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"Votes for Women" pennant (courtesyThe Manitoba Museum, HV-38-198). There were signs of some women being able to vote in the early 19th century in British North America, notably in Lower Canada but also in the Maritimes and Canada West. At least 27 Kanyen'kehàka women from Kahnawake, Lower Canada, cast ballots in an 1825 election. Some Catholic, Protestant and Jewish women with property also voted in early Quebec elections. After enslavement was abolished in 1834, Black women and men were not officially excluded as a group from the Canadian franchise. Women's right to vote was not lost, however. By the mid-19th century, full citizenship was legally limited to white men and most colonies removed women's franchise. The British North American Act of 1867 specified that only "Male British Subject, aged Twenty-one Years or upwards, being a Householder, shall have a Vote." By the end of the century, laws across Canada mandated near-universal, white male citizenship at the federal and provincial level and explicitly excluded female voters. The necessity of being male to vote reflected the emerging Victorian idea of placing women and men in separate spheres. Women were idealized as guarantors of cultural survival, who had no place in political life. They were expected to remain at home, producing children and preserving culture. As French Canadians increasingly became a minority culture among English-speaking Protestants in British North America, women's suffrage was seen as a particular threat to their national survival. There was opposition to having independent women who were believed to be a danger to religious, ethnic or national communities. Exclusion from the franchise also remained acceptable to many Canadians because many women as well as men believed that men had greater capacity for reason and that men's potential for military service justified more rights. Opposition would only dissipate as suffragists successfully redefined women as legitimate public subjects and the public sphere as a respectable space for women to exercise authority. In 1865, House of Commons debates over a new federal franchise act (previously the right to vote was set by provinces) demonstrated the significance of suffrage in shaping the country. The decision to exclude all women, most Indigenous peoples (see also Indian Act) and all Asian persons was meant to preserve white male patriarchy. Mainstream ideas about masculinity in the last half of the nineteenth century premised employment without discrimination against women. The first wave of feminism sought to challenge the gender hierarchy that kept women from participating in society. Early feminists included writers, reformers, graduates and female professionals in medicine, teaching and journalism. Suffragists advocated for the extension of suffrage to include women. They also insisted on the value of women's maternal qualities in private and public life. Clipping from The Winnipew Evening Tribune, 11 September 1915 (courtesy University of Manitoba Libraries, Digital Collections). University of Manitoba Libraries, Digital Collections Early suffragists were typically white, middle-class women, many of whom believed that suffrage would increase the influence of their class and result in a better country. Many of these suffragists were not inclusive, however, and even advocated against non-white women getting the vote. Nonetheless, there were non-white advocates who fought for women's suffrage such as Black abolitionists like Mary Ann Shadd. Shadd edited the Provincial Freeman and advocated for women's rights. Suffrage was also supported by unionists, socialists and temperance activists. The majority of Canadian suffragists relied on peaceful campaigning. Only a handful identified with the militant suffragettes led by Emmeline Pankhurst (1858–1928) and the Women's Social and Political Union in the United Kingdom. While they campaigned at every level of government for the vote, suffragists made their first inroads at the local level. Many Canadians believed that women's mothering and domestic qualities were especially useful in managing local affairs. By 1900, suffragists had won municipal voting privileges for property-owning women in many cities, and some women could vote in elections for park, library and school boards. Mary Ann Shadd, editor of the Provincial Freeman, was a pioneer suffragist and abolitionist, who used her newspaper as a platform to discuss women's rights, including the right to vote. The paper also informed readers of suffrage meetings held in Canada and the United States. However, Shadd was marginalized as a Black woman and as an opponent of American slavery. Her influence was all the more minimal as she returned to the United States in the 1860s. Emily Howard Stowe, from The Women's Suffrage Movement in Canada (courtesy Library and Archives Canada/C-9480). In Ontario, widening public debate about suffrage and women's rights produced the Toronto Women's Literary Club (TWLC). The TWLC was devoted to higher education and intellectual development as well as to the physical welfare and employment conditions of women workers. To the TWLC, extending the vote to women would help to improve women's safety as well as their chances of employment and education. The TWLC was created in 1876–1877 by Emily Howard Stowe, one of Canada's first female doctors. She and her daughter, Augusta Stowe-Gullen, spearheaded Ontario's suffrage campaign for 40 years (see Women's Suffrage in Ontario). In 1883, the TWLC became the Toronto Women's Suffrage Association, which in 1889 became the Dominion Women's Enfranchisement Association. From the 1880s on, many Ontario unionists and socialists, including Knights of Labor journalist Thomas Phillips Thompson, also endorsed women's suffrage. Suffragists were not a homogeneous group; nor did they focus only on suffrage. Campaigns also called for improved public health, equality in employment and education, social assistance and condemnation of violence. Despite numerous petitions and private members' bills, lawmakers across the country (with a few exceptions) repeatedly voted against the enfranchisement of women. Suffragists had to undertake long years of public education and agitation while facing repeated abuse. In the 1890s, critical support came from Canada's largest women's group, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). The Union's leaders believed the franchise would help introduce prohibition and thus reduce violence. At Rideau Hall, Ottawa, Ontario, October 1898. Including Lady Aberdeen (centre), Ottawa, Ontario, May 1898. By 1914, women's suffrage was seen as both a progressive and conservative cause. Growing urbanization, industrialization and immigration in the years before the First World War raised fears about integrating newcomers and control working-class Canadians. Some suffragists, especially those of the Prairie provinces and socialists, took up the cause of the most part ill-paid and unprotected Progressive-era immigrants also suffered from racism. Some anti-suffrage early on as an expression of women's snob to equal rights while the respectable and cautious National Council of Women of Canada only endorsed the vote in 1910. Meanwhile, more conservative suffragists viewed the vote as a means of strengthening white middle-class power while oppressing non-white minorities and working-class Canadians. "The Canadian Mother" poster encouraging people to vote for the union government, Ottawa, Ontario, Heliotype Co. Ltd., 1914-1918. Union Government campaign poster, 1914-1918. Image courtesy of Library and Archives Canada, 1883-28-726. Nursing Sisters at a Canadian hospital voting in the Canadian federal election, France, December 1917. Anti-conscription rally in Victoria Square, Montréal, Quebec on May 24th, 1917. Image: Library and Archives Canada/C-006659. The First World War interrupted the suffrage campaigns and divided activists. Many concentrated on supporting the war effort, including conscription, in groups such as Women's Patriotic Fund. Socialist and pacifist suffragists preferred to place their hopes on an armistice and international collaboration. Some endorsed the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, formed in 1915. A Canadian, Julia Grace Wales, wrote the League's founding document, "Continuous Mediation without Armistice." During the war, Winnipeg suffragist and journalist Francis Marion Beynon left her job and moved to Brooklyn due in part to her opposition to the war. Beynon and Ontario pacifist and suffragist Alice Chown left moving testaments to their views in Alela Dye (1919) and The Stairway (1921) respectively. Suffrage in the West Opposition to feminism seemed strongest in central and eastern Canada, while the western provinces appeared more receptive. The West's greater openness to women's suffrage can be interpreted as strategic: newly colonized regions relied on white settler women to guarantee the displacement of Indigenous peoples. The vote was to attract and reward white newcomers. Though the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was a powerful advocate for the franchise in the West, the World War ended its efforts to integrate newcomers and control working-class Canadians. Some suffragists, especially those of the Prairie provinces and socialists, took up the cause of the most part ill-paid and unprotected Progressive-era immigrants also suffered from racism. Some anti-suffrage early on as an expression of women's snob to equal rights while the respectable and cautious National Council of Women of Canada only endorsed the vote in 1910. Meanwhile, more conservative suffragists viewed the vote as a means of strengthening white middle-class power while oppressing non-white minorities and working-class Canadians. "The Canadian Mother" poster encouraging people to vote for the union government, Ottawa, Ontario, Heliotype Co. Ltd., 1914-1918. Union Government campaign poster, 1914-1918. Image courtesy of Library and Archives Canada, 1883-28-726. 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