ROYAL STUDIES JOURNAL

2018 V

Canadian Women's Responses to Royal Tours from the Eighteenth Century to the Present

Carolyn Harris

WINCHESTER UNIVERSITY PRESS

Canadian Women's Responses to Royal Tours from the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day

Carolyn Harris

Abstract: In the United Kingdom and Canada, support for the monarchy is higher among women than men. From Walter Bagehot's political theory in the nineteenth century to modern day polling data, monarchism among women is usually attributed to royal events in popular culture from nineteenth-century royal weddings to twenty-first century depictions of the royal family in television and film. Press coverage of royal tours of Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often depicted women as passive bystanders in crowds, only gradually adding depictions of women as active participants in welcoming royalty. The history of Canadian women's responses to royal tours and other public engagements by royalty in Canada from the eighteenth century to the present day reveals that there is a long history of women assuming active roles when royalty are present in Canada, seeking redress in legal cases in the eighteenth century, requesting patronage for organizations benefiting women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and debating the future of the monarchy in Canada in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. The impact of royalty in Canada on women's lives has become part of Canadian culture and literature. The higher levels of support for monarchism among women compared to men should therefore not be assumed to be due to passively viewing royal weddings, fashions or popular culture alone, but should be placed within this context of women actively engaging with royalty during their public appearances in Canada, viewing royal occasions as opportunities to have their concerns addressed by prominent public figures.

Keywords: royalty, monarchy, women, Canada

In Lucy Maud's Montgomery's 1917 novel, *Anne's House of Dreams* (the fifth of the eight novels in the *Anne of Green Gables* series), Anne is told the story of an elderly neighbour, Elizabeth Russell, who danced with Queen Victoria's eldest son, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales (the future King Edward VII), during his 1860 tour of British North America. Anne hears that

> The year the Prince of Wales came to [Prince Edward Island], she was visiting her uncle in Charlottetown and he was a government official, and so she got invited to the great ball. She was the prettiest girl there, and the Prince danced with her. ... Elizabeth was always very proud of that dance. Mean folks said that was why she never married - she couldn't put up with an ordinary man after dancing with a prince.[1]

[1] Lucy Maud Montgomery, *Anne's House of Dreams* (New York: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1917), 49.

The novel is set in the early 1890s, more than thirty years after the royal tour, but it depicts the Prince of Wales's time in Prince Edward Island as a topic of conversation between women visiting one another. The tour was still within living memory in 1917, a time when Canada's relationship with Great Britain was under particular popular scrutiny as the Dominions joined the Imperial War Cabinet and informed military policy during the First World War, issues that would be referenced in a subsequent Montgomery novel in the *Anne of Green Gables* series, *Rilla of Ingleside*.

The place of the 1860 royal tour in Canadian cultural history as an event discussed by women and considered capable of changing an individual woman's life may seem surprising considering that the Prince of Wales interacted directly with comparatively few women over the course of his tour and the press in British North America paid little attention to women's possible responses to his time there. The newspapers emphasized the passivity of female crowds, supposedly present to be seen by the prince rather than to speak with him at official events and pursue their own goals, from increased social prominence to having their concerns addressed by one of the most prominent public figures of the time. The Toronto *Globe* reported that the Prince admired the well-dressed women watching his arrival from the windows in Quebec City, stating, "It was to the fair throng at each window he bowed."[2] This emphasis on women as passive figures adorning the procession route contrasts with how the American press portrayed women after the Prince crossed into the United States, encouraging them to dance better than their counterparts in British North America and dream of marrying the prince.[3]

From the eighteenth century until the present day, royalty have spent time in what is now Canada in a variety of different contexts including weeks-long royal tours, such as the travels of the Prince of Wales in 1860, military postings, such as those of the future William IV and his brother the Duke of Kent in the 1780s and 1790s, viceregal appointments, which resulted in multiple members of Queen Victoria's family living in Canada for extended periods of time, and the modern royal visits, which cover a broad range of public engagements in a variety of locations in a matter of days. Although the reasons for the presence of royalty in Canada varied, there was a consistency to public responses. Crowds gathered to greet royal visitors at public engagements in larger numbers than those that would assemble to welcome other prominent military or viceregal figures. For women in British North America, which became present day Canada, the presence of female members of the royal family at public engagements from the arrival of Princess Louise in Canada 1878 as viceregal consort until the present was an opportunity for philanthropic organizations focused on women's health, education, and employment to seek publicity and patronage. Before 1878, when male members of the royal family visited British North America alone, women still sought opportunities to be part of the social life that accompanied the arrival of a member of the royal family and meet with the visiting prince to discuss their concerns.

For example, the 1860 royal tour provided men with far more opportunities to meet with the Prince than women because of the structure and itinerary of public engagements. Women were excluded either explicitly or implicitly from participating in the welcoming

[2] Ian Radforth, *Royal Spectacle: The 1860 Visit of the Prince of Wales to Canada and the United States* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 119.
[3] Radforth, *Royal Spectacle*, 330-334.

processions that greeted Albert Edward when he arrived in each British North American city or town on his itinerary. The Prince of Wales was unmarried and was not accompanied by any female members of his family, traveling instead with his governor, Major General Robert Bruce, and his advisor the Duke of Newcastle, who accompanied the prince in his capacity as Colonial Secretary. Royal tours by bachelor princes afforded limited opportunities for formal meetings with women where the visiting royal personage could listen to their concerns in an official capacity.

These circumstances were not unique to British North America. Imperial tours in the nineteenth century were usually conducted by men, which limited roles for women in the festivities.[4] Formal balls and receptions, like the one discussed in *Anne's House of Dreams*, were among the few occasions for women to interact with the prince in an official capacity. A contemporary account of the 1860 tour stated that at a ball in St. John's Newfoundland, "As the ladies had not enjoyed the privilege of being presented to the Prince - the Queen, having, it is said, given orders that as the Prince was under age, no ladies should be presented at his levees—they had determined to make the most of the opportunity now offered"[5] to meet the prince. In contrast, there was a wide array of official occasions where select men met the prince in an official capacity, including military reviews, and with addresses from civic leaders and representations from sporting clubs. Since the late eighteenth century, when royal visits to Canada first took place, women nevertheless found opportunities to circumvent the prescribed limited roles for them in royal tours and speak directly with visiting members of the royal family in a variety of circumstances.

Royal visits followed the expansion of British territory in Canada from the middle of the eighteenth century. Britain assumed control of French Canada following the Treaty of Paris in 1763, which ended the Seven Years War. George III affirmed land rights for First Nations through the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and political and legal rights to Roman Catholic French Canadians through the Quebec Act of 1774. The Crown therefore gained a reputation as a protector of minority rights. The 1791, Constitutional Act, which created Upper Canada (now part of Ontario) and Lower Canada (part of Quebec) provided an unusual amount of political autonomy for property-owning women in Lower Canada, who were permitted to vote until women's suffrage was explicitly outlawed in 1849, because of French law regarding marital property as jointly owned by the husband and wife. The Province of Canada (Upper and Lower Canada) was self-governing from 1841 then united with Nova Scotia and New Brunswick through confederation to become a self-governing dominion in 1867, which gradually expanded to include more provinces following the purchase of Rupert's Land (the Hudson Bay watershed) from the Hudson's Bay Company by the Canadian government in 1870. The last province to join confederation was Newfoundland in 1949. For more than half of Canada's history since confederation, the monarch has been female, as Queen Victoria was the sovereign at the time of confederation in 1867 and reigned until 1901 while Elizabeth II, the longest reigning British monarch, came to the throne in 1952.

---

[4] See Cindy McCreery, "Two Victorias? Prince Alfred, Queen Victoria and Melbourne, 1867-68," in *Crowns and Colonies: European Monarchies and Overseas Empires*, ed. Robert Aldrich and Cindy McCreery (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 51-76.

[5] Robert Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness, The Prince of Wales to the British North American Provinces* (Toronto: Henry Roswell, 1861), 42.

The Eighteenth Century

George III's sons were the first members of the royal family to visit British North America. When the future King William IV visited Newfoundland in his capacity as captain of *HMS Pegasus* in 1786, (becoming the first member of the royal family to visit any part of what is now Canada), both male and female residents of the town of Placentia viewed his presence as an opportunity to settle legal disputes. In his capacity as a naval surrogate judge, William examined evidence and adjudicated cases, presiding over a court two or three times a week. William took his role as a judge seriously, examining evidence to reach legal decisions. He was capable of imposing the harsh penalties typical of naval discipline in the late eighteenth century, including sentencing the ringleader to be flogged with one hundred lashes by a cat o'nine tails,[6] but he also interceded to resolve local disputes peacefully. During his two months in Placentia, William fined a local constable for illegally killing Mary Mercer's pig and planned to refer a case concerning the assault of another woman to the court in St. John's.[7]

William was careful to present himself as a naval officer during his time in Newfoundland and deferred to the authority of its Governor, but the public viewed him as an influential figure who could intercede in legal cases. Richard Routh, Collector of Customs, recorded that, when a man named O'Driscoll faced a ruinous fine imposed by local magistrates, one of his friends pointed out the young Prince in the street and said, "get him to plead your case agen and bedad you will win before ould judge."[8] William took pity on O'Driscoll and persuaded the local authorities to commute the fine, which Routh stated was the only case of a poor man winning a suit over evidence presented by a wealthy merchant.[9] For one local mother of fourteen children, the prince provided an opportunity to improve the prospects of one of her sons, whom she encouraged William Henry to recruit as a midshipman on the HMS Pegasus.[10] For both men and women, William's royal status seemed to confer an authority above his official naval role.

Beyond his official duties, William pursued local women. After departing from Newfoundland, William sailed to Halifax, a city that he described as "a very gay and lively place full of women and those of the most obliging kind."[11] William would visit Halifax on two occasions, in 1787 and 1788. One of William's traveling companions recalled that during the 1788 visit the prince "would go into any house where he saw a pretty girl, and was perfectly acquainted with every house of a certain description in town."[12] Mentions of women in these earliest royal visits to British North America focus on two broad categories: women involved in legal cases adjudicated by William and women sexually pursued by the prince, with even the

---

[6] Daniel Woodley Pierce, *A History of Newfoundland from the English, Colonial and Foreign Records* (London: Macmillan and Company, 1895), 357.
[7] Hans Rollman, "Prince William Henry in Newfoundland," Memorial University, Department of Religious Studies, accessed 28 February 2018, http://www.mun.ca/rels/ang/texts/pwh.htm.
[8] Pierce, *A History of Newfoundland*, 366.
[9] Pierce, *A History of Newfoundland*, 357.
[10] John Watkins, *The Life and Times of 'England's Patriot King,' William IV* (London: Fisher, Son and Jackson, 1831), 1:147.
[11] Arthur Bousfield and Garry Toffoli, *Royal Tours: 1786-2010; Home to Canada* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2010), 26.
[12] Roger Knight, *William IV: A King at Sea* (London: Penguin, 2015), 36.

wife of the Governor of Nova Scotia, Lady Frances Wentworth, reputed to be one of his mistresses in 1787. The circumstances of William's time in British North America dictated the context for his interactions with local women. In his official capacity, he was legislative authority and naval officer. Outside of his official duties, he acted in the same as he did in Great Britain, pursuing women from a variety of social backgrounds.

William's younger brother, Prince Edward, later Duke of Kent and Strathearn (and future father of Queen Victoria) resided in Halifax and Quebec City during the 1790s as part of his long military career in the British Empire, eventually becoming Commander-in-Chief of the British North American forces (and giving his name to Prince Edward Island). The presence of Edward's companion, the Frenchwoman Julie St-Laurent, allowed for a greater degree of formal social interaction with women than would normally have been the case for an unmarried prince on a military assignment. Edward reputedly declared, "Madame de St. Laurent … presides at my table, goes everywhere into company with me, and it is a rule with me never to accept of an invitation where there are ladies, unless she is asked."[13] There are indications that Julie accompanied Edward on his tours of Upper and Lower Canada.[14] Julie never held an official position in Edward's household but his letters demonstrate that she was closely involved in his official business over the course of his time in Canada, acting as his hostess when he entertained friends and representing him in correspondence with prominent women. In 1796, Edward wrote to Louis-Antoine de Salaberry, the seigneur of Beauport in Lower Canada (Quebec), "Madame de St. Laurent will have told you that [your son] is now replaced in the 4th battalion of the 60th, where he formerly was and that consequently I recommend him to inform himself correctly of any opportunity direct from Quebec this autumn, so that he may join his regiment"; he then brought the letter to an end, seeing no need to provide more details because "Madame de St. Laurent writes to Madame de Salaberry."[15] Edward and Julie stood as godparents to Louis-Antoine's son Edouard-Alphonse in 1792. The presence of Julie allowed the entire Salaberry family, men and women, to socialize with the prince and become part of his inner circle in Canada.

In Britain, Edward was unable to appear in society with Julie but in British North America, the couple were received openly by Sir John Wentworth and Lady Wentworth, setting the tone for other members of the Canadian elite.[16] A French visitor noted that this acceptance was not as complete in Halifax as it was in Quebec City because "the proper ladies ... do not accept her socially."[17] There is evidence, however, that even women who were not interested in following Madame de Salaberry's example and socializing directly with Julie attended events where she was present.[18] Elizabeth Simcoe, a geographer and the wife of John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada (later Ontario), never mentioned Julie by name in her correspondence but alluded in her diary to suppers and visits

---

[13] Nathan Tidridge, *Prince Edward, Duke of Kent: Father of the Canadian Crown* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2013), 85.
[14] Mollie Gillen, *The Prince and His Lady: The Enchanting Romance of Edward, Duke of Kent and Julie de St. Laurent in Georgian Halifax* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company Ltd, 1970), 54.
[15] William James Anderson, *The Life of H.R.H. Edward, Duke of Kent: Illustrated with his correspondence with the de Salaberry Family* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Company, 1870), 40.
[16] Bousfield and Toffoli, *Royal Tours*, 36.
[17] Mollie Gillen, "MONTGENET, THÉRÈSE-BERNARDINE", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 28 February 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/montgenet_therese_bernardine_6E.html.
[18] Mary Beacock Fryer, *Elizabeth Posthuma Simcoe 1762-1850: A Biography* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1989), 48.

across longer distances in the winter where "their partners must be very agreeable or they could never have liked these parties,"[19] suggesting that she accepted Julie's presence within the context of Canadian social customs.

The tacit acknowledgement of Edward and Julie as a couple allowed for more entertainments that allowed women to meet the prince in an official capacity. When Elizabeth Russell, sister of the receiver-general at Niagara-on-the-Lake, commented during her time in Quebec City that "Prince Edward makes this place lively," she was likely referring to events such as theatre performances where Julie was present, in addition to the fact that the Duke's aides-de-camp were "all very Handsome young men."[20] The long residence of Edward and Julie fuelled speculation that they had children, who in turn became the ancestors of Canadian families.[21] There is no evidence that the couple had surviving children, but these rumours became part of Canadian cultural tradition.

1860 Royal Tour by the Prince of Wales

The 1860 royal tour by the future Edward VII differed from the previous visits by George III's sons because most of the itinerary comprised of official engagements with little time for leisure and forming social connections outside these formal occasions. The 1860 royal tour also received a greater degree of press coverage as the newspaper industry had expanded in British North America and the prince was seen in public on most days during the tour. In 1860, there was a marked contrast between the passive depictions in the press of women bystanders, and the assertive actions of individuals and women's societies who were determined to be recognized within the context of the royal tour.

The most famous example of a Canadian woman's achievements being acknowledged during the 1860 tour is the pension provided for the eighty-five-year-old Laura Secord for her service during the War of 1812, when Secord warned General James Fitzgibbon of a planned surprise American attack on Beaver Dams in the Niagara Peninsula. During the 1860 tour, Secord's wartime actions allowed her to be part of a public engagement in what was a predominantly male space. Secord had been lobbying for a pension for decades, seeking recognition of her own role warning the British on the attack on Beaver Dams. Her petitions had been rejected on the grounds that her family already received a pension of £20 in recognition of her husband James Secord's service in the Battle of Queenston Heights.[22] The royal tour provided an opportunity for the acknowledgement of her individual contribution to the War of 1812. She was the sole woman to sign an address to the Prince of Wales by the veterans of the Battle of Queenston Heights, at a memorial ceremony on the site where General Isaac Brock died in battle.[23] Albert Edward was impressed by Secord's story and arranged for her to receive a reward of £100. Secord's involvement in the royal tour raised her profile from the comparative obscurity that she had experienced after the War of 1812, and

[19] Gillen, *The Prince and His Lady*, 44; Mary Quayle Innis and Elizabeth Simcoe, *Mrs. Simcoe's Diary* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2007), 67.
[20] Gillen, *The Prince and His Lady*, 45.
[21] Gillen, *The Prince and His Lady*, 5.
[22] Ruth McKenzie, *Laura Secord: The Legend and the Lady* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 85.
[23] Colin MacMillan Coates and Cecilia Louise Morgan, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Vercheres and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 123.

she received extensive press coverage, becoming the subject of a biography by Niagara resident Emma Currie.[24]

Secord was not the only woman to gain newspaper coverage for her determination to participate in public engagements during the 1860 tour. Lady Laura Phipps wrote a poem dedicated to Queen Victoria, which she presented to the Prince of Wales on behalf of the women of Hants County, Nova Scotia.[25] In Belleville, Ontario, a group of local women announced that they would provide an equestrian escort for the Prince upon his arrival, a plan that was widely debated in the press as a "novel idea" but one that might compromise the safety of participants because this group of women on horseback would be surrounded by the crowds.[26] In Chippewa, Niagara, a spontaneous welcoming party consisting of both men and women escorted the prince to the local hotel.[27] Over the course of the tour, Albert Edward also interacted with First Nations women in their capacity as prominent figures in their communities and as artisans who created gifts for the prince and souvenirs that he purchased during his time in British North America.[28] For example, both Mik'maq men and women participated in canoe races in Halifax in honour of the royal tour.[29] A Mik'maq woman described in the local press as "Mrs. Augustine Nicholas" was received by the Prince on the lawn of Government House, Charlottetown, and gave the prince a miniature canoe and baskets made by herself and her daughter.[30] Since first contact between Europe and North America, Europeans had observed the important economic and political roles occupied by First Nations women and the influence they had in their communities. The prominence of native women in their communities continued to be remarked upon in press coverage of royal tours.

Queen Victoria and Confederation

Canada achieved confederation in 1867, with the passing of the British North America Act, which united the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick as the self-governing Dominion of Canada, seven years after the Prince of Wales's tour of British North America. Loyalty to the Crown was a key aspect of the new nation's cultural identity, bringing together diverse communities and political leaders with very different goals for the new Dominion. The personification of the Crown in nineteenth-century Canada was Queen Victoria, who had met Canada's first post-confederation prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald in 1867 in London, and endorsed self-government for British North America. The London Conference of 1866, where sixteen delegates from the Province of Canada (Ontario and Quebec), Nova Scotia and New Brunswick held meetings with British Government officials, was the final set of negotiations preceding the passing of the *British North America Act* (1867), building on discussions at the Charlottetown and Quebec City conferences in 1864.

---

[24] Peggy Dymond Leavey, *Laura Secord: Heroine of the War of 1812* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2012), 11.
[25] Cellem, *Visit of His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales*, 85-86.
[26] Radforth, *Royal Spectacle*, 118.
[27] Radforth, *Royal Spectacle*, 118.
[28] Radforth, *Royal Spectacle*, 308-309.
[29] M. Ann Hall, *The Girl and The Game: A History of Women's Sport in Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 12.
[30] Radforth, *Royal Spectacle*, 219.

Although the Queen never visited Canada, declining an invitation to open the first parliament after confederation on 1 July 1867, her image loomed large in Canadian households. The author Lucy Maud Montgomery wrote in 1923 that, in her youth, "the Victoria myth was in full flower. We were brought up to believe that 'the Queen' from babyhood to old age was a model for all girls, brides and queens to follow. In those days, every home boasted a framed picture of 'the Queen.'"[31] In the 1920s, Montgomery was skeptical of Queen Victoria's personal contribution to this outpouring of loyalty and concluded that the Victorian age "made of a dowdy, dumpy little woman a symbol for a people who cannot do without symbols"[32] and recalled that she had been unimpressed by appearance of the Queen in the portrait that hung in her grandparents' house in Prince Edward Island when she was a child. During the nineteenth century, however, there was widespread popular interest in Queen Victoria as a person as well as political figure, which contributed to the excitement that surrounded visits to Canada by her children and grandchildren.

In contrast to Britain, where the Queen's comparative seclusion from public engagements during the 1860s undermined her popularity and encouraged republican sentiment, Canadians were accustomed to the Queen not being physically present and she therefore remained a consistently admired figure in Canada throughout her reign. Victoria was associated with her father in the popular imagination and, when the Prince of Wales toured British North America in 1860, the Mayor and Aldermen greeted him as "the grandson of that illustrious Duke whose memory is gratefully cherished as the warm and constant friend of Nova Scotia."[33] While the Duke of Kent's relationship with Julie St. Laurent had been widely accepted during his time in British North America, his subsequent marriage to Victoria's mother, Princess Victoire of Saxe-Coburg-Saalfeld was emphasized in Canadian publications 100 years later. An 1897 Quebec Jubilee Souvenir book contained images of the Duke and Duchess of Kent as well as Victoria at the time of her accession, accompanied by text in French and English.[34] Victoria's birthday was celebrated as a public holiday from 1845 onwards, and Victoria Day remains a statutory holiday, honouring Victoria's role as a Mother of Confederation and currently serving as Queen Elizabeth II's official birthday in Canada. Milestones in Victoria's reign provided leadership opportunities for elite and middle-class women of British descent. For instance, the Victorian Order of Nurses was created on the occasion of the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, providing health care in remote areas and employment opportunities for women. The initiative was championed by the vice-regal consort, Lady Aberdeen, who had also organized the National Council of Women in Canada a few years earlier, in 1893.

Queen Victoria held deeply traditional views about the role of women in society. She commissioned portraits and photographs that emphasized her position as a wife and mother and was hostile to the growing campaign for women's suffrage over the course of the nineteenth century. When Katherine Russell, Viscountess Amberley, gave a speech in 1870 at

---

[31] Lucy Maud Montgomery and Ephraim Weber, *After Green Gables: L.M. Montgomery's Letters to Ephraim Weber, 1916-1941* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 112.
[32] Montgomery and Weber, *After Green Gables*, 112.
[33] Cellum, *Visit of His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales*, 55.
[34] Karen Stanworth, *Visibly Canadian: Imagining Collective Identities in the Canadas 1820-1910* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 195.

the mechanics institute in Stroud, England, in favour of women receiving the vote, Queen Victoria wrote to the man she had commissioned to write Prince Albert's biography, the lawyer and author Theodore Martin, that she was "anxious to enlist everyone who can speak or write to join in checking this mad, wicked folly of 'Women's Rights' with all its attendant horrors, on which her poor feeble sex is bent, forgetting every sense of womanly feeling and propriety. Lady Amberley ought to get a good whipping."[35] Nevertheless, her position as head of state inspired suffragists who sought greater opportunities for women in the public sphere, and she continued to be a role model for women long after her death. Manitoba writer and suffragist Nellie McClung wrote in 1915 that women needed to take charge of their own destinies, stating, "Queen Victoria, in her palace of marble and gold, was able to retain her virility of thought and independence of action as clearly as any pioneer woman who ever battled with conditions."[36] McClung contrasted Victoria's strength of character with the archetypal "gentle lady" who was content to allow men to make decisions and preferred to remain aloof from current affairs. Royal women who spent time in Canada were praised for assuming leadership roles in philanthropy and social life and embracing active Canadian pastimes such as winter sports and other outdoor activities.

Royal Women at Rideau Hall

Queen Victoria's daughters and granddaughters had more expansive views of the possibilities for women in public life and focused their philanthropy on causes that benefited women's health and education. When royal women began visiting Canada, Canadian women recognized expanded opportunities for patronage and recognition. In December 1878, Victoria's fourth daughter, Princess Louise, became the first British royal woman to cross the Atlantic, as vice-regal consort to John Campbell, Marquess of Lorne, the fourth Governor General since Confederation. The significance of the occasion was acknowledged in the welcoming festivities in Halifax. In his speech acknowledging the welcome, Lorne noted,

> Although sons of the sovereign have before this day visited these shores, this is the first occasion on which a daughter of the reigning house has seen the new world. I rejoice that the princess lands upon this continent among a people so loyal and thoroughly worthy of the British name as are the inhabitants of this famous colony.[37]

The royal couple's ship had been escorted by Louise's elder brother, Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, in his capacity as a career officer in the Royal Navy. One of the official speeches stated, referring to Alfred's naval tours of duty in the early 1860s, that "he has already visited North America, and let us hope that when he again comes, the occasion may be made then more auspicious by the presence of Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Edinburgh,"[38] demonstrating the interest in Louise setting a precedent for subsequent imperial tours by other

[35] Joan Perkin, *Victorian Women* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 213.
[36] Nellie McClung and Veronica Strong-Boag, *In Times Like These* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 66.
[37] Joseph Edmund Collins, *Canada Under the Administration of Lord Lorne* (Toronto: Rose Publishing Company, 1883), 32.
[38] Collins, *Canada Under the Administration of Lord Lorne*, 31.

royal women.

The crowds assembled for Princess Louise's public engagements in Canada exceeded the numbers who gathered to see previous viceregal consorts. In 1879, Princess Louise and Lord Lorne opened the Toronto Industrial Exhibition (now the Canadian National Exhibition). Keith Walden observed in his history of this event, "The exhibition was regularly graced with visits by the Governor General, whose office represented the apex of social and political life in Victorian Canada. These occasions always generated a good measure of excitement, though none more than the initial visit in 1879 when Torontonians got their first look at Princess Louise, 'the favoured daughter of our beloved Queen,' whose husband Lord Lorne has just begun his term."[39] Walden noted evidence that Louise's purchases were carefully recorded by the press and that individual vendors at the exhibition would advertise that the Princess and her husband had "lingered at their booths."[40] The social prominence accorded to an event or individual that received the attention of a viceregal consort was enhanced when this role was performed by a member of the royal family.

In contrast to the newspaper accounts of women standing at windows to be admired by the Prince of Wales in 1860, the press in the late 1870s and early 1880s noted that women's organizations requested Louise's patronage from the start of her time in Canada. In Montreal, one of the stops on the royal couple's 1878 journey from Halifax to their new home at Rideau Hall in Ottawa, the Ladies' Educational Association requested Louise's patronage, stating that they "beg leave to approach your Royal Highness with the expression of their cordial welcome not only as the daughter of their Most Gracious Queen and the consort of her representative in this Dominion but as known throughout the Empire as extending a true and earnest patronage to every judicious effort for the educational elevation of women."[41] In Britain, Louise had been a vocal advocate of increasing educational and vocational opportunities for women, serving as first president of the National Union for the Higher Education of Women. The Montreal association made clear that they were interested in her patronage because of her past advocacy.

Philanthropy had been key to the royal family's public image since the reign of King George III and for nineteenth-century elite women, charitable work provided leadership opportunities that seemed to complement the public perception that they were naturally suited to caring for others and setting the moral standards for their families and communities.[42] For Queen Victoria's daughters, charitable work was an opportunity to develop an independent public profile and engage with women from a variety of social backgrounds. In his analysis of royal philanthropy, Frank Prochaska observed that Louise was particularly concerned with women's rights and was concerned about the welfare of working-class women, giving her name to a Salvation Army home for unwed mothers in Clapham now a district of southwest London.[43]

Louise's acceptance of the role of patron of the Montreal association suggested that

---

[39] Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 38.
[40] Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto*, 38.
[41] Henry James Morgan, *The Dominion Annual Register and Review* (Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1879), 12:268.
[42] Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 1-17.
[43] Frank Prochaska, *Royal Bounty: The Making of a Welfare Monarchy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 115-116.

she intended to involve herself directly with its goals, stating that she had read their most recent report with interest; she "emphasized the importance of giving special attention to the subject of domestic economy, which properly lies at the root of the highest life of every true woman."[44] The organization's strong focus on domestic economy, the theory and practice of household management, has been attributed to Louise.[45] This vision for the association has been interpreted as restrictive for women's educational ambitions,[46] but it also foreshadowed the domestic economy movement in late nineteenth-century Canada under the leadership of Adelaide Hoodless, which emphasized the importance of domestic economy to improving the health and well-being of women and children.[47]

Louise's time in Canada during Lorne's term as Governor General from 1878 to 1883 did not only see official royal patronage for organizations benefitting women but saw the press recognize the more active roles of women during public engagements, requesting patronage for charitable organizations focused on women instead of only admiring them from a distance.[48] Louise's philanthropic interests provided opportunities for women's concerns to be addressed. In addition to supporting women's education, Louise also visited The Haven in Hamilton, Ontario, which provided vocational training for women who had served time in prison.[49] These charitable endeavours provided Louise with the opportunity to engage with women outside the elite and learn about their challenges, setting precedents for future royal philanthropy.

The prominence of women and their responses in nineteenth-century royal tours whose official itineraries and intentions paid little attention to the specific concerns of women reflects a larger pattern of such tours serving as opportunities for politically disadvantaged groups to make their voices heard in the public sphere. When Louise and Lorne became the first royal couple to visit Vancouver Island, in 1882, the local authorities planned for a celebration of British Columbia's place in the British Empire, but displays and welcoming delegations for the royal tour in fact reflected the diversity of the colony. Louise and Lorne received welcoming addresses from First Nations leaders and prominent men from the long-established Chinese-Canadian community in Victoria.[50] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Crown had a reputation as a safeguard for the rights of politically marginalized communities and therefore enjoyed widespread support beyond the British male elite who were often the official focus of royal tours of Canada. The franchise would not be extended to the majority of women over 21 until 1919, while Chinese-Canadians were denied the vote until 1947 and First Nations people had to give up their treaty rights to vote before 1960. The

---

44 Prochaska, *Royal Bounty*, 269.

45 Donna Ronish, "The Montreal Ladies' Educational Association," *McGill Journal of Education* 6, no. 1 (1971): 78-83.

46 Ronish, "The Montreal Ladies' Educational Association," 78-83.

47 See Cheryl Macdonald, *Adelaide Hoodless: Domestic Crusader* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1986).

48 For more about Princess Louise's reception in Canada, see Carolyn Harris, "Royalty at Rideau Hall: Lord Lorne, Princess Louise and the Emergence of the Canadian Crown," in *Canada and the Crown: Essays on Constitutional Monarchy*, ed. D. Michael Jackson and Philippe Lagassé (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 17-32.

49 The Legislative Assembly of Alberta, *Princess Louise: The Canada Years*, accessed 28 February 2018, https://www.assembly.ab.ca/lao/library/louise/canada.htm.

50 See R. W. Sandwell, "Dreaming the Princess: Love, Subversion and the Rituals of Empire in British Columbia, 1882," in *Majesty in Canada: Essays on the Role of Royalty*, ed. Colin M. Coates (Toronto: Dundurn, 2006), 44-67.

Crown seemed to offer a greater chance for the concerns of these groups to be addressed than government officials, who were not accountable to significant groups of Canadians.

Louise and Lorne left Canada in 1883 at the end of Lorne's term as Governor General. Royal women who later resided in Canada for long periods did so during wartime and promoted leadership roles for Canadian women on the home front in addition to wider cultural patronage. Queen Victoria's third son Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught was Governor General from 1911 to 1916, and he was accompanied by his wife Princess Louise Margaret of Prussia, Duchess of Connaught, and their daughter Princess Patricia, who was in her late twenties during her time in Canada. The Duchess assumed an active role in raising funds to benefit Canadian troops on the Western front. She personally donated $1,000 to the Imperial Order Daughters of Empire campaign to outfit a hospital ship[51] and later took charge of the fund, raising over $100,000.[52]

As the honorary Colonel-in-Chief of Princess Patricia's Light Infantry and the face on the 1917 Canadian $1 bill, Patricia became an even more prominent public figure in Canada. She often served as her father's hostess because of her mother's ill health. When she married Captain the Hon. Sir Alexander Ramsay (a naval aide-de-camp to her father, who proposed to her in Nova Scotia), Patricia received numerous personal gifts from well-known Canadian women such as Lady Marguerite Allan,[53] whose husband Sir Montagu Allan was deputy chairman of the Allan steamship line and President of the Merchants Bank of Canada and Montreal General Hospital, and Martha Black, (wife of the commissioner for the Yukon during Patricia's time in Canada), and who went on to become the second woman elected to Canada's House of Commons.

During the Second World War, George VI's maternal uncle, the Earl of Athlone, served as Governor General from 1940 until 1946, accompanied by his wife, Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, a granddaughter of Queen Victoria. Alice was part of a community of European royal women active in Canada during this period. This included Crown Princess Juliana of the Netherlands and her daughters, including the future Queen Beatrix, who took refuge in Canada after the House of Orange was forced to flee the Nazi occupation,[54] and Crown Princess Martha of Norway, who inspected Norwegian military and naval operations in Halifax and Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, after the Norwegian royal family was forced to flee the German occupation of Norway in 1940.[55] Alice hosted joint benefits with Juliana, involving resident European royalty in wartime relief efforts.[56]

Alice was closely related to Europe's royal families and assumed a leadership role in

---

[51] Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 44.

[52] "Supporting Canada's Armed Forces – Our Contribution to Canada's War Efforts," *Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire*, accessed 28 February 2018, http://www.iode.ca/supporting-canadas-armed-forces.html.

[53] J. Castell Hopkins, *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1919* (Toronto: Canadian Annual Review Publishing Company, 1920), 131.

[54] See Albert VanderMey, *When Canada was Home: The Story of Dutch Princess Margriet* (Surrey, BC: Vanderheide Publishing Co. Ltd, 1992).

[55] William D. Naftel, *Wartime Halifax: The Photo History of a Canadian City at War, 1939-1945* (Halifax: Formac Publishing Company, Ltd., 2009), 57.

[56] R. H. Hubbard, *Rideau Hall: An Illustrated History of Government House, Ottawa, from Victorian times to the present day* (Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1977), 201.

evacuating royalty over the course of the Second World War. Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands was Alice's first cousin (their mothers were sisters) and she took a personal interest in the Dutch royal family, hosting them at Rideau Hall (the Governor General's residence) until a residence at Stornoway House (now the residence of the leader of Canada's official opposition) could be arranged. When Princess Juliana's third daughter, Princess Margriet, was born in 1943, the maternity ward in the Ottawa Civic Hospital received temporary extraterritorial status by vice-regal decree so that the royal child would have Dutch citizenship alone rather than joint citizenship. The royal women in exile were encouraged to contribute to the war effort in the manner of women across Canada, and Alice organized knitting and sewing circles for them at Rideau Hall.

Louise, Patricia, and Alice all encouraged the activities of Canadian women in the arts. Louise and Lorne were instrumental to the founding of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and the National Gallery of Canada, and both these institutions were open to women during a time when female artists often struggled to gain the same kind of recognition afforded to male counterparts. Louise's social prominence as a princess, viceregal consort and a working artist who had studied sculpture at the National Art Training School in London and exhibited her work at public exhibitions and galleries demonstrated that it was possible for women to pursue art as a profession without receiving social. Canadian artist Charlotte Schrieber therefore exhibited her work at the inaugural exhibition of the National Gallery and was a founding member of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts,[57] and Louise visited an exhibition by women artists at the first Toronto Industrial Exhibition in 1879. Prominent male members of the royal family also visited art exhibitions where female artists displayed their work alongside their male counterparts, but Louise was particularly noted for encouraging, viewing, and purchasing work by women. Louise contributed her own work to Canadian cultural institutions. Her portrait of her friend Henrietta Montalba, a sculptor who visited the viceregal couple in Canada hangs in the National Gallery and Louise's sculpture of Queen Victoria stands on the McGill campus in Montreal.

Louise's niece Patricia exhibited her own paintings with the Montreal Art Association, raising the profile of the event and making connections with other female artists. Patricia was inspired by Canadian landscapes and painted views of Ottawa from the veranda of the long gallery at Rideau Hall,[58] and her painting of the spring ice breaking up on the Ottawa River is now part of the collection of the Art Gallery of Ontario. In 1913, Patricia exhibited her work alongside the Canadian artist Gertrude des Clayes in a Royal Canadian Academy of Arts exhibition.[59] Des Clayes later painted the princess's portrait, which is now in the collection of the Montreal Museum of Fine Art. During the Second World War, Alice of Athlone often attended concerts and theatre in Ottawa, going backstage to congratulate the performers and taking a close interest in the props and costumes.[60] According to R. H. Hubbard's history of Rideau Hall (Government House in Ottawa), "[Alice] showed her serious concern for the arts

[57] Kristina Huneault and Janice Anderson, *Rethinking Professionalism: Women and Art in Canada* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2012), 11.
[58] Hubbard, *Rideau Hall*, 129.
[59] *Catalogue of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Exhibition in the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts in the Art Association Galleries 679 Sherbrooke St. West, Montreal, November the Twentieth, 1913*, accessed 28 February 2018, https://archive.org/details/catalogueofexhib13nati.
[60] Amelia Hall, *Life Before Stratford: The Memoirs of Amelia Hall* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1990), 44.

by attending literally every concert and exhibition in Ottawa and receiving all the artists."[61] There were also non-royal vice-regal consorts who took an interest in Canadian culture. For example, Louise's predecessor, Lady Dufferin, staged amateur theatricals at Rideau Hall and became a well known public figure in her own right. Royal women such as Louise, Patricia, and Alice, however, created personal bonds between Canada and the royal family through their philanthropy and support of the arts in Canada.

Early 20th Century Royal Tours

Royal women also undertook shorter tours of Canada, setting precedents that continue to the present day. The Duchess of Cornwall and York (the future Queen Mary, consort of King George V) toured Canada with her husband in 1901, and Queen Elizabeth (later the Queen Mother) was instrumental to the success of the 1939 Canadian tour with King George VI, the first example of a reigning sovereign visiting Canada. The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York were in Canada for a month, traveling across the country from Quebec City to the western provinces and back again to the maritime provinces while George VI and Queen Elizabeth spent six weeks in Canada, also crossing Canada twice by train. Philip Buckner has stated in his article on the significance of the 1901 tour: "This was the first royal tour to the self-governing colonies on which a prince was accompanied by his consort, and Mary's presence enabled colonial women to be far more involved in the tour than in any previous one."[62] George and Mary attended official receptions together but also undertook separate engagements, which set precedents that structure later royal tours of Canada. George was the central figure at military reviews, but Mary meanwhile toured hospitals, schools, and galleries, receiving gifts such as a commemorative scroll with watercolours of Canadian and British motifs by Eleanor Baylis of Montreal,[63] from organizations such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), and the National Council of Women.[64] The tour also saw these organizations assuming leadership roles in welcoming royal visitors with the Imperial Order Daughters of Empire fundraising to establish the Alexandra Gates near the University of Toronto as part of the tour festivities. In contrast to 1860, however, in 1901 there were no balls as the royal family was still observing the official period of mourning for Queen Victoria.[65]

In 1939, Queen Elizabeth was a central figure in the royal tour and, after her return to the United Kingdom, drew upon the connections she forged with Canadian women over the course of the journey to encourage their support during the Second World War. On 11 November 1939, she called on Canadian women to join the war effort in a speech broadcast on CBC radio: "We, no less than men, have real and vital work to do for our country in its hour of need." [66] Throughout the war, Elizabeth emphasized the value of women's

[61] Hubbard, *Rideau Hall*, 201
[62] Philip Buckner, "Casting Daylight upon Magic: Deconstructing the Royal Tour of 1901 to Canada," in *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, ed. Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich (London: Frank Cass, 2003), 162.
[63] Joseph Pope, *The Tour of Their Royal Highnesses The Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York Through the Dominion of Canada in the year 1901* (Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1903), 57.
[64] Buckner, "Casting Daylight upon Magic," 163.
[65] Pope, *The Tour of Their Royal Highnesses,* 19.
[66] "Queen Asks Canadian Women to Help War Effort", *CBC Radio Special*, 11 November 1939,

contributions to the war effort and encouraged women throughout the British empire to view themselves as equal to men at the front, stating in a 1943 radio broadcast from London, "You will see that your work, whatever it may be, is just as valuable, just as much 'war-work' as that which is done by the bravest soldier, sailor or airman who actually meets the enemy in battle."[67] In later years, as Queen Mother, Elizabeth maintained a close relationship with Canada, visiting on thirteen occasions after the death of King George VI and serving as Patron of Women's College Hospital in Toronto.

Queen Elizabeth II in Canada

Queen Elizabeth II's reign has seen the widest range of Canadian women's responses to royal tours. The Queen is the most well traveled monarch in history and she has visited Canada on twenty-three occasions as princess and sovereign. As Princess Elizabeth, she represented her father, George VI, in Canada in 1951, touring the country with Prince Philip. Elizabeth was well received over the course of her tour as she appeared to embody not only the future of the modern monarchy but the ideal family life for a woman of the early 1950s, as she was married and the mother of two children. The Calgary *Herald* stated that the princess was "a charming young woman" with a "handsome…husband, who with their two children represent today's ideal family."[68] The 1951 tour saw increased coverage by female journalists, as more Canadian women joined the profession, an increase from 464 in 1931 to 1,621 in 1951.[69]

Over the course of the Queen's 66-year reign, there has been widespread debate about the future of the monarchy in Canada and women have been part of that discussion. In 1957, the Queen opened parliament in Ottawa and in 1959, the Queen and Prince Philip undertook their last whistle-stop tour of Canada, visiting all ten provinces and the territories. While most of the press coverage of the tour was positive, CBC journalist Joyce Davidson commented on The Today Show on 18 June, "Like most Canadians, I am indifferent to the visit of the Queen."[70] These remarks prompted widespread criticism from men and women, and the CBC switchboard was overwhelmed with "hundreds of calls." Mrs. A. K. Richardson, the president of the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire responded, "No indifference. Everyone I know is very definitely thrilled with the Queen's coming."[71] The polling data of the time suggested a level of interest in the royal tour between the extremes presented by Davidson and Richardson, with a Gallup poll stating that 64% of Canadians disagreed with Davidson, though only 48% were "very interested" in the visit.[72] By the twenty-first century, opinion polls recorded hostility to the monarchy rather than indifference alone as a Canadian Press Harris-

---

http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/queen-asks-canadian-women-to-help-war-effort.

[67] William Shawcross, *Counting One's Blessings: The Selected Letters of the Queen Mother* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2012), 347.

[68] José E. Igartua, *The Other Quiet Revolution: National Identities in English Canada 1945-1971* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), 110.

[69] Marjory Lang, *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada: 1880-1945* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 283.

[70] Jean McKay Bannerman, *Leading Ladies Canada* (Belleville: Mika Publishing Company, 1977), 475.

[71] "Joyce Sorry Only Because of the Fuss," *The Ottawa Journal*, 19 June 1959, 21.

[72] Philip Buckner, *Canada and the End of Empire* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2005), 84.

Decima survey conducted just before the Queen's 2010 tour of Canada recorded that 48% of respondents agreed that the monarchy is "a relic of our colonial past that has no place in Canada today" with the greatest support for the monarchy existing among "women, conservatives and Atlantic Canadians."[73]

As in 1860, the press coverage of the 1959 tour provided vignettes of Canadian women as bystanders, with the *Vancouver Sun* noting that "women with babies in their arms, some still wearing aprons, others with hands covered with soap suds, smiled and waved from every tiny clearing and settlement as the 16-car special train snaked its way through the Rockies into BC [British Columbia]." [74] The controversy surrounding Davidson's remarks demonstrate, however, that women were not simply in the background but actively engaging with the royal tour. As in past reigns, women viewed the royal tour as an opportunity for royal patronage and recognition. In Nanaimo, British Columbia, the Queen and Prince Philip met with prominent First Nations women and learned about their material culture by observing a basket-weaving demonstration.[75] The Queen's Canadian patronages included women's organizations such as the Federated Women's Institutes of Canada, groups traditionally associated with the advocacy work of Adelaide Hoodless,[76] whose home became a museum in 1959. The Federated Women's institutes eventually became sites of community activism for rural women.[77]

In 1964, the Queen faced protestors in Quebec, reflecting changing attitudes toward the monarchy in French Canada. The sight of residents of Quebec City turning their backs on the monarch and shouting separatist slogans shocked British journalists who recalled the Queen receiving a warm welcome just five years earlier.[78] During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, royal personages often bridged the divide between English and French Canadian elite society and the bilingual Princess Louise was observed to have a preference for members of French Canadian society whom she found to be more interested in arts and culture than English Canadians.[79] In 1939, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth were gratified by the warm reception that they received in French Canada, with Elizabeth observing in a letter to her daughter, the future Queen Elizabeth II, "The French people in Quebec and Ottawa were wonderfully loyal; & [in] Montreal there must have been 2000000 people, all very enthusiastic & glad to have an excuse to show their feelings."[80] By the 1960s, the rise of the Quiet Revolution in Quebec, a period of political and cultural change that led to the emergence of a sovereigntist movement, resulted in decreasing support for the monarchy in Quebec, which came to be associated with a history of British oppression. Women were involved in the

---

[73] "Canadians Apathetic About Monarchy: Poll," *The Canadian Press*, 28 June 2010.
[74] "Buckner, canada an the End of Empire", 85.
[75] Gar Lunney, "The Queen and Prince Philip visiting the First Nation Women of Nanaimo, B.C.," *Library and Archives Canada*, 4301818, accessed 28 February 2018, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/portrait-portal/pages/ARProfile.aspx?ArchivalRecordKey=4237763.
[76] Margaret Kechnie, "Defining the Lives of Rural Women: Laura Rose on 'The Womanly Sphere of Woman,'" in *Framing Our Past: Constructing Canadian Women's History in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Sharon Anne Cook, Lorna R. Maclean, and Kate O'Rourke (Montreal and Kingston: Queens-McGill University Press, 2001), 111.
[77] See Margaret Kechnie, *Organizing Rural Women: The Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario*, 1897-1919 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003).
[78] Andy Blatchford, "Quebec and the Royals: A Rocky History Risks Another Bump," *Globe and Mail*, July 2, 2011.
[79] Sandra Gwyn, *The Private Capital: Ambition and Love in the Age of Macdonald and Laurier* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd, 1986), 186-187.
[80] Shawcross, *Counting One's Blessings*, 265.

1964 protests. The most high-profile example was singer and actress Pauline Julien, who supported Quebec sovereignty and refused to perform for the Queen during the 1964 royal tour.[81]

In 2010, the last time the Queen toured Canada, there was a widespread view in the press that she had come through a long period of adversity to emerge as a respected elder stateswoman. The CBC admired her stamina but noted, "Although the Queen has generally avoided scandal, her family has frequently been known to cause controversy and make news."[82] The Queen's family circumstances and public perceptions of the monarchy had changed in the decades between 1959 and 2010, but twenty-first century royal visits still saw Canadian women debating the value of the modern monarchy. While Davidson expressed her views to a male interviewer and received critical responses from both men and women, the *Globe and Mail* structured an online debate on the question of "Does the Queen have a role in Canada?" as a discussion between three female journalists, Leah McLaren (who questioned the value of the monarchy in the twenty-first century but ultimately argued that Canadians were sensible to keep the institution), Judith Timson (who was in favour of the monarchy) and Caroline Alphonso (who was one of the journalists following the Queen and Prince Philip on their tour and spoke about the enthusiasm of the crowds, including a woman who breached security outside St. James Cathedral in Toronto to present the Queen with a commemorative tea towel).[83] All three of these journalists expressed admiration for the Queen even as they debated the monarchy, reflecting a wider trend: in the twenty-first century there is an increasing divide between male and female support for the monarchy with more women in favour of the institution, as revealed by polling data and interviews with supporters of the monarchy.

Canadian Women and Support for the Monarchy in Canada

The responses of Canadian women to the presence of royal women in a variety of contexts including royal tours and extended periods of residence as viceregal consorts demonstrate that the reasons for the prevalence of monarchism among women compared to men are more complex than implied by recent popular assumptions and polling data from the nineteenth century until the present day. Throughout the Commonwealth, the monarchy enjoys greater support among women than men. In his study of how the royal family shapes British ideas of "privilege, equality, nationality, morality and family," sociologist Michael Billig has observed, "If the notion of 'family' is integral to the phenomenon of modern royalty, then so must be gender. Thus, an interest in a royal family cannot but be an interest in a highly gendered phenomenon…. This interest itself might be gendered, with women being said to be especially concerned with royal matters."[84] Billig noted in his interviews with royal enthusiasts from a variety of social backgrounds that there was a great deal of stereotyping in terms of

[81] Janis L. Pallister, *The Cinema of Quebec: Masters in Their Own House* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1995), 308.
[82] "Queen Elizabeth II," *CBC News*, 24 June 2010, http://www.cbc.ca/m/touch/world/story/1.930811. Accessed March 23, 2018.
[83] Leah McLaren, Judith Timson, and Caroline Alphonso, "Does the Queen Have a Role in Canada?," *The Globe and Mail*, 6 July 2010; and Caroline Alphonso, "Too Close for Comfort Encounters with the Queen," *The Globe and Mail*, 3 July 2010.
[84] Michael Billig, *Talking of the Royal Family* (London: Routledge, 1992), 172.

perceptions of female and male interest in the monarchy, with the prevailing assumption that women were interested in fashion and royal weddings while male monarchists focused on the ideas expressed by members of the royal family, such as Prince Charles's views on architecture.[85] Women were assumed to be uninterested in the substance of public engagements by royalty and focused almost entirely on fashion and pageantry.

The renowned nineteenth-century constitutional scholar Walter Bagehot was even more dismissive of women's interest in the monarchy than the modern-day royal enthusiasts interviewed by Billig: "A family on the throne is an interesting idea also. It brings down the pride of sovereignty to the level of petty life. ... The women—one half of the human race at least—care more for a marriage than a ministry."[86] In both Bagehot's work, *The English Constitution*, published between 1865 and 1867, and Billig's interviews with British families who followed royal events in the 1980s and 1990s, there is a prevailing view that more women than men support the institution of monarchy and that women's interest in the royal family is shaped by fashions and public events. In 2016, the National Centre for Social Research, Britain's leading centre for independent social research, announced that the divide between male and female support for the monarchy was at its highest level in thirty years with 79% of women considering the monarchy "important for Britain" compared to 66% of men, and concluded that "it is possible that some of these more recent events," such as the wedding of Prince William and Kate Middleton in 2011 and the births of Prince George and Princess Charlotte in 2013 and 2015, respectively, "have had more resonance with women than men,"[87] This polling data follows the contentions of Bagehot and Billig.

A recent poll conducted in Canada suggests that support for the monarchy is also higher amongst Canadian women than men. On 26 December 2016, Ipsos released a poll showing that support for the monarchy in Canada had declined ten points since just before the September tour of British Columbia and the Yukon by the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge and their children. The poll concluded that "a majority (53%) of Canadians now 'agree' (23% strongly/29% somewhat) that "when Queen Elizabeth's reign ends, Canada should end its formal ties to the British monarchy."[88] Rather than focusing on royal weddings and babies, as British researchers have done, Ipsos emphasized that a key variable for respondents was whether or not they watched *The Crown* TV series dramatizing the early years of the Queen's reign and her position as a young female monarch surrounded by male politicians, which debuted on Netflix in November 2016; viewers of the series were more likely to support the monarchy. While *The Crown* depicts the Queen in her constitutional role, meeting her British Prime Ministers and reviewing state documents, the series begins with her wedding, and the costumes in the series have received extensive media attention.[89] Ipsos' focus on the impact of *The Crown* on support for the monarchy might therefore be a twenty-first century adaptation of the longstanding theory that women's responses to the monarchy are shaped by royal weddings and fashions. From the nineteenth century until the present day, theories concerning

[85] Billig, *Talking of the Royal Family*, 187.
[86] Walter Bagehot, *The English Constitution* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1867), 62.
[87] "Gap Between Male and Female Support for the monarchy at highest level in 30 years," *NatCen Social Research*, 31 January 2016.
[88] Sean Simpson, "Majority of Canadians (53%) now believe that Canada should end ties to the British monarchy when Queen Elizabeth II's reign ends, up 10 points," *Ipsos*, 26 December 2016.
[89] See Lucie Zhang, "The History Behind The Crown's Most Incredible Looks," *Vogue*, 4 November 2016.

why women are more likely to support the monarchy than men have been remarkably unchanging, focusing almost exclusively on the image of the monarchy and role of members of the royal family as the celebrities instead of the actions of members of the royal family when they engage with women and their concerns.

The history of Canadian women's responses to royal tours in Canada suggests that there are powerful reasons why more women support the monarchy that goes far beyond interest in royal weddings, fashion and enjoying *The Crown*. Royal women served as role models for women in public life during times when there were few female political figures. Even though Queen Victoria opposed women's suffrage, her example as monarch inspired supporters of expanded roles for women in public life. In the Canadian context, viceregal consorts were the most prominent women in society and when royal women occupied these roles, their public engagements received even greater attention from the press and Canadians from a variety of social backgrounds. The presence of royalty in Canada provided an opportunity for Canadian women to have their achievements recognized, precedents that date back to the reward that the future Edward VII arranged for Laura Secord in 1860. As female members of the royal family began to visit Canada and, in the cases of Princess Louise, the Duchess of Connaught, Princess Patricia and Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone, resided in Ottawa for years at a time, philanthropic endeavours focusing on the education, health and welfare of women gained royal patrons. These resident royal women were interested in the arts and some were artists themselves and they helped raise the profile of Canadian women in the arts.

Queen Elizabeth II's reign has seen unprecedented changes concerning the role of women in society in Canada and the rest of the Commonwealth. In contrast to Queen Victoria, who often made her political opinions clear (at least to ministers and other officials), Elizabeth has been careful to remain above politics. In her speeches, however, she has expressed support for the expanding role of women in public life. At the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Perth, Australia, in 2011—where the sixteen Commonwealth realms, including Canada, agreed in principle to reform the royal succession to introduce absolute primogeniture, allowing the monarch's eldest child, whether male or female, to succeed to the throne—the Queen gave a speech in support of women and girls reaching their full potential. The Queen stated: "The theme of this year is 'Women as Agents of Change.' It reminds us of the potential in our societies that is yet to be fully unlocked, and it encourages us to find ways to allow girls and women to play their full part."[90] Canadian women have viewed the presence of royalty in Canada from the eighteenth century until the present day as an opportunity for recognition of their achievements and engagement with prominent members of the royal family.

[90] Ingrid Seward, *The Queen's Speech: An Intimate Portrait of the Queen in Her Own Words* (London: Simon and Schuster, 2015), 228-229.