classes and "the neighbors danced as ever to her music."<sup>82</sup>

The 1857 lectures were the pinnacle of Greely's, Jarvis', and Hill's suffrage activities before the Civil War. Although it was common to hear speakers in small communities, the people that Hill invited were some of the most famous of their times. Aside from this lecture series, few others of its kind existed in Maine during these years. Hill was able to secure the likes of Wendell Phillips, an internationally-famous abolitionist; Caroline H. Dall, who lectured on social hygiene; and Susan B. Anthony, abolitionist, temperance worker, and leading suffragist, for the series; the latter speaking on the "Rights and Position of Women." The *Ellsworth American* said of Anthony on March 5<sup>th</sup>:

Her enunciation is very clear and remarkably distinct, yet there is nothing in it of the unfeminine character and tone which people had been led to expect from the usual criticisms of the press. The lecture itself, as an intellectual effort, was satisfactory as well to those who dissented as to those who sympathized with its positions and arguments. It was fruitful in ideas and suggestions and we doubt not many a woman and a man too, went home that night with the germ of more active ideas in their heads than had gathered there for a twelvemonth before.<sup>83</sup>

Hill's lyceum also impressed Susan B. Anthony, whose biographer wrote that Anthony's \$50 lecturing fee was the highest paid in her early career, boosting her confidence as a public speaker.<sup>84</sup>

The *Ellsworth American* reviewer of Anthony's lecture encouraged more of the same:

Let us have more of this stirring up of the stagnant, scum-covered pools of thought and age-incrusted social customs. It may shock the nerves of some gray-headed conservatives, and may have a strangely annoying and unpleasant titillating effect in those

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<sup>82</sup> Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III, 365; Silsby, "Part VI," April 12, 2001.

<sup>83</sup> The *Ellsworth American*, 13 March 1857.

<sup>84</sup> Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, vol. I. (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1898), 154.

brainpans chiefly distinguished for their vacuity and uncarousing prejudices. But truth is mighty, and will prevail, and error may be safely tolerated where truth is left free to combat it.<sup>85</sup>

Bridging positive public sentiment from the lecture series, Hill, with the support of Greely and Jarvis, hosted a "woman's rights" ball on July 3-4, 1857 at Ellsworth's Whiting's Hall.<sup>86</sup> Although balls and dances were still popular in the 1850s, the editors of the History of Woman Suffrage do not mention such events in the first two volumes, which cover the early years of the movement. Therefore, Hill, Greely and Jarvis hosted a fairly unique event.<sup>87</sup> The *Ellsworth American* observed that:

The ladies, as a practical illustration of what they could do if all their rights were guaranteed to them, got up a ball paying all the bills for music, collation, hall, etc. and politely invited the gentlemen to attend. We thought there were more gentlemen present than there would have been had they started the affair and invited the other sex.

Yet one attendee, Joseph Deane, wrote that it was too crowded, with intemperate people, and that he was "tired, sick, and anti women's rights."<sup>88</sup>

The women resumed their lecture series on July 15, 1857 with Caroline H. Dall of Boston, who gave two presentations in Ellsworth. Hill, Greely, and Jarvis continued to push the limits of societal thinking on women, inviting Dall, an intellectual, to prove again that women were worthy speakers. But their work was still subject to

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<sup>85</sup> The *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 24, 10 July 1857.

<sup>86</sup> *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 25, 17 July 1857; Davis wrote in the History that Thomas Whiting came to Ellsworth in 1818, became an employee of Charles Jarvis, Ann and Sarah's father, in the mercantile business, eventually purchased the business from Jarvis, and built a house and tavern on Main Street in 1822, 24, 30. Greely, Jarvis, and Hill held their controversial lectures at "Whiting's Hall," in the 1850s.

<sup>87</sup> The History of Woman Suffrage, vol. I, 619, mentions a dance thrown by Stanton, Anthony and others to celebrate the life of utopian leader, Robert Owen in 1854.

<sup>88</sup> Silsby, "Part IV," 29 March 2001.

suspicious interruptions. The first lecture, "The Physiological Effects of Light, Color, Air and Mental Condition" was halted by the call of "fire!" which emptied the hall.<sup>89</sup> Later, the town's newspaper reported that this lecture was:

Skillfully and scientifically treated, and the lecture throughout abounded in sound reasoning, and evinced vigor of thought, knowledge of the subject, and originality of conception, at which we think those who prate about 'inferior female intellect,' might well be confounded.<sup>90</sup>

Dall's second lecture was on an even headier subject, "Human Rights." The reviewer was equally kind in saying: "[It] was an able and argumentative effort in behalf of the so-called 'Woman's Rights' movement." Still, the reviewer hesitated in fully supporting Dall that day:

Though we are not prepared to endorse fully the views of the lecturer, still many points commended themselves to the good sense of her hearers, and no one could but admit the talent and logic displayed, as the social, educational and political rights of Woman were presented. Mrs. Dall cannot but leave a favorable impression upon our people, as an earnest, cultivated and dignified woman, who is zealously laboring for the good of her sex.<sup>91</sup>

The male press, despite some reserve, was fairly supportive of Dall and the other lecturers for the times. The audience, whether or not they agreed with the speaker, was cordial. The reviewer concluded, ironically, with what seemed a ringing endorsement of Dall's ideas: "We think we have had proof positive in the person of Mrs. Dall, that female lecturing is not incompatible with true feminine refinement and dignity."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> *Ellsworth American*, 10 July 1857.

<sup>90</sup> *Ellsworth American*, 26 July 1857.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* This reviewer's words reflected the greater ambivalence among some in the population over how far women's rights should go in society.

The 1850s were truly a transitional time in the United States, and the newspapers of Maine were peppered with the other events of the day, including many articles about slavery and temperance. The Ellsworth women also presented the abolitionist, Wendell Phillips, and the African-American anti-slavery advocate, Mr. Fowler, of Boston. For the latter, the *Ellsworth American* never provided his first name, but was complimentary of his presentation: "The lecturer is a gentleman who thoroughly understands his subject, and is very happy in his manner of promoting it. If the Negro is of an inferior race, as some say, we have not yet heard the other side of the question discussed in this village, with an equal amount of ability."<sup>93</sup>

Fowler, Phillips, Anthony, Dall and others were part of a front-line of reformers who encountered animosity or support; communities were divided. In Ellsworth, they were mostly welcomed. In places like Blue Hill, not far from Ellsworth, however, black reformers like Mr. Fowler, were not so fortunate. The *American* reported under a title of "Border Ruffianism," that Fowler had been attacked after his lecture there, "by some grown up boys that pass for men...the affair is condemned, by almost all of the citizens of all parties. Mr. Fowler is a quiet, gentlemanly man of fine talents, and of good education - well posted in all that relates to the cause he advocates [Anti-Slavery] and possesses splendid powers of oratory." Fowler directly suffered violence. The *American* tried to make sense of such a senseless event: "The gentlemen in Bluehill that could not permit such a man to speak on

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<sup>93</sup> *Ellsworth American*, February 27, vol. III, no. 5. The author has searched for the first name of Mr. Fowler but could find no definite candidate. A Mr. Orin Fowler, an African-American, was a well-known and published agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, but he died in 1852, before another Mr. Fowler spoke in Ellsworth in 1857. Possibly, it was Mr. William Fowler. See his article, "The Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut," *Historical Magazine*, January 1874-April 1875: 12-18, 81-85, 148-153, 260-266.

such a subject, at this late day, must be the 'fossil' remains of a defunct class of men, and the Librarian had better lend them a copy of Irving's story, of Rip Van Winkle from the library."<sup>94</sup> Maine communities, like Ellsworth and Blue Hill, represented the confusing blend of tolerance and intolerance related to women's work (and those for and against slavery) in the public sphere.

The *American* seemed to promote the other activities organized by the women of Ellsworth during this remarkable year.<sup>95</sup> The Young Ladies Library Association, in tandem with the lecture series, aimed to enlighten citizens of Ellsworth by collecting 700 books in only two year's time.<sup>96</sup> Helen L. Jordan headed the Ladies' Benevolent Society as president and secretary, and none other than Ann F. Greely was treasurer. Jordan and her volunteers relied on Biblical references of their own to appeal to women in the town to: "like Dorcas, make many garments for the poor."<sup>97</sup>

What was the end result of these activities in 1857? Woman's position in society was neither decided, nor was she awarded any new rights, nor the crown jewel, the vote. But the *American* did admit the strength of Ellsworth female reformers. And, in this year, historians

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<sup>94</sup> *Ellsworth American*, vol. III, no. 6, 6 March 1857. In the same issue was the write-up of Wendell Phillip's lecture: "To Wendell Phillips we would say, God speed your agitation, -- make it, continue to make it, deeper and stronger. Speak your best thoughts - the panting slave will bless you - God and humanity are on your side."

<sup>95</sup> Vol. III, no. 11, 10 April 1857; Vol. III, no. 12, 17 April 1857.

<sup>96</sup> Vol. III, no. 22, 26 June 1857. Ann Greely's first cousin, George Nixon Black, continued to encourage a library in Ellsworth by purchasing the Tisdale home on State Street and remodeled it in 1898 to be used as a public library. Davis, *History*, 151.

<sup>97</sup> Vol. III, no. 48, 25 December 1857. In Davis, *History*, 35, the Jordans were related by marriage to the Black family, which may have accounted for Ann Greely's connection to Helen Jordan. In the *Bible*, Dorcas hailed from Joppa, and was known there for all of her good works and alms to the poor; *The Project Gutenberg Edition of the King James Bible*, online (2<sup>nd</sup> Version, 10<sup>th</sup> Edition: 1992), 1290 (009:036), 1291 (009:038; 009:039).

could chart the interconnections of the three big reform movements of the nineteenth-century, temperance, abolition, and woman's rights, and see that the 1850s were a time of emergence for educated and compassionate women in Maine. The time was a testing ground for women, for things to come. Before Greely, Hill, and Jarvis' work in 1857, Maine reformers devoted most of their time to temperance and anti-slavery. These Ellsworth women helped to embolden others to adopt the cause. Though records do not survive for pro-suffrage groups anchored in Portland, Belfast and Bangor, the History of Woman Suffrage noted their existence in the 1860s. At the conclusion of the Civil War, suffragists like John Neal felt at ease holding meetings, and the previous grassroots work of the Ellsworth women surely aided him.

Suffrage leaders like Greely, Jarvis and Hill had no counterparts in New Brunswick at the time. Although New Brunswick women petitioned for temperance, they did not make the leap to suffrage in the 1850s, and perhaps the lack of an abolition movement was partly to blame. This leap would not come until the 1880s. Women like Mary Electa Adams, Grace Annie Lockhart Dawson, and others pushed the limits of society in the ways that they could, but it is not known whether or not the pro-suffrage activity to the south of them was taken seriously at the time. There was no evidence that it was.

### Chapter 3

#### **"MR. EDITOR, HAVE WE DIGRESSED?" AFTER CIVIL WAR AND CONFEDERATION: WOMEN CHALLENGE THEIR STATUS**

American Civil War (1861-1865) and Canadian Confederation (1864-1867) shook the Borderland regions in similar and different ways. Civil War forced early suffragists to choose between supporting the Union and advocating for anti-slavery, or to continue to argue for women's rights through the vote. Most chose the former and rolled up their sleeves, functioning as fund-raisers, goods manufacturers, correspondents, and nurses. The Civil War involved American women in totality. Meanwhile, Canadians viewed the turmoil of the Civil War raging south of them with unease. Many had prophesied some kind of conflagration in the American experiment, but Canadians also understood the need for unity in the face of their powerful neighbor's uncertain future. New Brunswick women did not publicly weigh in on the debate in Canadian society surrounding Confederation, though the province's politicians were at the heart of arguments for and against joining. Those who would make the final decision to join the Canadian Dominion were from precisely the same ranks as their leading Loyalist ancestors. In other words, joining the Confederation was not an experiment in widespread democracy.

By the 1870s, Americans and Canadians looked to a new era. In the United States, Reconstruction contributed to simmering hostilities, as the former anti-slavery movement gave way to efforts to define a new South. In both the United States and Canada, westward movement prompted a continuing refinement of the national image. The Canadian government faced rebellion in Prince Rupert's Land. This challenged the Canadian leadership's will keep a lawful and orderly society, based on



democratic principles but a rigid hierarchy. In these shaky times, women in the Borderlands continued to experiment with social reform, and for many American women (and some men), the reform movement became couched in a citizen's right to vote.

In both places, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) played a large role in pushing women into the suffrage ranks. The WCTU originated in Ohio in 1874 and quickly, chapters sprang up across the United States and Canada. The WCTU found its first dynamic leaders in Americans Annie Wittenmyer and Frances Willard, and in Letitia Yeomans of Canada. New Brunswick was the second province (behind Ontario) to embrace this new women's organization and a WCTU formed in Moncton in 1875, Saint Stephen in 1878, in Portland (near Saint John) and also in Fredericton in 1877, and in Newcastle in 1884.<sup>1</sup>

In Moncton, Mrs. R. H. Phillips led prominent women in temperance efforts. One hundred of her fellow townswomen joined her temperance meeting on December 20, 1875 at the Reformed Episcopal Church, and they formed a supportive organization. They held children's and public meetings, and passed around public pledge forms against alcohol consumption.<sup>2</sup>

The New Brunswick WCTUs combined in 1879 and affiliated with those of Nova Scotia in 1883. Out of this merger the Maritime WCTU (M-WCTU) was born. The circle was complete when nearby Prince Edward Island's WCTUs joined the M-WCTU in 1890. This organization existed in

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<sup>1</sup> Collection of Mrs. Clark of Fredericton, New Brunswick Woman's Christian Temperance Union (Fredericton: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), MC63, 1; Women's Christian Temperance Union, A Centennial Mosaic, 1874-1974 (N.p.: N.p., 1974), 18-21. See also Ruth Bordon, Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> WCTU, A Centennial Mosaic, 18. For more on the Moncton women, see Sheva Medjuck, "Women's Response to Economic and Social Change in the Nineteenth Century: Moncton Parish, 1851 to 1871," *Atlantis*, 11, 1 (Fall 1985): 7-21.

its full power for five years, disbanding in 1895 in favor of provincial organizations, but not before a whole generation of women was brought up in its stead.<sup>3</sup> Historian Joanne Veer argued that the M-WCTU's close ties to the American movement put them ahead of the Canadian west in their shift from conservatism to progressivism. She wrote, "They learned solidarity, how to cooperate, organize, engage in political action, proselytize, mould public opinion, conduct public meetings using parliamentary procedures, research themes, organize committees and plan and execute programs."<sup>4</sup> They also "drew heavily from the Protestant evangelical denominations, particularly Methodist and Baptist," according to Veer.<sup>5</sup>

Locally, the New Brunswick members of the WCTU endorsed the Canadian Temperance Act of 1878, also called the Scott Act. This act was debated in each municipality in the province.<sup>6</sup> They also tried to help the campaign to elect temperance sympathizers to local town councils, and distributed literature. Many of these women, too, joined forces in 1888 to submit pro-suffrage petitions to the Legislative Assembly (see Chapter 4).

According to Veer, in a time before the woman suffrage organization was in the region, the WCTU in the Maritimes allowed women to take on a social motherhood role, which in turn, allowed them to demand more equality in society and turn their attention even more towards philanthropical work.<sup>7</sup> But did a movement that allowed women in New Brunswick greater public participation in reform movements also

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<sup>3</sup> Joanne Elizabeth Veer, "Feminist Forebears: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1875-1900." Dissertation. (Fredericton, New Brunswick: University of New Brunswick, 1994) 1-7.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 97.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., ii.

serve to limit them, in that they performed their work in a maternal feminist role? As mothers who took care of society's ills, were they also limited when it came to assuming general leadership roles in the cities and province? How far would the reigning elite males of New Brunswick permit the women to go? If female reformers combined Christianity, temperance, and social reform, could they ever become leaders even of their own movements; especially if religious leadership continued to be the domain of men alone? As Veer wrote, "In the Maritimes it was the temperance, more than the later suffrage movement that facilitated the promotion of women's rights."<sup>8</sup> Were the female reformers, in their zeal for temperance, unknowingly ushering in a new era of male Christian leadership that assumed power over their social movements? Was this evidence of a continuing Loyalist legacy that empowered elite society to hold a tight grip throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth?<sup>9</sup>

In Maine, Mrs. C.V. Crossman of Bangor organized the first chapter of the WCTU on March 5, 1874.<sup>10</sup> Almost immediately, the temperance and suffrage causes drew the same female leaders. Crossman served as president until 1889, and then again from 1894 to 1897. She, like so many Maine reformers, had ties to suffrage. The History of Woman Suffrage noted that Crossman served as a V.P. of the 1873 Maine Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA). Crossman represented the Maine WCTU in Indianapolis at the national convention in 1879. She attended local

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>9</sup> Jerry Bannister, "Canada as Counter-Revolution: The Loyalist Order Framework in Canadian History, 1750-1840," in Jean-François Constant and Michel Ducharme, Liberalism and Hegemony: Debating the Canadian Liberal Revolution (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, forthcoming 2009).

<sup>10</sup> She is also referred to as "Mrs. M.C. Crossman" in several resources, leading the author to believe one set of initials belonged to her husband and the other set to her.

Bangor Reform Club meetings to promote temperance as well.<sup>11</sup> Crossman had good company in her temperance work with vice president Mrs. Henry E. Prentiss (Abigail Rawson) in Bangor. Prentiss served as president of the Bangor WCTU during Crossman's absent years, 1889-1894. She was known for her anti-slavery work, and was the sister-in-law to Sarah J. Prentiss, a suffragist from Paris, Maine.<sup>12</sup> Although the temperance annual programs of the 1870s in Maine did not yet reflect direct woman suffrage work, like the New Brunswick WCTU, their members had undeniable ties.

The Maine WCTU was successful in a couple of ways during this time, which would influence the suffrage movement that was rising up simultaneously to the temperance cause. First, they established a relationship with the National WCTU leaders, hosting Frances Willard and her assistant Anna Gordon at their annual meeting in 1879 in Bangor. Second, the Maine WCTU had as its president the dynamic leader, Lillian M.N. Stevens, yet another woman who participated heavily in the state suffrage movement. As detailed in Chapter 6, Stevens went on to head the National WCTU after Willard's death. Her work in both suffrage and temperance by the 1890s, however, presented a conflict for her.<sup>13</sup> In

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<sup>11</sup> See Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), 689-694; as well as Mrs. L.B. Wheelden, Secretary, WCTU, The Woman's Christian Temperance Crusade of Bangor, Maine: A Partial History, 1874-1897, Pamphlet (N.p.: n.p., 1897); Minutes of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Maine at the Fifth Annual Meeting, Bangor, October 2-3, 1879, with annual report, addresses, etc. (Hallowell, Maine: Printed for the Maine WCTU December 1879); Ninth Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Maine, September 1883, held in the Unitarian Church of Kennebunk (Rockland: Courier-Gazette Press, 1883); Twelfth Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Maine for the Year Ending September 1886, held in the Central Church of Bangor (East Winthrop: E.R. Packard, 1887).

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 4 for more on Sarah J. Prentice of Bangor and Paris, Maine.

<sup>13</sup> Ninth Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, n.p.

this way, the Maine female temperance workers spent the 1870s negotiating the spaces and connections between suffrage and temperance. This decade allowed them time to gain valuable training in both movements, and to pick their battles by the 1890s.

Alongside the temperance advocates, Maine suffragists gathered momentum after the Civil War. John Neal, an already well-known local figure, emerged to push the Maine woman suffrage movement to the next level. Across the border, however, New Brunswick at this time lacked such a well-connected, eloquent, and organized figure as John Neal.<sup>14</sup> In 1870, Neal was Portland, Maine's, *Daily Eastern Argus* newspaper editor, and already had a reputation as a nationally-renowned author and reformer. At this time, he stirred up pro- and anti-suffrage sentiment, using his and other newspapers as his medium. The roots of this particular debate went far deeper than the act of going to the polls. Women voting challenged the status quo of an emerging middle class. And the arguments advanced at this time lingered into the new century.

Historians, particularly Mary Ryan, noted the rise of the middle class in the United States, from roughly the 1830s onward. They also documented the challenges to middle class culture, one of which was the woman's vote, during the latter half of the nineteenth century. A big part of social discord centered on what position women should occupy in American society. The woman suffrage question, posed in a two-month-long editorial debate like the one in which John Neal engaged, exposed the deep anxieties of the American public at this time. They feared the loss of defined gender roles and racial hierarchy. They saw the influx

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<sup>14</sup> By the late 1880s, Honorable Henry R. Emmerson, became a strong male advocate for the women's franchise in New Brunswick. He used his power as a member of the Legislative Assembly to draw attention to the cause. But once appointed the premier of the province in 1896, he was unable to garner the support in house needed to bring universal suffrage to women. See Chapters 4 and 6 for more about Emmerson.

of immigrants from the Canadian Maritimes, Ireland, Eastern and Southern Europe, and blacks from the American agricultural south and industrial north as taxing to the social structure. They remained ambivalent about banishing Native Americans further and further westward. In the realm of education, the promotion of women's collegiate education and universal education for school children, regardless of class, created division among the middle class. A society that still embraced some Puritan concepts struggled over emerging scientific positivism and, in relation to this new science, feared that Americans were no longer adhering to the Bible scriptures, which seemingly provided clearly defined roles for the sexes.<sup>15</sup>

The *Daily Eastern Argus*, *Portland Transcript*, and the *Portland Daily Press* kept Mainers in touch with national events. The *Portland Transcript* was the most conservative paper, including explicit jokes about women, blacks, Native Americans, and immigrants among its pages. The *Daily Eastern Argus* paper was moderate, but still held racist and female stereotypes common to the period. The *Portland Daily Press* was tied to the outlook of the Republican Party and often carried party news, such as the push for Republican radicals to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Concern about the quality of Irish Mothers was expressed in editorials in the *Daily Eastern Argus* on 24 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 120, 1, again in the *Argus* on 1 June 1870, vol. 38, no. 127, 1, and finally in the *Argus* on 3 June 1870, vol. 38, no. 129, 1; The *Portland Transcript* listed an advertisement on 25 June 1870, vol. 34, no. 13, for Vassar College, which opened to female students on 14 September 1870. Vassar College boasted, "first class Cabinets and Apparatus to aid the student in obtaining a complete education," 103.

<sup>16</sup> The *Portland Transcript* noted Frederick Douglass' lecture on the Fifteenth Amendment on 14 May 1870, vol. 34, no. 7, 56; and again on 28 May 1870, where it mentioned black citizens voting in Texas, vol. 34, no. 9, 68; The *Daily Eastern Argus* discussed the Fifteenth Amendment on 24 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 120, 2, and its progress through the Senate vote, and again on 2 June 1870, vol. 38, no. 128, 2, where it referred to the Amendment as a "monstrosity," which "received the executive

During the course of the editorial suffrage debate, which was featured in these three newspapers in May and June 1870, readers also learned of other national events. The Anti-Sixteenth Amendment Society of Washington, D.C. was against the proposed woman suffrage amendment. And during John Neal's May suffrage meetings, the National Woman Suffrage Association held a convention (which Neal attended and addressed) in New York. There were also Congressional debates over the Fifteenth Amendment, securing black men's right to vote. In the English Parliament, there was more debate on woman suffrage. Out West, the territory of Wyoming granted women suffrage and the right to serve on juries. Women also expressed their opinions on these topics in the press, for example, in an article about an Illinois anti-suffragist. At this time, Neal exchanged words with the *Portland Transcript's* editor, Edward H. Elwell, who espoused anti-slavery views before the Civil War, but was against woman suffrage. The debate in these newspapers, then, was congruent with national events.<sup>17</sup>

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signature and the radicals are elated"; and the *Portland Daily Press* detailed a celebration of the Fifteenth Amendment in Annapolis, "in a magnificent manner by the colored citizens. Good order everywhere prevailed," 13 May 1870, vol. 9, 2, and again on 19 May 1870, vol. 9, 2, saying, "the colored people of Rhode Island celebrated by a salute of 100 guns, a procession of literary, benevolent, and secret societies, escorted by a battalion of colored military, and in the evening, a meeting for addresses," and finally on 19 and 20 May in Hartford and New York.

<sup>17</sup> The Anti-Sixteenth Amendment Society was mentioned in the *Portland Daily Eastern Argus* on 5 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 105, 2; The National Woman Suffrage Association met for its annual meeting beginning 10 May 1870 in New York City, where John Neal was elected to the board of Vice Presidents, as noted in the *Daily Eastern Argus* on 11 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 109, 2, and on 12 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 110, 4, and in the *Portland Daily Press* on 12 May 1870, vol. 9, 3, and 13 May 1870, vol. 9, 3; On the British Parliamentary debate on woman suffrage sparked by John Stuart Mill, see the *Portland Transcript*, 11 June 1870, vol. 34, no. 11, 86, and the *Portland Daily Press* on 6 May 1870, vol. 9, 2, and on 11 May 1870, vol. 9, 1; See also John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, *Essays on Sex Equality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); On women serving on juries in Wyoming territory, see *The Woman's Journal*, editor Mary A. Livermore, vol. I, no. 19, 14 May 1870, Boston

John Neal was no late bloomer to reform causes.<sup>18</sup> Born in 1793, Neal had long sympathized with women's rights, arguing in 1823 at a Delphian Club debate on slavery that apprentice, child, or wife could be counted among the nation's enslaved peoples. He and the British economist-philosopher John Stuart Mill both spoke in support of women's rights at the London Debating Society. Neal said: "Wait until women are educated like men - treated like men - and permitted to talk freely, without being put to shame, because they are women." To them, educated women could be educated voters. Neal counted among his associates not only Mill, but also Elizabeth Oakes Smith and Margaret Fuller. In January 1843 in New York, at the Mechanic's Library Association, Neal spoke on "Rights of Woman," and he used the words of the founding fathers on rights and equality. In June 1843, he published a tract in "Brother Jonathan," on the poor station of women in American law, arguing that married women had virtually no rights of ownership, and single women had to battle to keep the few rights they had. The editors of the History of Woman Suffrage wrote that Neal's piece was "a scathing satire, and men felt the rebuke."<sup>19</sup> In 1845, Neal spoke at the

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and Chicago, 147; and again in the *Portland Transcript*, 18 June 1870, vol. 34, no. 11, "A Woman's Jury - What a Wyoming Lady Thinks About It," 92; "An Illinois Woman on the Woman Suffrage Question," was printed in the *Daily Eastern Argus* on 31 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 126, 4.

<sup>18</sup> Some of Neal's writings that encompass reform and religious work include: Address Delivered Before the Portland Association for the Promotion of Temperance, February 11, 1829 (Portland, Maine: Day & Frasier, 1829); The Fear of God the Only True Courage... (Portland, Maine: Arthur Shirley, Printer, 1838); and One Word More: Intended for the Reasoning and Thoughtful Among Unbelievers (Portland, Maine: Ira Berry, Printer, 1838).

<sup>19</sup> Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Matilda Joselyn Gage, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. II (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), p. 436. See Frank L. Bryne, "The Napoleon of Temperance," in Smith and Schriver, Maine: A History, 251, for information about the Dow-Neal feud. See also Neal Dow, Reminiscences on Neal Dow: Recollections of Eighty Years (Portland, Maine: The Evening Express Publishing Co., 1898), 472-473; Donald A. Sears, John



New York Tabernacle on women's rights. Elizabeth Oakes Smith read a supportive letter from Neal, who was also a delegate at the 1852 Woman Suffrage Convention. He wrote True Womanhood, a novel in 1859. He became a contributor to *The Una*, a pro-woman journal headed by Paulina Wright Davis, and Anthony and Stanton's short-lived journal, *The Revolution*, in 1869. Also in 1869, Neal signed the memorial of the American Woman Suffrage Association.<sup>20</sup>

What sparked the 1870 suffrage editorial debate was probably two Portland suffrage meetings in April and May 1870, and the articles that described them. Neal's initial call was listed in several Portland area newspapers:

ELEVATION OF WOMEN

All who favor woman suffrage, the sixteenth amendment,<sup>21</sup> and the restoration of woman to her natural and inalienable rights, are wanted to consultation at the audience room of the Portland Institute and Public Library.

Per Order, John Neal<sup>22</sup>

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Neal (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 11-12, 98-105; January 25, 1843, *New York Herald*.

<sup>20</sup> In Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. III (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1888), 318, 352, Neal contributed to the pages of *The Revolution*; in Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda Joselyn Gage, *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. I (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1881); his contributions to *The Una* were noted on page 246; John Neal, True Womanhood: A Tale (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1859); for Neal's letter to the 1852 convention, see *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. I, 519-520.

<sup>21</sup> After the Fifteenth Amendment passed in 1869, securing black men's right to vote, many suffragists thought that the next amendment, the Sixteenth Amendment, should be devoted to woman suffrage. In 1872, they campaigned for Republican presidential candidate and Civil War hero Ulysses S. Grant with the hope that he would usher in this new political era for women. They were bitterly disappointed. What became the Nineteenth Amendment, also called The Susan B. Anthony Amendment, was not ratified with a majority of states until 1920.

<sup>22</sup> *Portland Daily Press*, 5 May 1870, vol. 9, 3; John Neal wrote to Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, of the National Woman Suffrage Association about the meeting on 5 May 1870 and his report appeared in Stanton, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 353-355. At that time, Neal felt that "probably no organization will be attempted, lest it might serve to check free discussion."

In a predominantly rural state like Maine, a convention call placed in prominent newspapers could bring together people from across the state by train, coach, or boat. There, they could establish statewide suffrage leadership. They could infuse their movement with professionalism, thus achieving a higher level of organization than their opponents. They could counter the anti-suffragist claims in the media. Often nationally prominent speakers reinforced their views. Maine suffragists learned how to speak publicly themselves, generate publicity, and take this information back into their own communities. It was also a central meeting place in which to plan petition drives and introduce novice suffragists and their supporters to government practices and processes. The *Portland Daily Press* printed the New York *Tribune's* comments about Neal and his efforts:

The politics of Maine continue to be rather mixed and mysterious; but one present feature of them is worthy of being specially recorded. The veteran of American letters, Mr. John Neal, who is we dare not say how many years old, but who is one of the patriarchs, has called a meeting with a view to organizing a Woman Suffrage Party. Whether this is the Third, Fourth, or Sixteenth Party in Maine, we have no means of knowing.

The *Press* responded by saying, "Whatever Mr. Neal's age may be, or whatever his faults or follies, his faculties have not become impaired, like those of the *Tribune*, so as to destroy his generous enthusiasm for the right and his zeal for reform and progress. In this respect, he is as young as ever."<sup>23</sup> The *Daily Eastern Argus* followed up on Neal's announcement by noting that "strong minded women have an earnest supporter in the person of John Neal, Esquire, and he is willing to sacrifice himself on their behalf. All present were convinced of the

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<sup>23</sup> *Portland Daily Press*, vol. 9, May 2, 1870, 2.

truth of his sayings, and all of a like mind; they cried, 'Go on Moses, go it'."<sup>24</sup>

*The Woman's Journal*, a Boston- and Chicago-based journal of the American Woman Suffrage Association, also documented the Portland suffrage meeting. W.W. McCann, a Maine correspondent to the *Journal* noted: "Notwithstanding the suspicion and prejudice with which this movement is regarded, quite a large and highly respectable audience assembled at an early hour to witness the new and wonderful phenomenon of a meeting to aid in giving the ballot to women." McCann said Neal appeared as the first speaker, telling those gathered of his association with John Stuart Mill more than forty years before. Mill had not been a believer in woman suffrage back then, but readily changed his mind, going so far as to sponsor pro-woman legislation in the British Parliament. McCann wrote that during the anti-slavery years, those against slavery were often regarded as fanatics. So too, he thought, would the public tide turn towards favoring woman suffrage?<sup>25</sup> The Portland meeting, receiving local and national attention, could only fuel the debate in the Portland area.

Women also participated in this editorial debate. In the *Portland Transcript*, "A Woman Tax-Payer" took editor Edward H. Elwell to task on his stance against the vote for women:

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<sup>24</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, May 5, 1870, vol. 38, no. 105, 3.

<sup>25</sup> McCann in Mary A. Livermore, editor, *The Woman's Journal*, vol. I, no. 19, May 14, 1870, 147. Mainers actively participated in the government of the American Woman Suffrage Association, including Reverend Amory Battles of Bangor on the Vice Presidential Board, and Mrs. Oliver Dennett of Portland (Neè Lydia Neal Dennett, John Neal's first cousin, who, incidentally also filed the first indigenous suffrage petition to the Maine State Legislature in 1872) who served on the Executive Committee, *Journal*, 14 May 1870, 153; Also, Mrs. D.M. Stockwell of Eddington, Reverend Battles, and Mrs. Dennett participated as Vice Presidents of the Woman Suffrage Bazar [sic] held in Fraternity Hall in Boston in the fall of 1870, *Journal*, 25 June 1870, vol. 1, no. 25, 196. The History of Woman Suffrage also printed McCann's report verbatim from *The Woman's Journal*.

Mr. Editor - I am just a little surprised at the attitude of the *Transcript* on the Woman Suffrage question, as indicated by your editorial in this week's issue. Many women, taxpayers and the heads of families, desire to say how their money shall be spent, how their children shall be educated, in what manner the State shall interfere in the matter of temperance. As to the talk about the "womanliness" of women being at stake, I cannot see how it will be more affected by dropping a bit of paper into a box, than by the new spheres of activity you express a readiness to allow them. [I am] **only wishing to suggest there is a principle at stake - the very principle indeed upon which our revolutionary war was fought. The old war-cry, "taxation without representation," is again heard in the land. We women are not all represented by husbands and sons - some of us are greatly misrepresented. Forbidding us to vote does not stop our having opinions on political topics.**"<sup>26</sup>

But other women balked at what they thought should be a political sphere reserved wholly for men. On May 10<sup>th</sup>, "May" wrote to the *Daily Eastern Argus* about the recent talk of woman suffrage in Portland. Her long editorial response to the suffrage question introduced key themes inherent in the growing apprehension of the middle class to socio-economic forces around them. First, May identified what *kind* of woman might want to vote. She wrote, "We knew the progressive woman was on a rampage a long time ago. We know *who* wants to vote."<sup>27</sup> May began to build her case that only lunatic women, bursting out of control, would desire the franchise. A real woman, May believed, would help to raise voters and her influence would be felt once her sons went to the polls - a view reminiscent of the days of Republican Motherhood. Here was the assumption that all women should be mothers and inasmuch, should entrust their needs to male voters. Woman, May wrote, was not strong enough for public life. But if woman did succeed in gaining the ballot, she would also have lost "*her moral power* and unsexed herself before

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<sup>26</sup>*Portland Transcript*, vol. 34, no. 6, 7 May 1870, 46; The full quote that suffragists referred to is: "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

<sup>27</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, 10 May 1870, vol. 38, no. 108, 1.

the world."<sup>28</sup> To May and so many others, unsexed women represented the complete unraveling of society. If women tried to be like men, that is, political morality would disappear. The institution of motherhood would evaporate into thin air. This fear, expressed so vehemently in the May and June editorials of the three Portland newspapers, continued.

Further, if women jumped from their sphere into the man's world, many other social problems would surely gain a foothold in America. If women gained the vote, May wrote, they would march into Congress and even the White House (an argument also advanced later by New Brunswick legislators). In this world, they would have to "wade through political corruption deep enough to sink and doom their souls."<sup>29</sup> And the institution of motherhood, the assumed goal of every woman, would be forever closed to them.

Motherhood, it seemed, was the glue that held society together, much like the family unit of old Loyalist society. May reminisced about mothers from the past:

Our grandmothers were women who loved labor. They washed, ironed, cooked, made and mended clothes. Their hands and hearts were in their work, at 70 they were as fresh and fair as the daughters today at 50. . . "The divine injunction multiply and replenish the earth" our grandmothers complied with. A baker's dozen of little ones, was a medium sized family. It kept the mother's hands busy to supply their wants, so also it kept her heart overrun with the purest of all love.<sup>30</sup>

May sought to build up traditional motherhood and domesticity as the most positive experiences in a woman's life. By engaging in politics, women threatened this sanctified position in society, and in May's eyes, gained nothing. Women, through their work in the home, kept society running in a way more important than politicians ever could. Women not

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

only tended to torn garments, but they tended to the very fabric of society. They bonded civilization, one home at a time. Through motherhood, they passed on these same morals and beliefs to the next generation, assuring a peaceful transition to each new age. To trade away this power in the home, May thought, was incomprehensible.<sup>31</sup>

But it was more than that. May zeroed in on the worst fear of white middle class Americans, and those of contemporary Mainers. She wrote: "The old stock are dying off and it's out of fashion for American ladies to have children. The increase of our population at the present time is from foreign sources."<sup>32</sup> As in contemporary times, her fear was that foreigners would overrun white, native-born Protestants and the status quo would be gone. Without white home rule, anarchy would reign. And who would these foreign born mothers be? May provided the answer: the Irish. May closed out her editorial with a warning: "Mr. Editor, have we digressed? Well it may be that Maine women do some foolish things, but *nary a vote*."<sup>33</sup>

John Neal responded to May's editorial two days later. His first task was to identify May as a man. He wrote: "this, we are to believe, is the language of a Maine woman? But Maine women do not talk slang, nor balderdash, to the best of my knowledge and belief." He wondered: "Does 'May' wear a wide-awake or a shoo fly with trousers?" Once he identified what he thought was a female imposter, Neal stated his beliefs as a woman suffragist: "That woman may be paid for their labors as men are, and not be driven into garrets, or cellars, or dog holes

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<sup>31</sup> See John Mack Farragher, Sugar Creek: Life on the Illinois Prairie (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), 225-233, for a discussion of the realities for women of earlier generations.

<sup>32</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, May 10, 1870, vol. 38, no. 108, 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* For more information about Mainers' reactions against the Irish and other immigrants, see Joseph Conforti, Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005), 193-195.

nor into the streets - nor into untimely graves by the men who employ them, for *lack of a vote*." Neal asked, "Shall mothers be better qualified - or not?" He continued: "I am only arguing with a woman, who thinks ill of her sex - complains of them - and yet will do nothing for their relief." And he summed up his argument by saying: "Here we have the old story of woman's power growing out of her *helplessness and inefficiency!*"<sup>34</sup>

This short editorial flap between "May" and John Neal succeeded in spawning rebukes on the woman suffrage issue in other Portland newspapers. Editor Elwell of the *Portland Transcript* was a community leader in his own right. Born in 1825, Elwell published a few of his own works, including a history of Aroostook County, Maine; a revision of the history of Maine, a piece about Portland and its vicinity and, a chronicle of the French people in the upper St. John River valley.<sup>35</sup> Elwell, prone to bigotry against the French and women, debated the very nature of man and woman. "Is sex an accident?" Elwell asked. "Had the Creator no *design* when he gave a dual nature to human-kind? Man and woman are not identical, and sex establishes the essential and specific difference between them." Because the woman was born female, Elwell believed, she was not physically or mentally equipped for the political realm: "The experience of all ages establishes the fact that it is not, and cannot be, the duty of woman to subdue the earth, to found states, to fight in their defense, to frame laws or to administer justice. She

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>35</sup> See Edward Henry Elwell's works: Aroostook: With Some Account of the Excursions Thither of the Editors of Maine in the Years 1858 and 1878, and of the Colony of Swedes, Settled in the Town of New Sweden (Portland: Transcript Printing Co., 1878); The History of Maine by John S.C. Abbott. Revised Throughout and Five Chapters of New Matter Added by Edward H. Elwell (Augusta, Maine: E.E. Knowles, 1892); Portland and Vicinity (Portland, Maine: Loring, Short, & Harmon, and W.S. Jones, 1876). Elwell was listed as a lumberman in the 1880 Maine Census and died in 1890.

cannot therefore have a nature and inherent right to participate in the government of States."<sup>36</sup>

Neal responded to Elwell by treating the editorial as part of a chess game. His position on whether or not the sexes had differences was under scrutiny. This was the basic argument with which many late-nineteenth century reformers grappled: whether to rely on religious explanations for gender roles or to point to science; especially the newly developing fields of psychology and sociology. Neal, a spiritual man, chose to assess how women became "women" in society. Neal wrote a column for the *Portland Daily Press* on May 11<sup>th</sup> and asked: "Have women no out-door life? And is it really true, and not to be questioned, that the management of *public affairs* 'appertain *solely to his sex?*'" He addressed the separation of gender: "We are not talking of bodies, but of soul's minds and capabilities. Are these boundaries *fixed*? Are they to be *found*?"<sup>37</sup> Neal wrote again on May 23<sup>rd</sup> that women must have no limits. "There are," he said, "limits to man's strength, and to woman's patience; women lecture, preach, report for the papers, transact large business, hold office, write books and practice medicine. Men cook, sew, wash, iron, bake and brew."<sup>38</sup> Each time he responded to a point from the *Portland Transcript* editorial, Neal wrote, "check!" and at the end, "check mate!" Threaded through this suffrage debate in 1870 was the question of what defined female behavior in the post-Civil War era as opposed to that of a male. Neal's insistence that there were no fixed boundaries between the sexes struck a raw nerve, especially for those who relied on strict Bible definitions of gender roles.

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<sup>36</sup> *Portland Transcript*, vol. 34, no. 6, 7 May 1870, 46.

<sup>37</sup> *Portland Daily Press*, vol. 9, 11 May 1870, 1.

<sup>38</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, 23 May 1870, vol.38, no. 119, p. 1.



Elwell was not swayed by Neal's arguments. He wrote in the

*Portland Transcript*:

It is our 'move now,' is it, Mr. J.N.?...Do you hold that the powers and capabilities of the sexes are indeterminate and interchangeable? If woman is as well fitted for political action as man, should not the converse hold true that man is as well adapted as woman to perform the soft ministrations of domestic life? Or are we to believe that woman has two distinct spheres of action, while man has but one?<sup>39</sup>

Perhaps many women would disagree that their never-ending domestic work could be called "soft ministrations." Although their work appeared voluntary, it was a compulsory part of being a woman in nineteenth century society.

On May 25<sup>th</sup>, a reader labeling himself "Shoofly," (referring to Neal's earlier inquiry into the gender of "May") challenged Neal's pro-suffrage stance couched in the words of a chess game. Shoofly argued that there were fixed boundaries to males and females and that "two women are very much more alike, than a man and a woman. Check!" He argued that Neal was contradictory; first saying that women should have choice, and then, through his words, *forcing* women towards the ballot box. Shoofly ended his editorial arguments with a cutting remark: "It only remains to *oblige* her to vote; -- which don't seem to be a success judging from the number and quality at the Wednesday night meetings."<sup>40</sup>

Anti-votist weighed in on June 1<sup>st</sup>. "When women are assuming the attributes of men, and are contending for the stump and the ballot, it would be no wonder if they did occasionally lose their identity."<sup>41</sup> Neal closed out the debate on June 3<sup>rd</sup> by responding to Anti-votist: "if you have no desire to unsex yourself -- nor to become a man - I think you are fully justified, for what on earth have you to gain? What indeed to

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<sup>39</sup> *Portland Transcript*, vol. 24, no. 8, 21 May 1870, 62.

<sup>40</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, vol. 38, no. 121, 25 May 1870, 1.

<sup>41</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, vol. 38, no. 127, 1 June 1870, 1.

hope, from such a transformation? You are more of a man now than most of the fellows who wear trousers, and make mouths at the women who ask for emancipation."<sup>42</sup>

The *Portland Transcript* offered no new editorials on women's right to vote. It did, however, feature a couple of satires involving the ideas advanced by woman suffragists, thus continuing to render its editorial opinion. On June 11<sup>th</sup>, under the "Humorous" column was an article entitled: "Remarks of the E. Spike, Esq., In Favor of the Seventeenth Amendment Before the Hornby Board of Trade."<sup>43</sup> In keeping with widespread anti-black and anti-suffrage attitudes, a fictitious gentleman, speaking in a manner that was to be perceived as a comical colloquialism, said:

Feller citizens - we hes already abundant acts for the pertection of wimmin's rights, our dumb animals, niggers, robbings, shad, alewives and domestic manufactures, but it hes remained for this enlightened community to assert the wrongs and claim pertection for a race wich nobody else seems ever to heve thought on.<sup>44</sup>

In other words, reformers like John Neal seemed to argue that everyone, even those races not yet identified, needed rights.

On June 18<sup>th</sup>, a story appeared under the title "The Woman Question." The *Portland Transcript* printed what it said was a letter to the *Dodge County Citizen* of Wisconsin about a woman's jury. At this time, the territory of Wyoming had become a state and given women the right to vote. Having this right of citizenship, the door was now open for women to serve on juries, something they had previously been expressly prevented from doing. In the article, a daughter named Sally Sprout wrote to her mother about "Anty," with whom she was staying and

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<sup>42</sup> *Daily Eastern Argus*, vol. 38, no. 129, 3 June 1870, 1.

<sup>43</sup> The suffragists had been lobbying for a "Sixteenth Amendment." Perhaps by calling this the "Seventeenth Amendment," the writer sought to ridicule even further their efforts.

<sup>44</sup> *Portland Transcript*, vol. 34, no. 11, 11 June 1870, 85.

who was serving on an all-women's jury during a murder trial.

Throughout the letter, the daughter explained to her mother that Anty neglected her newborn baby, that she ignored her wifely duties towards her husband, who now spent all of his time at the tavern, and in fact, decided that she would bear no more children. "If I had my life to live over again," she quoted Anty, "I'd keep school till I was gray before I'd marry a man that couldn't appreciate my talents." Sally responded: "Anty, you was beginning to get gray, weren't you, when you were married?" Naturally, Sally dutifully reported to her mother, Anty's service on the jury had affected her aspirations. Anty said that she was "going to read and expand her mind, and some day she will start on a lecturing tour and that would be pretty soon, 'twant for the baby."

Finally, Sally wrote:

Anty says I must go to school, and as I am pretty good in grammar an' spelling, she wants me to study Latin. She says she has heard the doctors and lawyers are chuck full of Latin, and she thinks they are, for she could not make out a good many of the words, an' knows they must'a been Latin. She says most likely I'll have to set on the jury some time, and she don't want me to be as ignorant as she is. You had better sell the cow and let me have the money to go to school.<sup>45</sup>

Even though the *Portland Transcript* seemingly dropped out of the debate, these printed articles provided all sorts of assumptions about what would happen to women who had too many rights and not enough faculty to handle them, as well as to the male reformers who supported them. And ultimately, what would happen to society with untended babies, cavorting husbands, and ruined households?

Temperance work before and after the Civil War and Confederation in Maine and New Brunswick gave women political training. Early meetings and debates on the topic of woman's place in society revealed anxieties of the greater public. But the 1870s and 1880s ushered in an

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<sup>45</sup> *Portland Transcript*, vol. 34, no. 11, 18 June 1870, 92.

era of increased dialogue between women and their governmental representatives as to what exactly their political rights should be. The next two chapters look at how the suffrage battle heated up. Pro-woman gatherings and trajectories aimed at further defining women's place in the political world and gaining for her the right to vote. Those against the woman's vote made the leap from the editorial pages of newspapers to the chambers of legislatures in Maine and New Brunswick via anti-suffrage petitions and vocal politicians who embodied traditional views about women.

## Chapter 4

### "FOR WOMEN WHO CAN READ AND WRITE INTELLIGENTLY"<sup>1</sup>: MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK WOMEN ORGANIZE AND PETITION ON BEHALF OF SUFFRAGE

Women in Maine and New Brunswick had petitioned their legislative representatives before the 1870s for temperance, better teaching wages, the right to divorce, and even for suffrage. The 1870s marked the beginnings of a concentrated effort in Maine for woman suffrage, resulting in the first statewide organization, the Maine Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA). The MWSA called its first convention in 1872 and launched its first indigenous petition campaign afterwards. The MWSA was a fledgling organization at first, struggling to stay afloat during the uncertain economic times of the 1870s, but it maintained its autonomy from the temperance movement through the end of the century. In New Brunswick, petitions for woman suffrage commenced in 1886, simultaneously with the Legislative Assembly's debates over expanding male suffrage to a greater share of property owners. New Brunswick suffragists did not convene their first organizational meetings until the 1890s, under the auspices of an influential group of men and women from Saint John. This particular group of people existed separately from the dominant Maritime Women's Christian Temperance Union (M-WCTU). Both organizations submitted suffrage petitions, but the suffragists could not survive mounting pressures from another movement spreading across the Maritimes - the social gospel.<sup>2</sup> The Saint John suffragists could not maintain the movement as paramount to other causes in both the city and in the crucial rural sectors of the province. Those

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<sup>1</sup> As quoted by Sophia Jane Appleton, "1857 AWSA Petition," Legislative Graveyard Files (Augusta: Maine State Archives, 1857).

<sup>2</sup> The strategies of the New Brunswick Women's Enfranchisement Association, founded in Saint John, are discussed in Chapter 6.

against woman suffrage also took up the petition, or "remonstrance," in Maine, but not in New Brunswick. As explored in Chapter 5, the challenge of the remonstrants in Maine may have pushed the MWSA into greater organization in the 1890s, and ensured its survival into the new century.

The spread of pro-suffrage sentiment in the rural outreaches of Maine happened concurrently with the push of national suffragists to secure voting rights in the west.<sup>3</sup> The very existence of these petitions in Maine's legislative records demonstrated that women's political participation was not confined to the western frontier. The petitions indicated that rural life in Maine did not preclude progressive ideas.<sup>4</sup> The late nineteenth century was a time of rapid change, but Maine suffragists devised new strategies, enduring the economic fluctuations and labor unrest, reacting to the influx of immigrants, racial strife, and depopulation of many of its rural towns.<sup>5</sup>

Building upon Neal's leadership and the momentum of the convention, a group of women and men submitted suffrage petitions to the state legislature in 1872. This early effort emanated originally from Portland, the urban center of the state, but within a decade's

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<sup>3</sup> See Rebecca J. Mead, How the Vote Was Won: Woman Suffrage in the Western United States, 1868-1914 (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> Historians Jonathan Prude and Steven Hahn, editors of The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), believed that, "American history was launched from the countryside. We can see this from the persistent rural character of American society," 3. They pointed to the fact that until 1920, most Americans did not live in urban environments.

<sup>5</sup> The Portland Directory (Portland: B. Thurston and Company, 1873), 308, showed that most towns, barring coastal towns like Portland and Cape Elizabeth, actually lost population between 1872 and 1873.

time, spread outward into towns in the west, along the busy coastal seaports, and into the northern reaches of the state.<sup>6</sup>

Maine was experiencing an economic decline in its resource-based industries when the first suffrage petitions were sent to the legislature in the late nineteenth century. Also, Mainers were grappling with the emergence of new economies - new factories and increasing tourism - by the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup> In the 1870s, while the suffragists circulated their petitions for political change, lumbermen who had cashed in along the Penobscot River in Bangor, limestone quarrymen along the coast, who had prospered through the Civil War, and Mainers who found themselves in competition and contention with Canadian fishermen, struggled to forge new paths in an

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<sup>6</sup> The names of petitioners were taken from the Maine State Legislative record, and sometimes the names were incorrectly recorded by the legislative scribe (see APPENDIX H). Surviving petitions are stored at the Maine State Archives for the years 1857 and 1897. A history of the twentieth-century Maine woman suffrage movement was written by Edward O. Schriver, in "Deferred Victory": Woman Suffrage in Maine, 1873-1920," David C. Smith and Edward O. Schriver, eds., Maine: A History Through Selected Readings (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1985). This history spent little time on the early suffrage movement, choosing instead to focus on the readily available sources from the final push for suffrage in 1917-1919. Possibly due to publication constraints, Schriver did not offer the reader footnotes for his sources; See also Lynn Lister, Isabel W. Greenwood and the Women's Suffrage Movement (Farmington: University of Maine at Farmington, 1991). Lister included appendices of early suffrage leadership rosters taken from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Ida Husted Harper, The History of Woman Suffrage, 6 vols. (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony; Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1881-1922; reprint, CD-ROM, Louisville, KY: Bank of Wisdom, 1999).

<sup>7</sup> For some examples of the emerging tourism industry in Maine in the late nineteenth century, see Pamela J. Belanger, Inventing Acadia: Artists and Tourists at Mount Desert (Rockland, Maine: Farnsworth Art Museum, 1999); Mark A. Stoffan, "The Rangeley Lakes, 1860-1900: Tourism, Sporting Activity, and the Commodification of the Maine Woods Image," M.A. Thesis (Portland: University of Southern Maine, 1996); and Richard Rollins Wescott, "Economic, Social, and Governmental Aspects of the Development of Maine's Vacation Industry, 1850-1920," M.A. Thesis, (Orono, Maine: University of Maine, 1961).

economy increasingly tied to the fortunes of the federal government.<sup>8</sup>

Government speculation in silver and overinvestment in the railroads in 1873, during president Ulysses S. Grant's troubled tenure, pushed the nation into an economic panic.

Mainers, already struggling with the demise of their once-prosperous natural resource-based economy, felt the sting of the national financial collapse. Inland towns established in the late 1700s and early 1800s witnessed population depletion by the 1870s, while some coastal towns thrived. The record of suffrage petitions mirrored this economic and social transition in Maine. Economic hardship in the early 1870s threatened the livelihoods of men and women alike; and oftentimes women, on their own for one reason or another, felt the inability to change their situation; and felt the sting of the lack of the vote. Petitions from this time demonstrated that Maine women, urban and rural, delved even further into the male-dominated political world, by claiming their right to vote. In 1873, a man - John Neal - called state suffragists together. By 1897, the last year of suffrage petitioning in Maine in the nineteenth century, women filled all positions of leadership. They established an aggressive press bureau and supplied well-educated workers. Their work also enticed their adversaries into the political fray - the anti-suffragists, who sent their remonstrances to the legislature in 1887, 1889, and 1897.

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<sup>8</sup> See Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), for a general discussion on how American market forces were increasingly manipulated via a new system of accounting, governmental regulation and industrial hegemony; for an assessment on the Maine economy in the late nineteenth century, see Wayne O'Leary, Lawrence Allin, James Vickery, and Richard Judd, "Chapter 17: Traditional Industries in the Age of Monopoly, 1865-1930," Richard W. Judd, Edwin A. Churchill, and Joel W. Eastman, editors, Maine: The Pine Tree State - From Prehistory to the Present (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1995): 391-419.



Maine had pro-suffrage advocates dating to the early days of the national movement - people like John Neal and Sophia Appleton of Bangor, and bold early businesswomen like Ann Greely.<sup>9</sup> Under the auspices of Antoinette Brown Blackwell, Lucy Stone, and Julia Ward Howe, and the American Woman Suffrage Association based in Boston, Maine men and women submitted their first suffrage petition to the Maine legislature in 1857.<sup>10</sup> Aside from the 1857 petition, tours of the state in the 1850s by key suffragists Susan B. Anthony and Lucy Stone, newspaper debates on the topic from the 1850s onward, and mention of Mainers in the History of Woman Suffrage, little remains to document the early suffragists.<sup>11</sup> Portland suffragists met in 1870 at Mechanics Hall, after John Neal publicized the suffrage question in Portland's *Daily Eastern*

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<sup>9</sup> William Barry of the Maine Historical Society wrote that Neal's wife, Eleanor (Wilson Hall) Neal (1808/9-1877), seemed to stay in the background, but she did sign the 1873 call for the woman suffrage convention in Maine. Sophia Jane Appleton, a writer and daughter of prominent Bangor lawyer Thomas A. Hill, was also active in the Bangor chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the 1870s. See Kathryn Manson Tomasek, "Not a Nervous Man": Gender Anxiety and Women's Rights in Antebellum Bangor, Maine," in Marli Weiner, editor, Of Place and Gender: Women in Maine History (Orono, Maine: The University of Maine Press, 2005): 27-50; Kathryn Manson Tomasek, "The Pivot of the Mechanism": Women, Gender, and Discourse in Fourierism and the Antebellum United States," Dissertation, (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin, 1995).

<sup>10</sup> Maine State Archives (MSA), Legislative Graveyard Files, 1857, Location: A27 R01, 4-4, Box 251, file "Women's Rights - laws to secure," 1857, MSA 1/3, Box 251, Envelope 3; "Petition of Antoinette L.B. Blackwell for suffrage," and "Petition of Lucy Stone and others." The 1857 petition was discussed favorably, but tabled for the following legislative session in 1859. In that year, the legislative judiciary committee promptly dismissed it; Ibid, Legislative Graveyard Files, 1859, Location: A27 R01, 4-2, Box 259, File, "Allow Women Suffrage in the Same Manner as Male Citizens - re Possessing Taxable Property, MSA 1/3 Envelope 24, "Inexpedient." Contents include: "State of Maine, H.O.R., Jan. 14, 1859" and "Report of the Committee of the Judiciary."

<sup>11</sup> Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, 1876-1885, vol. III, 351; Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day, Miss Helen N. Bates, and Mrs. Sarah P. Anthoine, "Historical Sketch of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association" Mrs. William E. Wing Scrapbooks League of Women Voters Papers, box #1 out of 2 boxes, housed at the Maine State Museum.

*Argus* newspaper.<sup>12</sup> Neal eventually put out a call for a statewide convention by 1873 and hundreds, if not a thousand, according to some reports, answered him, gathering at Granite Hall in Augusta.<sup>13</sup> The Maine Woman Suffrage Association was formed with male and female leadership, with Neal as its first president. Even before the formation of this statewide organization, however, a few brave women had already submitted their first homegrown suffrage petitions. The leader of the 1872 petitioners was none other than the first cousin of John Neal -- Lydia Neal Dennett.<sup>14</sup> Dennett's first petition on behalf of woman's enfranchisement, and the many that followed, was the one recurring clue available to historians about the nature of the early woman suffrage movement in Maine.

Women headed the first petition initiative led by Mainers alone. These original petitioners hailed from a female reform background in existence before the 1870s. The petitioners of 1872, Lydia Neal Dennett, Mrs. A.J.W. Stevens, and Sarah J. Prentiss, gathered 215 signatures among them (APPENDIX H). Dennett and Stevens resided in Portland and Prentiss hailed from Paris, Maine. Joining these female petitioners were leaders of the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), headed by Lucy Stone, Julia Ward Howe, Mary Grew, and Antoinette Brown Blackwell, who submitted their own memorial to the Maine State Legislature (APPENDIX B). The AWSA promoted achieving state suffrage first and then national suffrage. Their counterpart, the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), concentrated its efforts on national suffrage above all else.

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 3 about Neal's 1870 newspaper debate.

<sup>13</sup> See the *Portland Daily Eastern Argus*, 29-31 January 1873, for details on the convention.

A "call" was a declaration of a public meeting, signed by prominent members of the community.

<sup>14</sup> Emma E. Neal Brigham, *Neal Family* (Springfield, MA: N.p., 1938), 243.

The Maine women's efforts were part of a national campaign in 1872 for woman suffrage and increased women's participation in politics. The U.S. Congress heard the women's case directly from Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Victoria Claflin Woodhull. Woodhull also ran for U.S. president in that year. Susan B. Anthony and many others attempted to vote in 1872. They planned to vote for Ulysses S. Grant, Civil War hero, and second-term presidential hopeful. They reasoned, if Grant could deliver the vote to black men via the Fifteenth Amendment, he might also consider extending the franchise to women. Anthony was arrested and her case was sent to trial in New York. Although the trial was cut short, another woman in Missouri, Virginia Minor, saw her case reach the United States Supreme Court, where it was determined that citizenship did not guarantee a person (namely, a woman) the right to vote.<sup>15</sup>

The petitioners were socially prominent; many of them already noted reformers. Dennett had long been active in temperance and antislavery, for example, by helping escaped slaves make their way to Canada before the Civil War. Dennett did not wed until she was 54 years old. She served on the executive committee of AWSA in 1869, was an AWSA vice president in 1872, signed the call for a woman suffrage convention in 1873, and died in 1881. She collected 170 signatures from her fellow

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<sup>15</sup> For more on Woodhull's bid for president, see Lois Beachy Underhill, The Woman Who Ran for President: The Many Lives of Victoria Woodhull (Bridgehampton, NY: Bridge Works, 1995); for more on the arrest and trial of Susan B. Anthony for voting, see Ida Husted Harper, The Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, vol. I (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1898): 409-429, and Judy Monroe, The Susan B. Anthony Women's Voting Rights Trial: A Headline Court Case (Berkeley Heights, New Jersey: Enslow Publishers, 2002); Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. II., 584, 715, 717-718, 734, 744-745, 951 on Virginia Minor's case; For Anthony's case, see the same, 630, 647-648, 698, 938, 948. See *Ibid.*, chapter XXIV, "Trials and Decisions," 521-585, for a description of the women who tried to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment.

Portlanders. Stevens was the wife of a wealthy iron dealer, Augustus Stevens, and part of elite Portland society. The Stevenses lived near the Dennetts on Spring Street. Sarah Prentiss never married, choosing instead a nursing career during the Civil War. Prentiss was sister-in-law to the writer, Abigail Rawson Prentiss of Bangor, a town with a history of pro-suffrage sentiment. Her father, Henry Prentiss, was a Maine state legislator in 1822-1823. William Lapham described Henry Prentiss as a man who "possessed a high order of intellect, and was a close student of history, enabling him to take a prominent part in the lyceums of the day." Perhaps the elder Prentiss influenced his daughter? These women, including the petitioners from AWSA, were well past their childbearing years, and came from families active in reform.<sup>16</sup>

By the time of the first statewide woman suffrage convention in Augusta in 1873, suffrage petitioning spread beyond Portland and Paris

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<sup>16</sup> The author advises a word of caution regarding historical analysis of petitions. Pro-suffrage and anti-suffrage petitions from Maine and New Brunswick towns indicated interest in the movement. However, one cannot assume that the towns would be represented, were it not for a charismatic leader. Also, pro-suffrage petitions from towns with both Anglo and Franco populations most likely indicated Anglo interest, but not necessarily Franco interest (see discussion later in this chapter on Franco populations and woman suffrage). "Rejected Bills, Reports (Leg. Inexpedient), 1872," Box 563-5, 2401-0816, Folder GY-563/5-8: "Memorial," Petition of Mrs. A.J.W. Stevens and 6 others in aid of petition of Mrs. Dennett and others," "Petition of Miss Sarah J. Prentiss and 39 others of Paris," and "Petition of Mrs. Oliver Dennett, and 170 others" (Augusta: Maine State Archives); Journal of the Senate of Maine, (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1872), 167, 207, 213, 246, 337, and 344. For more information on Lydia Neal Dennett, see Helen Coffin Beedy, Mothers of Maine (Portland: The Thurston Print, 1895), 239. Beedy and Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. III, 635, noted that Lydia and her husband, Oliver, were staunch abolitionists, helping Ellen and William Craft escape their slave master in 1848 by harboring them at their home on Spring Street in Portland and arranging their passage to Nova Scotia and England. Sarah Jane Prentiss was mentioned in William Lapham, History of Paris, Maine, from Its Settlement to 1880 (Paris, Maine: Printed for the Authors, 1884), 199, 478-479, 703, including a poem dedicated to her on page 478, by author Abigail Rawson Prentiss. Lapham's history speculated that Sarah contracted tuberculosis during her tenure as a nurse in the Civil War. She died in 1877 at the age of 54. Mrs. A.J. W. Stevens' husband, Augustus, was listed in the Portland Directory, 242, in 1873, as an iron dealer.

and well into central Maine.<sup>17</sup> Dennett, Prentiss, and Stevens, however, were not represented in the next year's petition drive for unknown reasons. By 1873, the petitioner demographic widened and older women, young female professionals and two men participated. The communities crowning Augusta were represented in the 1873 petition campaign, demonstrating that members of the state capitol community supported suffrage in these early years. Augusta, as the choice for the 1873 Maine Woman Suffrage Convention, may have attracted over a thousand people, which probably boosted the 1873 petition campaign.

Women from the mid-state region became leaders throughout the late nineteenth century in the suffrage movement, including Mary Low, the first female graduate of Colby College in Waterville.<sup>18</sup> In Skowhegan, Mrs. Levi W. Weston (Clementine Houghton Brainard), wife of a foundry and machine shop manager, submitted the first of her three suffrage petitions, gathering 17 signatures. Weston was one of many of the suffragists who was also active in the Maine Woman's Christian

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<sup>17</sup> See Stanton, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. III, for more on the Augusta suffrage convention held on January 29, 1873. The signers of the call for the convention can be found on pages 358-359; MSA, "Rejected Bills, Reports (Leave to Withdraw), 1873," Box 563-9, 2401-0618, File GY-56319-37; "Petition of Mrs. Crockett and 90 others of Dexter;" "Petition of Mrs. Adelaide Emerson of Ellsworth and 54 others;" "Petition of Mrs. R.A. Banks and 24 others of Belfast;" "Petition of Emily G. Ridervals (this may be an error in the legislative records; this woman is probably Emily Rider, as listed below) of Albion and 15 others;" "Petition of Clara Hapgood Nash and 72 others from Columbia;" "Petition of Maria Parlen and 19 others of Hallowell;" "Petition of S.J. Gifford and 2 others of Vassalboro;" "Petition of Mrs. Mary E. Bean and 50 others of Liberty;" "Petition of Mrs. M.W. Southwick and 38 others of Vassalboro;" "Petition of Mrs. L.W. Weston and 17 others of Skowhegan;" "Petition of Miss Esther Graves and 36 other women of Bowdoinham;" "Petition of Mary G. Lowe and 12 others from Waterville;" "Lucy A Snow and 83 others from Rockland;" and "Petition of H.A. Pike and 10 others from Gardiner," in Journal of the House of Representatives (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1873), 90, 192, 216, 225, 233, 262, 263, and 270; and in Journal of the Senate of Maine (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1873), 105, 217, 246, 306, 328.

<sup>18</sup> For more information about Mary Low, see Maggie Libby, [http://www.colby.edu/academics\\_cs/acaddept/education/activism/marylow.cfm](http://www.colby.edu/academics_cs/acaddept/education/activism/marylow.cfm) (Waterville: Colby College, n.d.).

Temperance Union (Maine - WCTU), and served as vice president in 1883.<sup>19</sup> Mrs. Mary Southwick of Vassalboro was very active this year, not only petitioning, but also signing the 1873 MWSA convention call and serving as a vice president of the organization. Ira D. Sturgis, also of Vassalboro, led a petition drive amid his busy and prosperous career as an experienced shipbuilder, lumberman, and sawmill operator.<sup>20</sup> In Albion, Sarah G. Crosby, a court stenographer for the state of Maine, was at the beginning of her long career with the MWSA when she submitted her first petition.<sup>21</sup>

On the mid-central Maine coast, the women of Ellsworth stirred again. This time, Adelaide Emerson, a dressmaker and colleague of suffragist Ann Greely, presented a petition to the 1873 legislature.<sup>22</sup> Lucy Snow of Rockland, one of the suffragists recognized in the History of Woman Suffrage, and who established an Equality League there in 1868,

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<sup>19</sup> For more on the Weston family, see Louise Helen Coburn (herself, the second graduate of Colby behind Mary Lowe, and historian of Skowhegan), Skowhegan on the Kennebec (Kennebec, Maine: Louise Helen Coburn, 1932). Mrs. Levi W. Weston's mother-in-law, Mrs. John Witney Weston, served as a vice president of the MWSA in 1891.

<sup>20</sup> Sturgis appeared in Danny D. Smith and Earle G. Shettleworth, Jr., Gardiner on the Kennebec (Dover, NH: Arcadia Publishing, 1996), 56.

<sup>21</sup> Sarah Gage Girard Crosby signed the 1873 call for a woman suffrage convention, and headed up the first MWSA press bureau in 1898, building up suffrage press circulation from 6 to 80 newspapers, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 690; Crosby was also very active in the WCTU, creating the Waterville branch of that organization. Crosby was a friend and hostess to Mary Baker Eddy, founder of the Christian Science Church. For more on this friendship, see Ruby Crosby Wiggin, Albion on the Narrow Gage (Clinton, Maine: Published by Author, 1964), 104-105, and Sibyl Wilbur, The Life of Mary Baker Eddy (Boston: The Christian Science Publishing Society, 1913), 110-116.

<sup>22</sup> See the Directory for the City of Ellsworth (Ellsworth, Maine: W.F. Stanwood and W.H. Perry, 1886), 28. Emerson shared her place of business with her husband, Homer E. Emerson, a shoemaker. Their businesses were in the same location as their home. Emerson received a good education for her time. In Deale B. Salisbury's book, Ellsworth: Crossroads of Downeast Maine: A Pictorial Review (Virginia Beach, Virginia: Donning Company, 2005), 95, she appeared in an 1852 group photograph of the John Quincy Adams Hawes School, "a private school in Ellsworth." By 1891, however, Emerson was no longer a dressmaker. The Directory of the Booming City of Ellsworth, Maine (Ellsworth, Maine: W.F. Stanford, 1891), 54, listed her by home address only.

submitted a petition with 83 signatures.<sup>23</sup> Suffrage sentiment also spread eastward along the coast to "Downeast," Maine. A woman named Clara Hapgood Nash, who, one year earlier in 1872, had been the first woman lawyer admitted to the Maine Bar, led a petition drive from Columbia Falls.<sup>24</sup>

The petitioners of 1873 were a diverse group. Some of them supported the WCTU, some of them were businesswomen, some were industrialists, and at least two, Mary Lowe and Clara Hapgood Nash, were young college graduates. Although middle-aged men and women continued to play an important role in the Maine woman suffrage movement, the younger, more educated generation appeared more frequently in suffrage activity.

The year 1873 saw the last suffrage petitioning for the rest of the decade. The MWSA met one last time in 1876. Mrs. C.A. Quinby of Augusta was elected president of the MWSA, but mysteriously, Quinby's group of suffragists did not meet again until 1885. What happened in the nine-year span between 1876 and 1885? Two sources, the History of Woman Suffrage, and the 1896 Annual Address of MWSA president, Hannah J. Bailey, claimed that there was not enough interest locally or at the Augusta State House to merit annual suffrage conventions or petition drives.<sup>25</sup> The 1870s were a time of boom and bust for the Maine woman suffrage movement. Older suffragists were retiring from the public fray. Some, like Clara Hapgood Nash, moved west. Some chose to focus their

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<sup>23</sup> For more about the Snow sisters in Rockland, see History of Woman Suffrage, vol. III, 365.

<sup>24</sup> For a brief biography of Clara Hosmer Hapgood Nash, see Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, editors, A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred Women in All Walks of Life (Charles Wells Moulton, 1893; reprint, Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1967), 531.

<sup>25</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 691; Hannah Johnston Bailey, Address of the President of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association (Augusta: Maine State Archives, 1896), 2.

attention on temperance, a movement bolstered by the phenomenal rise of the WCTU in 1876 under the leadership of Frances Willard. Other suffragists like John Neal, Lydia Neal Dennett, and Sarah J. Prentiss died.<sup>26</sup>

This particular time period encompassed years of economic decline in the Pine Tree State.<sup>27</sup> In this poor economic climate, could social reformers hope to convert anyone beyond their own circles? Would they have time for volunteer work if they had to fight to maintain their own businesses? Would the women, in particular, have had as much leisure time to devote to the suffrage cause? And would an economic downturn lead to a rise in public conservatism when it came to social mores, specifically, women's political activism?

Despite the lull in suffrage activity, the membership rolls in the WCTU steadily climbed through the 1870s and 1880s. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union rose in popularity in these years,

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<sup>26</sup> John Neal died in 1876, Lydia Neal Dennett, in 1881, Sarah J. Prentiss in 1877, and Benjamin Kingsbury, an influential leader of the MWSA in 1873, who served as president from 1873-1876, and also as president of the Industrial School for Girls in 1873, was gone by 1886. For more on Maine suffragist participation in the WCTU, see Mrs. L.B. Wheelden, Secretary, WCTU, editor, The Woman's Christian Temperance Crusade of Bangor, Maine: A Partial History, 1874-1897 (Bangor, Maine: n.p., 1897); Minutes of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Maine at the Fifth Annual Meeting, Bangor, October 2-3, 1879 (Hallowell, Maine: Printed for the Maine WCTU, December 1879); Ninth Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Maine, September 1883, held in the Unitarian Church of Kennebunk (Rockland, Maine: Courier-Gazette Press, 1883); Twelfth Annual Report of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of the State of Maine for the Year Ending September 1886, Held in the Central Church of Bangor (East Winthrop, Maine: E.R. Packard, 1887). The WCTU meeting reports reflected the common appearance of the prefix, "Miss," by the 1880s, indicating the increasing participation of single, educated, and professional women.

<sup>27</sup> Bangor, with its prospering economy, was an exception to the rule at this time. See O'Leary, "Traditional Industries in the Age of Monopoly, 391-419, on the decline of Maine's natural resource-based economy. Joyce Butler, in "Chapter 10: Family & Community Life in Maine, 1783-1861," in Judd, et. al., Maine: The Pine Tree State: 217-242, also agreed that churches followed the development of inland towns and churches helped to foster educational institutions, 239-241.



redirecting women's attention to goals of stamping out alcohol sale and abuse. Those who were still active in suffrage might have chosen instead to participate in the regional and national suffrage efforts. For example, in late May and early June of 1881, AWSA held a series of conventions throughout New England. On June 2-3, AWSA selected Portland as a useful place for such a convention. It was held at City Hall, with the Reverend Dr. McKeown, a suffrage petitioner, of the Methodist Episcopal Church providing the welcoming address. Another Portlander, Charlotte Thomas, also a petitioner, attended this 1881 convention, and continued her dedication to the AWSA and the MWSA well into the twentieth century.<sup>28</sup>

Meanwhile, there was some pro-suffrage activity in the Maine State Legislature, despite the lack of pro-suffrage petitions. Honorable Thomas Brackett Reed, leader of the Republican Party in the House of Representatives and member of the Judiciary Committee, presented a report in 1884 to promote the proposed Sixteenth Amendment that would allow women to vote. On the Democrat side of the Legislature was William P. Frye, a Senator who presented a national WCTU pro-suffrage petition in 1878 with 30,000 signatures on it. At this time, the History of Woman Suffrage editors noted that Hannibal Hamlin, a senator from Maine and vice president to Abraham Lincoln, and Maine governor Nelson Dingley were in favor of woman suffrage, and James G. Blaine, Maine Senator and U.S. Secretary of State, did not protest against it.<sup>29</sup> It was possible that the suffragists spent their time in

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<sup>28</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, vol. III, 197; Thomas was also mentioned in Beedy, Mothers of Maine as a young woman who grew up with the principles of anti-slavery and equal rights. She led an 1889 suffrage petition drive, hosted Susan B. Anthony at her home in 1898, and was noted in the History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 693, in her attempts to promote protective legislation for women and girls.

<sup>29</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, Vol. III, 365.

pressuring legislators during this time, instead of circulating petitions. They may have had less mobility to circulate petitions due to financial difficulties. Or, perhaps the strength of the WCTU in its infancy may have steered their attention towards effecting temperance in their local communities.

It took the support of the New England Woman Suffrage Association (NEWSA) to pull Maine suffragists back into active work, sponsoring their first meeting September 23-24, 1885. The convention, called by dormant president Mrs. C.A. Quinby and S.J.L. O'Brion, secretary, was held at the Methodist Episcopal Church on Chestnut Street in Portland. It was hoped by the organizers that the meeting would bring "friends of the cause from all parts of the State" to "aid in perfecting a State organization, that will increase in strength until all political rights are secured to women." The Reverend Benjamin Blanchard, D.D. of the First Unitarian Church at Portland was named president of the revamped MWSA. He held that position of leadership until 1891.<sup>30</sup>

With the MWSA reconvened, suffragists took up their petitions again.<sup>31</sup> Those in favor of giving women the right to vote in 1887 petitioned from almost all corners of the state of Maine, not including the northern woods area that had long been under the sway of lumbering companies and lacked a population to initiate or support social reform. The 1887 petitions for pro-suffrage forces demonstrated that those dormant years between the last suffrage petition of 1873 and suffrage convention of 1876 did not turn people away from woman suffrage en

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<sup>30</sup> *Eastern Argus*, 25 September 1885, 2; History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 689.

<sup>31</sup> For documentation of the 1887 suffrage petitions, see Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine (Augusta: Sprague, Burleigh, & Flynt, 1887), 89, 97, 106, 113, 140, 152, 167, 179, 198, 272, 336, 350, 360, 474, 497, 534; Journal of the Senate of Maine (Augusta: Sprague & Son, 1887), 93, 102, 108, 117, 144, 156, 170, 190, 205, 255, 266, 283, 300, 306, 313, 331, 376, 428, 478.

masse. In fact, there was quite the opposite effect. All of the previous suffrage strongholds remained, including Portland and surrounding communities, coastal Maine, and the Skowhegan region, but now emerging were mountain communities of Brownfield, Cornish, and Hollis. Lewiston-Auburn also showed up in this petition drive, perhaps demonstrating its growing urban nature. Finally, communities in the northern areas of Maine including Fort Fairfield, Houlton, and Perry emerged in favor of the cause. Historian Joyce Butler noted that elite society surfaced on the Maine coast earlier, in the 1850s, than that of the hinterlands, in the 1880s, and this was demonstrated in the spread of suffrage petitions.<sup>32</sup>

The 1887 petition drive demonstrated several trends in Maine. First, it was clear that the pro-suffrage petitioners were now represented in all corners of the state. Also, the Universalist, Unitarian, Quaker, Methodist, and Baptist churches were known to support suffrage. The spread of these churches northward could only enhance pro-suffrage ideologies. In Maine, women had access to higher forms of education from the 1850s onward in such places as Westbrook Seminary near Portland, Bates College in Lewiston, and Colby College in Waterville near Augusta. Education fueled female professionalism. Many new female professionals like lawyer Clara Hapgood Nash, who filed a suffrage petition from isolated Columbia Falls in 1873, were now diffusing throughout Maine. In some of the coastal towns, which had shown early suffrage activity, several women doctors set up practice. These doctors included Dr. Mary Alice Avery, Dr. Sarah W. Devoll, Dr. Jane Lord Hersom, and Dr. Emily Titus, all of Portland; Dr. Jennie

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<sup>32</sup> In the woman suffrage ranks, the coastal towns of Bangor, Belfast, Ellsworth, Portland, and Rockland were early leaders. Pro-suffrage communities sprang up in smaller, western towns by the 1880s.

Fuller of Hartland; Dr. Abby Fulton of Ellsworth; and Dr. Mary Bates Stevens of Auburn, all in practice in the 1880s, 1890s, and early 1900s.

Some of the 1887 petitioners were long-time suffragists like Mrs. Cordelia A. Quinby of Augusta. She signed the 1873 woman suffrage convention call, sat on the executive committee of the MWSA in 1873-4, and then headed the same organization through the lean years, between 1876 and 1885. She signed the convention call for the 1885 gathering in Portland and acted as vice president of the MWSA that same year. She continued to lead as vice president in 1891. Quinby participated as a delegate to the National Woman Suffrage Association convention (NWSA) during these years.<sup>33</sup>

Women like Sarah C. Lord of Kennebunk represented newcomers. She worked for both suffrage and temperance during the 1880s, as did Mrs. William H. Fields of Biddeford and Mrs. William L. Davis of East Hiram.<sup>34</sup> There were several husband-wife teams petitioning for suffrage in this year, including Annie D. and Charles J. Chapman of Portland; Janet and James Dobson of Pittsfield; and Ellen C. and Frederick Jones of Deering. As the 1887 petitions showed, some men continued to support the suffrage cause in Maine. Two clergymen petitioned this year: Reverend Charles J. Clark of Portland and Reverend W.S. McIntyre of Brunswick. Also, two judges from Skowhegan, Honorable A.H. Webb and Honorable A.R. Bixby, jointly filed their petition. The petitioners

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<sup>33</sup> History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 815; She was also referred to as "Quimby."

<sup>34</sup> See Annual Meeting of the WCTU, 1883, where Lord was listed as corresponding secretary; she was active in the Maine-WCTU again in 1886. Fields was also listed in the Maine-WCTU bulletin from 1886. Davis was active in the 1883 Maine-WCTU.

were not successful this year, and the woman suffrage bill was refused passage in the legislature on March 15, 1887.<sup>35</sup>

The number of those petitioning in favor of woman suffrage in 1889 had grown even further since the last petition drive.<sup>36</sup> New to the movement were towns between Lewiston-Auburn and Bangor. More coastal communities like Bar Harbor, Boothbay, and Saco appeared. Saco, in particular, continued its strong representation in the suffrage movement through the early 1900s with the likes of Sarah Fairfield Hamilton, leader of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union there.<sup>37</sup> The northern communities saw a bigger spread of petitioners. A petition from Aroostook County circulated around to the many small outposts on the Maine hinterland. These northern towns were growing at the time and had access to news from other parts of Maine.<sup>38</sup>

In 1889, there was a new trend in the pro-suffrage petitions. This time, many of the petitioners specifically asked for school and/or municipal suffrage for women. By the late 1880s, women had supplanted men in the teaching ranks, and men and women began advocating woman's ability to vote for the school board and in some cases, serve on it. Women were prominent and successful in municipal organizations, which

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<sup>35</sup> The bill was defeated in the House on March 12, Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine, 534; Journal of the Senate of Maine, 487, detailed the Senate's final refusal of the bill in concurrence with the House.

<sup>36</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1889), 75, 93, 109, 124, 131, 132, 138, 140, 147, 150, 159, 169, 170, 171, 180, 184, 198, 211, 215, 225, 235, 237, 242, 255, 308, 325, 402, 476, 496, 499.

<sup>37</sup> For more on Hamilton, see Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, Prominent Personalities in the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs (West Boothbay Harbor, Maine: James F. Waugh, 1962), 210-11. She was the daughter of Anna P. Thornton and Governor of Maine John Fairfield. She married B. F. Hamilton of Saco, and died in 1909. There is a memorial dedicated to her at the Hamilton Memorial Building (the old Moulton house) on Beach Street in Saco.

<sup>38</sup> Possibly they interacted with those over the New Brunswick border, but the author has not found evidence of this as it pertains to suffrage.

led to softening attitudes about the possibility of extending municipal suffrage to them. In all cases, these tactics failed in Maine. The suffragists wanted the vote primarily as citizens, not just as taxpayers.<sup>39</sup>

In 1891, the number of petitions in favor of suffrage declined, with Portland as the only urban area represented.<sup>40</sup> Petitions could have declined for many reasons, some as simple as the petitioner dying or moving away. Would-be petitioners might have also decided to participate in other progressive-era organizations. The 1890s were a time of volunteerism, with many Americans joining clubs. The trend of male participation, however, continued, especially among clergymen. There also may have been an MWSA initiative this year to emphasize "municipal suffrage with test." This tactic probably represented a growing bias against illiterate immigrants who came from Quebec and Europe via Boston during this era. Literacy was seen as the mark of an informed citizen. Once again, the Legislature voted municipal woman suffrage down.<sup>41</sup>

However sparse the pool of petitioners in 1891, by 1893 petitioners revved up their efforts again, with virtually every

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<sup>39</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine, 496-497. The "nays" in the final vote were 91, and the "yeas" were 45; Journal of the Senate of Maine, 413. The senate Committee on the Judiciary, Majority report, voted "leave to withdraw." In the History of Woman Suffrage vol. IV, xxx, 463, the editors list the percentage of women teachers in the United States in 1900 as 70%.

<sup>40</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1891), 819: 104, 122, 131, 143, 146, 155, 159, 160, 167, 170, 184, 192, 201, 215, 227, 242, 252, 260, 261, 268, 277, 316, 485, 518, 550; Journal of the Senate of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1891), 798: 116, 464, 487, 532, 672.

<sup>41</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine, 550, saw the bill for municipal woman suffrage voted down; Journal of the Senate of Maine, 672, likewise in the Senate, the bill was voted "ought not to pass." See Bruno Ramirez, Crossing the 49<sup>th</sup> Parallel: Migration from Canada to the United States, 1900-1930 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2001), 47, 67.

occupied area of Maine represented.<sup>42</sup> Even though the 1893 recession, produced by a run on the United States' gold supply, deeply hurt labor and local economies, pro-suffrage sentiment remained strong in Maine, perhaps bolstered by the WCTU initiative to "do everything" to enact temperance legislation - including arguing for the woman's vote. From the 1880s, suffragists had petitioned from more and more places, and the recession could not turn back the clock. Again, petitioners asked for municipal suffrage with a test, continuing a probable anti-immigration bias. Another interesting aspect of the 1893 petitions was the appearance of a male group, calling itself the "Cumberland County Convention of Reformed Men." There were no other details provided by this group; however, they superseded a much better-known group of Maine men who advocated for woman suffrage in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Robert Treat Whitehouse served at the helm of the latter Portland group, the Men's Equal Suffrage League of Maine. They were active by 1914, at the same time that Whitehouse's wife, Florence Brooks Whitehouse, became known as a radical member of the Congressional Union and National Women's Party along with Alice Paul.<sup>43</sup> There were few men's groups like

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<sup>42</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1893), 815: 93, 100, 101, 109, 110, 121, 127, 129, 140, 144, 145, 154, 156, 184, 189, 198, 200, 207, 211, 266, 463, 484, 511, 557, 602, 612, 619, 657; Journal of the Senate of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1893), 767: 96, 588, 610, 626.

<sup>43</sup> "Mrs. Whitehouse, Women's Suffrage Leader, Dies Here," newspaper n.p., 22 January 1945, as seen in MHS vertical file, "Maine Women Suffragettes & Anti-Suffragettes." At the MSA, a file entitled "Woman Suffrage" from the Law Library, including books, pamphlets, newspaper clippings and a brief history of the movement is filed under reference number 23180216. In it is a yellow leaflet for the Men's Equal Suffrage League of Maine that listed the members under the words, "Equality is Equity." They included: Whitehouse as president, vice presidents Morrill N. Drew of Portland, C.S. Stetson of Greene, William R. Pattangall of Waterville, Ira G. Hersey of Houlton, Treasurer George H. Allan, Secretary Ralph O. Brewster of Portland, and the executive committee, including Hiram Ricker of Poland, Carl E. Milliken of Island Falls, E.C. Reynolds of South Portland, E.E. Richards of Farmington, Honorable John A. Peters of Ellsworth, Lewis A. Burleigh of Augusta,

the one in Cumberland County at that time. According to the History of Woman Suffrage, men in Texas formed a similar group before 1900.<sup>44</sup>

By 1895, the petition drive showed a sharp increase in the number of petition signers thanks to the efforts of Stroudwater resident and future national WCTU leader Lillian M.N. Stevens, who successfully polled her Maine WCTU network for 9,532 signatures to support suffrage that year.<sup>45</sup> There was a slight constriction in petition origin towns, but perhaps people from those places signed Stevens' petition from Stroudwater. A lone petitioner called for "full suffrage" - the woman's vote with no strings attached. One woman petitioned from Westbrook - home to the Seminary that had for a longtime advanced women's education. Stevens, for example, graduated from this institution. Widows and single women filled the ranks of suffrage petitioners, and many of the single women were educated at levels unavailable to their mother's generation.

The national economy responded to the optimistic outlook of voters who brought William McKinley to the office of United States president in 1896. In the new round of petitions of 1897, the state of Maine, excepting the lumber territories, was completely enveloped in

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Honorable Obadiah Gardner of Rockland, K.M. Dunbar of Damariscotta, Alton C. Wheeler of South Paris, Halbert N. Gardner of Patten, Millard Metcalf of Greenville, Edward C. Plummer of Bath, E.N. Merrill of Skowhegan, Frank I. Pendleton of Searsport, John R. Trimble of Calais, and Aaron B. Cole of Kittery. See also Ida Husted Harper, editor, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. VI (Washington, D.C.: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1922), 237.

<sup>44</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine, 657. House members voted "leave to withdraw," again on the suffrage bill; Journal of the Senate of Maine, 1893, 626-627. The Majority Committee of the Committee of the Judiciary voted "ought not to pass."

<sup>45</sup> There has been a lot written about Lillian M.N. Stevens. See her daughter's tribute, Gertrude Stevens Leavitt, Lillian M.N. Stevens: A Life Sketch (N.p.: N.p., 1921); and Mary Elvira Elliot, Mary A. Stimpson, Martha Seavey Hoyt, and Julia Ward Howe, editors, Representative Women of New England (Boston: New England Historical Publishing company, 1904): 19-22.



pro-suffrage petition activity. The northern frontier communities expanded and developed their economies and culture. Farmington, just northwest of Skowhegan, boasted some of the most active suffragists, including Isabel Greenwood, wife of a successful earmuff manufacturer, by the early 1900s.<sup>46</sup> The one bigger community that did not appear on the 1897 list was Bangor. At the time, Bangor hosted quite a few reform societies, including the Athene Club (a version of the Chautauqua group, interested in higher learning), The Dorothea Dix Memorial Association, the Bangor Art Association, two chapters of the WCTU, and the Bangor Federation of Women's Clubs. It was possible Bangor reformers turned their efforts toward non-suffrage activities. Known as the "Queen City," Bangor once commanded a large lumber trade on the Penobscot River. Bangor was the last stop before travelers faced poorer roads and the woods heading north and east. Bangor returned as a suffrage center again in the 1900s, under the direction of Deborah Knox Livingston (see Chapter 6).

The 1880s also saw the rise of the anti-suffragists in Maine, who sent "remonstrances" or petitions to the Maine State Legislature to counter those from the suffragists. See Chapter 5 for an in-depth discussion of the anti-suffragists of Maine and New Brunswick. Their first petition of 1887 reflected the center of their movement - Portland. The remonstrants were able to gather even more signatures in 1889, with petitions against woman suffrage paralleling those in favor of it in eastern Maine, coastal Maine, and the western Maine mountain region, but they were unable to garner support in urban areas outside

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<sup>46</sup> See "Suffragette Isabel Greenwood Dies in Farmington at 95," *Portland Press Herald*, 28 June 1958. The American press often mislabeled the American suffragists as "suffragettes," but the term only applied to the militant British women who worked with Emmeline Pankhurst from the 1890s onward and American reformers who used the same tactics in the early twentieth century.

of Portland. In some cases, petitions were circulated throughout a county via the small towns and submitted with only the county name as the point of origin. An example was the "Penobscot County" petition, whose largest town was Bangor, but by 1897, only one petition against the woman's vote was filed by Mrs. James Baxter, wife of a prominent Maine politician.<sup>47</sup>

By the close of the nineteenth century, Maine was firmly rooted in pro-suffrage activity and had succeeded many times in gaining the support of the Republicans in the Maine State Senate, only to see their success targeted by Democrats in the Maine State House. The MWSA, in the 1890s, consolidated its female leadership, separated itself from the Maine WCTU politically by the end of the decade, and adopted new tactics and affiliations in the new century (See Chapter 6 for more on the MWSA in the 1890s).

The petitioning era of the late 1800s in Maine saw the passing of the torch from the older generation of reformers to the younger one. With the new generation came a class of women and men who had college educations, professional training, and a stronger understanding of the governmental process and pressure tactics.<sup>48</sup> The younger generation, however, moved away from the argument that the vote made men and women

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<sup>47</sup> Portland Directory (Portland: Brown & Thurston Company, 1887), 566; Portland Directory (Portland: Brown & Thurston Company, 1897), 190; Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1889), 75, 93, 109, 124, 131, 132, 138, 140, 147, 150, 159, 169, 170, 171, 180, 184, 198, 211, 215, 225, 235, 237, 242, 255, 308, 325, 402, 476, 496, and 499; MSLLL, Journal of the Senate of the State of Maine (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1889), 82-83, 86, 103, 112, 115, 119, 122, 127, 130-31, 140, 146, 149, 150, 158, 161-2, 176, 184, 192, 206, 211, 222, 229, 235, 296, and 413.

<sup>48</sup> Elizabeth S. Clemens, The People's Lobby: Organizational Innovation and the Rise of Interest Group Politics in the United States, 1890-1925 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 1-4. Clemens detailed how voters, from the 1890s onward were less guided by political machines and more by personal preferences, learning to monitor the governmental process, and "Hold their representatives accountable at the polls."

equal, to the idea that women could morally influence the country due to their unique maternal and moral qualities through the ballot box. Advocates applied these "maternal" and "moral" arguments to the immigrant "problem." Thus, the national and local movements increasingly demonstrated a nativist and racist undertone.

The petition battle between 1872 and 1897 aptly demonstrated that men and women in Maine were not quiescent while other western states like Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, and Idaho actually achieved full woman suffrage in the 1890s. It was also clear from the suffrage petitions that progressive forces germinated in urban atmospheres, but could not exist without hinterland support. The Maine Woman Suffrage Association, by 1897, had not gained suffrage, but the level of pro-suffrage petition activity in that year demonstrated that the MWSA had clearly influenced the state's political climate. Another trend apparent in these petitions showed the 1880s as the most active period for anti-suffragists. The anti-suffragists, who argued women should stay out of politics, also used a political tool themselves when they submitted their remonstrances. Petitioning for the vote for women was part of a larger process, which chipped away at old conventions of "woman's place" and worked towards the goals of the United States Constitution.

In New Brunswick, the petitioning campaign occurred later than in Maine for several reasons. The national organization, formed in Toronto in 1877 initially as a literary club, was not outwardly advocating women's enfranchisement until 1883. In New Brunswick, the WCTU gained many converts and, for many years, diverted its members' attention to community work in combating the adverse affects of alcohol (this was often true in Maine as well). Also, though it is hard to measure, the impact of the Loyalists' ordered society (and the growing pains or

deviations away from it), probably also delayed the suffragists from organizing earlier. The mother country, England, had briefly debated woman suffrage in 1869, but ignored the many suffrage petitions in the 1870s. Queen Victoria was against the vote for women. Still, English women taxpayers were able to gain municipal suffrage in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. This may have influenced the Canadian governmental officials. Also, by the 1880s, the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly was debating whether or not to expand manhood suffrage, and some legislators began to argue that women should have the vote as well.<sup>49</sup>

On the whole, the petitions reflected the desires of a certain part of the population of New Brunswick. First of all, the petitions demonstrated that, like Maine, the call for the woman's vote mostly came from the Anglo populations.<sup>50</sup> Also, similar to Maine, petitions came from the more urban areas of the province. Those petitioning their legislators were male and female, most were over 30 years of age, but some petitioned in their elder years as well. The campaigns varied over the years, as in Maine, with petitioners attempting to apply pressure to their legislators to give widows and spinsters the vote. Some argued for married women, and others said merely that property owners, male and female, should have the vote. Others suggested that women should have municipal suffrage for the same reasons argued in Maine - that women could certainly clean up their communities via the municipal vote,

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<sup>49</sup> Synoptic Report of the Debates of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick (Fredericton, New Brunswick: G.E. Fenety, 1885), 109. The proposed bill in the Assembly in 1885 was described as: "divided into three divisions: First, the franchise; second, the machinery; third, general amendments. The principal changes in the franchise were that widows and unmarried females having property, tenants, farmers sons, and occupants of real estate were given a vote."

<sup>50</sup> See Appendices H and I for the names of those who circulated suffrage petitions in Maine and New Brunswick. The names reflect a mostly Anglo population.

but that there was no need for them (and there might be a danger for them) to vote at the provincial and national levels. Some were staunch supporters of the idea that all men and women, regardless of property, as *citizens*, should have the vote. This latter sentiment was, however, not as strongly reflected in the evidence in New Brunswick as in Maine.<sup>51</sup>

The years 1885 and 1886 were exciting in the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly because the representatives debated the idea that suffrage could be tied to property rights. Up to this moment, only men who held a certain amount of property and assets could vote. In 1885, the Assemblymen debated widening the franchise to include those with less property, the expansion of the vote was probably aimed at farmer's sons, who might otherwise head west to seek their fortune, but the property question plagued some of the representatives. In the 1885 Legislative Assembly sessions, Representatives John V. Ellis and Amasa Killam went on record to support the idea of enfranchising women.<sup>52</sup> In doing so, they became trendsetters in the emerging petition campaign of pro-suffrage advocates. The men returned in earnest to argue for the woman's vote the following year, devoting significant amounts of time during session to the topic. They and other legislators, such as George White, William Pugsley, Jr., and Dr. Alfred A. Stockton, first tackled the seemingly simple topic of female school suffrage. They proposed that unmarried women and widows should vote in school elections and

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<sup>51</sup> Chapter 5 looks at reasons legislators in New Brunswick argued against giving the vote to women, or for keeping it contained to the municipal vote. See also Appendices H and I, to see how petitioners often noted their preferences.

<sup>52</sup> *Synoptic Reports*, 1885, 109-110; An article in *The Carleton Sentinel*, dated 13 January 1872, demonstrated the sentiment that widows and spinsters who paid taxes on land should have a vote. It read: "She should have a vote, and thus wield a direct influence on the public management of her own property."

perhaps serve in the office of school trustee. All around them, in places like London, Boston, and Ontario, the legislators argued, women were given the school and/or municipal vote to great success. Even Saint John and Portland (N.B.) City Councils had resolved to give women the municipal vote. Ellis believed that even married women should have the right to vote and serve on school boards.<sup>53</sup> The continuing debate over expanding manhood suffrage also aided the women's cause.<sup>54</sup>

The first petitions to the Assembly strengthened the pro-suffrage legislator's arguments in 1886 (APPENDIX I). It was a direct response to those who said women had never asked for the vote. Although this argument continued to resonate in the years to come, the petitions provided solid evidence to the contrary. Many of these men and women had already participated in political action, whether in petitioning for temperance or organizing for other causes in the community. The 1886 pro-woman suffrage petitioners were urban in nature. Two representatives, from Saint John and Portland, submitted petitions arguing for municipal suffrage, as referenced above in the legislator's comments. Also, the Woodstock town council submitted a petition asking for the enfranchisement of widows and spinsters. Aside from the three petitions from the towns, the first petitioners, like those in Maine, were women. From Woodstock, a growing farming community of almost 3,000 people, located in the central western part of the province, Matilda Chalmers, Mrs. Henry Deboice, and others sent a petition. Chalmers, who was a married 53-year-old milliner by trade, asked specifically for the vote on behalf of widows and spinsters. From Moncton, a town in northeastern New Brunswick with a strong Acadian community, came a

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<sup>53</sup> These legislators were not the first to argue for the woman's vote in the Assembly, however, they did so in a more receptive environment; Synoptic Reports, 1886, 22-23.

<sup>54</sup> Synoptic Reports, 1886, 76-78, 82, 107, 109.

petition from Sarah Chandler, Saraph Cutler, Catherine Humphrey, and others.<sup>55</sup> Their petition also requested that widows and spinsters have municipal suffrage. Finally, from Saint Stephen, a St. Croix river community long active in temperance, Mary E. Chipman, Mrs. Joseph Porter, Mrs. D. Upton and others sent a petition. Chipman, a 66-year-old, and her co-signers, like some of the others, petitioned for the vote for unmarried women.

These petitions were well timed, and the Assembly agreed that unmarried women should have access to the municipal and school votes. In this respect, the New Brunswick women made an important gain early in their suffrage battle - the municipal vote. Maine women never secured this right from their state legislature (though they did eventually gain the school vote). What was the difference in argument? Maine women wanted the vote because they considered it a right of citizenship. The New Brunswick women played upon the argument that as property owners, single women paid taxes and existed outside the so-called "protections" of marriage. Historians Beth Light and Joyce Parr noted, "Under English law married women could not hold property: by marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law: that is, the very being or legal existence of the woman is suspended during the marriage."<sup>56</sup> New Brunswick suffragists saw this as a link in the chain of progress that might expand voting rights to women in the coming

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<sup>55</sup> For a listing of all petitioners from New Brunswick between 1886 and 1899, see APPENDIX I; Synoptic Report, 77-78, 109; Proceedings, 1886, 82; For more on the petitioners of Woodstock, see Shannon M. Risk, "'The Magnitude of My Services': Minnie Bell Adney and the Women of Woodstock," in Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, Atlantic Canadian Women and the State in the Twentieth Century (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, forthcoming 2009); Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1886), 91; Journals, 79;

<sup>56</sup> Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920 (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1983), 199.

years, but many in the Legislative Assembly, including Premier Andrew Blair, viewed the municipal vote as the end of the argument.<sup>57</sup>

The next session of the Legislative Assembly met in 1888. Once again, Killam called attention to the woman's vote, acknowledging the petitions in support of an expanded franchise. Blair cautioned the legislators that they had not yet fully expanded the vote to all men in the province and, "we would be embarrassed when we come to do away with the property qualifications of male voters, as we would scarcely feel like giving the franchise to women universally as soon as they came of age."<sup>58</sup>

Despite Blair's sentiments, New Brunswick women sent more petitions to the Assembly in 1888. The Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union submitted a petition, signed prominently by the organization's president, Edith Jessie Archibald of Halifax, Nova Scotia. The daughter of the former Attorney-General of Newfoundland and Consul-General of New York, and the wife of a vice president of the Bank of Halifax, Archibald had been urging the organization towards the woman's vote in order to better enact anti-liquor legislation.<sup>59</sup> The second most noteworthy petitioner this year was a man - Honorable Henry R. Emmerson of Dorchester. Emmerson, eleven years earlier had won the

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<sup>57</sup> Mary Eileen Clarke posited that Blair even introduced a woman suffrage bill in the 1880s in order to set it up to fail. See her M.A. thesis, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, 1894-1919," (University of New Brunswick, 1979), 65.

<sup>58</sup> Synoptic Report, 1888, 89.

<sup>59</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.E. Fenety, 1888), 52; for more on Archibald, see E. R. Forbes, "Battles in Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement," Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Maritimes (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1989); Joanne Elizabeth Veer, "Feminist Forebears: The Women's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1875-1900," Ph.D. dissertation. University of New Brunswick, 1994. The PANB holds copies of the 1888 WCTU pro-suffrage petitions. They are the only ones that survive in the province.



faculty prize at Boston University Law School for his essay, "Legal Condition of Married Women."<sup>60</sup> Emmerson's business partner, William F. George of Sackville, also petitioned in this year. As in Maine, the petitioners of 1888 reflected the spread of the movement. Aside from the prominent petitioners were those from more humble backgrounds and more rural locations in places like Welford, Salisbury, Port Elgin, Chatham, and Baie Verte.<sup>61</sup> Many of the 1888 petitioners also put the word "franchise" prominently on their petition, indicating that they desired full woman suffrage. Some petitioners also noted on theirs, "WCTU," playing upon the good reputation of the organization in their attempt to get the vote. Despite efforts from town and country alike, with over 1,000 signatures combined, Blair got his wish; the vote eluded the women yet again.

But that was not the end of the debate. In 1890, members of the Assembly again discussed the possibility of expanding suffrage to women. Specifically, the MLAs considered giving the vote to "widows and spinsters" over age 21 for provincial elections, provided a woman met the residency requirements; owned property valued at \$100 or more; owned a combination of real-estate and personal property worth over \$400; or was a "licensed teacher or professor employed in any school, college, or university, within an electoral district."<sup>62</sup> Although this resolution was an exciting development, beyond school and municipal suffrage, the MLAs were not quite ready to approve it.

The next push for women's enfranchisement came in 1891. In the interim since the last petition effort, New Brunswick legislators had

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<sup>60</sup> Journals, 1888, 52; For more on Henry R. Emmerson, see J. Randall Emmerson, History, Westmorland County: Emmersons and Descendants (N.p.: N.P., n.d.), 5-15.

<sup>61</sup> Journals, 1888, 52.

<sup>62</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1889) 106.

amended the New Brunswick Elections Act in 1889, allowing for universal male suffrage. Only one petitioner, Mrs. G.D. Phillips (Lucy Ann Lawrence), expressed a desire for the vote, but her petition held 30 signatures, calling for the provincial vote. Phillips' husband had died in 1888, and she would have benefited from gaining the vote as a property-owning widow. At this time, also, the M-WCTU was gathering momentum, and had embraced suffragism more and more after 1888. To them the woman's vote would bring about a more sober society, based on Christian principles. It was during this "down time" that Edith Archibald was actively arranging for "superintendents," in the various local WCTU chapters for the new "enfranchisement" departments.<sup>63</sup>

Again, in 1892, the M-WCTU petitioned the legislators for woman suffrage. Their petitions reflected a desire for provincial suffrage this time, as Mrs. Phillips' had done in 1891. The other petition came from the City of Saint John, requesting municipal and county suffrage. Saint John, one of the first regions to petition, was also host to the first provincial suffrage organization just two years later.

By 1894 petition efforts, as in Maine in the mid-1890s, were stepped up, with almost every corner of New Brunswick represented. The number of petitions caught some of the MLAs off-guard and made it difficult for them to continue to say that women did not want the vote. A.G. Adams of Restigouche Country submitted 745 names on his 1894 petition; Mrs. James Steadman of Fredericton presented 1,000 names on her petition; and S.W. Irons of Moncton gathered a stunning 3,093 names in that same year. Mrs. Steadman of Fredericton was a key player in the

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<sup>63</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1892), Petition of the City and County of Saint John, 53, 61; Petition of the Maritime WCTU, 110, 115-116; See "Chapter 6: Suffragism: The Pursuit of Political Equality," in Veer, "Feminist Forebears," 196-235.

M-WCTU, Diadama McLeod of Newcastle participated in the local WCTU, and Alma Jane Porter of Andover went on to start the first Women's Institute in the province.<sup>64</sup> Noticeably absent again were petitions from counties and towns with Acadian populations. In response to the petitions, the House decided to delay yet again, "owing to the importance of the question and the nearness of close of session." And then again, the MLAs decided that, "it is desirable that its further consideration be postponed until a future session."<sup>65</sup>

The high point of pro-suffrage petitions in nineteenth-century New Brunswick came in 1895. This time, the New Brunswick branch of the WCTU petitioned for full parliamentary suffrage, as presented by Alward to the Assembly.<sup>66</sup> A few women turned in petitions in this year, but none with as large numbers as had in 1894. This year's petitions reflected a strategy of the M-WCTU to get leading men in the province to turn in petitions to show that men thought that the time was right for full suffrage for New Brunswick women. Men like Mayor Saunders of

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<sup>64</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1894), Petition 53 from A.G. Adams, ii, 122; Petition 9 from Edith Archibald and the M-WCTU, iii, 122; Petition 10 from Albert J.P. Boone, iii, 122; Petition 97 from Stella Clayton, xiv, 122; Petition 90 from Mrs. Isaac Erb, xvii, 122; Petition 37 from S.W. Irons, xix, 122; Petition 49 from McCallister, xxii, 122; Petition 25 from Diadama McLeod, xxii, 122; Petition 85 from William A. McFarlane, xxii, 122; Petition 8 from Mrs. C.P. Baker, 122; Petition 11 from Alma J. Porter, 122; Petition 12 from Mrs. G.M. Wilson, 122; Petition 13 from T.W. Peters, 122; Petition 38 from Thomas E. Wood, 122; Petition 67 from Mrs. James Steadman, 122; Petition 86 from F. L. Steeves, 122. See Veer, "Feminist Forebears," for information about Steadman, 15, 23-24; for McLeod's WCTU participation, see the "Petition to Incorporate the Woodstock Woman's Christian Temperance Union," 16 March, 1888, PANB, for McLeod; and for more on Porter, see Vivian Darroch-Lozowski, Leslie Ann Crawford, and Laura Ponti-Sgargi, Not One But Many: On the Centennial of the Women's Institute, 1897-1997 (Manitoulin Island, Ontario: Ice Lake Press, 1997), i; Marianne Grey Otty, 50 Years of the Women's Institutes in New Brunswick, Canada, 1911-1961, A History (Fredericton, New Brunswick: N.p., 1961), 11.

<sup>65</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1894, 122. The vote was 21 in favor of postponing, and 13 against it.

<sup>66</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1895), 28.

Woodstock, Dr. W.W. Doherty of Addington, Reverend J. S. Freeman of Fredericton, Reverend J. S. Sutherland, and Reverend Rued of Gladstone gathered 1,120 signatures between them. It was noteworthy also that clergymen became part of this effort, as they would also head the social gospel in the early twentieth century. It was a reflection of their belief that women would vote pro-temperance in elections.<sup>67</sup>

Since 1886, the men and women of New Brunswick had petitioned their legislators for some variant of woman suffrage, and in 1895, they almost succeeded. When Emmerson introduced the bill that supported full woman suffrage - meaning at the municipal, provincial, and parliamentary levels - he found himself arguing against another group, led by Premier Blair that proposed a more limited woman suffrage. Meanwhile, Representative Sivewright moved to strike out the woman suffrage bill because "it is not deemed expedient to declare in favor of that principle at the present time, and especially in the absence of a clear expression of public opinion in its favor."<sup>68</sup> Dr. Stockton immediately protested this action. Sivewright asked his opponent: "Do you imagine that petitions represent public opinion?" To which Stockton replied, "What does represent public opinion?" Sivewright answered, "It is represented by an expression of opinion by the members of this

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<sup>67</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1895, Petition 1 from the New Brunswick Branch of the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association, 20, 23, 35; Petition 68 from John Brittain, 90, 93-94; Petition 69 from R.M. Gross, 90, 93-94; Petition 70 from Mayor Saunders, 90, 93-94; Petition 71 from G. McIrnerney, 90, 93-94; Petition 72 from Reverend J. S. Freeman, 90, 93-93; Petition 73 from Frank Turner, 90, 93-94; Petition 74 from the Reverend J.S. Sutherland, 90, 93-94; Petition 75 from J.W. Tabor, 90, 93-94; Petition 76 from James R. Henderson, 90, 93-94; Petition 77 from Annie Moore, 90, 93-94; Petition 78 from W.W. Doherty, M.D., 90, 93-94; Petition 79 from J. Read, 90, 93-94; Petition 80 from Reverend Mr. Reud, 90, 93-94; Petition 81 from Rainsford Staples, 90, 93-94; Petition 82 from L.H. Colwell, 90, 93-94; Petition 83 from T.D. Shaw, 90, 93-94; Petition 85 from Hattie J. Pinkerton, 96, 101.

<sup>68</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1895, 87.

House."<sup>69</sup> Sivewright had the Premier, Attorney General and Speaker Blair on his side during this argument, but others protested. Herman Pitts commented, "The Attorney General supplied all the evidence necessary to prove his implacable hostility to woman suffrage."<sup>70</sup> The battle of wills between pro- and anti-suffragists in the House of Assembly continued. Exasperated, Emmerson said, "Year after year petitions had been received in favor of women suffrage, and if consideration of this matter had been deferred until next week petitions would have been received signed by many thousands of women of this country. We give her a voice in the selection of County Councillors, and yet deny her a voice in the selection of those who come here to pass the laws that govern her." Emmerson continued on a common theme regarding the suffrage: "Surely, if property has a right to be represented, it should be represented, no matter who owns it."<sup>71</sup> Blair's watered down bill was passed, despite protests against it from Emmerson's group that favored full woman suffrage. They requested that Blair leave the room for the vote on Emmerson's full suffrage bill, which was outvoted by only one vote: 14 to 15, yays to nays.<sup>72</sup>

The MLAs continued, however, to push for full enfranchisement of women in 1895, when they received yet more petitions a couple of days later. The battle between Emmerson and Blair continued, with Blair attempting to send the bill to committee, where it might be buried forever, in order to await "a clear expression of public opinion."<sup>73</sup> Others joined Emmerson in arguing vehemently for a stronger

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 1895, 87.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 1895, 88.

<sup>71</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1895, 87-91. See Chapter 5 for more on the New Brunswick anti-suffragists.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 1895, 91.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 1895, 92-106. Blair's many reasons for his "anti" stance are explored in Chapter 5.

consideration of universal suffrage. Killam reiterated his support, but perhaps Atkinson put it best:

He did not believe the exercise of the franchise was complete until it embraced all the intelligent adults of the nation...He could not for the life of him conjecture what were the dire disasters that were so vaguely predicted to follow woman suffrage. Women were today filling political positions of importance with entire success. Probably the ablest sovereign England ever had was a woman and did not the present occupant of the throne adorn it as wife, as mother and as Queen?...If the right to vote is properly based upon property, it cannot be denied at all that such property has a right to be represented whether it is owned by women or men.<sup>74</sup>

One more time, the MLAs voted on Blair's amendment, which won 19 to 16. The woman suffragists had lost a close battle, the closest out of Maine and New Brunswick, but not without great effort from sympathetic MLAs and thousands of petition signatures.

The House of Assembly did not receive any petitions for women's enfranchisement in 1896, but a motion to revisit the 1889 Franchise Act was made to no avail.<sup>75</sup> The same thing happened in 1897 - there was some consideration, but it was not discussed in full and nothing came of it.<sup>76</sup> The next year was quiet for the House of Assembly when it came to woman suffrage, but legislators did field petition 42, "An Act to Incorporate" the WCTUs of Saint John and Woodstock. As will be discussed in Chapter 6, the prohibitionists within the ranks of the Saint John suffragists had begun to feel tension over which goal was more important to them - temperance or woman suffrage.<sup>77</sup> Even two-time petitioner Diadama McLeod used the petition for other ends in this year. She sought to make school attendance compulsory for children in New

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 102.

<sup>75</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1896), 109.

<sup>76</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1897), 76-77, 96.

<sup>77</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1897, xxxvii, 59, 65-66, 68, 70, 85, 92, 95.

Brunswick.<sup>78</sup> Finally, in this year, there were five petitions from the Baptist church in Alma, Albert county; churches in towns of Shediac and Woodstock; and from the Baptist Congregation of the Maritime Provinces and the Royal Templars of Temperance of the Maritime Provinces; demonstrating that churches were organizing just as the women were to fight for temperance, rather than suffrage.<sup>79</sup>

Down, but not defeated, the suffragists gathered their forces again for one final petition push in 1899. In this year, the petitioners managed to gather over 1,481 signatures; not nearly as many as in 1894, but enough to show that there was still interest in expanding the women's vote.<sup>80</sup> Prominent among the petitioners were temperance worker and repeat petitioner Diadama McLeod of Newcastle; Mrs. R.K. Jones of Woodstock, the wife of a politician; and Mrs. A.F. Randolph of Fredericton, one of the foremost temperance workers in the M-WCTU, and who gathered the most signatures this year - 384. Petitioner Mrs. Emma Atkinson was the sister of MLA and suffragist Henry R. Emmerson. Atkinson founded the Pearl Street Mission on Telegraph Street (Lewis Street) and chaired the school board in Moncton

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<sup>78</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1897, 67, 71-72.

<sup>79</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly, 1897, Petition 17 from the Baptist Congregation of the Maritime Provinces; Petition 34 from the Baptist Church members of Alma, Albert County; Petition 64 from James I. Evins, et. al. from the Baptist Church at Shediac; Petition 72 from the Royal Templars of Temperance of the Maritime Provinces; and Petition 85 from the Baptist Church at Woodstock, lx.

<sup>80</sup> Journal of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1899, Petition 65 from Mrs. Diadama McLeod, 43, 61, 73-74; Petition 66 from Mrs. R.K. Jones, 43, 61, 73-74; Petition 67 from Mrs. Mabel Simpson, 44, 61, 73-74; Petition 68 from Mrs. Elizabeth Carson, 44, 62, 73-74; Petition 69 from Mrs. G.D Prescott, 44, 62, 73-74; Petition 70 from Mrs. James Thompson, 43, 62, 73-74; Petition 71 from Annie Perley, 62, 73-74; Petition 72 from Mrs. A. F. Randolph, 44, 62, 73-74; Petition 73 from Mrs. J.B. Robinson, 44, 62, 73-74; Petition 74 from Mrs. Emma R. Atkinson, 44, 62, 73-74; Petition 76 from Mrs. McKeon, 44, 69, 73-74; Petition 78 from Mrs. Mary Shaw, 84, 98-99.

between 1893-1899. Her husband, Harvey Atkinson, was the mayor.<sup>81</sup> Mrs. McKeon, another petitioner, was a member of the Saint John group of women who founded the New Brunswick Women's Enfranchisement Association.<sup>82</sup>

With these petitions submitted, MLAs in 1899 considered yet again giving the vote to women. Henry Emmerson, who replaced Andrew Blair as premier of the province, was resolved to introduce the woman suffrage measure, not as a resolution, but rather as a bill. Emmerson again went on record in eloquent support of the franchise for women (See chapter 6), but his words continued to fall on deaf ears. Even though he was premier, his hands were tied. His bill proposal was voted down.<sup>83</sup> The year 1899 saw the last of the mass suffrage petitions, although there would be other efforts to put forth suffrage petitions in the early 1900s from the New Brunswick chapter of the Canadian Woman Suffrage Association.

In the petition campaigns of Maine and New Brunswick, there were several similarities. Many of the female petitioners had close ties to politicians and religious leaders in their communities (this was also true of the anti-suffragists). In both places, men and women sent petitions, and the petitioners received the support of clergymen. The petitioners both gained some attention in their respective legislatures, with sympathetic male politicians favoring municipal suffrage in New Brunswick, and suffrage, in general, in Maine, for unmarried women - those who were not politically represented by a husband. Alongside their petitions for woman suffrage, women and men also petitioned for other social improvements, such as temperance, factory controls, police

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<sup>81</sup> Emmerson, *Book*, 7, 18.

<sup>82</sup> *Minutes*, 12 November 1894, 33.

<sup>83</sup> *Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1899, 63-67, 100-101.



matrons, age of consent, etc. In the 30-year span of suffrage petitioning in the borderlands, both groups coordinated their efforts alongside and/or with the WCTU. Suffrage petitioning spread from urban areas into the rural areas as the years went by. Noticeably, petitions came from the Anglo populations in both Maine and New Brunswick, even from towns where there were sizable Franco populations, like Auburn, Lewiston and Saco. Marian des Cognets posited that this lack of Franco participation in the woman suffrage movement reflected their disregard for pro-suffrage Franco journalists in Maine, and support of the Roman Catholic Church of Quebec. On the New Brunswick side, there was some documentation of pro-suffrage editorials in the nineteenth century, but no concerted suffrage effort by Franco populations.<sup>84</sup> Finally, petitioning was strong along the Maine-New Brunswick border, suggesting that perhaps the links formed between the two places in earlier times, through religion, anti-slavery efforts, and the promotion of temperance, held strong when it came to woman suffrage.

The outcome of petitioning held some differences between Maine and New Brunswick suffrage groups as well. In both places, strong male leadership (from men like John Neal in Maine, and Henry Emerson in New Brunswick) helped to spur the petitioning campaigns. This male leadership, however, proved problematic for the suffragists. In Maine, the women of the MWSA eventually placed females in all top executive

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<sup>84</sup> Marian des Cognets, "Woman Suffrage: Ally or Enemy for Maine's Franco-Americans, 1917-1920?" M.A. Thesis (Orono: University of Maine, May 1988), 9, 14, 30-32. Janet L. Shideler, in Camille Lessard-Bissonnette: The Quiet Evolution of French-Canadian Immigrants in New England (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1998), presented a pro-suffrage woman's life of the early 1900s in Lewiston, Maine, which transgressed this hostile attitude to woman's place, 43-55, 60-62. In New Brunswick, Mary Eileen Clark noted that "the suffrage issue can be divided on ethnic lines, however, in the sense that the proponents could rarely be found in the northern, predominantly French half of New Brunswick," 130-131.

positions. In New Brunswick, the NB-WEA did the same, but males associated with the group disrupted their cohesiveness (see Chapter 6). Maine women ceased to petition after 1897, focusing on press campaigns, meetings and conventions, and working with the national organization. New Brunswick women continued to petition until 1899, but with diminished coverage. The latter had received municipal suffrage in 1886, before their major petitioning efforts commenced - something the Maine women were not able to accomplish. New Brunswick women also came much closer to actually obtaining provincial and universal suffrage in 1895 than the Maine women ever would. Perhaps, again, their argument as property owners, rather than as citizens, made giving them the vote more tenable.

Anti-suffragism also existed in both places, but took different forms. The next chapter will explore the ways in which anti-suffragism manifested itself in Maine and New Brunswick.

## Chapter 5

**"WE FEAR SINCERELY THAT THE EFFECT WILL BE INJURIOUS TO THE WOMEN  
THEMSELVES" <sup>1</sup> - THE ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS**

The suffragists of Maine and New Brunswick met with public resistance by the 1880s. The forms of resistance were different in each place for the same reasons that the suffrage movements were different. In Maine, an anti-suffrage campaign, launched by elite women in Portland, was in motion by 1887, and supported by a much stronger movement in Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> Lacking such a national anti-suffrage group in Canada, New Brunswick, however, saw no recorded evidence of anti-suffrage women taking a public stand in the late nineteenth century. The Maine anti-suffragists, while protesting against the woman's vote, utilized many of the tactics of the suffragists and, similarly to their adversaries, acted publicly to advance their ideas. Public anti-suffragism in New Brunswick was expressed primarily by men in the Legislative Assembly and in the press.<sup>3</sup> True to the old Loyalist creed of patriarchy and hierarchy, anti-suffragism in New Brunswick was expressed through male leadership. In Maine, organized opposition to the suffragists may have strengthened their arguments. In New Brunswick, the suffragists shaped their organizational efforts around rousing their male political representatives. Although suffrage efforts in both places ultimately failed to gain anything beyond school council and municipal suffrage, the Maine women were motivated by the antis to

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<sup>1</sup> Quote by New Brunswick Premier Andrew Blair, Synoptic Reports of the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly (Fredericton, New Brunswick: G. F. Fenety, Printer, 1895), 95.

<sup>2</sup> See Anti-Suffrage Essays by Massachusetts Women, introduction by Ernest Bernbaum (Boston: Forum Publications, 1916).

<sup>3</sup> The Maine Legislative Record at this time repeated the information about suffrage petitioners from the Journals of the House and Senate, rather than actual debates on the topic of woman suffrage.

build a multifaceted organization turned outward towards gaining public support to their cause. It would take outsiders from the Dominion and from Nova Scotia to rouse the New Brunswick suffragists back into action in the twentieth century.

In the late nineteenth century, the populace mulled over what role citizens would play in the new era and promoted conflicting ideas about women's political participation. The burgeoning woman suffrage movements of the 1880s in Maine, and the 1890s in New Brunswick, caused an adverse reaction. Despite the fact that Maine anti-suffragists organized petition campaigns where none existed in New Brunswick, the arguments against the woman's vote were similar. Historians who have studied the anti-suffrage movement in the United States argue that there were very good reasons for this continuity of anti-suffrage thought.

Those against woman suffrage in the borderlands tapped into a greater culture that was not ready to see women participating equally with men in the political arena. After all, the universal franchise had only recently been implemented for men in 1889 in New Brunswick after a steady debate.<sup>4</sup> In both places, the economic, social, and political elite gave voice to anti-suffragism. This group of people spoke for a larger population who felt besieged by the rapid changes of the modern era. As immigrants came into Maine and New Brunswick, and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants headed west seeking economic opportunity, the anti-suffragists clung to a tradition of elite, white leadership.

The working world was also undergoing rapid changes, which challenged accepted hierarchies. By the 1880s, workers increasingly joined unions to argue for better wages, shorter hours, and safer work

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<sup>4</sup> Universal suffrage for white men was in place in the United States by the 1840s.

environments. Women were also part of these unions, having staged their first union activity in the textile mill towns of Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts. In Canada, women began participating in Knights of Labor union activity by 1884, and formed their own unions in Ontario during the 1880s. In Maine, the Knights supported a pro-woman suffrage platform in 1887 and accepted females in its unions.<sup>5</sup>

Labor groups pushed for new ways to address the capitalist economy and all of its ills through socialism, Fabianism, and other types of communalism. The idea of spreading wealth, sharing work, and opening politics to everyone was a direct threat to the privilege and status of those who comprised the anti-suffragist group. Continually, legislatures debated just how far they should extend voting rights to males and now, females. Many argued for stricter citizenship qualifications and literacy tests that were skewed to favor a person of white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant background with a certain level of education.<sup>6</sup>

And finally, orthodox Christian values seemed to give way to secularism. In Maine and New Brunswick, debates raged over whether or not schools should teach Protestant values and eschew the French Catholic influence. The male clergy also felt embattled. As American historian Ann Douglas demonstrated, male clergy formed tight bonds with female parishioners, often making the clergymen "like women" in the

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<sup>5</sup> Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 71, 73, 78, 98, 105-107, and 292-293; Charles Scontras, Two Decades of Organized Labor and Labor Politics in Maine, 1880-1900 (Orono, Maine: The Bureau of Labor Education of the Continuing Education Division, 1969), 67.

<sup>6</sup> See Margary Reed, "The Blaine Amendment and the Legislation it Engendered: Nativism and Civil Religion in the Late Nineteenth Century." Dissertation. University of Maine, 2004. Reed detailed exactly how Maine's political elite consolidated power and pushed for universal education, but of a particular kind.

eyes of their congregation.<sup>7</sup> Not only had clergy lost their potency, but also worshippers increasingly interpreted the Bible for themselves. All of these things served as a direct challenge to the entrenched elite, who fought desperately to keep their position and fortunes alive, whether by quashing trade unions, endorsing conservative church doctrine (and its specific sphere for women), founding insulated historical societies and hereditary organizations to celebrate the feats of their exalted ancestors, and, most importantly, fighting against the woman's vote.<sup>8</sup>

The anti-suffragists of Maine and New Brunswick left behind different sources that detailed their position. In Maine, the "remonstrants" filed petitions from 1887 to 1897, but offered no commentary on the topic. Maine anti-suffrage women, however, did correspond and work with the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women (MAOFESW). The latter group was very articulate in offering reasons why women should not vote. In New Brunswick, the male representatives of the Legislative Assembly who were against women's enfranchisement debated their adversaries. These debates were captured in Synoptic Reports from 1885 to the end of the century. The protests of the anti-suffragists in Maine (as represented by the more dominant Massachusetts women) and New Brunswick were

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<sup>7</sup> Douglas, Ann. The Feminization of American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979); see also Shannon M. Risk, "Chapter Two: Portland: Religion Among Friends: Exploring Everlasting Friendships," in "A Search for Sweet Serenity: The Diary of Sarah Connell Ayer, 1805-1835." M.A. Thesis. Orono, Maine: University of Maine, 1996: 32-63, for an example of how women became a stronger part of the Protestant Church in Portland, Maine by the early-to-mid 1800s. This chapter also looked at how clergy became like husbands to their female parishioners.

<sup>8</sup> See T. J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 198. Lears wrote of the anti-moderns in America in the late nineteenth century who had a "fondness for pomp and a reverence for social hierarchy."

similar to those of the arguments in national dialogues in both countries and in England. The anti-suffrage agitation, however, created very different results in the borderlands.

The early anti-suffragists in Maine never organized into a clearly-defined group, as did the Maine Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA). Indeed, the earliest protests against the women's vote came from clergymen, newspaper editors and editorials, and male legislators. The women who might agree with these sentiments stayed out of the fray. But, by 1887 a group of upper-class women, mostly from Portland, took up their pens and appealed to others of their class to do the same. Sociologist Susan Marshall explained in her national American study that the anti-suffragists preferred to work in the background in the early years, sending the men out to protest. But, as they gained some momentum, the actions of the anti-suffrage petitioners of the late 1880s and 1890s emboldened antis of the early 1900s. Their actions encouraged women like Mrs. Clarence Hale to form an organized protest by the early twentieth century. Hale's group had ties to the national anti-suffrage organization, complete with literature for the masses.<sup>9</sup>

The anti-suffragists of Maine in the 1880s and 1890s did not leave written tracts outlining their position.<sup>10</sup> Other historians have,

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<sup>9</sup> Margaret Rollins Hale was the author of several tracts published by the Maine Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. They included: Against Woman Suffrage: An Argument by Mrs. Clarence Hale of Maine (Portland: Maine Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, n.d.); The Case Against Woman Suffrage: The Most Important Question on the Ballot at the Special Election (Portland, Maine: Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women, September 10, 1917); Maine Women Do Not Want to Vote (Portland: Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women, November 1916); and Bylaws, Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women (Portland: Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage, 1914). See the Maine Historical Society collection, Maine Association Opposed to Suffrage for Women Records, 1914-1917, Coll. 56.

<sup>10</sup> The appearance of female remonstrants by the 1880s stirred prominent suffragists to note the observations of their adversaries. In vol. IV of the History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, NY: Susan B. Anthony,

however, charted the arguments of other remonstrants of the era, chiefly from Massachusetts and New York.<sup>11</sup> The remonstrants found themselves in an interesting predicament. How could they openly protest against the woman's vote, without appearing to behave similarly to the suffragists? Although there were a few bold examples of candid anti-suffragists outside of Maine, such as Molly Seawell, most preferred to protect their modesty, their perceived seat at home in the supposed "private sphere" of women, by signing remonstrances with their husband's names, for example, Mrs. James P. Baxter, of Portland.<sup>12</sup>

Early Maine remonstrants fit the demographic that historians have identified in places like Massachusetts and New York. The Maine anti-suffragists were part of the elite - most of them residing in Portland's richest neighborhoods. By the time they submitted their first anti-suffrage petitions in 1887, they had witnessed the new era described above.<sup>13</sup> Their husbands were brokers, importers, lawyers,

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1900), edited by Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, the pro-suffrage interpretation of remonstrants in the 1880s was that they lived in ignorance and blindly adhered to the past. They wrote, "To grant woman an equality with man in the affairs of life is contrary to every tradition, every precedent, every inheritance, every instinct and every teaching." But the editors were also quick to note that women against the vote were heavily influenced by the "narrowness and isolation of their lives, the subjection in which they always have been held, the severe punishment inflicted by society on those who dare step outside the prescribed sphere, and, stronger than all, perhaps, their religious tendencies through which is has been impressed upon them that their subordinate position was assigned by the Divine will and that to rebel against it is to defy the Creator," xxii.

<sup>11</sup> See Susan E. Marshall, Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign Against Woman Suffrage (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), and Thomas J. Jablonsky, The Home, Heaven, and Mother Party: Female Anti-Suffragists in the United States, 1868-1920 (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing, Inc., 1994).

<sup>12</sup> Molly Elliot Seawell, in The Ladies' Battle (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1911), used many of the arguments that had been around for a few decades by the time she wrote her work in 1911.

<sup>13</sup> The remonstrances were not saved by any archival body that is known to the author. The names of the remonstrants were pulled from sometimes-inaccurate records in the Journals of the Maine Senate and House of Representatives. Some names were misspelled, which may have



politicians, judges, and staunch Calvinistic clergymen. Their husbands' social values were aligned with both the Republican and Democratic parties, and most of them were Episcopalians or Congregationalists. It was important to these elites to remember their ties to early America, and to broadcast their exclusive bloodlines to the public. Along those lines, the husbands of the remonstrants sponsored and belonged to historical societies and clubs that demonstrated their wealth, backed up their bloodlines, and advertised their philanthropical work. The husbands of the remonstrants became the definers of knowledge and of history, preserving exactly what and whom they wanted to be remembered - and it was a story of patriarchal leadership. For example, James Phinney Baxter, businessman, politician, banker, and historian, donated the funds to erect public libraries in both Portland and the town of his birth, Gorham.<sup>14</sup> The board of the Maine Historical Society (MHS) was a who's who of remonstrants' husbands. In fact, the MHS trusteeship was

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made the name untraceable. See APPENDIX H for a list of those remonstrants the author could not track in the census, city directories or town histories. Also, as can be seen on the anti-suffrage lists featured in Chapter 4 (APPENDIX H), most remonstrants either resided in Portland, or nearby. The public expression of their cause, for the most part, did not catch on in rural areas.

<sup>14</sup> James Phinney Baxter, husband to remonstrant Mehitable C. Baxter, put a lot of time, effort, and money into the Maine Historical Society, which began in 1822. Some of the items he was able to round up or have duplicated on various trips around the United States and Europe included the Charter from King James I. to the Council for New England, Maine Historical Society (Portland, ME: James P. Baxter, reprint 1885; based on original 1620), Map of Cape Elizabeth, Richmonds' Island, and Casco Neck, Maine Historical Society (Portland, ME: James P. Baxter, 1884), Pascataway [sic] in New England, Maine Historical Society (Portland, ME: James P. Baxter, c. 1890s; reprint c. 1660-1685). Baxter was a member of the Society of Colonial Wars as well (see the MHS portrait from 1903). Baxter was involved in many business enterprises in the state, including the Lovell Corn Shop, built by Baxter. In the photograph located at the Maine Historical Society, titled, "Corn Canning, Lovell, ca. 1890," his employees, including children gathered near one of the husking sheds. For more information on James Phinney Baxter, see the Baxter Collection at the Portland Public Library or the MHS Maine Memory Network online. See also Henry Chase, Representative Men of Maine (Portland, ME: The Lakeside Press, 1893).

telling because the husbands and sons of nineteenth-century remonstrants worked with those whose wives would foster the twentieth-century anti-suffrage protest.<sup>15</sup>

Most of the nineteenth-century Maine remonstrants were married and past their child-bearing years. A few of them were single. Some of them had ties to temperance societies and maternal associations earlier in their lives. Many were orthodox in their religion, like their husbands. They brought their remonstrances to the legislature fairly early, when compared to other states with small populations.<sup>16</sup> But they still managed to maintain propriety in signing their husband's names. Certainly, everyone knew who Mehitable C. Baxter was, but signing her husband's name was her way of showing that the men were the true heads of household. Using one's husband's name met with social standards of the time. Baxter otherwise kept her name out of the public eye, prolonging the fiction that women could exist entirely outside of the so-called man's world.<sup>17</sup> And yet, by circulating her remonstrance,

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<sup>15</sup> An MHS photograph featured men associated with female remonstrants of the 1880s and 1890s from Portland, including; John Marshall Brown (Son of Mr. and Mrs. John Bundy Brown), Rupert H. Baxter, a relative of James P. Baxter (per correspondence with Jamie Kingman Rice, MHS, 23 February 2009), S.T. Pickard (a pro-suffragist related in marriage to remonstrant, Mrs. Charles Pickard), Moses A. Safford (Related to Mrs. Thomas Safford), and Clarence Hale (husband of twentieth-century anti-suffragist Margaret Rollins Hale, and father of Maine state senator, Clarence Hale, Jr., who helped to pass the suffrage bill. In fact, the younger Hale faced tremendous pressure from state and national suffragists under the direction of Carrie Chapman Catt's "Winning Plan." Catt herself wrote to Hale, Jr. on more than one occasion.

<sup>16</sup> Marshall, Splintered Sisterhood, 18-19; Jablonsky, The Home, Heaven, and Mother Party, 3-11, 25,

<sup>17</sup> Mehitable C. Baxter was not mentioned at all in Chase, Representative Men of Maine, or Sprague's Journal of Maine History vol. 9, no. 2 (April, May, June 1921): 78-80. In fact, some remonstrants kept such a low profile, they might be lost to history. For example, Mrs. A. Birkle of Bridgton, 1889 remonstrant; Mrs. R.J. Carpenter (Ellen F., widow) of Portland, 1889 remonstrant; Mrs. John Brice Carroll of Portland, 1887 remonstrant; Mrs. Augustine S. Fernald (Abbie L., widow) of Portland, 1889 remonstrant; Mrs. S.W. Giles of Readfield, 1889 remonstrant; Margaret I. Peabody, possibly East Machias, 1887

gathering 182 signatures, and sending the document off to the legislature, she was breaking her silence. Baxter also showed that these elite women, who filed remonstrances to the Maine State Legislature, had direct ties to that body. They did not need the vote because, quite literally, they had an open line of communication with the men, their husbands, sons, brothers, in-laws, etc., who ran the state.<sup>18</sup>

Two male anti-suffragists also appeared in the Maine Legislative Journals in the nineteenth century - C. T. Ogden of Deering and Sewall C. Strout of Portland. Strout, who filed his remonstrance with the Legislature in 1887, was a counselor-at-law in the Portland firm, Strout, Gage & Strout. The other "Strout" from this firm was none other than Almon A. Strout, a Representative in the Legislature in 1880. Suffragists had claimed that there was a male majority behind the remonstrances; but in reality, women were the real antagonists who faced tangible loss if the vote went out to the female masses.<sup>19</sup>

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remonstrant (her remonstrance brought forth by Rep. Mr. Talbot of East Machias); Mrs. Henry Pyne of Wiscasset, 1889 remonstrant; Mrs. R. R. Richardson of Portland, 1889 remonstrant; Mrs. Thomas Safford of possibly East Machias, 1887 remonstrant (her remonstrance brought forth by Rep. Mr. Talbot of East Machias); Julia St. F. Thom of Portland, 1889 remonstrant; Mrs. Sam Trask of Portland, 1887 remonstrant; Mrs. N.B. (or R. B.) Wilson (The House and Senate Journals have different initials) of place unknown, 1889 remonstrant and Mrs. E. B. Tryon of Deering, 1889 remonstrant. Some pro-suffrage petitioners also signed their husband's names, but not in the same proportions as the antis. See Appendices H and I for examples.

<sup>18</sup> Mehitable Baxter's husband was a six-time mayor of Portland; her son, Percival Baxter was governor of Maine, ironically, the same man who signed off on a pro-suffrage proclamation, surrounded by Maine suffragists in 1917. Mrs. William Goodwin Davis of Portland, 1887 remonstrant, had direct access to the Maine State Legislature, because her husband was a representative.

<sup>19</sup> Sewall Strout was listed in the Portland Directory, 1887; His brother, Almon S. Strout, was in Biographical Sketches of the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of Maine, v. ix. (Augusta, Maine: Kennebec journal, 1880), compiled by Howard Owen.

In 1887, the very wealthy Susannah Bundy Brown, wife of John Bundy Brown, a Portland broker, led the first remonstrants in Maine. Mrs. Asa (Margaret L.) Dalton, wife of the Episcopalian minister of St. Stephen's Second Parish in Portland, was the only woman to file a remonstrance twice (also in 1889).<sup>20</sup> Mrs. George Foster Talbot gathered 157 signatures from Portland women in 1887. Her husband's public activities were similar to other remonstrants' husbands. Talbot was a member of the MHS, president of Portland's Fraternity Club, a lawyer, and a district attorney. Ironically, George Foster Talbot was a staunch abolitionist. His wife's remonstrance was proof of the complexity of progressivism.<sup>21</sup> Mrs. Joseph P. Thompson (A.M.) of Portland secured 32 signatures, her remonstrance presented to the legislature by Rep. Mr. Talbot of East Machias. A.M. Thompson's husband, Joseph, was an importer with George S. Hunt & Co., and librarian of the Maine Genealogical Society. Mrs. Thompson was also very active in local and elite clubs, including the Rossini Club, "composed entirely of ladies, comprising most of the superior and highly cultivated singers and pianists in the city," and the Conklin Club, which studied the parliamentary system.<sup>22</sup> Mrs. William Davis of Portland gathered 30 signatures on her remonstrance. Her husband was a wealthy businessman,

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<sup>20</sup> John Bundy Brown was also a member of the MHS, and a founder of the Maine General Hospital, along with Israel Washburn, the latter from a nationally-prominent political family based in Livermore, Maine, as seen in First Meeting of the Corporators of Maine General Hospital, Maine Medical Center Archives, [www.mainememory.net](http://www.mainememory.net). His business, J.B. Brown & Sons, still operates today. For more on John Bundy Brown, see Chase, Representative Men of Maine; Asa Dalton, D.D., was president of the Clericus club in the 1890s, and a frequent contributor of sermons to the Portland Transcript on Old Testament readings. See Portland Directory, 1897, 270; Asa Dalton, D.D., Rector, A Sermon on the History and Principles of St. Stephen's Parish, Portland, Maine (Portland: B. Thurston & Co., 1886).

<sup>21</sup> Portland Directory, 1887, 566; Portland Directory, 1897, 190.

<sup>22</sup> For more on both Thompsons, see the Portland Directory, 1897, 190, 571, 789; Portland Transcript, 19 January 1898, and 26 January 1898.

operating in the meatpacking business with James P. Baxter and the Maine Central Railroad. Davis also served as a representative to the Maine State Legislature - yet another direct tie for anti-suffragists to those who governed the state.<sup>23</sup>

The year 1889 marked success in Maine for the remonstrants. Mrs. Samuel M. Brackett (Sophia C.) rounded up 11 signatures from Cumberland County. Brackett was a member of one of the earliest families in the Portland area, whose husband's ancestors originally owned about 7/9<sup>th</sup> of Peaks Island in Casco Bay.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. E.G. Spring of Portland was particularly successful in gathering 263 signatures for her remonstrance. Her husband was Eliphalet G. Spring, the president and treasurer of the Cumberland Bone company.<sup>25</sup> Mrs. Augustine S. Fernald (Abbie L.) gathered 102 signatures in Portland against woman suffrage. At the time, she was widowed. Mrs. Joshua C. Lane (Martha Staples) put forth 23 signatures on her remonstrance. Lane's husband, Joshua, was a selectman in Limerick throughout the 1870s, as well as the treasurer for the Limerick National Bank.<sup>26</sup> Another 1889 remonstrant, Elizabeth

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<sup>23</sup> See the Portland Directory, 1887, 274, 571; For example, Mrs. John Brice Carroll, a Portland remonstrant, who was listed in the 1887 Portland Directory, 234. The listing did not indicate whether or not she was a widow, nor did it list her husband's name alone.

<sup>24</sup> Sophia Brackett's husband, Samuel hired a substitute soldier to take his place during the Civil War. See Cumberland Civil War Bounties, 1864, Town of Cumberland, www.mainememory.net. In Ansel B. Sterling, An Island Speaks: An Epic, Past and Present of Picturesque Peaks Island, "The Gem of Casco Bay," (N.p.: N.p., First edition, 1980), see pages 6-7, 20, 31, 36-37, 44-45, and; Leon S. Clough, editor, Peaks Island Bicentennial, 1776-1976 Directory (N.p.: N.p., 1976), for more on the Bracketts. Clough detailed the influx of tourists and young commuters from Portland who came to the Island at the end of the nineteenth century. With her family homestead under siege by outsiders, could this have provided the impetus for women like Sophia Brackett to protest woman suffrage and other progressive movements?

<sup>25</sup> Portland Directory, 1889, 565.

<sup>26</sup> For more on Martha and Joshua C. Lane, see Linda Maule Taylor, editor, Limerick Historical Notes (Limerick, Maine: Town of Limerick, 1975), 13-14, 26-27. On page 49, the author noted the town of Limerick had suffered a population loss, probably due to the Civil War, at the

Chadbourn Tyng Lane, from Standish, was related by marriage to Martha Lane from Limerick. Elizabeth Lane was married to a judge, Marquis de Lafayette Lane (Mark).<sup>27</sup> She secured 12 signatures on her petition. Sarah G. Lincoln, one of the few unmarried remonstrants, gathered 18 signatures from her hometown of Dennysville. She, like other anti-suffragists, was a descendant of the town founder.<sup>28</sup> Mrs. Charles W. Pickard, a Portlander who gathered 102 signatures, saw suffrage division even in her own family. Her brother-in-law, S.T. Pickard, a pro-suffragist, worked at the *Portland Transcript* with her husband.<sup>29</sup> Mrs. Charles H. Milliken of Mechanic Falls, garnered 38 signatures for her remonstrance. Like the other women, she came from the town's elite. Her husband, Charles H. Milliken, was manager of the Poland Paper Company.<sup>30</sup> And Mrs. Barnabas Freeman, also an 1889 remonstrant, was part of the social elite of Yarmouth. Her husband practiced law there and headed up a company that produced seamless bags, yarns and twine. The

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end of the nineteenth century. Like other anti-suffragists, might Martha Lane have clung to tradition in such trying times? Author's correspondence with Dana Edgecomb, Standish Historical Society, 15 January 2008, on Martha and Joshua Lane.

<sup>27</sup> Correspondence with Dana Edgecomb, Standish Historical Society, November-December 2007. It is quite possible that Mark Lane was born around the year that the French General and politician, Marquis de Lafayette - commonly known as George Washington's honorary son - visited the United States in 1824 and toured a vast part of the country. Many American families named their sons in honor of the Revolutionary War hero.

<sup>28</sup> It is unknown why Sarah G. Lincoln never married. In the Memorial of the 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Settlement of Dennysville, Maine (Portland, ME: B. Thurston & Company, Printers, 1886), 12, 21, 23-24, 38-44, 57-58, 80-84, 108, 110-112, 114-115, it was mentioned that the Lincoln family owned several lumber and tanning businesses in Dennysville. By the late 1800s, Sarah and her siblings were divesting themselves of their properties. By 1913, Sarah disappeared from the public record. See also, Dennysville, 1786-1986 Bicentennial (Ellsworth, Maine: Dennysville Bicentennial Committee; *The Ellsworth American*, 1986), 24, 42-42, 80, 83, 85-86, 109, which mentioned that this town's population was also dwindling by the late nineteenth century.

<sup>29</sup> Portland Directory, 1889, 506.

<sup>30</sup> Androscoggin County Directory, 1891-92, 378; Androscoggin County Directory, 1902-03, 643, 775.

Freemans' son, Elias Dudley Freeman, even interned in the law office of Clarence Hale - the husband of the twentieth-century anti-suffragist, Margaret Rollins Hale. Elias became a member of the Maine State Senate, thus allowing his mother easy access to the male political realm.<sup>31</sup> Georgiana P. Johnson of Belfast was one of the few remonstrants to submit the document in her own name. The wife of prominent citizen, Edward Johnson, Georgiana could trace her husband's lineage back to the original Johnson family, who came to New England in 1636. Her husband, like other remonstrants' husbands, was involved in the railroad business. Edward was tied to the Belfast and Moosehead Lake, and the Cedar Rapids (Iowa) and Missouri River Railroads. Edward Johnson was also the president of the Belfast Savings Bank. The Johnsons divided their time between Belfast and their home on Marlborough Street in Boston. As in other cases, Georgiana's husband was involved in a plethora of clubs, such as the Boston Art Club, Bostonian Society, State of Maine Club, and the Somerset Club.<sup>32</sup> One remonstrant, Mrs. B.B. Thatcher of Penobscot County, secured 524 signatures, and still managed to stay out of the public record.

The only remonstrance posted in Maine in the 1890s came from Mrs. James Phinney Baxter in 1897. It was fitting that Baxter would be the last remonstrant of the nineteenth century. The Baxter family was, perhaps, the most prominent to involve themselves in the anti-suffrage cause. Her son, Percival Baxter, was governor by 1920, when the Nineteenth Amendment was signed into law. A photograph held by the

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<sup>31</sup> For more on Barnabas and Elias Freeman, see William Hutchinson Rowe, Ancient North Yarmouth and Yarmouth, Maine, 1636-1936 (Yarmouth: The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1937), 249-250, 326-333. Barnabas' letter to his sister is included in this volume, outlining his stance as an emotional abolitionist, but not a political one.

<sup>32</sup> Correspondence with Megan Pinette, President, Belfast Historical Society & Museum, November 2007 and January 2008.

Maine Historical Society shows the younger Baxter seated at the governor's desk, surrounded by triumphant suffragists.

Maine anti-suffragists were mainly urban, wealthy, and of long-standing families in their communities. Unlike the pro-suffragists, the antis failed to foster real support from the rural enclaves of the state. This is perhaps the reason their resistance in the nineteenth century was brief. By 1897, the fervor had died; but it was not forgotten.

In New Brunswick, newspapers were also the first sounding boards for those who did not favor the female vote. The strongest testimonies toward anti-suffrage, however, came from the very men entrusted to represent women in the Legislative Assembly. In the years that woman suffrage was debated in the Assembly in the nineteenth century, 1885-1899, the legislators mused over whether to give any version of suffrage to women.<sup>33</sup> Ironically, those who were most vocal against the enfranchisement for women still dutifully presented their constituents' pro-suffrage petitions. The Liberal Premier of New Brunswick, Andrew Blair, also Attorney General and Speaker of the House, led this anti-suffrage group.

As the New Brunswick legislators struggled to define a wider male suffrage, revising the statutes in 1885, some began to question whether or not women should have access to the franchise. Simultaneous to these events was the advent of the career of Andrew Blair as Premier of the province. Blair, representing the Liberal Party, which came to power nationally in 1873, brought its tenets to New Brunswick. The Liberals generally endorsed proposing government measures that would benefit the

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<sup>33</sup> The debate in the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly on woman suffrage resurfaced by the early 1900s and is discussed in the conclusion of this project.



individual in society. Blair, the first to rise to power outside the old Loyalist power structure, was a complex man. He brought about more engagement with Franco politicians during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century in New Brunswick politics and sought to widen governmental interests. But Blair still represented traditional beliefs about women.<sup>34</sup>

During Blair's tenure, 1885-1896, the House hotly debated the topic of woman suffrage, and twelve strong anti-suffrage advocates went on record with their views.<sup>35</sup> As a group, they were comprised of both Liberals and Conservatives. Unlike the Maine anti-suffragists who were centered in Portland, New Brunswick legislators who were most strongly against the woman's vote came from most corners of the province (excepting Carleton, Queens and Victoria Counties). Most, however, were from the urban centers of their respective counties. The youngest was 36 when he spoke out against woman suffrage; the eldest was 78 years old. Eight of the outspoken anti-suffrage Legislators were lawyers; the others were teachers and businessmen. Of the twelve anti-suffrage legislators, six claimed Loyalist ancestry, three were of Scottish ancestry, two of Irish ancestry, and one of English ancestry. Religiously, this group was mostly Protestant, comprised of two Anglicans, one member of the United Church of Canada (A union of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists), four Presbyterians,

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<sup>34</sup> See Don Hoyt, A Brief History of the Liberal Party of New Brunswick (Saint John: Keystone Printing & Lithographing, Unlimited, 2000) on Blair and the rise of the Liberal Party, 1-2, 17, 26, 93-98,

<sup>35</sup> The most outspoken anti-suffragists in the Legislative Assembly between 1885-1899 included: Michael Adams (Northumberland), Joseph Laurence Black (Westmorland), Andrew Blair (York), Sir John Douglas Hazen (Sunbury), Ernest David Alexander Hutchinson (Northumberland), John McAdam (Charlotte), W. Albert Mott (Restigouche), Henry Absalam Powell (Westmorland), William Pugsley, Jr. (Kings), John Sivewright (Gloucester), Edward Ludlow Wetmore (York), and Albert Scott White (Kings).

three Methodists, one general Protestant, and one Roman Catholic.<sup>36</sup> All save one member, the teacher, were married. Five had public school educations, six attended college or university, and one graduated from Harvard Law School. Finally, some of the anti-suffrage legislators were involved in community organizations and philanthropy. One member, Edward Ludlow Wetmore belonged to the A.F. & A.M. (Ancient Free & Accepted Masons) (as did many of the pro-suffrage legislators). Henry Absalam Powell was a member of the New Brunswick Barristers Association, the International Law Association, and served on the Mount Allison University Board of Regents. Ernest David Alexander Hutchinson willed \$100,000 towards the construction of the Miramichi hospital. Sir John Douglas Hazen was president of the Saint John Horticultural Society, president of the New Brunswick Barristers Association, and, the Saint John Law Society.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, the privileged background of the anti-suffragists was nothing unique in either Maine or New Brunswick. They shared social standing with many of the pro-suffragists. Why might men and women from the same socio-economic backgrounds as the suffragists rail against the woman's vote? Marshall's study of the backgrounds of anti-suffragists in the United States supported the fact that the social elite formed

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<sup>36</sup> Roman Catholic members between 1885-1899, were not always outspoken on the topic, but voted mostly anti-suffrage or in favor of partial women's enfranchisement.

<sup>37</sup> For Michael Adams, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for Joseph Laurence Black, See William G. Godfrey, Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online (DCB), 1901-1910, vol. XIII (Toronto: University of Toronto; Université Laval, 2000); for Andrew George Blair, see D.M. Young, DCB, 1901-1910, Vol. XIII; for Sir John Douglas Hazen, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for Ernest David Alexander Hutchinson, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for John McAdam, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for W. Albert Mott, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for Henry Absalom Powell, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for William Pugsley, Jr., see Robert Craig Brown, DCB, 1921-1930, Vol. XV; for John Sivewright, see the Graves Papers, PANB; for Edward Ludlow Wetmore, see Stanley D. Hanson, DCB, 1921-1930, Vol. XV; and for Albert Scott White, see the Graves Papers, PANB.

two camps on the issue. They both had religious roots. One group of men and women, mainly Baptists, Methodists, and Quakers, encouraged to interpret the Scriptures for themselves, saw individuals as powerful agents in societal change. The other group, often Anglicans, Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Catholics, saw women's religious work as still subordinate to the greater patriarchy. They also worked for societal reform, but with the understanding of women as secondary, as still subordinate to male interests, and as wives and mothers -- their chief (and Biblically-sanctioned) roles. As always, there were exceptions to these generalizations.

Marshall added that the difference between the suffragists and anti-suffragists was *how* they interpreted the roles of women at home, at church, and in benevolent work. Suffragists emerged from the 1820s era of church benevolence, American political federalism, and Canadian nation building believing that women were competent in public spaces, and should be afforded the same citizen rights as men. Despite the well-meaning rhetoric of the early suffragists, however, they still remained an elite group. Others saw women's influence as something that would be corrupted if women tried to aspire to higher political participation. To them, women had their place within the patriarchy and hierarchy of society. Men would protect women in chivalrous fashion, and in turn, women would be the glue that held the family unit together, thus cementing a more stable society overall. To the antis, if woman strayed too far from her domestic path, at least marital strife would ensue, but more likely, they thought, society would fall into anarchy.

What was remarkable about the anti-suffragists of Maine and New Brunswick were their similarities to another group of people - the pro-suffragists of the *twentieth* century. It was not surprising that antis and pro-suffrage advocates would mingle in Portland society and the

urban centers of New Brunswick. Those standing for or against the woman's vote had their reasons, based on their view of society, but their worlds merged often when it came to reform efforts in the community. The Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, the New Brunswick Council of Women, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in both Maine and New Brunswick, the Sons of Temperance, and the Young Men's and Young Woman's Christian Association all featured men and women from both suffrage groups. So, with the two groups sharing some fundamental values came those relatives and colleagues of the antis who crossed over to the suffrage cause. For example, Sophia C. Brackett of Peaks Island watched her in-law, Thomas Brackett Reed, and his daughter, Katherine Reed Ballentine, both actively promote woman suffrage. One of the shining stars of the Liberal government of New Brunswick under Premier Andrew Blair was ardent pro-suffragist Henry Emmerson.

The anti-suffragists of the borderlands were attuned to national and international arguments against women's enfranchisement. The Maine anti-suffragists drew strategy and support from their Massachusetts colleagues in the late nineteenth century; the New Brunswick anti-suffrage legislators pulled from American, Canadian, and British sources. One Englishman, Goldwyn Smith became a well-published opponent of the woman's vote, and his writings were distributed across North America. Their rationale was drawn from the past, from their reaction to the present, and from their reading of divine Scriptures.

The earliest arguments from borderlands anti-suffragists outside of newspaper debates came from the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly in 1885 when the House debated enlarging the franchise beyond male property owners. Wetmore and Michael Adams gave nod to the New York State anti-suffrage petitions recently presented to the Assembly there,

insisting that a woman's vote was an unneeded and unwanted innovation.<sup>38</sup> Wetmore reiterated these points the following year, also expressing the fear of some that if women had the vote they might try to enter formal politics. Other members backed these views in the rest of the synoptic reports from the 1880s.<sup>39</sup> The growing petition campaign on behalf of woman suffrage by the late 1880s forced these legislators to continue the debate on something for which they felt society unready.

In the 1890s, Goldwyn Smith, a former member of the British Parliament and an Oxford historian, began sharply criticizing the woman suffrage movement as an attack against society itself. In 1893, he published a series of essays on contemporary issues, reserving a full chapter for "Woman Suffrage."<sup>40</sup> Smith, like the anti-suffragists in the United States and Canada, believed that the numbers of women wanting suffrage were small.<sup>41</sup> Still, the remonstrants could not yet pull in the same kinds of numbers for their petitions as could the suffragists (The anti-suffragists' biggest successes would be between 1915-1917 in Maine).

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<sup>38</sup> Emphasis by the author; Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the Legislature of the Province of New Brunswick in the Session of 1885, Reported by Charles H. Lugin (Toronto: James Murray & Co., 1886), 110.

<sup>39</sup> Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of 1886, Reported by M. McDade (Fredericton: Maritime Farmer Office, 1886), 22-23; Synoptic Reports of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of New B Brunswick for the Session of 1888, Reported by M. McDade (St. John: Office of Day & Reid, 1889), 89. For more on the anti-suffrage petitions in New York, see Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, (Rochester, New York: Susan B. Anthony, 1902), 839-873; Marshall, Splintered Sisterhood, 3.

<sup>40</sup> Goldwyn Smith, D.C.L., Essays on Questions of the Day: Political and Social (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1893). Smith relocated to North America in 1868, taking up residence in the United States for a few years as a professor at Cornell, before moving on to Toronto, where he held editorships of Canadian journals and influenced politics there.

<sup>41</sup> See Carol Lee Bacchi, Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), 47-9, 76, and 135 for information about Toronto-based anti-suffragists.

Also in Smith's writings was the debate over women's equality with men and whether or not that merited political rights as well. This was striking because the 1880s and 1890s represented a time of change within the pro-suffrage ranks; women were no longer demanding the vote on the grounds of equality, but rather that they, as women, were morally superior beings who, if granted the vote, could clean up society. Pro-suffrage advocates sometimes agreed that woman's place was still in the home, something the antis almost wholeheartedly argued well into the early twentieth century.

Some New Brunswick legislators reiterated Smith's thoughts. Powell argued in 1894 that giving women the vote "might be the ultimate undermining - of society. Women have no higher duties than those which pertain to motherhood."<sup>42</sup> Premier Blair echoed those words, saying that the legislators who exercised caution on the woman suffrage question "fear sincerely that the effect will be injurious to the women themselves." He continued, "The law of nature had made woman not the equal, but the complement of man, so that in every direction, where women were perfectly fitted to act, men were inadequate"<sup>43</sup> W. Albert Mott also believed that "when he (God) created man, he gave him the bread-winning power - the power to govern. He gave to women other powers."<sup>44</sup>

If women went to the polls, they would relinquish their role in the home and threaten instability to society. They would give up

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<sup>42</sup> Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of 1894, Reported by M. McDade and Frank H. Risteen (Saint John: Office of "Progress", 1895), 162.

<sup>43</sup> Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of 1895, Reported by M. McDade and Frank H. Risteen (Saint John: The Office of "Progress", 1896), 93-95.

<sup>44</sup> Synoptic Report, 1895, 103.

motherhood. If this were to happen, Smith and others believed, race suicide would follow. Smith wrote:

There appears to be a tendency among the leaders of the Revolt of women to disparage matrimony as a bondage, and the rearing of children as an aim too low for an intellectual being. Such ideas are not likely to spread widely, or they would threaten the life of the race. They prevail chiefly in the highly educated and sentimental classes, not in the homes of labor. If it is a question of right, children have their rights as well as women. They have not less right to motherly care than they and their mothers have to being fed by the husband's labor.<sup>45</sup>

Moreover, if women obtained the vote, Smith and others argued, they could not back up their vote with force. Smith said, "Women have not yet thought of claiming the employment of policemen, soldiers, or any function for which force is required. Laws passed by the woman's vote will have no force behind them. Would the stronger sex obey such laws when it was known that they were enacted by the weak?"<sup>46</sup> Legislator Hazen agreed, asking how women could possibly back up their vote with military service. Powell wondered how women might perform roadwork or constable duty or pay the poll taxes associated with the vote. Perhaps Premier Blair said it best: "They have not been lawmakers, bread winners, soldiers, nor sailors, nor discharged any of those wide national functions upon which the very existence of the State depends."<sup>47</sup>

Smith and others would often go further regarding the idea of force. He pointed to female rulers who waged war, to underline the idea

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<sup>45</sup> Smith, *Essays*, 185.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 187; on page 195, Smith contradicted himself, saying that suffragists in England engaged in acts of violence to get what they wanted, and yet, he believed women were not capable of direct force in order to "defend" the vote.

<sup>47</sup> Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of 1899, Reported by M. McDade and Frank H. Risteen (Saint John: The Gazette Publishing Co., 1900), 66; 1895, 93, 101. Blair ignored the many women who worked in factories, farms, and stores, and even devalued women's labor in the home.

that women would only mismanage power. This argument was used to say that the woman's vote would not bring a more peaceful society. "Women," Smith said, "are apt to be warlike because their responsibility is less." Seeming to ignore his own female monarch (Victoria), Smith believed that if women held leadership positions in society or made laws, men would not heed them or obey them, and chaos would follow.<sup>48</sup> Smith warned that, "Delilah has already spread her snares for the Congressional Samson."<sup>49</sup> Not only could women not handle military power, the vote would corrupt them.

Bad women, some of the New Brunswick legislators believed, were the only ones who wanted the vote. Legislator Sivewright said that it was "shown in other places that it is not the best class who go to the polls." Powell chimed in that he "had found upon studying the origin and the progress of this movement that the Christian ladies of our land were not in the best of company. Among the earliest exponents of woman suffrage were Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill, and Victoria Woodhull." The legislators also picked up on the gossip from places that did allow the women's vote, such as the states of Colorado and Wyoming and in New Zealand. Legislator Pugsley told the House he'd heard that the recent elections in Colorado proved disastrous.<sup>50</sup>

Attacking the suffragists as "socialists" was a common theme by the 1890s. The suffragists had not yet seen the socialist-feminist ideas of Charlotte Perkins Gilman come to fruition, with her proposal of group nurseries - still traditional in that they, in her mind, should be run by women, who were "natural" mothers.<sup>51</sup> Feminism, another

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<sup>48</sup> Smith, Essays, 189.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 202.

<sup>50</sup> Synoptic Reports, 1895, 88, 100; 1899, 65.

<sup>51</sup> For more on Gilman's and other's ideas of maternal socialism, see Delores Hayden, The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist



term beginning to be bandied about by the 1890s, was assumed to be a rung upon the ladder of socialism. This view of suffragists as socialists, however, was sometimes true. For example, it was supported by some of the band of suffragists in Saint John, who actively discussed Fabianism by the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup>

Premier Blair believed that the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly had never ignored women's desires.<sup>53</sup> Women, Smith argued, had all the rights they really needed, in reference to reformed divorce and inheritance laws. In fact, Smith said:

It is becoming the custom to tie up a woman's property, on marriage, so that she shall not be able, even if she is so inclined, to make provision for her husband, in case he survives her, in old age, and save him from the necessity of receiving alms from his own children. About everything has been done which civil legislation could do to impress the wife with the belief that her interest and that of her husband are not only separate, but adverse.<sup>54</sup>

Matrimony to Smith and others was key to the suffrage debate. "It does not follow that she is political any more than man is maternal or adapted for housekeeping." If women were kept out of the political fray, they could remain "gentle, tender, and delicate."<sup>55</sup>

Women, the antis believed, did not really want the vote. The suffragists, to them, were but a small representation of the larger population. Smith wrote:

The number of women who have spontaneously asked for the change appears to be small; and its smallness is important as an index

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Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 1, 182-203, 228. See also Charlotte Perkins Gilman, Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution, with an introduction by Michael Kimmel and Amy Aronson (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> Mary Eileen Clarke, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, 1894-1919," M.A. Thesis (Fredericton, New Brunswick: University of New Brunswick, 1979), 76-77.

<sup>53</sup> Synoptic Report, 1894, 159.

<sup>54</sup> Smith, Essays, 192.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., 200-201.

of woman's feeling respecting her own interest. But were the number larger, it would still be incumbent on the present holders of power before abdicating to consider whether in the common interest their abdication was to be desired. As to the equality of the sexes, no question is necessarily raised; they may be perfectly equal though their spheres are different, that of the man being public life, that of the woman then home. Nor is there any occasion for pitting male or female gifts or qualities together. Supposing woman even to be superior, it does not follow that the field of her superiority is public life.<sup>56</sup>

Sivewright, Hazen, Powell, Blair, Wetmore, Adams, all concurred with the views expressed by Smith.<sup>57</sup> Blair continued to argue that there was no precedent for giving women the vote, either in the "mother country," or in the Dominion of Canada.<sup>58</sup>

Newspaper editors and correspondents in Maine and New Brunswick also weighed in against woman suffrage in the 1880s through the 1890s. Back in 1870, Edward Elwell battled with suffragist John Neal, in their respective newspapers. Elwell was still an editor of the *Transcript* by the 1890s, installing his daughter, Mabel, as the writer of the "Household Department." Mabel focused her energy on fashion, washing, domestic hints, and childcare and remained far away from politics. Meanwhile, Edward Elwell continued to run articles that ridiculed woman suffrage, including one called "Woman in the Case" stating that: "Women are apt to mistake for prejudice and oppression directed against them as women, the difficulties which arise from competition, or injustice, or carelessness, and to which men are equally subjected in the struggle for existence."<sup>59</sup> Ironically, his co-editor for the newspaper was S.T. Pickard, the pro-suffragist who signed the call for a woman suffrage convention in 1873. Heightening the division of thought was Charles W.

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 183-4.

<sup>57</sup> *Synoptic Report*, 1894, 162, 195; 1885, 110; 1895, 87-88, 92, 95, 101; 1899, 66.

<sup>58</sup> *Synoptic Report*, 1895, 93.

<sup>59</sup> E. Cavazza, "The Woman in the Case," *Portland Transcript*, 9 April 1890, vol. LIV, no. 2, 12.

Pickard, the *Transcript's* business manager. The latter Pickard's wife submitted a remonstrance in 1889 with 102 signatures.<sup>60</sup> The *Portland Transcript*, however, eventually reflected the growing impact of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association. The transition was clear throughout the 1890s in this particular newspaper. The *Portland Transcript* entered the decade as a staunchly anti-suffrage organ, but became pro-suffrage at decade's end. For example, in 1892, Mabel Elwell was still writing on things considered "feminine," but the title of her section of the newspaper changed to: "Notes from the Women's Clubs."<sup>61</sup> By 1895, the paper featured pro-suffrage articles in Mabel Elwell's section.<sup>62</sup> By 1897 and 1898, news on the women's clubs was moved into the main newspaper and always appeared on the sixth page of each issue. In May 1897, the "Woman's Department" section replaced the one previously devoted solely to women's clubs. This section was even more progressive, describing the lives of female preachers, Elizabeth Cady Stanton's controversial Woman's Bible, and suffrage meetings, locally and nationally. The culprit for the change probably also reflected the fact

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<sup>60</sup> Portland Directory, 1889, 506.

<sup>61</sup> *Portland Monthly, Supplement to the Portland Transcript*, 3 August 1892, 6. Several historians have written about the power of the social club in women's lives, including: Paul Axlerod & John G. Reid, editors, Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 187; N.E.S. Griffiths, The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993), 5, 14, 81; Katie Pickles, Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1-2, 7; Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, Prominent Personalities in the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs (West Boothbay Harbor, Maine: James F. Waugh, 1962).

<sup>62</sup> "A Remarkable Woman," *Portland Monthly, Supplement to the Portland Transcript*, 2 October 1895, 6.

that Elwell died and Pickard took over the editorship of the newspaper.<sup>63</sup>

While the Maine suffrage leadership was bolstering their local and state organizations at the turn of the twentieth century, even establishing a press bureau in 1898, the New Brunswick suffragists were finding themselves at a crossroads. Chapter Six will look at how the two movements diverged, how the seeds of this divergence were planted many years before, and the outcomes of this division.

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<sup>63</sup> *Portland Transcript*, 12 May 1897, vol. LXI, no. 6, 66; 19 May 1897, vol. LXI, no. 7, 78; 26 May 1897, vol. LXI, no. 8, 90; 2 June 1897, vol. LXI, no. 9, 102; 23 June 1897, vol. LXI, no. 12, 138; 15 December 1897, vol. LXI, no. 37, 438; 2 March 1898, vol. LXII, no. 48, 570.

## Chapter 6

### "IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH JUSTICE": MAINE AND NEW BRUNSWICK WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1896, Maine Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA) president Hannah Johnston Bailey said, "It is humiliating to be disfranchised or unfranchised. When the government wished to punish Jefferson Davis, it considered that the worst punishment it could inflict upon him was to deprive him of the right to vote."<sup>1</sup>

In the early 1890s, the two suffrage movements of Maine and New Brunswick seemed to gather momentum. In Maine, the 1891 slate of executives for the Maine Woman Suffrage Association consisted entirely of women (See APPENDIX F). In New Brunswick, the Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union (M-WCTU) had endorsed suffrage as a means to gaining a liquor law (which, they believed, would improve the quality of women's lives), and prominent members of the Legislative Assembly brought the woman suffrage debate to the fore. Suffrage petitions had been circulated and presented to the Maine State Legislature and New Brunswick Legislative Assembly, and this practice continued throughout the 1890s. The topic of suffrage had gained international attention, as women secured the vote in New Zealand, the American states of Utah, Wyoming, Colorado, and Idaho, and the southern and western districts of Australia. Maine and New Brunswick suffragists also worked to strengthen ties to the national movements in the United States, Canada,

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<sup>1</sup> Hannah Johnston Bailey, Address of the President of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association (Augusta: Maine State Archives, 1896), 10. Jefferson Davis was president of the Southern Confederacy during the American Civil War, 1861-1865.

and England, and to bring momentum from the national groups back home to their provinces, counties, and towns.<sup>2</sup>

By the 1890s, however, the paths forged by both Maine and New Brunswick woman suffrage movements began to diverge somewhat. Certainly, in both groups, maternal feminism - that is, advancing women's causes with the idea that women had a mothering, moral influence over society - became prevalent. How each group utilized maternal feminism in relation to the suffrage push and other movements like temperance varied. The outcome of the 1890s would send one group into a decade-long disarray and the other towards a more complex organization.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the American woman suffrage movement had reason to hope again. The 1869 split between the New England suffragists, who formed the American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), headed by Lucy Stone, Antoinette Brown Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe, and that of the National Woman Suffrage Association, led by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, reunited by 1891. The collaborative project of Stanton, Anthony, Matilda Joselyn Gage, and Ohio journalist Ida Husted Harper, the History

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<sup>2</sup> Patricia Greenwood Harrison, in Connecting Links: The British and American Woman Suffrage Movements, 1900-1914 (Westport, Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 2000), detailed the early ties between the American and British woman suffrage movements, but did not note any Canadian connection, 1-30. Still, the minute books of the New Brunswick Women's Enfranchisement Association referred to the fact that the Saint John Suffragists did follow events in both places, for example hosting Julia Ward Howe in the nineteenth century, and the Pankhursts in the early 1900s. See the Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, Minute Books, 1894-1919, vol. I, (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum), 19 September 1896, 65; Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada: The Start of Liberation, 1900-20 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1950; second edition 1974), 189-190. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et. al., History of Woman Suffrage, 6 vols. (Rochester, New York; Indianapolis: Susan B. Anthony and Hollenbeck Press, 1881-1921), followed the progress of movements in all three places, asking for chapter submissions from the women in Canada and England.

of Woman Suffrage, included a chapter about the AWSA written by Stanton's Vassar-educated daughter, Harriot Stanton Blatch. Women continued to enter colleges and the professions previously held by men. The suffragists had held successive conventions in Washington, D.C. in order to put further onus on politicians to heed their cause. Mainers, early attendants of national suffrage conventions, continued their participation in the national movement and influenced a new generation of suffragists.

When Quaker Hannah Johnston Bailey assumed leadership of the Maine Woman Suffrage Association from the Reverend Henry D. Blanchard of the First Universalist Church of Portland in 1891, the organization's letterhead contained these words: "In Order to Establish Justice."<sup>3</sup> To Bailey and many others, the female vote was simply a matter of fairness: a final resolution to the promises of the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution.<sup>4</sup> Bailey and the Maine suffragists of the 1890s understood that it was time to forge new alliances and break away from some of the old ones. The first generation of suffragists was fading. Also disappearing were memories of abolition, of early temperance, and of some of the female "firsts" and novelties of the 1840s and 1850s. A new generation of women, college graduates, professional, and often unmarried, blended with the older generation in the 1890s, and helped to solidify the MWSA's place in Maine's early twentieth-century political scene.

But Maine suffragists also found themselves making hard choices. Bailey was drawn to the peace movement, and Lillian M.N. Stevens moved into national and international leadership with the WCTU. Despite the

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<sup>3</sup> Blanchard held the presidency of the MWSA from its reorganization in 1885 to 1891.

<sup>4</sup> Bailey, Address of the President, 5.

competition for members and volunteer time from other progressive and women's organizations, the Maine woman suffrage movement in the 1890s still adhered to Susan B. Anthony's vision - that gaining the vote was paramount to every other long-lasting advance in women's lives. Bailey said: "The WCTU has a membership of over 5,000 in Maine and probably every one of them are woman suffragists. They are women and want the ballot."<sup>5</sup>

Bailey first came to Maine as a Quaker missionary. She married Moses Bailey, an oilcloth magnate and lived in Winthrop Center, a town located just outside of Augusta. When her husband died in 1882, she wrote a tribute to him, and became more involved in reform activities. She ultimately helped to bring about a shift in power within the Maine Woman Suffrage Association, starting in 1891.<sup>6</sup> She ensured that the vice presidents, board of directors, secretaries, and administrative positions of the MWSA were held by women by the end of her term, the first time such a large group of women supervised this organization (See APPENDIX F).<sup>7</sup> Bailey wrote: "It was thought best to have a woman at the head of the organization in order to confute the argument, then often advanced by the legislators, that women do not want the ballot." The suffrage petitions advanced from Mainers in the 1870s, 1880s, and 1890s, demonstrated that there were plenty of influential men who backed their cause, but now, the women took full control, and they began to run their organization in a way similar to a non-profit of the

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<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>6</sup> The Baileys had one son, Moses Melvin Bailey. For more on Moses Bailey, Hannah's husband, see her biography of him, Reminiscences of a Christian Life (Portland, Maine: Hoyt, Fogg & Donham, 1885). Hannah Johnston Bailey's papers are located at the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. See Lee Agger, Women of Maine (Portland, Maine: G. Gannett Pub. Co., 1982), for a short biography of Bailey, 61-62.

<sup>7</sup> The MWSA, from its start in 1873, had a mix of men and women in leadership roles. By 1897, the switchover was complete and the executives were all women.



twenty-first century, complete with annual events, budgets, and a press bureau.

Joining Bailey in this feminization and professionalization of the Maine suffrage movement were a mix of the old and the new. Mrs. Ann F. Greely of Ellsworth (see Chapter 2) was a long-time suffragist. Sarah J. L. O'Brion of Cornish was another affiliated with suffrage from the 1850s. Mrs. C.A. Quinby of Augusta was involved since the early 1870s; Mrs. Lavina J. Spaulding was active with the WCTU from the early 1880s; and Sally Walker Weston, a relative of other Weston suffragists from Skowhegan - all were appointed as vice presidents.<sup>8</sup> Dr. Jane Lord Hersom, who graduated from Elizabeth Blackwell's Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia, and practiced medicine in Portland, became treasurer in 1891; Mrs. Lillie (Lilla) Floyd Donnell of Portland was recording secretary; and Mrs. Etta Haley Osgood of Portland, active also in the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, was corresponding secretary.<sup>9</sup> On the executive committee, composed entirely of women by 1891, served Sarah Fairfield Hamilton, leader of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Saco; Mrs. H.F. Humphrey; Mrs. J.E. McDowell of Portland; Mrs. Margaret T.W. Merrill; Lillian M.N. Stevens

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<sup>8</sup> There were still male vice presidents in 1891. They included: Reverend Henry Blanchard D.D., Governor Nelson Dingley, Jr., General Francis Fessenden, Dr. Frederick Henry Gerrish, Honorable Thomas Brackett Reed, and Governor Frederick Robie.

<sup>9</sup> For more on Dr. Jane Lord Hersom, see Biographical Review Cumberland County, Maine (Boston: Biographical Review Publishing Company, 1896), 275-276; Donnell was fondly remembered by a friend: "It was said of her, that if you were privileged to count her your friend, you realized that hers was a spirit which never flagged nor submitted to the domination of the material;" Lynn Lister, Isabel W. Greenwood and the Women's Suffrage Movement (Farmington: University of Maine at Farmington, 1991), 9-10; Donnell was also mentioned in the article, "For Suffrage" *Bangor Daily Commercial*, 1 November 1902. Osgood was mentioned in Mary Elvira Elliot, Mary A. Stimpson, and Martha Seavey Hoyt, with editorial supervision of Julia Ward Howe, assisted by Mary H. Graves, Representative Women of New England (Boston: New England Historical Publishing Company, 1904), 284-285.

of Stroudwater, an active WCTU member; Mrs. Leonora Thompson, wife of Reverend Zenas Thompson; and Miss Louise Titcomb of Stroudwater.<sup>10</sup>

Bailey, who, like many of the other suffragists was a strong advocate of temperance and the burgeoning peace movement, devoted six years to leadership of the MWSA and supervised the largest groups of petitions submitted. Under Bailey's, and her successor Lucy Hobart Day's leadership, suffrage clubs sprouted up in other Maine communities during the 1890s, including Old Orchard, Waterville, Skowhegan, Auburn, Machias, Hampden, Hancock County, and Saco.<sup>11</sup> The MWSA made requests to the legislature for the right to vote in school board elections, town elections, state elections, and national elections - all to no avail.

But there were other successes by the 1890s that showed the hardy petitioning had a ripple effect for women in Maine. A "Home for Friendless Girls" was established in Belfast - one of the communities mentioned as having pro-suffrage advocates in the 1860s and one that repeatedly petitioned for suffrage. The Mary Brown Home of Portland was incorporated in 1894 and any "respectable" woman could stay there for three dollars a week. The MWSA was successful in campaigning for women's legal title to their own property and dower rights. Women now had a right to testify on their own behalf against their husbands in divorce cases and argue for the custody of their children. In other words, fathers and mothers now had equal guardianship of their children. The age of protection for girls from men over age 21 changed from 10 years old in the 1880s to 16 years old in the 1890s, thanks to the efforts of these women. By 1898, the MWSA set up a press bureau,

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<sup>10</sup> For more on Hamilton, see the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, Prominent Personalities in the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs (West Boothbay Harbor, Maine: James F. Waugh, 1962), 210-211, and historian Sally Huot.

<sup>11</sup> Members from each of these communities had submitted suffrage petitions to the state legislature.

headed by Sarah G. Crosby, who enlarged suffrage press circulation from six to eighty newspapers. Crosby had long been involved with the MWSA, submitting a suffrage petition in 1873. She worked as a stenographer to the Supreme Judicial Court of Maine, only the second woman to hold that position. She also headed the effort to establish a WCTU in Waterville.<sup>12</sup> The MWSA also established departments headed by female superintendents (similar to the way the WCTU ran its organization), including literature, organization, and enrollment.

Bailey resigned her post as MWSA president in 1897 and took up a superintendent position with the National WCTU for the "Department of Peace and Arbitration," created especially for her. She also headed publication efforts of pacifist materials, worked as superintendent in the similarly-named department for the World WCTU, and traveled the country and the world lecturing in churches and before women's groups for the pacifist cause. Bailey may have been reacting to what historians called a very pro-military age in the western world in the 1890s, especially in the United States and England.<sup>13</sup>

The MWSA sustained another significant loss of leadership when Lillian M.N. Stevens decided to turn her full attention towards her work with the WCTU. This was in keeping with national American woman suffrage strategies. Carrie Chapman Catt, one of Susan B. Anthony's "lieutenants," urged the separation of the woman suffrage cause from that of temperance. Congressmen had assumed there were always ties

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<sup>12</sup> Susan B. Anthony and Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1902), 690. For more on Crosby, see Elizabeth M. Mosher, transcriber, Vital Statistics of Albion, Maine, Prior to 1892 (Camden, Maine: Picton Press, 1989), 171.

<sup>13</sup> Agger, Mothers of Maine, 62. For more on the 1890s military strategies in the United States, see Michael H. Hunt, Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1897), 12-16, 124-127, and also Emily S. Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream: An American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 3, 9, 14-62.

between woman suffragists and prohibitionists by the 1890s, and often, the vote was defeated by a combination of Congressmen's distaste for temperance and the separate anti-suffrage campaigns of the liquor lobby (for example, in California in 1896).<sup>14</sup> When Frances Willard, the beloved leader of the WCTU died in 1898, Lillian M.N. Stevens, at age 54, took over the presidency of the national organization.<sup>15</sup> Stevens heeded Carrie Chapman Catt's request to make a choice. She "quietly withdrew from the MWSA when asked to do so and held no bitterness."<sup>16</sup>

Bailey and Stevens were two examples of a rising phenomenon among Maine women and women in the greater United States: the full-time female volunteer. Past their childbearing years and widowed, Bailey and Stevens had the time to devote to their various causes. Joining these "retired" mothers were university-trained women. Historians have pointed out the dilemma of college-educated women in the late nineteenth century. They had the education, but oftentimes, professional doors were still closed to them as women. Progressive organizations like the NAWSA provided some paid work, but also relied heavily on women who had independent income and spare time.

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<sup>14</sup> Sarah F. Ward, Lillian M.N. Stevens: Champion of Justice (Evanston, Illinois: Signal Press, 2004), 29. Susan E. Marshall, Splintered Sisterhood: Gender and Class in the Campaign Against Woman Suffrage (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), made the point that the female anti-suffragists were not working with the liquor lobby, but both were working toward the same ends.

<sup>15</sup> For more information on Stevens, see the biography written by her daughter, Gertrude Stevens Leavitt and Margaret L. Sargent, Lillian M.N. Stevens: A Life Sketch (N.p.: N.p., 1921), pages 21-22. For a life portrait of Frances Willard, see her closest friends' tribute, Anna Adams Gordon, The Life of Frances E. Willard, with an introduction by Lady Henry Somerset (Evanston, Illinois: National Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1921). In 1874, before Willard became WCTU president, she had studied the words of consummate temperance leader and Mainer, Neal Dow, who had spoken at Old Orchard Beach, Maine, and there met Lillian M.N. Stevens, 88. The two women became close friends, with Willard often staying at Stevens' home in Portland, 253; Leavitt, Stevens, 8. Stevens was at Willard's deathbed and delivered the benediction at her funeral, 269, 278, 281, 284, and 323.

<sup>16</sup> Ward, Stevens, 29.

For many college graduates and wealthier women, volunteerism in progressive causes became their new "profession." Some, like Jane Addams of Hull House, a settlement house in Chicago, turned this position into a paying job with long-term impact on the community. Others, like Stevens, used her income, esteem, and vigor to benefit the Maine WCTU from the 1870s, the national WCTU from the 1880s, and the world WCTU from the 1890s onward. Her professional benevolence work only ceased upon her death in 1914. Many of them had motherhood in common, and even those who did not, like Addams, used a special kind of "mothering" or "maternal" approach in their work.<sup>17</sup>

Maine women volunteer "professionals" working for suffrage included women like Lucy Hobart Day. She took over the MWSA presidency upon Bailey's resignation, and served in the position until 1905. Day was actively connected to NAWSA, serving as a delegate from Maine to the national conventions in the late 1800s, and submitting the chapter on the Maine woman suffrage movement to the editors of volume IV of the History of Woman Suffrage. It was because of Day's effort that more is known about the MWSA.<sup>18</sup>

Other women, like Elizabeth Upham Yates, turned their locally-grown talents, into a national suffrage career. The story of how Elizabeth Upham Yates arrived as a political pundit on the national scene mirrored the story of so many young women who came of age in the late nineteenth century. Yates' generation took the seeds planted by first generation, woman suffragists such as Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony and made them grow. Yates and her colleagues, born between 1850 and 1875, were often the first to access university

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<sup>17</sup> For more on Jane Addams and the Chicago settlement house movement, see Jane Addams, Twenty Years at Hull-House: With Autobiographical Notes (New York: Signet Classic, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 689-694.

educations in their regions; they were the first to take the growing professionalism of the industrial age and apply it to social causes; and, aside from a few examples like Anthony, they were the first generation of women to reject married life and motherhood as their only options, and pursue political careers of their own. Women like Yates found ways to circumvent and participate in the political system as needed. Yates' suffrage career was demonstrative of how women created their own kind of politics.

Yates' early life showed that, like many of the suffragists, a background of privilege, access to education and exposure to reform work from an early age, support from her family, and a legacy left by people like Ann Greely and John Neal could create a woman confident in public action. Yates was born in 1857 in Bristol, Maine to parents of higher social standing, and this aided her own sense of self-assurance in the world. Her father, Thomas Cogswell Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, was considered part of the "Old Guard" of Bowdoin College. Her mother, Phebe Lord Upham, was the daughter of the wealthy Nathaniel Lord of York County.<sup>19</sup> Phebe Upham aided her husband in writing religious tracts and pushed for the right for women to speak in church. She also helped neighbor Harriet Beecher Stowe provision a slave on the run in the 1850s. And perhaps Upham was best known for writing the eight-page "Narrative of Phebe Ann Jacobs," about the black woman who ran a laundry for students at Bowdoin.<sup>20</sup> It is from this mix

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<sup>19</sup> For more information about Thomas Cogswell Upham, see Louis C. Hatch, The History of Bowdoin College (Portland: Loring, Short & Harmon, 1927), 58-60. Charles C. Calhoun wrote about both Phebe Lord Upham and Thomas Cogswell Upham in A Small College in Maine: Two Hundred Years of Bowdoin (Brunswick, Maine: Bowdoin College, 1993), 62, 108, 150-2, 157, 162.

<sup>20</sup> Calhoun, Small College in Maine, 162. Calhoun wrote, however, that Phebe Upham's account of Phebe Jacobs de-humanized her by making her a Christian saint, happy with her lot.

of Christian piety, moral philosophy, and activism, albeit a product of its times, that the young Elizabeth Upham Yates made her way into the world.

Yates was precisely the kind of young woman that the suffrage movement so eagerly sought. In Frances Willard's nineteenth-century encyclopedia of influential (and white) American women, details of Yates' early life show her talent and encouragement: "During her school days she gave evidence of oratorical gifts that have been developed by special training." Her parents were able to see that she received elocution training to further her energies, and she attended the Boston School of Expression as well. Yates' career also demonstrated the ties of suffragists to other reforms like missionary work. Licensed to preach by the Methodist Episcopal Church, Yates shipped off to China in 1880 as a missionary. She stayed for six years and wrote a memoir, Glimpses into Chinese Homes.<sup>21</sup> Although Yates's missionary work was more and more common for women in her day, she could never become a minister herself.<sup>22</sup>

Her influential parents, her childhood and early adulthood training, and her professional religious experiences all combined to make Elizabeth Upham Yates the ideal woman for the reform platform, something more and more available to educated and cultured women of the

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<sup>21</sup> Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, editors, A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1967), 807; Elizabeth Upham Yates, Glimpses Into Chinese Homes, microfilm (Boston: J. W. Hamilton Printer, 1887; New Haven, Connecticut: Research Publications, n.d.). Yates reflected in her book on Chinese women's freedoms in Peking, and their ability to excel equally with males if given access to education, 23, 32,

<sup>22</sup> Hannah Lane made this point in her dissertation, "Methodist Church Members, Lay Leaders, and Socio-economic Position in Mid-nineteenth Century St. Stephen, New Brunswick," (Fredericton, New Brunswick: University of New Brunswick, 2004), 202-203.

late nineteenth century. With her skills, she became a top lecturer for both the WCTU and NAWSA.<sup>23</sup>

The first known instances of Yates' political activism occurred in January 1890, when she joined ex-governor of Massachusetts John D. Long and others at a woman suffrage convention. Yates began by attending national conventions each year, probably to network and learn more about how she could urge the adoption of the woman's vote. She returned to Massachusetts the following year to speak on the topic of suffrage. The 1891 convention, held in Massachusetts, observed the anniversary of the first National Woman's Rights Convention convened in Worcester in 1850, and convention attendees celebrated the advances of women in the past forty years. Yates, now both an author and public speaker, delved into the movement even more. By 1894, she seemed convinced that woman suffrage was a way to improve the lives of all women. She began to work outside of annual suffrage conventions in this year.<sup>24</sup>

By the 1890s, a lot had changed for suffrage lecturers like Yates. Thanks to the tracks made by their predecessors and the vocal support of many prominent men, woman suffragists could rely on an audience that had some inkling of why women might want the vote. Lectures were still the height of entertainment in most rural places, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Chautauqua Institute set up a traveling exhibition of specialists in all realms of learning. Yates

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<sup>23</sup> She became the president of the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Society in 1909, and the Carrie Chapman Catt Papers at Bryn Mawr holds a photograph of her. Yates' career did not stop once women got the vote. She ran as lieutenant governor for Rhode Island in 1922. To learn more about her political career, see "Elizabeth Upham Yates," by Florence Markoff, 25 February 2003, [www.quahog.org](http://www.quahog.org). It has not become clear, whether Yates married before leaving for or during her missionary work in China, but she was always referred to as "Miss" in the woman suffrage ranks.

<sup>24</sup> Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 707, 709.



and her colleagues had a template from which to work when designing their speeches, planning their lecture routes, and even what they would wear (Anthony, for example, had made it a practice to dress very demurely, save for her bright red shawl). And, Yates could rely on a national organization, NAWSA, to support her travel monetarily, produce literature that she could disseminate, set up her lecture schedule, arrange for housing and meals, and assure her a professional, corporate image to stand behind. Yates had a *brand* that she could promote.

The national American woman suffrage movement of 1894 and 1895, much like the MWSA, was in a state of transition during the first years Yates began to travel and speak extensively on behalf of the cause. The Old Guard - Stanton, Anthony, Stone, and others - was looking for new blood. Anthony had begun to train a cadre of women she referred to as her "lieutenants" by the 1870s, recognizing that the movement would end without them. The first wave of woman suffragists could look proudly on the next generation, many of whom held college degrees, or had, like Yates, gone out into the world to face challenges not usually seen by western women. Anthony, especially, had established a pattern for other lecturers and organizers to follow, and she and Stanton encouraged these young women to speak more and more at national conventions, and to go out into rural and urban America to promote the grand cause.

Yates was the first Mainer to tour and speak on behalf of NAWSA so extensively, and had no counterpart at the time in New Brunswick. At the 1894 NAWSA convention, held from February 15<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> in Washington, D.C., Yates spoke on what she called "Fashionable Thought." In her years of missionary work and early training as a professional suffragist, Yates also learned how to spin a story, and how to make her audience laugh. In this presentation, she spoke on how "Class distinctions, public schools, religious liberty and social life have

been affected by the thought of the times, by fashionable thought." Yates infused humor throughout her speech, and one source reported: "there were several times when the speaker had to stop and wait for the laughter to subside." Her speech was a success, and "her effort was acknowledged by long applause." Yates' comments also reflected the gains of women: "I want to congratulate those women who have sane husbands, because only those whose husbands were insane could manage their property and make contracts under an old law."<sup>25</sup> Yates was referring to the old days when women had no rights to their own property.

Yates was on the road that summer of 1894, speaking in South Framingham at a "Woman's Day" celebration at the Massachusetts Chautauqua. On September 4<sup>th</sup>, she helped to observe Woman's Day again at the New England Agricultural Fair in Worcester, Massachusetts. She was joined onstage by Colonel Needham, the president of the Agricultural Fair, who made "an earnest woman suffrage address," followed by Julia Ward Howe, a well-known author of the lyrics of the Battle Hymn of the Republic.<sup>26</sup> Yates traveled much of 1895 and 1896 for NAWSA, speaking on suffrage at fairs, Chautauqua Institutes, bazaars, and state suffrage campaigns, and preaching at Sunday pulpits, reaching places like Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Connecticut, Virginia, Massachusetts, Mississippi, South Dakota, Maryland, Rhode Island, Kansas, Pennsylvania, Washington, D.C., and California.<sup>27</sup> Yates' work in

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid., 228; Harriet Taylor Upton, editor, Proceedings of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association Held in Washington, D.C., February 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1894 (Washington, D.C.: National Headquarters, Chronicle Print, 1894), 43-44, 157.

<sup>26</sup> Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 714.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 822, 874, 899-900, 922, 964; Harper, Life and Work of Susan B. Anthony, vol. II (The Hollenbeck Press: Indianapolis, 1899), 811, 865, 869-870, 875. Harper wrote of the campaign in California: "The woman

the American south was especially poignant, because the leadership of the National organization had mostly been culled from northerners. Stanton, Anthony, and the others recognized that if they were to have any success at pushing for a federal amendment giving women the right to vote, then they would need the support of southern suffragists. Women like Laura Clay of Kentucky, however, came with some caveats.

By the 1890s, the hopes of those who fought the Civil War that blacks would share the same rights of citizenship as whites had faded. Racism ran rampant in the north, and race supremacy was inextricably linked to the southern woman suffrage movement.<sup>28</sup> For women like Yates, whose own parents helped slaves to escape on the Underground Railroad, Northern suffragists had to walk a fine line, placating southern suffragists, some of whom were racist and advocated "whites only" suffrage, and dealing with the obvious racism within their own ranks in the north. Most of the time, black woman suffragists were the losers in this game of strategy. Black women suffragists and reformers like Ida Wells Barnett emerged in this era to directly challenge the limited ideology of the Progressive Era suffragists.<sup>29</sup>

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suffrage delegation, consisting of Mrs. Sargent, Mrs. John F. Swift, Mrs. Blinn, Mrs. Austin Sperry, Mrs. Knox Goodrich, Miss Anthony, Rev. Anna Shaw, Miss Hay, Miss Yates, Mrs. Harper, opened their headquarters at the Golden Eagle Hotel, decorated their parlor with flowers, spread out their literature and badges and waited for the delegates"; Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 487, 490, 536, 558, 646, 693, 717, 783, 816.

<sup>28</sup> For more on the tricky relations of northern and southern woman suffragists, see Marjorie Spruill Wheeler, New Women of the New South: The Leaders of the Woman Suffrage Movement in the Southern States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), and Suzanne Lebsack, A Share of Honor: Virginia Women, 1645-1945 (Richmond, Virginia: Virginia Women's Cultural History Project, 1984). For more specifically on Clay and her racist suffragism, see Wheeler, 133-140.

<sup>29</sup> Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 242. For more about the African American woman suffragists, see Rosalyn Terborg-Penn, African American Women in the Struggle for the Vote, 1850-1920 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998).

Yates was also active in her home state of Maine, working with the Woman Suffrage Association of Portland, rubbing elbows with MWSA president Lucy Hobart Day; Helen Coffin Beedy, an author; Harriet Spofford, an old ally of Anthony's; Dr. Abby Fulton; Sarah Hamilton Fairfield, a woman's union organizer; and Hannah Johnston Bailey, former president of the MWSA.<sup>30</sup>

After 1900 Yates moved to Rhode Island and headed the Rhode Island Woman Suffrage Association. She also ran for lieutenant governor. After a successful career as a suffragist, the History of Woman Suffrage described her as: "A student of sociology, missionary leader, prophet and dreamer, whose dreams have come true."<sup>31</sup> In this new era, women like Yates could be professional speakers and even deign to try for political office.

Through Elizabeth Upham Yates and other women, the MWSA was successful in maintaining ties to NAWSA, inviting Susan B. Anthony to speak in Hampden in 1898 and in Portland in 1900. Carrie Chapman Catt attended the MWSA's "Suffrage Day" in Ocean Park, Old Orchard in 1900.<sup>32</sup> After 1900, the MWSA stayed active, putting a request before the legislature that women should not have to pay taxes because, "taxation without representation is tyranny." And in 1900, an era when historians have said the suffrage movement dipped, the MWSA held public meetings in Old Orchard, Saco, Waterville, Hampden, Winthrop, Monmouth, Cornish and Portland - all communities that had petitioned the legislature in

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<sup>30</sup> See the *Portland Transcript* for mention of suffragist and other organizational gatherings with these women, 4 September 1895, 6; 2 June 1897, 102; 15 December 1897, 438; 2 March 1898, 570.

<sup>31</sup> Vol. IV, 577.

<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile, a program of a Maine WCTU conference noted a dip in interest in the late 1890s in temperance. By then, Lillian M.N. Stevens and Hannah Johnston Bailey had moved on to the national and international scenes. See L.B. Wheelden, Secretary, WCTU, The Woman's Christian Temperance Crusade of Bangor, Maine: A Partial History, 1874-1897 (N.p.: N.p., 1897), n.p.

the late nineteenth century. At the time, the History of Woman Suffrage, reported of the Maine suffragists:

There are 69 school superintendents, one school supervisor, 112 serving on school committees, 40 public librarians, one trustee of the State Insane Asylum, one physician on the State Insane Asylum board, one supervisor of the female wards of the State Insane Asylum, two police matrons, one visiting trustee of the State Reform School, three trustees of the Westbrook Seminary, four stenographic commissioners, two trustees of the Girls' State Industrial School, one principal of the Girls' State Industrial School, and three matrons of the Girls' State Industrial School. [There are] 15 women justices of the peace, they can serve as deputy town clerk or register of probate, but not as notaries public.<sup>33</sup>

The suffragists of 1900 could be proud of their work in Maine, despite not gaining the vote for women.

Provincial woman suffrage organization in New Brunswick appeared by the late 1880s. The first outspoken advocates of woman suffrage in the province were Legislators and members of the Maritime WCTU. Still, women and men throughout the province had begun to petition their Legislators for the vote by 1886. It was this combination of advocates: pro-suffrage legislators, those of the Maritime WCTU (the first two sometimes connected), and grassroots campaigns in rural and urban districts alike that brought momentum to the movement in the last decade of the nineteenth century. The women of Saint John gathered this pro-suffrage sentiment into a central organization that focused on gaining the vote for women. After coming incredibly close in 1895, however, the movement lost momentum and many of its advocates redirected their attention towards what became known as the social gospel movement. This Protestant-based reform movement, headed by male clergy, was in full force by the early 1900s. The few radical women produced by the 1890s woman suffrage movement in New Brunswick either

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<sup>33</sup> Anthony, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. IV, 694.

lost influence, worked on other projects, or left the province to work in England.

The Maritime WCTU had its roots in early temperance societies throughout Atlantic Canada. Initially headed only by men, women's temperance groups became politically active by the 1850s. Joanne Veer wrote that "in the Maritimes, it was the temperance, more than the later suffrage movement that facilitated the promotion of women's rights."<sup>34</sup> The first WCTUs were formed after 1875 in Moncton, Fredericton, Saint John, Woodstock, and St. Stephen. The New Brunswick WCTU was formed from these five groups in 1879. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island's WCTUs joined with the New Brunswick group by 1890 to form the Maritime WCTU.<sup>35</sup> The organization held its annual meeting in eastern New Brunswick in 1888 and advocated suffrage meetings in its effort to influence temperance in society. This included a petition to the Legislative Assembly in 1888 (See APPENDIX C). Members of this organization also led suffrage petition drives of their own, including Mrs. Judge Steadman of Fredericton; Mrs. Judge Palmer, Lady Alice Tilley, Mrs. S. D. Scott, and Mrs. Reverend A.J. McFarlane, all of Saint John; Mrs. Dr. Todd of Saint Stephen; Mrs. Hon. A.F. Randolph of Fredericton; Mrs. W.W. Turnbull; and Mrs. R.W. Crookshank. The Maritime WCTU split in 1895 - the same year that New Brunswick women almost gained the provincial vote.<sup>36</sup>

The suffrage movement also found supporters within the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly, most notably Honorable H.R. Emmerson and representative Dr. Alfred A. Stockton. When the Assembly began

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<sup>34</sup> "Feminist Forebears: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1875-1900," Dissertation (Fredericton, New Brunswick: University of New Brunswick, 1994), 1.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 7, 23-24, 99.

debating the expansion of the vote amongst its male population in 1885, a few legislators spoke on behalf of women, pointed to the "progress" in the United States, but still looked to Britain, the mother country, for cues as well. Mr. J. V. Ellis said that "the right of all of them to vote [in reference to universal male suffrage] was one of the chief elements of the progress and greatness of the United States." He continued: "the progress of Great Britain in liberty and material progress had been great. He [Ellis] favored woman suffrage."<sup>37</sup> Stockton also followed current events in regard to the franchise, noting in the 1894 Synoptic Report of the Debates of the House of Assembly that the women of Wyoming were poised to get the vote, influential men like Senator Hoar of Massachusetts favored it, and even closer to home, Countess Aberdeen (The brain-child behind Canada's National Council of Women) added her name to the distinguished list.<sup>38</sup> Mr. Howe chimed in that the vote had worked well for the women of New Zealand - who had voted since 1893.<sup>39</sup>

Stockton believed that women should have the vote based on property ownership, just as the men had. He said, "Property was the first principle of our franchise act. If that be so, why then should property that happens to be owned by a woman be denied the right of voting for members of the House?"<sup>40</sup> Amasa Killam said he had been an

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<sup>37</sup> Synoptic Report of the Debates of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1885 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, 1885), 110.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>39</sup> Synoptic Report of the Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick for the Session of 1894, reported by M. McDade and Frank H. Risteen (Saint John: Office of "Progress", 1895), 159; See also N.E.S. Griffiths, The Splendid Vision: Centennial History of the National Council of Women of Canada, 1893-1993 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1993). The National Council of Women consisted of local and national women's organizations, bonded together in order to pool their resources and achieve more reforms in a time without governmental social welfare.

<sup>40</sup> Synoptic Reports, 1894, 157.

advocate of the woman's vote for over 40 years, and thought that the work of the WCTU (especially in 1887-1888) had demonstrated women's political ability.<sup>41</sup> Some had even stronger words of praise for women.

Mr. Pitts said:

It was absurd that brainy women of the country should be debarred from the franchise, which was extended to the 'lowest truck' in the town. It was most absurd to say that the women should be confined to the duties of home, while the men loafed around their offices down town with their feet on the shelf and smoked bad cigars.<sup>42</sup>

Ultimately, the men in the Legislative Assembly, while debating the woman's vote, were also in disagreement over women's place in a time of social uncertainty, as outlined in Chapter 5. Henry Emmerson, probably the most progressive member of the Assembly at the time (and who would replace Blair as Liberal premier in 1896) summed up the pro-suffrage stance:

I am in favor of giving the franchise to them because they are the queens of our homes; because they are our co-workers; because they are possessed of the same intellects as ourselves, and because they have the same responsibility - aye, greater responsibility - than ourselves.<sup>43</sup>

The woman suffragists of Saint John had a friend in Emmerson, as well as several other legislators during the 1890s. Certainly, the Maritime WCTU had been highly influential in getting petitions to the Assembly in the 1890s, but what of the Saint John suffragists? Were they able to foster a province-wide movement as the Maine Woman Suffrage Association had across the state? Did the former hold annual conventions, continue to engage their politicians, professionalize the women within their ranks, ally with the national Canadian suffrage

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 161.



movement, and train a new generation of suffragists to carry on the fight into the twentieth century?

The Saint John suffragists comprised a group of like-minded women who banded together in 1894 to discuss the suffrage situation further. Like John Neal's group in 1870 Portland, these women were the vanguard of reform. Many of them had already been involved in suffrage petition campaigns, WCTU work, and other social causes. Historian Mary Eileen Clarke noted that this group came from conventional backgrounds, that is, upper- and middle-class and educated, but they utilized some rather unconventional methods. Clarke wrote that many of the women who eventually formed the New Brunswick Women's Enfranchisement Association (NBWEA) in Saint John were single women, who worked outside the home and probably faced workplace discrimination. This experience, she said, motivated the Saint John suffragists by the 1890s to seek the vote above the social causes many women had promoted in past years.<sup>44</sup>

Clarke asserted that Saint John was the hub of New Brunswick by the 1890s, and that is why the first official suffrage group formed there. The Saint John women, Clarke wrote, were especially aware of growing industrial and urban social problems, and became active in trying to appoint female inspectors in factories where increasing numbers of women worked, elect women to school boards, provide aid to immigrant women, purchase service vehicles for the city, and begin a nursing training program.<sup>45</sup>

In order to understand how such an active group of suffragists from Saint John accomplished so much in such a short time, but also

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<sup>44</sup> Mary Eileen Clarke, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, 1894-1919," M.A. Thesis (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1979), noted, however, the suffragists of Saint John had to constantly work to balance their chief goal and that of community work.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., 12-20.

struggled to keep the focus on woman suffrage, it is useful to examine their activities after 1894. The first volume of meeting minutes from the Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association (SJ-WEA) revealed a motivated group, attuned to national and international suffrage events. At their very first meeting on 30 March 1894, the women discussed an invite for a New Brunswick delegate by Sarah Anne Curzon to attend the Dominion suffrage convention.<sup>46</sup> New Brunswick suffragists knew that if they were to get their movement off the ground, they needed to interact and send representatives to national suffrage events. The woman spearheading the invite for a New Brunswick representative, Curzon, was a journalist and well known for her pro-woman articles.<sup>47</sup> She was part of an illustrious group of woman suffragists in Toronto, who began quietly in 1876 as the Toronto Woman's Literary Society. Headed by Dr. Emily Stowe (who had obtained her medical degree in the United States), the Toronto group became outwardly suffragist by 1883, and changed their name to the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association (D-WEA) in 1889, thus becoming the first national suffrage group in Canada.<sup>48</sup> The SJ-WEA also received association formation documents from the D-WEA that they intended to use for their own provincial organization.<sup>49</sup> In this way, the SJ-WEA members made a conscious choice to work with the national organization. This was significant in that oftentimes their male counterparts, serving as politicians, viewed Central Canada with suspicion.

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<sup>46</sup> Minute Books, vol. I., 2.

<sup>47</sup> Lorraine McMullin, "Sarah Anne Vincent (Curzon), Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online, 1891-1900, vol. XII (Toronto: University of Toronto; Université Laval, 2000).

<sup>48</sup> Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage Movement, xi; Hilda Ridley, A Synopsis of Woman Suffrage in Canada (N.p.: N.p., 1934?), 6-10.

<sup>49</sup> Minute Books, 4 April 1894.

The SJ-WEA sent Emma Fiske, a widow, linguist, and social progressive as their delegate to the springtime meeting of Dominion suffragists in Toronto. She repeated this endeavor in the ensuing years, traveling to the United States and Europe to interact with other suffragists.<sup>50</sup> The Saint John suffragists pulled inspiration from international figures like Lady Smith. Previously, she had lived in the United States and was known as "Tennessee Claflin." Claflin, together with her sister Victoria Claflin Woodhull left for England after scandal, but continued to agitate for women's rights. They reached out to other Maritime and national figures in order to solidify their movement, like Edith Jessie Archibald, a prominent leader of woman suffrage and pro-woman initiatives in Nova Scotia. They met and organized with Lady Aberdeen, the wife of Canada's then Governor-General, who initiated the first National Council of Women and the Victorian Order of Nurses. They followed the strategies for the promotion of women by Mary Fawcett, the British suffragist and Clara Barton and the Red Cross. In 1896, the SJ-WEA members were also approached by Alice Stone Blackwell and Julia Ward Howe, American suffragists, who wanted to hold their annual convention for the Society of Ladies for the Advancement of Women in Saint John. The event came to pass, with the SJ-WEA taking an active part.<sup>51</sup> They also sent articles and announcements of their activities to the local newspapers,

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 4 April 1894, 4; Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage in Canada, 179-180, 190; Clarke, 44, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Minutes, 18 June 1894, vol. I, 24; 2 July 1894, 25; 20 January 1895, 36-37; 30 November 1894, 47; 8 February 1896, 54-56; 9 September 1896, 65; 12 November 1896, 67. For more information about the Victorian Order of Nurses, see Ishbel Gordon, Marchioness of Aberdeen and Temair, What is the Use of the Victorian Order of Nurses for Canada?, microform (N.p.: Mortimer, 1900).

especially the *Saint John Globe*.<sup>52</sup> In short, the suffragists of Saint John were aware and active participants in a wider suffrage movement.

Perhaps as a foreshadowing of difficulties to come, the SJ-WEA also clashed with other women's organizations in the region that had already undertaken some of the work proposed by the suffragists. For example, the WCTU in Saint John had been trying to secure a police matron for the city and did not endorse the SJ-WEA intervening in the process.<sup>53</sup>

Despite their ambitions, however, the Saint John women, and New Brunswick suffragism in general, suffered from the socio-economic climate of the 1890s. Clarke noted that almost half of the Saint John suffragists were single career women. Other historians like Betsy Beattie have shown that young women left tough economic conditions in the Maritimes to the "Boston States," where they could find work as domestics.<sup>54</sup> Maritime women working in New England sent money home to help their families attempt to keep their farmsteads during the economic recession, which spanned from the 1870s through the early 1900s in Canada. Although Clarke's study of the demographics of the Saint John suffragists indicated most of them stayed put though the 1900s, might the flow of young women, educated and uneducated, out of the province have weakened the urban and rural suffrage movements of New Brunswick at this time? At the same time, did economic upheaval and outmigration push the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly to consider universal male suffrage, allowing the women a point of entrance?

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<sup>52</sup> *Minutes*, 16 July 1894, 26; 27 September 1894, 28;

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 July 1894, 27.

<sup>54</sup> Betsy Beattie, "The 'Boston States': Region, Gender, and Maritime Out Migration, 1870-1920," in Stephen J. Hornsby and John G. Reid, editors, *New England and the Maritime Provinces: Connections and Comparisons* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005): 252-263.

The M-WCTU disbanded in 1894 in order to allow the provincial organizations to administer temperance programs more effectively. The choice was a good one as the WCTU and prohibition continued to gain ground in the Maritimes at the expense of the suffragists. And there was disagreement among the Saint John suffragists at the turn of the century as to what their next move should be, now that the Legislative Assembly had effectively shut them down and Premier Emmerson's hands seemed tied. Even from the start in 1894, not all women within the SJ-WEA had been ardent suffragists and this was a bone of contention throughout as some of the members wanted to enact more public works on behalf of women instead. Not all of the Saint John suffragists were prohibitionists, and this caused contention within their ranks by the end of the nineteenth century as well.<sup>55</sup> For example, in 1897, the Saint John WCTU petitioned the legislature for incorporation, at the same time the suffragists were trying to strategize their next move. They decided not to petition, but rather to write personal letters to each legislator to support a suffrage bill introduced by Mr. Stockton. They did receive responses back from the legislators as to whether or not they would support the bill. And, they also reached out to other suffrage groups via letters in Fredericton, Woodstock, Moncton, and Sussex.<sup>56</sup> They sent another letter, via Dr. Stackpole, to Emmerson and the Legislative Assembly in 1898 asking for full suffrage for "all women married or unmarried."<sup>57</sup> But the suffragists from Saint John also acknowledged in their meeting minutes in 1898 that they needed to coordinate their next petition effort with the New Brunswick WCTU as

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<sup>55</sup> Minutes, 29 October 1894, 31; 15 October 1894, 30.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid., 11 March 1897, 74; 14 May 1897, 80; Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage, 183. The author has not seen any surviving records documenting suffrage groups in any of these towns.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 14 January 1898, 88. See page 89 for a full draft of the 1898 letter from the Saint John suffragists to the Legislative Assembly.

the latter was *better organized* throughout the province. Indeed, the Saint John suffragists limited their petition circulation to the metro area and left the province-wide petitioning to the WCTU. They also attempted to approach other societies to help sign their suffrage petitions, including the SPCA (Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals), the King's Daughters, the Presbyterian societies, the YMCA, the Baptist Mission, the Girls' Alumnae, the Seaman's Association, and the Cedar Club.<sup>58</sup> The NBWEF spent the bulk of 1898 circulating petitions to present to the 1899 Legislative Assembly. For their part, the women from Saint John broke their petition work up neighborhood by neighborhood and then culled all petitions at Clifton House, a hotel run by suffragists Evelyn and Mabel Peters. It was a solid effort, with the petition signatures totaling 3,700. They also met with Emmerson to discuss sending petitions also to Parliament in Ottawa in November 1898.<sup>59</sup>

In April 1899 the WCTUs of the Maritime provinces held a meeting in Saint John on woman suffrage. They invited a representative from the NBWEA, Mrs. Edward Manning, to speak on the topic, but she never made it to the podium. The WCTU speakers took more than their allotted time.<sup>60</sup> Manning was influential in the early Saint John suffrage movement, offering her home for the first meeting in 1894, and serving as its first president.<sup>61</sup> But even Manning's prominence could not

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<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 3 October 1898, 95-97.

<sup>59</sup> *Minutes*, 17 November, 1898, 98-100; 5 January 1899, 103; 17 March 1899, 109. The Peters' mother was Martha Hamm Lewis, whose struggle to study at the New Brunswick Normal School brought concerns about women's education to the fore in the province. For more on the Peters sisters, see Cleverdon, 180, 190; Clarke, "The New Brunswick Women's Enfranchisement Association," 48, 159; and *History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. VI (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1922), 764.

<sup>60</sup> Cleverdon, 180-181.

<sup>61</sup> See Clarke, 63, 159; Cleverdon, 179.

guarantee the Saint John suffragists an audience of what would seem to be suffrage enthusiasts in the WCTU.

Even during the last petition effort of the nineteenth century, however, the Saint John suffragists showed divisions. Outspoken member Ella Hatheway promoted the ideas of Edward Bellamy, while others wished to focus on the topic of compulsory education, child labor in factories, and sympathies for the SPCA.<sup>62</sup> Hatheway and her husband, Warren F., were at the forefront of progressivism at the time. The latter was a successful lumberman and merchant, and also served in the Legislative Assembly in the early 1900s, pushing for the woman's vote. The Hatheways also hosted the radical suffragette Emmeline Pankhurst, during her tour of North America.<sup>63</sup>

Although the Hatheways were more radically inclined than many of the other members of the NBWEA, the group stayed abreast of current issues. They tracked news of the 31<sup>st</sup> convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in Detroit, and writings by Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of *The Woman's Journal*. They also discussed the peace convention held at The Hague.<sup>64</sup> But all of these varied interests spelled doom for the small suffrage group from Saint

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<sup>62</sup> Minutes, 21 February 1899, 106-107; 17 March 1899, 109-111. Bellamy, a writer, died in 1898 of tuberculosis at the height of his career, perhaps prompting the Saint John suffragists to focus on him. His writings encompassed a nationalistic and populist spirit. His most famous work was Looking Backward, 2000 to 1887, online (Oxford University Press, 2007; [http://www.myilibrary.com/Browse/open.asp?ID=114691&loc=v\(24February2009\)](http://www.myilibrary.com/Browse/open.asp?ID=114691&loc=v(24February2009))), a utopian novel, which allowed for women's equality.

<sup>63</sup> For biographical detail on Ella Hatheway, see Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage, 176-180, 186-7, 191, 195; In regard to Warren F. Hatheway, see The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-book of Canadian Biography of Living Characters, edited by Henry James Morgan, Second Edition (Toronto: William Briggs, Richmond Street West, 1912), 513; Cleverdon, 191-192; and Gerald Henry Allaby, "New Brunswick Prophets of Radicalism: 1890-1914," M.A. Thesis. (Fredericton, New Brunswick: University of New Brunswick, 1972).

<sup>64</sup> Minutes, 11 May 1899, 114-115.

John. The scribe for the NBWEA minute books, Sarah Manning, a Saint John music teacher, wrote disappointedly that, in 1899, "all business pertaining to what should have been an annual meeting, left over till another time." Instead, another member, Mrs. Fiske, spoke about kindergartens.<sup>65</sup> The NBWEA tried to reschedule their annual meeting for two months later, in December 1899, but only ten members appeared, and the topic turned to the impure water supply.<sup>66</sup> The NBWEA had too many competitors when it came to addressing issues important to women. The Local Council of Women chapter in Saint John worked with Lady Tilley to form an Associated Charities and work towards a Victorian Order of Nurses. The LCW also aided the Doukhobors (Russian immigrants) when they landed in Saint John in 1899.<sup>67</sup> So, at a time when the Maine Woman Suffrage Association could boast of leadership from different parts of the state, a recent, but peaceable split from the WCTU, greater press coverage, and a leadership that embraced new ways to get the word out about suffrage, the New Brunswick women turned to other issues. Indeed, both Maine and New Brunswick suffragists were concerned about other social reforms, but the former kept and enhanced its suffrage management, while the other disintegrated. The New Brunswick women had gained the municipal vote for single female property owners, but their argument for an even wider suffrage fell flat by 1897.

Three years later, the Saint John suffragists broke up their organization and withdrew from the Local Council of Women, which was ambivalent at best, hostile at worst, to the suffrage cause. Their

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid., 14 October 1899, 117-118.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 21 December 1899, 119-120.

<sup>67</sup> Lady Alice Tilley Papers (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, n.d.), F118, Tilley, shelf 77, Letter from Lady Tilley to Lady Gordon, May 1899, F118-13, 4. The Doukhobors were part of a religious sect of Russians who emigrated to Canada rather than face governmental persecution in the late 1870s.



members remained inactive from 1903 to 1907, discouraged from the 1890s petition campaigns.<sup>68</sup> The national suffrage movement, too, seemed stalled. When Dr. Augusta Stowe Gullen, a Toronto suffragist and daughter of Dr. Emily Stowe, submitted a report to the editors of The History of Woman Suffrage for the sixth volume in 1922, she noted that there was a drought after the initial successes of the 1880s and 1890s in gaining municipal and school suffrage for unmarried women.<sup>69</sup> Stowe noted that it was not for lack of effort from Canadian suffragists - but the drought related to the ambivalence of legislators. Gullen wrote that the national group attempted to get the Ontario Legislature to pass a resolution for the woman's vote. "As a result," Gullen reported, "a bill for it was introduced and after a day's fun and sarcasm in the House, it was defeated by 69 to 2."<sup>70</sup> At a time when their former mother country, England, saw the rise of the radical Pankhursts and an explosive dialogue about the women's vote, the New Brunswick and Canadian national groups were mired.

But the Canadian group, known as the Canadian Suffrage Association (CSA) by 1909, seemed to regroup within the first decade of the twentieth century, organizing 1,000 members to present petitions with over 100,000 names to Parliament on March 24<sup>th</sup> of that same year. The petitions reflected the hard work suffragists and other women's groups had performed over the years, and spoke to the large number of benevolent women's groups in general, including groups like the Women's University Clubs, WCTU, Women Teachers' Association, Progressive Club, Trades and Labor Council, and International Brotherhood of Electrical

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<sup>68</sup> Minutes, 5 January 1899, 103; Cleverdon, 184-185.

<sup>69</sup> Harper, 753.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 757.

Workers.<sup>71</sup> The CSA and Nova Scotia woman suffragists, as discussed in the Conclusion of this dissertation, strove to help reignite the New Brunswick women's cause at this time.

By 1900, women and the suffrage movements of Maine and New Brunswick achieved many similar gains. In the academic arena, women were able to obtain a university degree at Mount Allison University and the University of New Brunswick, and in Maine, at the University of Maine, and Colby, Bates, and Bowdoin Colleges. Each suffrage movement benefited from women's increased access to educational facilities, which strengthened the professionalism of suffrage leaders. Both suffrage movements also bolstered their ties to the national organizations. In the provincial and state suffrage organizations, men held supportive positions, but both saw female leaders assuming leadership by the late 1800s. Women in both places utilized their male political connections to try to gain the franchise, or to enact other pro-woman legislation. Both groups were able to work with local, provincial, and state press to express their goals. Suffrage advocates in Maine and New Brunswick grappled similarly with their connections with the WCTU. In both places, suffragists reacted to immigration and outmigration. The suffragists were immersed in nativism and patriotism during the era of the Boer War in Canada, and that of imperialism in places like the Philippines, Costa Rica, Panama, Hawaii and so on in the United States. They discussed contemporary topics, whether it was pacifism, socialism, or the creation of rural nursing programs. In short, in Maine and New Brunswick, small groups of men and women agitated for the woman's vote, spread their influence throughout the region, and solidified ties with the national groups.

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<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 758.

There were differences in the woman suffrage movements of Maine and New Brunswick as well. Maine suffragists had the benefit of a national organization that emerged forty years earlier than the New Brunswick women, and therefore had a longer period with which to train and interact with that group. This distinction also played out in other ways. For example, labor unions and the Grange in Maine supported woman suffrage earlier than in New Brunswick. Maine produced national leaders in several other movements of the time that had suffrage connections. New Brunswick's national female leaders focused on topics outside of suffrage, such as the Kindergarten movement. Meanwhile, the New Brunswick suffragists gained the municipal vote in the 1880s and the Maine women did not. The former's ability to capitalize on the universal male suffrage debates of the 1880s before a provincial suffrage organization was in place gave the women momentum for the 1890s. But after the 1895 near victory of the New Brunswick suffragists, their movement lost focus. The suffragists did not disappear, but rather applied their energies and resources to other reforms, often making gains despite lacking the vote. Maine women, though going strong in 1900, still following Anthony's longtime vision that the vote would bring other reforms for women, were not able to capitalize on their argument that as citizens, they should have the right to vote. New Brunswick women's argument helped and hindered them. Maine women's argument that citizens should vote continued to fuel their work. This ultimate divergence in the two suffrage movements by the early 1900s was evidence of thought patterns put in place after the American Revolutionary War. The Conclusion of this project addresses more specifically the divergence of the two movements, as well as how the actions of the nineteenth-century suffragists continued to influence women's roles in twentieth-century politics.

## Chapter 7

### CONCLUSION

After 1900, both suffrage movements showed evidence of divergence. In Maine, Hannah Johnston Bailey had built a strong suffrage organization by the turn of the twentieth century, and her successor, Lucy Hobart Day, sought to move farther, despite the failures of the suffrage petitions. Day continued to work with the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and endorse new tactics, such as hosting "open houses," suffrage parades, and collegiate recruitment in the early 1900s. She and the Maine Woman Suffrage Association (MWSA) also built new alliances with the Maine Grange and top male progressives in the state. Day and the MWSA helped to promote industrial laws that improved working conditions for women and girls. She and her successors also continued to court elite women with resources, such as Hadassah Herrick, who left the MWSA a significant sum of money in her will, and Isabel Greenwood, wife of a prosperous earmuff manufacturer from Farmington.

Although the Maine women did not take up suffrage petitions at the turn of the twentieth century, they continued to press for the vote in all quarters of society. They held annual suffrage conventions, hosting national suffrage speakers. They leaned further on their state representatives. Lucy Hobart Day and her executive staff, for example, placed a letter on the desks of each Maine State Legislator in 1902, demanding they explain why women were taxed equally with men but still lacked the vote (See APPENDIX D). Day, and the men and women before her,

had shaped a new generation of suffragists, some of whom would embrace radicalism in the coming years.<sup>1</sup>

Some early twentieth-century suffragists like Deborah Livingston of Bangor and Isabel Greenwood of Farmington stuck to holding regular suffrage meetings of traditional (and "respectable") structure. Livingston came to Bangor with her husband, the Reverend Benjamin T. Livingston, from Rhode Island to fill the post at the Columbia Street Baptist Church in the fall of 1912. She worked with the WCTU as well. Others, like Florence Brooks Whitehouse of Portland chose to align with the Congressional Union (CU), headed by Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, located in Washington, D.C.<sup>2</sup> The CU had separated from NAWSA by 1913 in order to push more radically for reform. The CU formed anew as the National Woman's Party (NWP), with Paul at the helm. Whitehouse was a recognized participant in that organization, and she brought home to Portland radical tactics whenever she could. Whitehouse's granddaughter said of her famous relative that she, "buttonholed congressmen, demonstrated on the streets of Portland, and hosted national leaders of the movement at her elegant, red brick home near the Western Promenade. She was thrown in jail after picketing the White House." As fellow Mainer Elizabeth Upham Yates had done before her, Whitehouse worked for

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<sup>1</sup> Polly Welts Kaufman, A Women's History Walking Trail in Portland, Maine (Portland: Portland Women's History Trail, 1997), mentioned the various ways that woman suffragists were active in reform work in Portland in the late 1800s and early 1900s, 7-10, 12-13, 18-19, 22, 24-26, 34-35, 40-42, 44-45.

<sup>2</sup> The *Bangor Daily News* advertised the arrival of the Livingstons on 4 November 1912. Mrs. Livingston's WCTU work was mentioned in a 1913 article about her husband in, "New Pastor a Rare Event in Old Bangor Church," *Bangor Daily News*, 4 January 1913. For more on Isabel Greenwood, see Lynn Lister, Isabel W. Greenwood and the Women's Suffrage Movement (Farmington, Maine: University of Maine at Farmington, 1991). Paul and Burns initially worked in England with Emmeline Pankhurst's radical suffrage group and brought many of the same tactics stateside.

national suffrage by participating in a whistle-stop tour of Wyoming.<sup>3</sup> Whitehouse's actions chafed against those of Bangor suffrage leader Deborah Knox Livingston. Their divisiveness within the Maine Woman Suffrage Association by the 19-teens was legendary.<sup>4</sup> When the Maine State Legislature called a referendum in 1917, taking the issue of woman suffrage to male voters, the Livingston-Whitehouse feud may have done some damage.

Historian Edward Schriver wrote about the 1917 referendum on woman suffrage in Maine. Other states like New York granted woman suffrage this year, and it seemed that the momentum might overtake Maine. The suffragists were finally able to get the suffrage bill through the Maine House of Representatives, who passed it with 113 members in favor and 35 against. In the Maine Senate, the passage was unanimous. This brought the bill as a referendum before the male voters in September of that year. Aside from the lack of coordination from in-state suffrage forces, Livingston, Ballentine, and Whitehouse, came opposition from Margaret Rollins Hale and the Maine Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, who printed pamphlets on the issue.<sup>5</sup> Schriver reported that only sixty percent of male voters who would normally vote for gubernatorial races bothered to vote on the issue of woman suffrage. Moreover, the numbers were dismal. Four hundred fourteen towns voted

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<sup>3</sup> See article in the Home and Family section of *the Maine Telegram*, 12 July 1998; Florence Brooks Whitehouse Papers (Portland, Maine: Maine Historical Society, n.d.).

<sup>4</sup> Edward O. Schriver, "'Deferred Victory': Woman Suffrage in Maine, 1873-1920," in David C. Smith and Edward O. Schriver, Maine: A History Through Selected Readings (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1985), discussed the rivalries between Livingston, Whitehouse, and Katherine Reed Ballantine, daughter of Thomas Brackett Reed, speaker of the Maine Legislature, on pages 416-17. They also had to contend with the strong leadership of Margaret Rollins Hale, head of the Maine Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage (see Chapter 5), as well as continuing fears that woman suffragists would seek to pass prohibition legislation if they could vote, Schriver, 417.

<sup>5</sup> Schriver, 415-416.

against woman suffrage, while only 91 towns voted in the affirmative. In fact, in the most populous county, Cumberland, home to Portland, only one town - Raymond - was supportive of woman suffrage. In the top three cities of Maine, the woman suffragists lost decisively: In Portland, the nays were 4,591 and the yeas were 1,792; In Lewiston, 1,315 were against woman suffrage, with only 654 in favor of it; and in Bangor, 1,875 male voters said no, and 502 voted positively.<sup>6</sup> The measure was voted down two to one. Schriver concluded that there were several factors at play in voting down woman suffrage in September 1917 in places that had seen extensive pro-suffrage work since the nineteenth century: the link in men's minds between woman suffrage and prohibition; an increased competition between women and men for jobs in urban areas; and persistent ideas about woman's place being outside of politics.<sup>7</sup>

Still, woman suffrage was on the minds of Mainers. Mainstream Maine suffragists worked with Catt and NAWSA to educate voters and women alike. Mabel Connor, who donated her scrapbooks to the Maine State Museum, took leadership of the MWSA at this point and revitalized the final push towards enfranchisement for Maine women. Under Connor's leadership, the MWSA changed tactics, lobbying the Legislature to pass the federal amendment, known as the Nineteenth Amendment, instead of the state measure.<sup>8</sup> In fact, Maine did win the federal vote in August 1920, one full month before they won the state referendum.

Meanwhile, in New Brunswick, the Saint John suffragists had achieved something that the Maine women did not - municipal suffrage - but their drive for a larger franchise stopped short. The Saint John

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., 416.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., 416-417.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 417-418.

organization had also fallen into disarray, and key members disagreed on the next direction of the organization. Some, like Ella and W.F. Hatheway, became enmeshed in promoting Fabianism (the ideas of Fourier and socialism). They wanted to explore the idea that society could move towards equality by embracing socialism, from which the vote, they believed, would come naturally to women. Others, however, within and outside the Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, sought other ways to reform society, upon the recurrent defeat of universal suffrage.

Historian Ernest R. Forbes wrote that the social gospel movement in the Maritimes grew in strength by the early 1900s. This growth came at a time when suffragism was waning. Concerns over alcohol abuse continued to be a top priority of progressives in New Brunswick. The province also saw the consolidation of the Methodist and Baptist Churches. These churches, headed by powerful and charismatic clergymen like Woodstock Reverend C. T. Phillips and Reverend Joseph McLeod, came into the mainstream, attracting suffragists and temperance workers alike. Their message was that men and women could bring the gospel to the streets, believing all answers to combating societal evil existed in the Bible. In doing so, clergymen utilized the strong resources of women, effectively drawing their energies away from suffrage work.<sup>9</sup>

Female progressives in New Brunswick focused on making a kind of "heaven on earth," by performing social work. They founded hospitals

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<sup>9</sup> Ernest R. Forbes, Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20<sup>th</sup> Century Maritimes (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 13, 16-20. Forbes noted that many of the social gospel advocates were Methodists and Baptists; precisely the same group that also happened to be suffragists. Meanwhile, those of the Church of England, were slower to respond to the new progressive movement; George E. Levy, The Baptists of the Maritime Provinces, 1753-1946 (Saint John: Barnes-Hopkins, Limited, 1946), 276, 278-279; Roland K. McCormick, Faith, Freedom and Democracy: The Baptists in Atlantic Canada (Tantallon, Nova Scotia: Four East Publications, 1993), 134-135.



(e.g. in Woodstock). They also sponsored new programs for female college departments, for example, a home economics program at Mount Allison University in Sackville. Suffragist Mabel French and others also fought and won entrance for women into study of the law at the University of New Brunswick. They helped to bring about a nurse training program in Woodstock. They pushed for protective legislation for women and girls in industrial jobs, and advocated hiring police matrons. Many of these reforms, the suffragists from the previous decade believed, could be achieved through the female ballot. Reformers of the early twentieth century, however, adopted a new means in which to get things done, in the arena of the social gospel.<sup>10</sup>

In many respects, this was both progressive and traditional. It was progressive in that women did not cease to seek pro-female reforms in New Brunswick, and traditional in that they used the cloak of religious piety and their own feminine roles within the church to push for reforms. Perhaps they were being realistic in that they could use their municipal votes to enact local change, and the umbrella of the church to push for larger reforms. Maternal feminism was also firmly in place on a national scale in both countries, where women stressed their socially acceptable *feminine* roles as nurturers, domestic workers, organizers, and mothers. In some respects, despite the dissolution of the provincial suffrage organization, women were able to promote some change without the provincial and parliamentary vote.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Lois K. Yorke, Mabel Penery French: A Life Re-Created (N.p.: N.p. 1992).

<sup>11</sup> Forbes made the case that suffrage in the early 1900s was still alive. Disputing Catherine Cleverdon, he wrote, "the tardiness by two or three years of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick women in actually securing the vote (after the Western Prairies) hardly justifies the image of an all-pervasive indifference or hostility to the feminist movement arising from an innate regional conservatism," 62. Forbes focused his research, however, more on the Nova Scotian suffragists. He

Suffrage activity began to stir again in New Brunswick by 1907, possibly after a visit from National Canadian suffragist Mrs. Flora Dennison, but the suffragists resolutely rejected the antics of British radicals Emmeline Pankhurst and her two daughters, Cristabel and Sylvia. However, the one radical suffragist from New Brunswick, Gertrude Harding, did her work overseas in England with Christabel Pankhurst.<sup>12</sup> Harding went to England with her family in 1912 and became caught up in the politics of the day. Biographer Gretchen Wilson noted the conflict of Gertrude Harding's upbringing in New Brunswick:

Gert's becoming embroiled in a fight against the British government is ironic, however, considering that her ancestors were *Loyalists* [emphasis mine] who had refused to split from their mother country to join the rebels in forming the United States of America. After 1782, the British government granted the Hardings eight hundred acres on Belleisle Bay, not far from what is now Saint John, New Brunswick, in return for their loyalty.<sup>13</sup>

Her mentor, Emmeline Pankhurst, had been active in the woman suffrage movement from the 1890s, and, by the early 1900s, adopted the tactic of going to jail for the cause, just as labor leaders had around that time period. She sent out her forces on errands of small-scale arson and vandalism. Harding participated in the breaking of glass at Kew Gardens, and soon served as one of Pankhurst's bodyguards.<sup>14</sup>

The New Brunswick suffragists petitioned their legislators in 1908, but their efforts were ignored. They worked with newspapers, such as *The Globe*, *The Times*, and *the Daily Telegraph* to promote pro-

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also argued that when suffrage failed, the women turned their attention to other methods, until the atmosphere was less hostile and they could resume suffrage activities, 98.

<sup>12</sup> Gretchen Wilson, *With All Her Might: The Life of Gertrude Harding Militant Suffragette* (Fredericton, New Brunswick: Goose Lane Editions, 1996). England had extended the franchise to middle-class and working men in 1867 with the reform bill, but despite the efforts of John Stuart Mill, who presented a petition with 1,499 names, women were denied the vote, 20.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 63.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

suffrage thinking.<sup>15</sup> In 1909, the suffragists met with Premier John Douglas Hazen to no avail. Hazen was known for his anti-suffrage views. They received a belated endorsement in 1910 from the New Brunswick Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance. In that same year, they ended their quarrel with the Saint John Local Council of Women, and they petitioned again in 1912.<sup>16</sup>

Although New Brunswick women pressed their legislators to introduce franchise legislation again and again, it was their World War I volunteerism (1914-1918) that seemed to be the final impetus towards winning the vote.<sup>17</sup> While American women continued to grapple with whether to pursue the vote via traditional or radical means, the Canadian women were bracing for war and devoting most of their resources and time to that event. For example, some Woodstock men and women, Mrs. W.P. Jones and Frank and Carrie Carvell, were delegates to the 1918 Ottawa Women's War Conference. Frank Carvell acknowledged the power of women's work to the war effort:

We all have some experience of the organizing ability of women within the last few months, and it is a great surprise to most of us. We find women can organize for an election with an ability that men did not dream of. I am sure women will be of great service to the State in this important matter. I feel the time has come when the man and woman power of this country should be mobilized to a much greater degree than it has been in the past. If there be instances where women can contribute to the power of the country, as there must be, I do not think we will require as much compulsion to get their services as we would some of the men.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Ida Husted Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. VI (Indianapolis: Hollenbeck Press, 1922), 764; Catherine L. Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada: The Start of Liberation, 1900-20 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1950; second edition 1974), 185-186.

<sup>16</sup> Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage, 186-189; Harper, History of Woman Suffrage, vol. VI, 765.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Woman Suffrage, 191.

<sup>18</sup> Report of the Women's War Conference, Held at the Invitation of the War Committee of the Cabinet, February 28-March 2, 1918 (Ottawa: J. De Labroquerie Taché, 1918), 1, 32, 34.

By 1917, having gained experience in war work, the NBWEA gathered again to agitate for the vote. They held meetings throughout the province in April and May of that year, gained the support of the NB-WCTU and the Local Council of Women. When the suffrage still was not secured by the 1918 legislative sessions, the NB-WEA was discouraged again. Still, legislators did not forget, and MLA Leonard Tilley, son of Alice Starr Tilley, a reformer, pushed for the measure in 1919, with final success.<sup>19</sup> This was noticeably after some women received the Parliamentary vote during World War I.<sup>20</sup>

The study of the woman suffrage movements in Maine and New Brunswick in the nineteenth century demonstrated the complexity and the conflict within this social movement. The push for the woman's vote in earlier times drew its energy from ideas about Republicanism in the United States, and in turn, helped to fuel twentieth-century radicalism in Maine. Conversely, in New Brunswick, the suffrage movement, tied to its Loyalist notions of patriarchy, hierarchy, and property ownership, was never radical in the ways that the Pankhursts demonstrated, despite gaining the municipal vote in 1886, and was eclipsed by the social gospel movement in the early 1900s. There were no radical women active in the twentieth-century New Brunswick woman suffrage movement (Harding worked in England) and the reasons for this were intrinsic to the previous century. Finally, this study presented the path of suffragists in both countries towards gaining the vote. It showed that the

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<sup>19</sup> Cleverdon, *Woman Suffrage*, 192-195.

<sup>20</sup> For more about one Canadian woman's battle to get the vote for women during the World War I era, see Debbie Marshall, *Give Your Other Vote to the Sister: A Woman's Journey Into the Great War* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 2007). For a discussion of how World War I allowed Canada independence from Great Britain, see John H. Thompson and Stephen Randall, *Canada and the United States*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002), 92-98, 101; and C.P. Stacey, *Canada and the Age of Conflict, Vol. I* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 151-53, 270-310.

differences between Maine and New Brunswick reflected the reality of the border. And it demonstrated that this legacy continued into the twentieth century.

A study of the nineteenth-century woman suffrage movements of Maine and New Brunswick further informs the genre of borderlands history by detailing the political agency of women and the men who supported them. Themes and differing attitudes from this study continue to reverberate in contemporary times. Historians generally agree that there have been three "waves" of women's rights movements in North America: during the mid-to-late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century; the late 1960s and 1970s; and from the 1990s to present. Still, despite the aggressive agitation, it has been less than 100 years since Maine and New Brunswick women gained the right to vote in state, provincial, and national elections. The women of Canada were not considered "persons" under the law until the landmark 1929 "Person's Case" was successfully argued by five women.<sup>21</sup>

Women in both places continued to strive for more political voice. Minnie Bell Adney, from Woodstock, New Brunswick, for example, ran for Canadian Parliament in 1921 and 1925 before it was even legal for her to do so.<sup>22</sup> Despite Adney's legacy, it would not be until 1964 that a New Brunswick woman, Margaret Rideout, was elected to Parliament.

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<sup>21</sup> See Joan J. Engel, The "Person's Case," 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary: October 18, 1929 (Alberta: Alberta Women's Bureau, 1979) for more information. See also Lois K. Yorke, Mabel Penery French: A Life Re-Created (N.p.: N.p. 1992).

<sup>22</sup> "Minnie Bell Adney - An Autobiography," *Carleton Sentinel*, 10 October 1919, 1, 8. It became legal for women to run for office in 1934. See Gail Campbell, "Defining and Redefining Democracy: The History of Electoral Reform in New Brunswick," William Cross, editor, Democratic Reform in New Brunswick (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2008): 273-299, 288. In New Brunswick, Premier Tilley introduced a bill on 9 March 1934 to allow women legal right to run for provincial assembly, Cleverdon, Woman Suffrage, 197. Adney was never a suffragist.

Rideout, a homemaker by occupation, served for three and a half years from Westmorland, also acting as Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of National Health and Welfare.<sup>23</sup> The first woman to serve in the New Brunswick Legislative Assembly was Brenda Robertson in 1967. Robertson, formerly a home economist, had a long political career, serving in the provincial government from 1967 to 1983; and then was appointed to the Senate of Canada in December 1984.<sup>24</sup> More recently, women in the New Brunswick Provincial Cabinet are numbered at 1. In the Legislative Assembly, there is less than 13 percent representation by women.<sup>25</sup>

In Maine, Gail Laughlin, trained at Wellesley and then Cornell Law School, western field organizer for NAWSA, member of the NWP, and then proponent for the Equal Rights Amendment, ran for the Maine State Legislature in 1929 and won a seat. She continued on to the State Senate in 1935.<sup>26</sup> Margaret Chase Smith served in her deceased husband's seat in the United States House of Representatives from 1940-2, and was re-elected through 1948. She then entered the United States Senate.<sup>27</sup> Currently, Maine has two female United States senators, Olympia Snowe

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<sup>23</sup> "Margaret Isabel Rideout," Parliament of Canada, Library of Parliament, <http://www2.parl.gc.ca/Parlinfo/Files/Parliamentarian.aspx?Item=73792909-f096-45f3-a637-77059a1033bd&Language=E>.

<sup>24</sup> "Brenda Robertson," Order of New Brunswick (Fredericton: Department of Intergovernmental Affairs, 2004), <http://www.gnb.ca/lg/ONB/Recipients2004/recipients-e.asp>.

<sup>25</sup> Elsie Hambrook, "Ten Reasons Why We Need More Women in Politics: A Woman's View," 13 November 2008, (Fredericton, New Brunswick: New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 2008), <http://www.acswcccf.nb.ca/english/documents/women%20in%20government.pdf>.

<sup>26</sup> Ruth Sexton Sargent, Gail Laughlin: ERA's Advocate (Portland: House of Falmouth Publishers, 1979); Gail Laughlin, Woman Suffrage and Prosperity (N.p.: N.p., 1906); National Women's History Museum, <http://www.nwhm.org/legislators/Maine.html> (Alexandra, Virginia: 2008). Two other Maine women served in the Maine State Legislature in the 1920s: Dora Pinkham (Fort Kent) and Katherine C. Allen (Hampden).

<sup>27</sup> "Biography," Margaret Chase Smith Library (Skowhegan, Maine: Margaret Chase Smith Library, 2009), <http://www.mcslibrary.org/>.

and Susan Collins, serving since 1995 and 1997 respectively. Recently, there were eight women serving in the Maine Senate, and 47 women in the Maine House of Representatives. Eight women serve on the governor's cabinet in 2009.<sup>28</sup> On the whole, women have not taken government by storm in Maine, New Brunswick, or in either national government, despite important gains. This is an indication of the ambivalence of both societies when it comes to women's place in politics. Women have not voted completely as a bloc; nor have they occupied their equal share of legislative seats, as was the dire prediction of anti-suffrage advocates in the late 1800s.<sup>29</sup>

In the twentieth century, there were still plenty of people disfranchised in both places. For Native American Mainers and First Nations New Brunswickers, the vote came later.<sup>30</sup> African-Americans were also not guaranteed voting rights until 1965 in the United States. Campbell believed that black Canadians did not have the same kinds of

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<sup>28</sup> "Welcome to the 124<sup>th</sup> Maine Senate" (Augusta, Maine: Maine State Senate, 2009), <http://www.maine.gov/legis/senate/welcome1231.htm#124>; "The Maine House of Representatives" (Augusta, Maine: Maine House of Representatives, 2009), [http://www.maine.gov/legis/house/me\\_house.htm](http://www.maine.gov/legis/house/me_house.htm); "Office of the Governor - Cabinet" (Augusta, Maine: Office of the Governor, 2009), <http://www.maine.gov/governor/baldacci/cabinet/cabinet.shtml>.

<sup>29</sup> See Kristi Andersen, After Suffrage: Women in Partisan and Electoral Politics Before the New Deal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), Chapter six, "Women and Electoral Politics After Suffrage," 140-163, and Nancy F. Cott, The Grounding of Modern Feminism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), especially chapter five, "Modern Times," 143-174; and Margaret Conrad, "Women in Politics in Atlantic Canada," Keynote Address to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Federation of University Women, Fredericton, New Brunswick, 21 October 2005.

<sup>30</sup> For Maine Native Americans, the federal vote came in 1924, and the state vote came in 1953 for all Indians living on or off the reservations; In New Brunswick, First Nations received the provincial franchise in 1963, Campbell, "Defining and Redefining Democracy," 288. For more information about Maine women of Franco ancestry and the vote, see Marian des Cognets, "Woman Suffrage: Ally or Enemy for Maine's Franco Americans, 1917-1920?" M.A. Thesis (Orono, Maine: University of Maine, 1988), and Janet L. Shideler, Camille Lessard-Bissonnette: The Quiet Evolution of French-Canadian Immigrants in New England (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 1998), 50, 65-66, 68, 70-77, 79, 93-94, 104, 108, 113, 139-141, 155-157, 169.

difficulty accessing the vote (with black women getting the vote in 1918 for parliamentary suffrage and 1919 for provincial).<sup>31</sup> Attitudes towards immigrants and citizenship continue to be hotly debated in both countries. Immigrants must take a citizenship test (not unlike the voting test proposed by elite suffragists in the late nineteenth century), which emphasizes knowledge of white civil history in order to gain citizenship.

Finally, memorialization of the early woman suffrage movements in both places became contested sites of discourse. Maine publications in the early-to-mid twentieth century played down any radical nature of its participants, or focused only on legislative activity, ignoring the origins of Maine suffragism.<sup>32</sup> More recent publications, though not exhaustive in nature, have added to the richness of this history.<sup>33</sup> In

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<sup>31</sup> For more on blacks in Maine, see Maureen Elgersman Lee, "Locating Black Portland," in Joseph Conforti, editor, Creating Portland: History and Place in Northern New England (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2001); Ibid, Black Bangor: African Americans in a Maine Community, 1880-1950 (Lebanon, New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2005). For histories of black political agency in New Brunswick, see James W. St. G. Walker, The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783-1870 (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1976), and Robin Winks, The Blacks in Canada: A History (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000, reprint; first edition 1971).

<sup>32</sup> Some examples of conservative publications on Maine woman suffragists include Helen Coffin Beedy's Mothers of Maine (Portland: The Thurston Print, 1895); Mary Elvira Elliot, Mary A. Stimpson, Martha Seavey Hoyt, and Julia Ward Howe, editors, Representative Women of New England (Boston: New England Historical Publishing Company, 1904); and Maine Federation of Women's Clubs, Prominent Personalities in the Maine Federation of Women's Clubs (West Boothbay Harbor, Maine: James F. Waugh, 1962). Historian Edward O. Shriver published the first history of the Maine Woman Suffrage Movement, but glossed over the early period and focused instead on the legislative battles of the 19-teens. See his work, "Deferred Victory": Woman Suffrage in Maine, 1973-1920," in David C. Smith and Edward O. Shriver, Maine: A History Through Selected Readings (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall-Hunt Publishing Company, 1985): 409-419.

<sup>33</sup> See Lee Agger, Women of Maine (Portland, Maine: G. Gannett Publishing Company, 1982), Lynn Lister, Isabel W. Greenwood and the Women's Suffrage Movement (University of Maine at Farmington, 1991), Sargent, Gail Laughlin.



New Brunswick, local newspapers sometimes carried items about women active in political scenes across the province, but the first study came from outsider Catherine Cleverdon in 1950. Cleverdon's work characterized the New Brunswick suffragists as conservative. Subsequent studies by Mary Eileen Clark and Joanne Veer have contested this view, exposing the full complexity of the suffragists, their networks, and their strategies.<sup>34</sup> It remains to be seen if other historians will look even more closely at women's lives in the borderlands in the future. How will they continue the dialogue on the impact of Loyalism in New Brunswick after the 1850s, and the difference between suffrage strategies regarding to property ownership versus citizenship? This study does not purport to be comprehensive, but instead a testimony to the important work that remains to be done.

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<sup>34</sup> Cleverdon, The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 156-178; Mary Eileen Clarke, "The Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, 1894-1919." M.A. Thesis. (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1979); Joanne Veer, "Feminist Forebears: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces, 1875-1900," Dissertation (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1994).

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## APPENDIX A

1857 MAINE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PETITION

To the Honorable

The Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maine

Your Memorialists, a Committee appointed by the National Woman's Rights Convention, at its Annual Session held in New York, November, 1856, to memorialize the Legislatures of the several States, -- respectfully represent;

That the Constitution and Laws of the State of Maine Conflict with these fundamental principles of a Republican form of government, viz;

"That all men are created equal."

"That Governments derive their just powers, from the consent of the governed."

"That taxation and representation are inseparable."

1<sup>st</sup>. - In that women are not recognized in law as equal with men.

2d. - Their consent is not obtained to any measure of the entire State Policy.

3d. - They are taxed though they are not represented.

Legislation is thus not only founded in injustice; but, as a consequence, every specific law become in some sense oppressive to women.

Eg. 1. - All laws to which women are amenable, even the criminal code, are framed and administered solely by men, neither the intellect nor the moral sense of women being in any degree consulted. This is mental and moral taxation without representation.

Eg. 2. - All laws regulating the relations of the sexes, are made by men in their own favor.

The marital rights of the husband are superior to those of the wife; he is entitled even to the custody of her person.

He has endowed himself with a larger portion of property, of even the joint property earned during their marriage.

He has the custody of the children except during their earliest infancy.

Women, by the State Constitution, are excluded from the Elective Franchise, and therefore from the power to represent or to protect themselves. Without representation, they can have no guarantee that they will be secured in their legal rights; we cannot find in all history that any unrepresented class has ever received proper protection.

Your memorialists are satisfied that the only effectual remedy to all these wrongs is to accord the Right of Suffrage to every American born or naturalized woman of the State, of legal age, and resident for the proper time.

Wherefore we pray your Honorable Body to take all lawful measures towards securing the Right of Suffrage to women in the State of Maine.

Meanwhile, till this Franchise is secured to them, while they are

made dumb and helpless by law, we pray you, wherever injustice is now done to them by any existing Statute, to correct such wrong by timely legislation.

Antoinette L. Brown Blackwell  
Lucy Stone  
Ernestine Rose

1857 MAINE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PETITION ADDENDUM

To the Honorable, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the State of Maine.

Whereas: The admitted principle of our government, "that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," is not practically applied in this state.

We the undersigned adult men and women of Bangor pray your Honorable body to take the necessary steps for securing to women the right to give their consent by the use of the elective franchise, to the laws they are required to obey - and as in duty bound, we will every pray -

Source: Legislative Graveyard Files, 1857, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine.

## APPENDIX B

1872 MAINE WOMAN SUFFRAGE PETITION

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Maine

The American Woman Suffrage Association respectfully represents:

That, Whereas, the 1<sup>st</sup> section of 2<sup>nd</sup> article of the Constitution of the United States expressly provides that "each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, the electors for President and Vice-President";

And Whereas, women are now unjustly excluded from any participation in the election of these highest officers of the nation;

We therefore respectfully pray your Honorable bodies that you will exercise the authority thus vested in you by the Federal Constitution, and enact a law conferring suffrage upon women who are citizens of the united States and the State of Maine, in the approaching Presidential election, upon the same terms and conditions as men.

And we further respectfully represent:

That, Whereas, the Constitution of the State of Maine contains no restriction upon the exercise of suffrage by women in regard to the election of certain State, County, Town, and Municipal officers; we, therefore, respectfully pray, that you will enact a law, abolishing all political distinctions on account of sex, except where the same are expressly contained in the present Constitution of your State.

And we further respectfully represent:

That, Whereas, the Constitution of the State of Maine restricts suffrage for certain officers to men alone, therefore we respectfully pray your Honorable bodies to take the necessary steps to amend the State Constitution so as to abolish hereafter all political distinctions on account of sex.

This memorial is presented in accordance with resolutions adopted at the annual meeting of said American Woman Suffrage Association, held in Philadelphia on the 22d day of November, A.D. 1871, at which were present delegates from auxiliary societies in twenty-two States.

Lucy Stone, Pres.  
 Julia Ward Howe, Chairman Ex. Com.  
 Mary Grew, Cor. Sec.  
 Henry B. Blackwell, Rec. Sec.

[Not listed, printed list of officers of the AWSA found at bottom of Memorial]

Source: "Legislative Graveyard Files," 1872, Maine State Archives, Augusta, Maine.

## APPENDIX C

1888 NEW BRUNSWICK WOMAN SUFFRAGE PETITION (UPPER SACKVILLE)

To His Honor the Honorable Sir Samuel Leonard Tilley, C.B. K.C.M.G.  
Lieutenant Governor of the Province of New Brunswick.

To the Honorable The Executive Council of the said Province.

The Petition of the undersigned Members of the Woman's' Christian  
Temperance Union of Eastern New Brunswick and others.

That Your Petitioners are desirous that the right to vote at the  
Election of Representatives in the House of Assembly for the  
Province of New Brunswick should be conferred upon all Females of  
the age of twenty-one years and upwards whether married or  
unmarried being British Subjects who shall possess the  
qualification as to real or personal property or income now  
necessary in the case of Male persons, as also the right to vote  
at the Elections of Members of the Municipal Councils throughout  
the Province upon the same qualification as that now necessary to  
enable Male persons to vote at the Elections of Councillors.

Your Petitioners therefore Pray

That Your Honors may be pleased to introduce at the ensuing  
Session of the House of Assembly for this Province such  
Legislation as may be deemed necessary in order to bring  
about the desired change in the Provincial Laws now  
governing the Electoral Franchise in this Province. And as  
in duty bound Your Petitioners will every pray &c.

Dated the ninth day of February A.D. 1888 at Upper Sackville in  
the County of Westmorland and Province of New Brunswick.

Source: Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, Fredericton.

## APPENDIX D

PETITION OF THE SAINT JOHN WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION TO THE  
NEW BRUNSWICK LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY 1895

To the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick:

May it please your Honorable Body;

The petition of the New Brunswick Branch of Dominion Women's  
Enfranchisement Association humbly sheweth

Whereas, popular government is founded on the principles of  
representation by population and taxation; and whereas, the women of  
New Brunswick form at least half of the population, and in many cases  
have the required property qualification, and contribute to the public  
revenue by direct and indirect taxation;

And whereas, women equally with men are interested in the growth and  
prosperity of the Commonwealth, and equally amenable to the laws of the  
same;

And whereas, wherever, in the British possessions, suffrage to any  
extent has been accorded to women, it has been attended by good results;

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray your Honorable Body to enact a  
law providing that full Parliamentary Suffrage be conferred on the  
women of New Brunswick, upon the same terms and under the same  
conditions as that now accorded to men,

And your petitioners as in duty bound will ever pray."

Source: Minute Books of the Saint John Women's Enfranchisement  
Association, book 1, (Saint John, New Brunswick: New Brunswick Museum,  
28 January 1895), 38.

## APPENDIX E

MAINE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION, PORTLAND 1902

The Maine Woman Suffrage Association at its annual convention in 1901, voted to ask for municipal suffrage for the tax paying women of Maine, from the legislation of 1903, inasmuch as it lies in the power of the Maine legislature to grant municipal suffrage to any and all women desiring it.

It is a principal of all our American government that 'taxation without representation is tyranny' and since women are now legally unable to represent themselves, we deem it our right to ask, that we may (as contributors to the general good) have a voice in municipal affairs.

As a tax-payer, we trust this movement will appeal to you, as just to yourself and the community at large, and bespeak for it your hearty support and co-operation.

Enclosed are a few questions bearing on the subject. Will you kindly answer them, signing your name and return to us at once in the enclosed addressed envelope. We simply wish to inform you of our proposed measure (which is intended to benefit you) and to secure your approval of it. No use will be made of your reply other than to forward this measure. It is said that 'if the women themselves want this privilege, it will be granted.' Let us put this assertion to the test by going to the legislature this winter, armed with the endorsement of the 15,000 and more tax paying women of Maine. We request a prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

Lucy Hobart-Day, Chairman  
Lillie Floyd Donnell, Secretary  
Ella M. Adams, Asst. Secretary  
Martha A. Dyer, Legislative Committee  
Harriet A. Deering, Legislative Committee

\* \* \*

In addition to the above circular letter the secretary of the association was instructed by the recent state convention to write to influential women all over Maine and ask them in answer the questions contained in the following letter:

Dear Madam:

The tax paying women of Maine are assessed equally with men on all real or personal property owned by them, but have no voice in the affairs which their taxes help to support.

With this injustice ever before us, we ask you to answer the following questions and return at your earliest convenience.

Question one:

Is it right or just for a woman to pay taxes without direct representation?

Question two:

Do you believe tax paying women should have a voice in municipal affairs?"

Signature

Source: "For Suffrage," *Bangor Daily Commercial*, 1 November 1902.

## APPENDIX F

MAINE WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION LEADERSHIP 1875-19001875 MWSA Slate of Officers

President: Hon. Benjamin Kingsbury of Portland (Mrs. C.A. Quinby succeeded him in 1876)

Vice-president: N.A.

Corresponding Secretary: Mrs. C.A. Quinby of Augusta

Recording Secretary: Mrs. W.D. Eaton, Dexter

Treasurer: Mrs. W.K. Lancey, Pittsfield

Executive Committee: Hon. Joshua Nye of Augusta

1885 MWSA Slate of Officers

President: Mrs. C.A. Quinby of Augusta turned over to Rev. Henry Blanchard, D.D.

Vice Presidents: Hon. S.F. Hersey of Bangor and John Neal of Portland, then Gov. Nelson Dingley, Jr., Mrs. C.A. Quinby, Gov. Frederick Robie

Secretary: Miss Addie Quimby of Augusta

Recording Secretary: Miss Louise Titcomb

Treasurer: Mrs. W.K. Lancey of Augusta

Executive Committee: John P. Whitehouse, Hon. Joshua Nye, Neal Dow, Jr., and "other leading citizens"

1891 MWSA Slate of Officers

President: Hannah Bailey Johnson

Vice Presidents: Rev. Henry Blanchard D.D., Gov. Nelson Dingley, Jr.,

General Francis Fessenden, Dr. Frederick Henry Gerrish, Mrs. Anne

Frances L. Greely, Mrs. Sarah J.L. O'brion, Mrs. C. A. Quinby, Thomas

Brackett Reed, Gov. Frederick Robie, Mrs. Lavina J. Spaulding, Mrs. S.E.

Spring, Sally Walker Weston

Treasurer: Dr. Jane Lord Hersom

Recording Secretary: Mrs. Lillie Floyd Donnell

Corresponding Secretary: Mrs. Etta Haley Osgood

Executive Committee: Sarah Fairfield Hamilton, Mrs. H.F. Humphrey, Mrs.

J.E. McDowell, Mrs. Margaret T.W. Merrill, Lillian M.N. Stevens, Mrs.

Leonora Thompson, Miss Louise Titcomb

1897 MWSA Slate of Officers

President: Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day

Vice Presidents: Mrs. Sarah J.L. O'brion, Mrs. Etta Haley Osgood

Treasurer: Dr. Emily N. Titus

Recording Secretary: Mrs. Lillie Floyd Donnell

Corresponding Secretary: Helen Coffin Beedy

Directors: Mrs. L.H. Nelson, Mrs. Justina R. Worcester, Mrs. J.H.

Fletcher, Mrs. Eunice Nichols Frye, Mrs. Sarah Fairfield Hamilton, Dr.

Jane Lord Hersom, Mrs. Mary Melcher

1900 MWSA Slate of Officers

President Mrs. Lucy Hobart Day

Vice President-at-Large: Mrs. S.J.L. O'Brion

Vice President: Mrs. Sarah Fairfield Hamilton

Treasurer: Dr. Emily N. Titus

Corresponding Secretary: Miss Anne Burgess

Recording Secretary: Miss Lillie Floyd Donnell



Treasurer: Dr. Emily N. Titus  
Auditor: Miss Elizabeth C. Tappan  
Corresponding Secretary: Miss Anne Burgess  
Superintendent Press Work: Miss Vetta Merrill  
Directors: Mrs. Eunice C. Frye, Dr. Jennie Fuller,

Others in Service (Per History of Woman Suffrage, MWSA Chapter, vol. IV, p.p. 689-694): Lillian M.N. Stevens, Etta Haley Osgood, Winnifred Fuller Nelson and Helen Coffin Beedy, Miss Louise Titcomb, and Dr. Jane Lord Hersom.

Source: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, et. al., History of Woman Suffrage, 6 vols. Rochester, New York; Indianapolis: Susan B. Anthony; Hollenbeck Press, 1881-1921.

## APPENDIX G

NEW BRUNSWICK WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT ASSOCIATION LEADERSHIP 1894-1900Saint John Branch of the WEA of Canada, Slate of Officers, 1894

President: Mrs. Sarah Manning

1<sup>st</sup> Vice President: Miss F. S. Eaton

2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President: Miss Manning Skinner

Treasurer: Miss Mabel Peters

Recording Secretary: Mrs. Ella Hatheway

Corresponding Secretary: Emma Fiske\*

Corresponding Member: Mrs. J. R. Elliot, Lawrencetown, Nova Scotia

\* Appointed Vice President-at-Large, Maritime Provinces, Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association

New Brunswick WEA, 1895 Slate of Officers

President: Mrs. Sarah Manning

1<sup>st</sup> Vice President: Miss Manning Skinner

2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President: Miss Eaton

Secretary Treasurer: Mrs. Ella Hatheway

Constitution and Bye-law Committee: Mrs. McMichael, Mrs. Ella Hatheway, Miss Mabel Peters

New Brunswick WEA, 1896 Slate of Officers

President: Mrs. Sarah Manning

1<sup>st</sup> Vice President: Miss Manning Skinner

2<sup>nd</sup> Vice President: Miss Eaton

Treasurer: Miss Mabel Peters

Secretary: Miss Grace Murphy

Corresponding Secretary: Mrs. Emma Fiske

New Brunswick WEA, 1897 Slate of Officers

President: Lady Alice Tilley

President-At-Large: Mrs. Emma Fiske

Vice Presidents: Mrs. R. Thomson, Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Chisholm

Treasurer: Miss Murray

Secretary: Mrs. Skinner

Recording Secretary: Miss Lovitt

Source: Saint John Women's Enfranchisement Association, Minute Books, book I, (Saint John: New Brunswick Museum, 1894-1899).

## APPENDIX H

MAINE PRO- AND ANTI-SUFFRAGE MAPS 1857-1897**1857 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>1</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
AWSA	Boston	NA	NA	Co-signed by (American Woman Suffrage Association) Bangor residents

**1872 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>2</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
AWSA	Boston	NA	NA	(American Woman Suffrage Association)
Dennett	Mrs. Oliver	Portland	Cumberland	170 signatures, full suffrage
Prentiss	Miss Sarah	Paris	Oxford	39 signatures, full suffrage
Stevens	Mrs. A.J.W.	Portland/ Parkman	Cumberland/ Piscataquis	Other signatures, full suffrage

**1873 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>3</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Banks	Mrs. R.A.	Belfast	Waldo	
Bean	Mary E.	Liberty	Waldo	
Crockett	Mrs. Dora	Dexter	Penobscot	
Crosby	Sarah G.	Albion	Kennebec	
Emerson	Mrs. Adelaide	Ellsworth	Hancock	
Graves	Esther	NA	NA	
Hapgood	Clara	Columbia Falls	Washington	
Lowe	Mary C.	Waterville	Kennebec	
Parlen	Maria	Hallowell	Kennebec	
Pike	Mrs. H.A.	Gardiner	Kennebec	other signatures, full suffrage
Rider	Emily G.	NA	NA	
Smith	Mrs. George	Ellsworth	Hancock	
Snow	Lucy A.	Rockland	Knox	

<sup>1</sup> Legislative Graveyard Files (Augusta: Maine State Archives, 1857).

<sup>2</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Fifty-First Legislature (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1872), 138, 178-9, 212, 239, 244, 304, 306; Journal of the Senate of the State of Maine, Fifty-First Legislature (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1872), 167, 207, 213, 246, 337, 344.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Fifty-Second Legislature (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1873), 90, 192, 216, 225, 262-3, 270; Journal of the Senate, Fifty-Second Legislature (Augusta: Sprague, Owen & Nash, 1873), 105, 217, 246, 306, 328.

Southwick Mrs. W.W. Vassalboro Kennebec  
 Sturgis Ira D. Augusta Kennebec  
 Weston Mrs. Levi W. Skowhegan Somerset

1887 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>4</sup>

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Chapman	Charles J. & Annie D.	Portland	Cumberland	609 signatures, full suffrage
Clark	Rev. Charles	Portland	Cumberland	114 signatures, full suffrage
Cook	Orilla B.	Belfast, Monroe, Waldo & Searsmont		51 signatures, full suffrage
Davis	Mrs. Wm. L.	Hiram	Oxford	11 signatures, full suffrage
Dobson	James & Janet	Pittsfield	Somerset	110 signatures, full suffrage
Dunn	Addie S.	Cumberland	Cumberland	17 signatures, full suffrage
Farrington	C.A.	Brewer	Penobscot	5 signatures, full suffrage
Field	Mrs. Wm. H.	Biddeford	York	69 signatures
Horr	Orin A.	Lewiston	Androscoggin	250 signatures, full suffrage
Jewett	Mrs. Carrie	Brownfield	Oxford	2 signatures, full suffrage
Jones	Frederick & Ellen C.	Deering	Cumberland	46 signatures, full suffrage
Lord	Sarah C.	Kennebunk	York	40 signatures
Mason	Mary A.	Winthrop	Kennebec	100 signatures, full suffrage
McGove	Mrs. J.C.	Perry	Washington	41 signatures, full suffrage
McIntire	Rev. W.S.	Brunswick	Cumberland	19 signatures, full suffrage
City of		Lewiston & Auburn	Androscoggin	157 signatures, full suffrage
O'Brien	D.W.	Cornish	York	240 signatures, state suffrage
Quinby	Mrs. C.A.	Augusta	Kennebec	other signatures, full suffrage
Sanborn	Abbie B.	Baldwin	Cumberland	11 signatures, state suffrage
Stetson	Margaret	Damariscotta & Newcastle	Lincoln	27 signatures, full suffrage
Usher	Hannah L.	Hollis/Buxton	York	35 signatures,

<sup>4</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Third Legislature (Augusta: Sprague, Burleigh, & Flynt, 1887), 89.97. 106, 113, 140, 152, 167, 179, 198, 272, 336, 350, 360, 474, 497, 534; Journal of the Senate, Sixty-Third Legislature (Augusta: Sprague & Son, 1887), 93, 102, 108, 117, 144, 156, 170, 190, 205, 255, 266, 283, 300, 306, 313, 331, 376, 428, 478.

Wardwell	Mrs. Mary D.	Old Orchard	York	full suffrage 19 signatures,
Webb	Hon. A.H.	Skowhegan	Somerset	full suffrage 236 signatures,
White	Mrs. R.G.	Houlton & Fort Fairfield	Aroostook	full suffrage 50 signatures,
Whitney	Augusta T.	Saco	York	full suffrage 83 signatures,

**1889 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>5</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Allen	Charles T.	Dresden	Lincoln	other signatures, Municipal suffrage
Allen	Mrs. Eliz.	Dresden	Lincoln	other signatures, Municipal suffrage
Bailey	Hannah J.	Winthrop Ctr	Kennebec	104 signatures, municipal suffrage
Blanchard	Wesley	Lewiston	Androscoggin	44 signatures, municipal suffrage
Bradford	J.L.	Union	Knox	60 signatures, municipal suffrage
Bunker	Samuel	Anson	Somerset	37 signatures, municipal suffrage
Cities of		Portland, New Gloucester, Cumberland, Hallowell, & Kennebec Waterville		563 signatures, municipal suffrage
Cole	Robert	Ellsworth	Hancock	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Cook	Alice M.	NA	Somerset	70 signatures, municipal suffrage
Cram	Sarah L. & E.J.	Biddeford	York	54 signatures, municipal suffrage
Dexter	Frank H.	Deering	Cumberland	other signatures,

<sup>5</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Fourth Legislature (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1889), 75, 93, 109, 124, 131-2, 138, 140, 147, 150, 159, 169, 170, 170-171, 180, 184, 198, 211, 215, 225, 235, 237, 242, 255, 308, 325, 402, 476, 496, 499.

Duncan	H.A.	Cumberland	Cumberland	municipal elections 50 signatures, municipal elections
Evans	L.D.	Boothbay	Lincoln	77 signatures, municipal suffrage
Fogg	George H.	NA	NA	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Fowler	N.A.	NA	Waldo	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Frohock	Rev. H.E.	Bar Harbor	Hancock	40 signatures, municipal suffrage
Grant	Mrs. E.A.	Saco & Biddeford	York	219 signatures, municipal suffrage
Greely	Ann L.	Ellsworth	Hancock	170 signatures, municipal suffrage
Hamilton	Sarah F.	Saco	York	50 signatures, municipal suffrage
Hanscom	L.L.	NA	NA	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Hawes	Andrew	NA	NA	48 signatures, municipal suffrage
Johnson	Adelaide	Ft. Fairfield	Aroostook	14 signatures, municipal suffrage
McKenzie	F.	Presque Isle & Caribou	Aroostook	120 signatures, full suffrage
Merrill	Mary J.	Denmark	Oxford	40 signatures, municipal suffrage
Merritt	Mrs. E.S.	Houlton	Aroostook	53 signatures, municipal suffrage
Nichols Partridge	George E. Mrs. J.W.	Franklin NA	Hancock NA	262 signatures, municipal suffrage
Patten Philbrick	Charles E. Hattie M.	NA St. Albans	NA Somerset	115 signatures, municipal suffrage
Pierce	Ella S.	E. Machias	Washington	50 signatures, school suffrage
Pishon	H.M.	Augusta	Kennebec	343 signatures, municipal

Pomeroy	Mrs. Alice	Lewiston	Androscoggin	suffrage 126 signatures
Prentiss	Mrs. H.E.	Bangor	Penobscot	300 signatures, municipal suffrage
Quimby	Rev. I.P.	Turner	Androscoggin	
Shaw	William R.	NA	NA	
Snow	Lavinia A.	Rockland	Knox	30 signatures, municipal suffrage
Snow	Lucy A.	Rockland	Knox	33 signatures, municipal suffrage
Stevens	Edwin T.	Auburn	Androscoggin	68 signatures, municipal suffrage
Thomas	Charlotte J.	Portland	Cumberland	530 signatures, municipal suffrage
Thurston	Mrs. F.R.	NA	NA	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Towns of		Hiram, Fryeburg, & Denmark	Oxford	229 signatures, municipal suffrage
Town of		Portland, New Cumberland Gloucester, Kennebec Hallowell & Waterville		
Wadsworth	E.T.	Camden	Knox	46 signatures, municipal suffrage
Whitten	Lucy A.	Penobscot Co	Penobscot	144 signatures, municipal suffrage
Wright	E.H.	Aroostook Co	Aroostook	217 signatures

**1891 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>6</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Bowles	Mrs. H.H.	Washington	Washington	
Buber	Rev. F.H.	NA	NA	
Bunker	Samuel	Anson	Somerset	
Canham	Rev. W.	Cape Eliza.	Cumberland	
Clark	Charles M.	Georgetown & Sagadahoc Phippsburg		
Cole	Oliver	New Limerick	Aroostook	

<sup>6</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Fifth Legislature (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1891), 104, 122, 131, 143, 155, 159-160, 167, 170, 184, 192, 201, 215, 227, 242, 252, 260-261, 268, 277, 316, 485, 518, 550; Journal of the Senate, Sixty-Fifth Legislature (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1891), 116, 464, 487, 532, 672.

Cooper	Mrs. Annie C. S. Montville	Waldo	
County of		Aroostook	Aroostook
Dingley	F.L.	Augusta	Kennebec
Flint	Ephriam	Dover & Foxcroft	Piscataquis
Foster	Judge Enoch & Mrs.	NA	NA
French	Monroe	Hiram	Oxford
Gerrish	Frederick H.	Portland	Cumberland
Greely	Ann L.	Ellsworth	Hancock
Hamilton	Sarah F.	Saco	York
Hill	Rev. Dr. Thos.	Portland	Cumberland
Holt	E.E.	Portland	Cumberland
Lawrence	J.H.	NA	NA
McPheters	Mrs. A.S.	Orono	Penobscot
Merrill	Margaret	Portland	Cumberland
Merrill	Olive	N. Cumberland	Cumberland
Page	Mr. J.S.	NA	NA
Parsons	Willis E.	Foxcroft	Piscataquis
Pease	G.A.	Appleton	Knox
Prescott	William	Eustis	Franklin
Record	H.B.	China	Kennebec
Robbins	Mrs. F.E.C.	Deering	Cumberland
Titcomb	Louisa	Deering	Cumberland
Usher	Rebecca	NA	NA
Weston	Mrs. Levi W.	Skowhegan	Somerset
Wright	Rev. A.H.	NA	NA
Young	T.A.	Houlton	Aroostook

**1893 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>7</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Greely	Ann L.	Ellsworth	Hancock	
Bailey	Hannah J.	Winthrop Ctr	Kennebec	
Aagerson	Peter	Spruce Head	Knox	
Bailey	Davis V.	Auburn	Androscoggin	
Bond	S.H.	E. Jefferson	Lincoln	
Brown	Mr. J.H.	Haynesville	Aroostook	
Bucknam	Charles C.	Columbia Fls	Washington	
Carsley	G.S.	Blaine	Aroostook	
Clark	William H.	Mechanic Fls	Androscoggin	
Cobb	D.B.	Searsmont	Waldo	
Coffin	V.L.	Harrington	Washington	
Cumberland	Co. Convention of Reformed Men		Cumberland	
Daggett	C.R.	Greene	Androscoggin	
Davison	Rev. Charles	Greenville	Piscataquis	
Drew	Harry A.	New Limerick	Aroostook	
Drisco	George W.	Machias	Washington	
Estes	Jonathan	Easton	Aroostook	

<sup>7</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Sixth Legislature (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1893), 93, 100-101, 121, 127, 129, 144, 154, 156, 184, 189, 198, 200, 207, 211, 26, 463, 484, 511, 602, 612, 619, 657; Journal of the Senate, Sixty-Sixth Legislature (Augusta: Burleigh & Flynt, 1893), 96, 588, 610, 626.



Field	Steward L.	NA	NA	
Fobes	Charles S.	NA	NA	
Goodrich	Walter F.	Deering	Cumberland	
Hanscom	S.L.	Belfast	Waldo	
Harding	A.B.	Union	Knox	
Harding	M.O.B.	E. Machias	Washington	
Hardison	H.S.	Caribou	Aroostook	
Heath	H.M.	Augusta	Kennebec	
Hood	Henry A.	Harrington	Washington	
Irving	A.E.	Presque Isle	Aroostook	
Jackson	Sabina	E. Paris	Oxford	
Keyes	Charles W.	Farmington	Franklin	106 signatures, municipal suffrage
Knapp	J.L.	Somerset	Somerset	
Lamb	John F.	Auburn	Androscoggin	
Leighton	William E.	Deblois	Washington	
Little	Albion	Portland	Cumberland	
Morrill	E.D.	Calais	Washington	
Moses	Adeline	Westbrook	Cumberland	
Murray	Gen. B.B.	Pembroke	Washington	
Nichols	Charles A.	Windham	Cumberland	
O'Brion	Daniel	Cornish	York	
Osgood	Mrs. Etta	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures, full suffrage
Parker	A.B.	Ripley	Somerset	
Pearson	Moses W.	Cumberland	Cumberland	
Plummer	V.C.	NA	NA	
Porter	Samuel S.J.	Cumberland	Cumberland	
Rand	C.N.	Guildford	Piscataquis	
Robbins	Joseph B.	Ft. Fairfield	Aroostook	
Smith	Ellen S.	Brownville	Piscataquis	
Stubbs	Mrs. A.F.	Augusta	Kennebec	
Tenney	Charles P.	Houlton	Aroostook	
Thomas	R.S.	Greene	Piscataquis	
Thompson	A.F.	Buxton & Hollis	York	
Tibbetts	Mrs. E.A.	Dexter	Penobscot	
Walton	L.L.	Skowhegan	Somerset	
Weston	S. Laton	NA	NA	
White	N.R.	E. Machias	Washington	
Whitman	O.F.	Lewiston	Androscoggin	

**1895 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>8</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Beede	L.W.	N. Gloucester	Cumberland	109 signatures, municipal suffrage
Bunker	Mrs. Samuel	North Anson	Somerset	15 signatures,

<sup>8</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Seventh Legislature (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1895), 189, 210, 463; Journal of the Senate, Sixty-Seventh Legislature (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1895), 75, 80, 189, 194, 442, 503, 604, 625.

Chapman	Mrs. M.B.	Bethel	Oxford	municipal suffrage 98 signatures
Clark	Charles H.	N. Portland	Somerset	111 signatures
Dingley	Nelson	Auburn	Androscoggin	196 signatures
Felch	Mrs. L.M.	Aroostook	Aroostook	316 signatures
Goodhue	R.F.	Deering	Cumberland	
Greely	Ann L.	Ellsworth	Hancock	177 signatures, municipal suffrage
Harbutt	Robert G.	Waldo	Waldo	304 signatures, municipal suffrage
Irish	H.D.	Turner Grange	Androscoggin	84 signatures, full suffrage
Jenkins	Hartwell A.	Kennebec, China, & vicinity	Kennebec	108 signatures
Keyes	Caro M.	Jay	Franklin	20 signatures
Keyes	Charles W.	Farmington	Franklin	212 signatures
Lawrence	Rebecca	Shawmut	Somerset	62 signatures
Leavitt	May	NA	NA	12 signatures, municipal suffrage
Littlefield	C.E.	Rockland	Knox	146 signatures, municipal suffrage
Rogers	W.S.	Anson	Somerset	15 signatures, municipal suffrage
Stevens	Mrs. L.M.N.	Stroudwater	Cumberland	9,532 signatures, municipal suffrage
Winslow	Ellen A.	Westbrook	Cumberland	159 signatures
Witham	Cyrus S.	Raymond	Cumberland	42 signatures, full suffrage

**1897 MAINE PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>9</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Ames	Steven E.	Ft. Fairfield	Aroostook	48 signatures, municipal suffrage
Bagley	Mary E.	Troy	Waldo	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Ball	Mary E.	Corinth	Penobscot	42 signatures,

<sup>9</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Eighth Legislature (Augusta: Kennebec Journal, 1897), 90, 93, 101, 106, 108, 115, 120, 122, 127, 132, 141, 151, 153, 175, 192, 198, 348; Journal of the Senate, Sixty-Eighth Legislature (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1897), 87, 90, 99, 102, 107, 110, 114, 122, 126, 129, 133, 139, 145, 150, 158, 179, 185, 197, 337.

Beckett	G.A.	Belfast	Waldo	municipal suffrage 20 signatures, municipal suffrage
Bond	Mrs. Eva	Jefferson	Lincoln	63 signatures, municipal suffrage
Boyd	B.A.W.	Limestone	Aroostook	35 signatures, municipal suffrage
Brainard	Estelle M.	China	Kennebec	62 signatures, municipal suffrage
Brown	Mrs. J.H.	Haynesville	Aroostook	40 signatures, municipal suffrage
Carter	L.E.	Washburn	Aroostook	22 signatures, municipal suffrage
Clark	Mrs. L.G.	Belfast	Waldo	13 signatures, municipal suffrage
Clark	Sarah A.	Stetson	Penobscot	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Collins	George H.	Presque Isle	Aroostook	144 signatures, municipal suffrage
Curtis	Adoniram	West Paris	Oxford	32 signatures, municipal suffrage
Curtis	Mrs. L.E.W.	West Paris	Oxford	46 signatures, municipal suffrage
Dow	F.H.	Mapleton	Aroostook	
Estes	Jonathan	Easton	Aroostook	71 signatures, municipal suffrage
Evans	Mrs. H.F.	Gorham	Cumberland	11 signatures, municipal suffrage
Field	William F.	Danforth	Washington	27 signatures, municipal suffrage
Friends Ferguson	Perley Mrs. Cora	Ashland S. Berwick	Aroostook York	30 signatures, municipal suffrage
Getchell	Asa	Litchfield	Kennebec	45 signatures, municipal suffrage
Graham	Mr. J.D.	Rumford Fls	Oxford	35 signatures, municipal suffrage
Greely	Ann L.	Ellsworth	Hancock	182 signatures,

Grindle	Mrs. R.P.	Blue Hill	Hancock	municipal suffrage 500 signatures, municipal suffrage
Harmon	E.M.	Bar Harbor	Hancock	91 signatures, municipal suffrage
Hedman	J.C.	New Sweden	Aroostook	103 signatures, municipal suffrage
Hodgkins	Mr. J.A.	Gardiner	Kennebec	42 signatures, municipal suffrage
Howe	Sophia S.	Aroostook	Aroostook	109 female, 89 male signatures, municipal suffrage
Jenkins	H.A.	China	Kennebec	47 signatures, municipal suffrage
Jenkins	Hannah T.	China/Vicinity	Kennebec	46 signatures, municipal suffrage
Jones	Mr. George H.	Oxford	Oxford	15 signatures, municipal suffrage
Lamb	Edna E.	Lincolnville	Waldo	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Lamb	Mrs. L.C.	Livermore Fls	Androscoggin	49 signature, municipal suffrage
Libby	Louis P.	Amity & Cary	Aroostook	109 signatures, municipal suffrage
Mason	Mrs. O.M.	Bethel	Oxford	45 signatures, municipal suffrage
McIroy	Mrs. Wm.	Houlton	Aroostook	86 signatures, municipal suffrage
Michael	G.B.	Stillwater	Penobscot	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Milliken	Rev. E.W.	Rumford Fls	Oxford	
Nelson	Rev. F.B.	Lebanon	York	13 signatures, municipal suffrage
Parker	Sarah J.	Waldo	Waldo	19 signatures, municipal suffrage
Parson	Charles F.	Hallowell	Kennebec	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Prince	Ellen L.	Hiram	Oxford	9 signatures, municipal

Robie	Hon. Fred.	Gorham	Cumberland	suffrage other signatures, municipal suffrage
Rogers	Mrs. A.G.	Pembroke	Washington	113 signatures, municipal suffrage
Smart	Edwin W.	Bancroft	Aroostook	26 signatures, municipal suffrage
Smith	Maria L.	Millbridge	Washington	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Smith	T.S.	Caribou	Aroostook	45 signatures, municipal suffrage
Snow	Russ A.	Atkinson	Piscataquis	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Stevens	W.H.	New Portland	Somerset	14 signatures, municipal suffrage
Thayer	E.O.	Gardiner	Kennebec	130 signatures, municipal suffrage
Turner	Mrs. Laura	Bremen	Lincoln	20 signatures, municipal suffrage
Wallace	John E.	Hampden	Penobscot	68 signatures, municipal suffrage
Warren	W.D.	Island Fls	Aroostook	
Webber	Rev. E.W.	Rumford Fls	Oxford	38 signatures, municipal suffrage
Wentworth	G.R.W.	W. Gardiner	Kennebec	33 signatures, municipal suffrage
Weston	Mrs. Levi	Skowhegan	Somerset	186 signatures, municipal suffrage
Whitney	Camilla M.	Winthrop	Kennebec	other signatures, municipal suffrage
Willette	Adelbert	Searsmont	Waldo	57 signatures, municipal suffrage
Woodward	Henry	Kennebec Co	Kennebec	10 signatures, municipal suffrage
Wyman Rev.	J.M.	Augusta	Kennebec	227 signatures, municipal suffrage

1887 MAINE ANTI-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>10</sup>

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Brown	Mrs. S.B.	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures
Carroll	Mrs. John	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures
Dalton	Mrs. Asa	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures
Davis	Mrs. Wm. G. E.	Machias	Washington	30 signatures
Peabody	Margaret I.	Eastport	Washington	49 signatures
Safford	Mrs. Tho. T.	Washington	Washington	13 signatures
Strout	S.C.	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures
Talbot	Mrs. George	Portland	Cumberland	157 signatures
Thompson	Mrs. Jos. P.	Portland	Cumberland	32 signatures
Trask	Mrs. Sam	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures

1889 MAINE ANTI-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>11</sup>

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Birckle	Mrs. A.	Bridgton	Cumberland	8 signatures
Brackett	Mrs. S.M.	Peaks Island	Cumberland	11 signatures
Carpenter	Mrs. R.J.	Portland	Cumberland	576 signatures
Dalton	Mrs. Asa	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures
Fernald	Mrs. A.S.	Portland	Cumberland	102 signatures, against municipal suffrage
Freeman	Mrs. Barnabas	Yarmouth	Cumberland	other signatures
Giles	Mrs. S.W.	Readfield	Kennebec	6 signatures
Johnson	Georgiana P.	Belfast	Waldo	other signatures
Lane	Mrs. E.T.H.	Standish & Kennebunk	Cumberland/York	12 signatures
Lane	Mrs. J.C.	Limerick	York	23 signatures
Lincoln	Sarah G.	Dennysville	Washington	18 signatures
Milliken	Mrs. C.H.	Mechanic Fls	Androscoggin	38 signatures
Ogden	Mr. C.T.	Deering	Cumberland	39 signatures
Pickard	Mrs. Chas. W.	Portland	Cumberland	102 signatures
Pyne	Mrs. Henry R.	Wiscasset	Lincoln	66 signatures
Richardson	Mrs. R.R.	Portland	Cumberland	76 signatures, against municipal suffrage
Rogers	Mrs. Spencer	Portland	Cumberland	10 signatures
Spring	Mrs. E.G.	Portland	Cumberland	263 signatures
Thatcher	Mrs. B.B.	Penobscot	Penobscot	524 signatures, against municipal suffrage
Thom	Julia St. F.	Portland	Cumberland	other signatures
Wilson	Mrs. R.B.	NA	NA	32 signatures
Tryon	E.B.	Deering	Cumberland	39 signatures, against municipal suffrage

<sup>10</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Third Legislature (Augusta: Sprague, Burleigh, & Flynt, 1887), 336, 350, 474.

<sup>11</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Fourth Legislature (Augusta: Burleigh, & Flynt, 1889), 124, 140, 170, 180, 211, 215, 235, 237.

1897 MAINE ANTI-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>12</sup>

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Baxter	Mrs. James	Portland	Cumberland	182 signatures, against municipal suffrage

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<sup>12</sup> Journal of the House of Representatives, Sixty-Eighth Legislature (Augusta: Kennebec Journal, 1897), 153; Journal of the Senate, Sixty-Eighth Legislature, (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Print, 1897), 158.

## APPENDIX I

NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE MAPS 1886-1899**1886 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>1</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Chalmers	Matilda	Woodstock	Carleton	30 signatures, widows and spinsters
Chipman	Mary E.	St. Stephen	Charlotte	unmarried women, municipal suffrage
Cutler	Saraph	Moncton	Westmorland	27 signatures, widows and unmarried women, municipal suffrage
Portland spinsters	City of	Portland	St. John	widows and
St. John suffrage	City of	St. John	St. John	municipal
Woodstock	Town Council	Woodstock	Carleton	widows and spinsters

**1888 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>2</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Archibald	Edith	Halifax	Nova Scotia	The Maritime WCTU, widows and spinsters
Brown	Martha A.	Petitcodiac	Westmorland	92 signatures, franchise
Dunn	Mrs. Andrew	Welford	Kent	121 signatures, WCTU, franchise
Emmerson	Henry R.	Dorchester	Westmorland	200 signatures, franchise
George Holstead	William F. S.A.	Sackville Salisbury	Westmorland Albert	100 signatures 120 signatures, franchise
Mackay	Annie R.	Port Elgin	Westmorland	74 signatures, franchise
Parker	Olivia	Newcastle	Northumberland	170 signatures, WCTU, franchise

<sup>1</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, 1886 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1886), 51-52, 79, 82, 91, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, 1888 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1888), 52.



Thompson	Joshua	Baie Verte	Westmorland	30 signatures
Sinclair	Mrs. Wm.	Chatham	Northumberland	137 signatures, from WCTU, franchise

**1891 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>3</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Phillips	Mrs. E.D.R.	Richmond	Carleton	30 signatures, provincial suffrage

**1892 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>4</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
St. John	City of	St. John	St. John	municipal and county suffrage
Maritime	WCTU			provincial franchise

**1894 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>5</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Adams	A.G.	Addington	Restigouche	745 signatures, franchise
Archibald	Edith	Halifax	Nova Scotia	Maritime WCTU, 6
Baker	Mrs. C.P.	St. John	St. John	100 signatures, franchise
Boone	Albert J.P.	Fred. Junct.	Sunbury	200 signatures, franchise
Clayton	Stella	Marysville	York	74 signatures, franchise
Erb	Mrs. Isaac	St. John	St. John	109 signatures, franchise
Irons	S.W.	Moncton	Westmorland	3,093 signatures, franchise
McCallister	Mary Ellen	St. Stephen	Charlotte	200 signatures, franchise
McFarlane	William A.	Woodstock	Carleton	160 signatures, franchise
McLeod	Diadama	Newcastle	Northumberland	233 signatures, franchise
Peters	T.W.	St. John	St. John	1090 signatures, franchise

<sup>3</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of New Brunswick, 1891 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1891), 92.

<sup>4</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly, 1892 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1892), 53, 61, 110, 115-116.

<sup>5</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly, 1894 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1894), ii-iii, xiii-xiv, xvii-xix, xxii, 122, petitions 8-13, 25, 37-38, 49, 53, 68, 85, 90, 97.

Porter	Alma Jane	Andover	Victoria	158 signatures, franchise
Steadman	Mrs. James	Fredericton	York	1,000 signatures, franchise
Steeves	F.L.	Moncton	Westmorland	53 signatures, franchise
Wilson	Mrs. G.M.	NA	Kings	100 signatures
Wood	Thomas E.	Westmorland	Westmorland	37 signatures

**1895 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>6</sup>**

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Brittain	John	St. Mary's	York	224 signatures
Colwell	L.H.	Fredericton	York	145 signatures, franchise
Doherty, M.D.	W.W.	Addington	Restigouche	287 signatures, franchise
Freeman	Rev. J.S.	Fredericton	York	337 signatures, franchise
Gross	R.M.	Hillsborough	Albert	96 signatures, franchise
Henderson	James R.	Nauwigewauk	Kings	207 signatures, franchise
McInerny	George B.	Richibucto	Kent	36 signatures
Moore	Annie	St. James	Charlotte	147 signatures
NBWEA		St. John	St. John	N. B. Women's Enfranchisement Assoc., franchise
Pinkerton	Hattie Jane	Lynnfield	Charlotte	
Read	J.	NA	Westmorland	51 signatures, franchise
Reud	Rev. Mr.	Gladstone	Sunbury	77 signatures, franchise
Saunders	Mayor	Woodstock	Carleton	283 signatures, franchise
Shaw	T.D.	NA	NA	149 signatures, franchise
Staples	Rainsford	Devon	York	147 signatures, franchise
Sutherland	Rev. J.S.	Sussex	Kings	136 signatures, franchise
Tabor	J.W.	Fredericton	York	80 signatures, franchise
Turner	Frank	Port Elgin	Westmorland	96 signatures

<sup>6</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly, 1895 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1895), 20, 35, 90, 93-94, 96, 101, (Petition #s 1, 68-85).

1899 NEW BRUNSWICK PRO-SUFFRAGE PETITION MAP<sup>7</sup>

LAST	FIRST	TOWN	COUNTY	NOTES
Atkinson	Emma R.	Sackville	Westmorland	150 signatures
Carson	Elizabeth	St. Martins	St. John	90 signatures
Jones	Mrs. R.K.	Woodstock	Carleton	226 signatures
McKeon	Mrs.	St. John	St. John	others
McLeod	Diadama	Newcastle	Northumberland	75 signatures
Perley	Annie	Maugerville	Sunbury	46 signatures
Prescott	Mrs. G.D.	Hopewell	Albert	57 signatures
Randolph	Mrs. A.F.	Fredericton	York	384 signatures
Robinson	Mrs. J.B.	St. Stephen	Charlotte	23 signatures
Shaw	Mrs. Mary	Highgate	Carlton	217 signatures
Simpson	Mabel	NA	Queens	60 signatures
Thompson	Mrs. James	Addington	Restigouche	153 signatures, franchise

<sup>7</sup> Journals of the House of Assembly, 1899 (Fredericton: G.F. Fenety, Printer, 1899), 62, 69, 73-74, 84, 98-100 (Petition #s 65-76, 78).

**BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR**

Shannon M. Risk, born in Dallas, Texas, is the daughter of Ella B. and Malcolm Risk. She attended the University of Northern Iowa, in Cedar Falls, receiving a Bachelor of Arts degree in History with honors in 1994. Risk participated in the National Student Exchange Program in 1992-1993, at Trenton State College (The College of New Jersey). She earned her Master of Arts degree in American History at the University of Maine in 1996. Her Master's Thesis is titled, "A Search for Sweet Serenity: The Diary of Sarah Connell Ayer, 1805-1835." Risk served as a history teaching assistant, a 2006 and 2007 Graduate School Summer Research Fellow, a New England-Atlantic Provinces-Quebec Fellow and an Alice Stewart Fellow at the University of Maine. She was a Canadian-U.S. Fulbright student at the University of New Brunswick for the 2008-2009 academic year. She was also certified in the Women's Studies Graduate Concentration in May 2007. Risk is a member of Phi Alpha Theta, the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States, and the National Women's Studies Association. She held positions at the Susan B. Anthony House, San Francisco Airport Museums, American Airlines C. R. Smith Museum, and Putnam County Historical Society & Foundry School Museum. She interned at the Grout Museum of History and Science in Waterloo, Iowa and the National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution. Risk published articles in Atlantic Canadian Women and the State in the Twentieth Century, the *Maine History Journal*, Conflicts in American History: A Documentary Encyclopedia, the *Hudson River Valley Review*, and *Khronikos*, the University of Maine Graduate History Online Journal. She is assistant professor of history at Niagara University in New York. She is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History from the University of Maine in May 2009.