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Allison Barbaro
Bridgewater State University

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The Public Sphere: Women's Struggle for the Vote in Canada

ALLISON BARBARO

Introduction

On May 24, 1918, through a law enacted by the Conservative Borden administration in Ottawa, Canadian women were granted the right to vote in federal elections, the crowning achievement of the decades-long suffrage campaign. But how did they do it? The cultural and political climate of the early 20th century was the perfect climate for a social transformation in Canada. The success of the suffrage campaign, spearheaded by middle-class white women, was a result of a changing Canada, one marked by urbanization, industrialization, and social and moral reform. Women's entry into politics was not new in the 20th century; in fact, the suffrage movement was built on organizations and movements led by reformers focused on temperance, prison reform, and containing the "girl problem." Growing fears of being outnumbered by immigrants in the West fueled support for white women's enfranchisement. The momentum of progress in North America followed by the First World War allowed white women to employ gender stereotypes and racism toward immigrants in the West, while also championing their contribution to the nation during World War I by associating suffrage with the new nationalism. In the climate of the early 20th century, white women argued for their right to suffrage by emphasizing their wartime employment, the

maternal feminist concept, the ideology of female purity which they used to campaign for moral and social reform, and the concept of the White settler nation.

The Legal Basis of the Suffrage Movement

The legal basis for Canadian women's suffrage includes both English law pre-Confederation as well as Canadian law post-Confederation covering the restriction of suffrage, legislation used to argue for suffrage, and legislation granting suffrage. Beginning in 1832, Britain's implementation of the Reform Act was the first legislation to explicitly restrict voting to men. In 1850, Lord Brougham's Act established that the words "male" and "men" should be taken to include females unless the contrary is provided. The Representation of the People Act of 1867 similarly declared that words like "man" or "person" should be given a broad generic meaning. Both of these laws were used to argue against restrictions on women, leading to a legal debate on whether or not women were "persons." Judges asserted that it should be assumed that when laws were written, they did not intend for women to be able to vote. A notable English decision was in 1868 with *Chorlton vs Lings* which "associates women with infants, lunatics, and aliens, lacking capacity because of status". This decision officially restricted women from possessing

the franchise. This enforced the idea, as Gail Brent notes, that if only men ever possessed the franchise, then how could parliament intend for their words to refer to anyone but men? This logic pattern was used in later decisions in which women sought to exercise rights that did not explicitly include women in the wording of the legislation. Women-owned property, paid taxes, and voted in municipal elections but were unrepresented in Parliamentⁱ.

Post-Confederation, the federal system was complex, making achieving suffrage a long struggle. A municipal franchise was easier to gain than a provincial franchise and gaining a provincial franchise did not guarantee a federal franchise, nor did a federal franchise guarantee a provincial franchise. As a result, enfranchisement had to be won at all levelsⁱⁱ. Voting was granted to women in the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta in 1916. The federal government in 1917, amid the First World War, passed the Military Voters Act and Wartime Elections Act which enfranchised women related to men fighting in the war, a calculated move by Prime Minister Borden to ensure re-election to enact conscription policy. By 1922, all provinces except Quebec (1940) had granted full suffrage to White and Black women but excluded Asian and Indigenous womenⁱⁱⁱ.

Key Organizations

Several key women's organizations led the suffrage campaign. These groups were predominantly middle-class urban English women who believed it was their role to improve society and the lives of the less fortunate. Western women generally identified more with their class rather than their gender and founded women's institutes that educated women on home economics, and health and hygiene.

An organization of importance to the Canadian suffrage movement was the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), formed in 1893. The ideology that drove this organization was maternal feminism which emphasized women as mothers and the moral superiority of women, and that enfranchisement would help women lead social reform. This was at the expense of First Nations women and racial minorities, particularly those of Asian descent. The Council was moderate and did not want to challenge the social order and wanted to avoid religious and political differences. As a result, they did not endorse suffrage until 1910^{iv}. The organization was created after the International Council of Women Congress in Chicago in 1893 by its first president, Lady Ishbel Marjoribanks Gordon, the spouse of Canada's new Governor General. The NCWC was a national body with local councils affiliated with it.

Women's Christian organizations were also prevalent in the suffrage movement, with the most significant being the Woman's Christian Temperance Union formed in 1874. Religion was a key driver of social and moral reform, and suffrage was a way to further their reform efforts. Middle to upper-class Protestant white women led the Canadian suffrage movement through an organization centered on social and moral reform with the idea that the vote would give them greater power to fix the problems they saw in society. The organization transformed from an advocate of temperance, as many Protestants believed the abuse of alcohol led to poverty and domestic violence and sought to eradicate it by banning alcohol, to an organization that lobbied for suffrage as a greater tool to do so. Temperance advocates often found themselves hindered by their lack of vote and reliance on men. As a result, in 1888, the WCTU became the first major or-

ganization to endorse women's suffrage in Canada. The WTCU pushed for the vote as a "home protection" against the vice of men. The WTCU led the suffrage campaign in the provinces and municipalities. Using the same strategies as the temperance movement; petitions and letters to newspapers were a Canadian staple in their protest. The federal government received eighteen petitions on female suffrage between 1885 and 1898, fourteen of which were from the WTCU^v. The moral and reform efforts of Protestant women on topics like temperance led to their lobbying for suffrage to strengthen their voice and their efforts.

Social Context- Industrialization and the Girl Worker

The social context of Canada at the turn of the century is integral in understanding the political and cultural climate that enabled the suffrage movement's success post-war. The rapid industrialization, urbanization, and immigration into Canada around the turn of the century pushed Canada toward modernization and social change, especially for women's employment and the feminist movement. Few Canadian women in the early suffrage movement would have identified themselves as feminists, however, they lobbied for the expansion of rights of women in what would be identified as the first wave of the feminist movement in Canada.

Around the turn of the century, women's employment patterns changed, reflecting greater economic and social changes in Canada, particularly urbanization. Canada was predominantly rural but industrialization rapidly urbanized Canadians. In 1891, less than a third of Canadians were urban, but by 1921 half of Canadians lived in cities. More women than men began to enter cities as

traditionally male jobs such as mining and logging were rural and new female jobs like light manufacturing, sales, and office positions were urban^{vi}. The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, launched by Sir John A. Macdonald's Conservative government in 1886, investigated tension between wage workers and their employers. The commission reported in 1889 that employers in new industrial enterprises had been profiting from the cheap labor of women. Women and children worked for small wages, submitted to poor conditions, and long hours for as little as \$1.50 a week when the lowest-paid male workers made \$1.00 a day^{vii}. Cities were filled with thousands looking for work, causing poverty and social unrest and bourgeois Canadians feared a moral decline, particularly for the young women increasingly leaving domestic work for industrial wage work.

The urbanization of Canadians and the availability of wage work in cities created a rapid change in the type of work young women did. In the early 19th century, women who worked remained in the domestic services as servants. By the late 19th century, being a servant was no longer an attractive option for young working girls and they turned to industry. Moral reformers wanted women to stay in domestic work but ignored the reality of the vulnerability to abuse and constant surveillance. Wage work in the city offered independence desperately wanted by young girls. Wage working jobs often brought young girls into the company of men, causing fears of moral corruption in the young girls and the fear they would abandon their roles as mothers and wives. In addition, there was the prostitution problem which reformers believed was caused by young girls being led astray through urban non-domestic jobs.

Fear of promiscuous young women at the turn of

the century was heightened as moral reform became popular. State intervention in the lives of young single urban women was a response to reformers' concerns and exacerbated fears. There were government investigations, commissions, journalism, police crackdowns of 'immoral acts', etc. on top of the religious and reformer groups' supervision of the morality of wage working women. Organizations like the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), which were concerned with the welfare and morals of wage-earning women in cities, feared that non-domestic work would corrupt young women and lead them "astray" to prostitution. The sexual immorality of young single women in the cities was a major concern for reform organizations as well as government-sanctioned commissions. They believed urban life and wage work alongside men in factories would lead to them turning toward prostitution. The government responded to the vocal concerns of organizations like the YWCA and the WCTU with legislation. Beginning in Ontario in 1884, labor legislation restricted the places of employment and hours of working women, particularly in factories. The laws required the passing of health and safety inspections in factories. With the migration of young women into cities, the sex ratios' correlation to the prostitution rates was scrutinized. A notorious city for visible prostitution was Winnipeg. In 1871, Winnipeg's population was about 241 people. By 1911, the population was 130,000 people, most of which were men. Winnipeg's working girls were primarily in the garment industry, but the city's prostitution was visible.

In 1909, the mayor approved a plan for an official commercial sex district that would allow free operation with regular inspections of brothels and prostitutes. The Moral and Social Reform Council was livid and pressured the city to shut down the scheme, which they did so suc-

cessfully. Fears of growing numbers of wage working women in cities and a perceived connection to prostitution led moral reformers to scrutinize the moral behavior of single young women in urban areas at the turn of the century. The Young Women's Christian Association and the sex-hygiene movement tried to crack down on sex outside of marriage. Further regulation of young girls' "morality" came in separate reformatories and juvenile detention for acts of loosely defined moral offenses. By 1920, two-thirds of women in their twenties were wage workers and were now employed in offices as clerks, stenographers, secretaries, and bookkeepers rather than in dangerous garment factories^{viii}. As women exited domestic work for wage work, they created greater independence for women and social changes that brought women further into the public sphere, calling for the expansion of their political rights.

The Counterargument

Anti-suffragists, such as members of the Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage in Canada (AOWSC) formed in 1913, feared the enfranchisement of women would destroy the "supposed" softer qualities of women and that the franchise was already too wide. In addition, they argued that women would take over politics and vote together as a bloc, rather than by political parties or personal beliefs, etc. Some feared that the vote would destroy the qualities of the "gentler sex" that resulted from their lack of education, opportunities, and dependence on men. Antifeminists, according to Rev. Hutcheon, wanted women to remain submissive, innocent, and ignorant. Abusive men wanted women to remain forcibly shackled and helpless. Some men feared that the vote was too wide and that the enfranchisement of women would further

empower the “ignorant vote of large cities”^{ix}. Men feared that the enfranchisement of women would lead to women taking over politics by occupying all offices and voting as a unit^x.

Men were not the only people against suffrage. Not all women involved in reform efforts were for the enfranchisement of women. Notably, Lady Taylor from the NCWC in 1910 expressed her worry that female suffrage would lead to further corruption in politics, stating: “manhood suffrage, in the West at least, had been more or less disastrous since their votes can be bought. So, too, would those of the women”. In addition, some members of the council expressed that support of suffrage would take away from their moral and reform efforts because the organization could not afford to lose public support. The NCWC was a conservative group and did not endorse suffrage until a vote in 1910 in which support for suffrage was 71 to 51. Lady Taylor, along with others, protested such a small majority^{xi}.

Women in Quebec also formed separate organizations due to language and cultural barriers and the influence of Catholicism^{xii}. In Quebec, Catholic clergy and politicians have staunchly opposed enfranchisement with fears of family disunity, smaller families, and sexual liberation^{xiii}. In protest of Quebec’s premier, Adélard Godbout, declaring his intentions for enfranchising women in the province in 1940, Cardinal Villeneuve, the archbishop of Quebec responded with four reasons why they were opposed to the measure:

To respond to numerous instances and put an end to the various opinions attributed to us, regarding the bill granting women the right to vote, in the provincial elections, we believe we have to express our feelings. We are not in favor of female

political suffrage. (1) Because it goes against family unity and hierarchy; (2) Because its exercise exposes the woman to all the passions and all the adventures of electoralism; (3) Because, in fact, it seems to us that the vast majority of women in the province do not want it; (4) Because the social, economic, hygienic reforms, etc., which are advanced to advocate the right of suffrage among women, can also be obtained, thanks to the influence of women's organizations on the margins of politics^{xiv}.

Wartime Employment

After the First World War, white women employed an argument pushing for suffrage that was based on their contributions to the nation during the war and their wartime employment. Although the suffrage movement long preceded the First World War, the idea of enfranchising women became more mainstream and was granted shortly after the conclusion of the war. Women had already been joining the workforce in increasing numbers by the turn of the century, but their employment was even more prevalent and essential to keeping the industry alive during the War. Female workers in Ontario numbered 175,000 in 1917. The War increased not only the number of women employed but also meant that women had greater direct involvement in the economy with employment in industry, as taxpayers, as the purchasers of goods, while also maintaining the social organizations and institutions of Canadian society. Despite this, women had no say in the laws regulating their employment. In addition, 1600 Canadian women served overseas as nurses with the Canadian Army Medical Corps and Queen Alexandra Imperial Nursing Sisters,

650 being from Ontario, in 1917.

In addition to industrial employment, the female teachers played a crucial role. Women, the chief educators, gained status since they were regarded as those in charge of forming the character of Canadians of the future, all within a post-war climate that was grieving the loss of young men. Further, they embodied a sense of nationalism and patriotism. The importance of education was emphasized, yet women had no direct say in the development of laws for the education system despite being trusted with being the educators. Although women influenced the creators of legislation, they could not themselves create, propose, or vote on legislation about education. Newton Rowell, in a speech to the Ontario Legislature in 1917, emphasizes the contribution of female educators: "... last year we had 10,786 women teachers in the province of Ontario as against 2,716 male teachers ... If we entrust them with the grave responsibility of educating our youth, are we going too far if we entrust them with the further responsibility of helping to make the laws which shall govern the educational system of our province?" Women emphasized these forms of employment to argue that they deserved the vote because they were essential to running the nation during the war as well as ensuring a prosperous future for all Canadians^{xv}.

Maternal Feminism and the Ideology of Female Purity

Canadian suffragettes were wealthier Protestant women, making them more conservative in their efforts and beliefs. They followed the ideology of maternal feminism which is feminism rooted in domesticity and mother-

hood. It encouraged the public and political participation of women as mothers rather than individuals. This feminism was popular because it was palatable to women who believed in traditional assumptions about gender and wanted to reinforce gender roles, such as women who wanted to remain in the domestic sphere as wives and mothers as opposed to more "radical" feminists who wanted to create social transformation and greater involvement in the public sphere. Maternal feminism did not threaten existing gender roles or social norms but rather reinforced them. Radical feminists asserted that women were equal to men and deserved full citizenship rights. Maternal feminists asserted that they were morally superior to men and emphasized the differences in nature between the sexes. These women believed in these differences and used them to their advantage to lobby for the vote. For example, May Wright-Sewell, the President of the United States equivalent of the National Council of Women, in an address to the NCWC in 1898 said: "Women were unlike men, and possessed tastes, interests and occupations which they alone could adequately represent, women needed the ballot for the protection of those interests, and for the safety of that home, which is ever woman's first thought, while men more particularly represent the material interests of the world." They used ideas about the purity and domesticity of women, to complement (not criticize) men's roles in the public sphere, and to justify women's so-called "meddling" by anti-suffragists into politics for their moral reform efforts^{xvi}.

A new sense of nationalism emerged in Canada after the First World War and the success and mythologization of the battle of Vimy Ridge. A key idea amongst suffragettes was that the next generation of men would be raised by feminist mothers and the political rights of wom-

en were tethered to their sons. Women would be granted the vote by their sons if they would not be granted the vote by their husbands by teaching their sons about the cause and the struggles of women. Jean Blewett writes in 1910: “The men of yesterday lifted up their hands in holy horror, and hurled the word “unsexed” at a woman who dared to aspire to a vote; the man of to-day, while not in love with the idea, sees the reasonableness of it—but the Boy, who is now learning things from his mother, who is espousing her cause, and fighting her battles—he will be the politician of to-morrow; and so we say to-morrow is the woman’s day^{xvii}.” Women oversaw the teaching of their sons’ “public-spiritedness” and “civic duty” and turning them into valuable contributions to Canadian society. Women, as mothers, were the main social and political influence on their sons, already showing the importance of their role in the political sphere. The NCWC pushed the idea that women did not want to take over, rather they wanted to remove the obstacles preventing them from holding supportive roles to men, ensuring the power of men would be maintained and that enfranchisement would not create social transformation^{xviii}. In addition, maternal feminists held that the home was the basis of the nation and good government and citizenship. The home was the template for the nation and those responsible for the home and the training of children should have a voice in making the laws that pertain to those jurisdictions^{xix}.

Reformers from the NCWC, such as Henrietta Muir Edwards argued that suffrage would give women political influence but not political equality, focusing on the moral female influence. As Anne-Marie Kinahan notes, members of the NCWC argued that women’s citizenship was best used through “personal influence and moral

suasion, through the election of men with strong moral character, and through the raising of public-spirited sons.” Men suggested that politics were too corrupt for women and that it would act as a corrupting force on the purity of women. The idea that enfranchised women would be a purifying force in itself suggested women were above politics rather than active participants. Women would act as parents in politics, exerting a moral influence on politics and the men elected. The idea was to vote to elect men, assuring men that they were not suggesting that women had the right to run for office. Women would be passive, not active, with their political influence, while not transforming any societal norms.

Emily Howard Stowe (1831- 1903), the Ontario-based, mother of the Canadian Suffrage Movement and the first female physician to practice in Canada, believed that white women’s suffrage was tied to the status and progress of Canada as a nation – “the failure to enfranchise women was indicative of moral, social, and political myopia.” Suffragists argued that the vote was not for selfish reasons, but for the benefit of society and to use their influence to advance their reform efforts^{xx}. Jean Blewett (1862- 1934), a prominent poet and journalist from Ontario, reiterated this idea, claiming that women had a “clear conscience and a clear vision” and that women were not greedy or bribable, nor did they want notoriety^{xxi}. Acquiring the vote would allow women, as a moral influence, to represent their interests and not rely on lobbying for men to represent them. In addition, male feminists, such as A. H. F. Lefroy in 1913, argued that women are the ones with the interest and willingness to focus on reform and the welfare of the ignorant, weak, and helpless, all while wanting nothing in return. Men, on the other hand, are preoccupied with capitalists and individualistic interests

and need women to exert their moral, motherly influence^{xxii}. Further, Robert Hutcheon argued that emancipating women would spiritualize men, meaning to soften and moralize them by preventing men from exploiting and abusing women so easily^{xxiii}.

White Settler Nation

Lastly, white women employed racism and anti-immigration sentiment to garner support for their enfranchisement. They argued that they needed the vote to outnumber the vote of immigrants and minorities. The frontier in Canada was still open at the turn of the century and massive waves of immigration to the West fueled concerns that Protestant Anglo-Saxons were losing control. In 1905, Alberta and Saskatchewan became provinces, resulting in part from railways and telegraph lines reaching the West. Women's suffrage was endorsed by farmer's organizations like the Saskatchewan Grain Grower's Association in hopes of increasing their political power by undermining the ethnic vote. Wealthy white and Protestant Canadian society was marked by white supremacy with increased fears over immigration into Canada that would result in the "racial degradation of Anglo-Saxons". The National Council of Women of Canada as well as in Christian organizations in the suffrage movement were white, middle-class, Protestant, and not working outside the home. They saw the nation-building project of settling the West and the anti-immigrant sentiment among their male peers as an opportunity to offer their vote to the cause of keeping the country Anglo-Saxon. Members of the NCWC, such as Margaret Gordon, pushed the notion that the enfranchisement of white women would protect the nation from racial degeneration. She believed the vote would separate white women from "the criminals, the id-

lots, and the minors of the race". Anne-Marie Kinahan quotes Vijay Agnew in discussing that the proposed white female vote was a chance to "offset the increased number of illiterate immigrants and paupers"^{xxiv}. They pushed the image of white women being the "mothers of the race" in the imperial context. This ideology targeted First Nations women and racial minorities, specifically of Asian descent. This is also an explanation for why the Canadian suffrage movement was less militant than its British and American counterparts because their maternal feminism was rooted in making Canada a white settler nation^{xxv}.

Conclusion

An important movement for equity and justice came at the expense of others, namely immigrants of Asian descent and Indigenous peoples. The "Women's Suffrage Movement" did not enfranchise all women. While willing to push the boundaries of gender, the suffrage movement maintained the socioeconomic status quo. They had little interest in challenging class and racial hierarchies. Many of the women who dominated the suffrage movement were worried about status and being associated with "lesser peoples" who did not have full citizenship, rather than true equality. However, the suffrage movement was important by generating further political reform and social change. The suffrage movement led to subsequent movements such as the Canadian equivalent of the Civil Rights movement, further feminist movements, LGBTQ+ movements, Indigenous rights movements, disability movements, and healthcare reforms. The women's suffrage movement was a symbol of modern democracy. Post-World War Two, after women in Quebec finally won the right to vote, leading up to the 1982 signing of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was a pe-

riod of activism and social change. The women's rights movement was one limited but important steppingstone of progress in Canada.

ⁱ Gail Brent, "The Development of the Law Relating to the Participation of Canadian Women in Public Life." *The University of Toronto Law Journal* 25, no. 4 (1975): 358–70. <https://doi.org/10.2307/825645>.

ⁱⁱ Patricia Roome, "Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada." ResearchGate: *Chinook Multimedia* Inc., 2001. https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Carolyn-Strange/publication/268429468_Girl_Problem_in_late-19th_and_early-20th_Century_Canada/links/569ddddd308aed27a702fe227/Girl-Problem-in-late-19th-and-early-20th-Century-Canada.pdf. Pages 47-67

ⁱⁱⁱ Gail Brent, "The Development of the Law", pages 358-70.

^{iv} Anne-Marie Kinahan, "Transcendent Citizenship: Suffrage, the National Council of Women of Canada, and the Politics of Organized Womanhood." *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 42, no. 3 (2008): 5-27. muse.jhu.edu/article/367036.

^v Patricia Roome, "Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada." Pages 47-67.

^{vi} Patricia Roome, "Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada." Pages 47-67.

^{vii} Carolyn Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem: *The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*. University of Toronto Press, 1995.

^{viii} Carolyn Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem: *The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*.

^{ix} Robert J. Hutcheon, *Is the Growing Independence of Women a Good Thing?* (Toronto: Canadian Suffrage Association, c. 1910s). Accessed through Canadiana.ca, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.86708/1>. April 25, 2023.

^x A.H.F. Lefroy, *Should Canadian Women Have the Parliamentary Vote?* ([Kingston, ON]: Printed for the Equal Franchise League from the Queen's Quarterly Review, 1913). Accessed through Canadiana.ca, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.86114/1>. April 25, 2023.

^{xi} Anne-Marie Kinahan, "Transcendent Citizenship", pages 5-27.

^{xii} Susan D. Phillips, "Meaning and Structure in Social Movements: Mapping the Network of National Canadian Women's Organizations." *Canadian Journal of Political Science / Revue Canadienne de Science Politique* 24, no. 4 (1991): 755–82. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3229306>.

^{xiii} Patricia Roome, "Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada." Pages 47-67.

^{xiv} Cardinal Villeneuve, the archbishop of Quebec, "HE Cardinal Villeneuve speaks out against women's suffrage in provincial elections." Quebec. March 2, 1940. Viewed at <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/docs/CardinalVilleneuveetlevotedesfemmesduQuebec.html>.

^{xv} Newton Rowell, "Speech of Newton Rowell on women suffrage, 1917 / Issued by The Ontario Provincial Liberal Party." Toronto, Ontario Provincial Liberal Party, 1917. Accessed through *Canadiana.ca*, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.66273/4>, April 25, 2023.

^{xvi} Patricia Roome, "Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada." Pages 47-67

^{xvii} Jean Blewett, "Canadian Woman and Her Work." *Collier's Weekly*, Toronto Canadian Suffrage Association, 1910. Accessed through *Canadiana.ca*, <https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.65393/2>. April 25, 2023.

^{xviii} Anne-Marie Kinahan, "Transcendent Citizenship", pages 5-27.

^{xix} Newton Rowell, "Speech of Newton Rowell on women suffrage, 1917"

^{xx} Anne-Marie Kinahan, "Transcendent Citizenship", pages 5-27. ^{xxi} Jean Blewett, "Canadian Woman and Her Work."

^{xxii} Lefroy, A. H. F. "Should Canadian Women Have the Parliamentary Vote?"

^{xxiii} Robert J. Hutcheon, "Is the Growing Independence of Women a Good Thing?"

^{xxiv} Vijay Agnew, 1993. "Canadian Feminism and Women of Color." *Women's Studies International Forum* 16 (3): 217-27.

^{xxv} Anne-Marie Kinahan, "Transcendent Citizenship", pages 5-27.

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ALLISON BARBARO

History

Allison Barbaro is from Cape Cod, Massachusetts, and is a student at Bridgewater State University majoring in history. Her research project was completed in the spring of 2023 under the mentorship of Dr. Andrew Holman (history) in a class called HIST488 Canadian History since Confederation. Allison presented this paper at the 2023 BSU Canadian Studies Undergraduate Research Conference. She plans to finish her bachelor's degree in history and join to workforce.