

Mrs. Canada Goes Global: Canadian First Wave Feminism Revisited

Nancy Forestell, St. Francis Xavier University, along with Maureen Moynagh, is engaged in a two-volume documents project on international collaborations and cross-currents in first wave feminism.

Abstract

An intensive re-examination of first wave feminism in Canada is long overdue, especially in light of new and important questions which have been raised in the international literature. A more systematic exploration of feminism and the making of Canada is essential most notably as it relates to citizenship, imperialism and internationalism.

Résumé

Une ré-étude de la première vague du féminisme au Canada est échue depuis bien longtemps, surtout vu les nouvelles et importantes questions qui ont été soulevées dans la littérature internationale. Une exploration plus systématique du féminisme et de la création du Canada est essentielle plus notamment en ce qui a trait à la citoyenneté, l'impérialisme et l'internationalisme.

The recently celebrated thirty-fifth anniversary of the Canadian Committee on Women's History (CCWH) at the Congress of Humanities and Social Sciences, June 2005 in London, Ontario, highlighted the tremendous growth and increasing sophistication of feminist historical scholarship in this country over the past three decades. Yet in the midst of these celebrations, discussion among women's and gender historians made it clear that the field remains seriously underdeveloped in the history of first wave and second wave feminism. For an academic field which emerged out of and has continued to draw inspiration from women's feminist activism in Canada, as Linda Kealey eloquently pointed out in one of the CCWH anniversary sessions, there is a certain irony that questions related to women, social justice and historical change have not received enough scrutiny. An intensive re-examination of first-wave feminism is long overdue, especially in light of new and important questions which have been raised in the international literature. If we are to better understand feminism and the making of Canada a more systematic exploration of citizenship, imperialism and internationalism is essential.

First wave feminism received much scholarly attention in this country as the field of women's history burgeoned in the 1970s and 1980s (Bacchi 1983; Gorham 1975 & 1976; Kealey 1979; Strong-Boag 1977 & 1987). Little research on has been done on women's political beliefs and activism in the last fifteen years.¹ Like feminist social historians elsewhere, scholars here turned away from political history to explore other dimensions of women's lives and of gender. As Melanie Nolan and Caroline Daley have pointed out, first wave feminism came to be "dismissed and discredited in the heady

optimism of the second wave." Suffrage history was seen by many as elitist and old-fashioned (Nolan and Daley 1994, 3). Yet in the early 1990s a growing number of feminist scholars internationally began to return to political history and to "rediscover," "rethink," "re-root," or "re-read" earlier interpretations of first wave feminism (Baker 2002; Grimshaw 1994; Hewitt 2001; Kwon 1999). The work of Australian women's historians (Bulbeck 1994; Curthoys 1994; Grimshaw 2001; Lake 1994 & 2001; Paisley 1998 & 2000) has focused not just on developments within specific countries, but has studied feminist thought and activism in the broader and often overlapping contexts of imperial and international politics (D'Itri 1999; Fletcher, Mayhall and Levine 2000; Sinha, Guy and Woolcott 1999; Smitely 2002; Tyrell 1991). They combine political, social and cultural history (Burton 2000; Glenn 2000; Tickner 1988). These international trends have not been adopted in the Canadian feminist historiography to any extent.

The limitations of the existing Canadian literature are readily apparent. Since the mid-1980s, virtually nothing has been produced about the relationship between anglophone and francophone feminists or any attempted comparisons drawn between how such women conceived of political equality and citizenship (Danylewicz 1987; Fournier 1982). Neither has the extent to which earlier generations of feminists attempted to overcome the linguistic divide and how they might have influenced one another been studied.

Linda Kealey, Janice Newton and Joan Sangster have made important contributions to our understanding of socialist feminism (Kealey 1998; Newton 1995; Sangster 1989) while others have examined working-class women "who organized as auxiliary members, consumers and supporters of radical causes" (Sangster 2000, 57). But we know little about how such women engaged with or retreated from other first wave feminist issues such as temperance and suffrage.

While the contributions of Protestant women to various social reform and political causes have been well documented and fully justified (Christie 2000; Valverde 1992), Catholic women, especially those outside of francophone Quebec, are overlooked. Marta Danylewicz has studied the relationship between nuns and lay women in the rise of feminism in Montreal (Danylewicz 1987), but other collaborations among Catholic women elsewhere remain unknown. Margot Duley's study of the suffrage movement in Newfoundland notes the presence of Catholic women but does not analyse how these women's religion shaped their involvement and the politics of the suffrage movement (Duley 1993a & 1993b). Catholic women played a less prominent role in various feminist initiatives at the turn of the twentieth century, but precisely how and why needs to be further analyzed and documentation of what contributions they did make is required. A more in-depth exploration of Halifax, Saint John and St. John's and of northeastern Nova Scotia and eastern Ontario, which have sizeable Irish and Scottish Catholic populations, is also needed.

Much of the research focusses on central Canada, especially Ontario and westward. E.R. Forbes' 1989 work on Edith Archibald remains one of the very few works, for example, on the women's movement in Nova Scotia (Forbes 1989). This regional imbalance restricts what can be said about so-called national perceptions and politics, and limits understanding of potentially useful regional variations.

Finally, the actual struggle for suffrage has elicited rather cursory study. Our last comprehensive work on the suffrage movement was Catherine Cleverdon's *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada* (Cleverdon 1950). Carol Lee Bacchi's *Liberation Deferred*, the last book-length treatment of Canadian suffrage, published in 1983, concentrates only on those Bacchi called "overt" suffragists, namely those who were members of official suffrage organizations (Bacchi 1983).

Veronica Strong-Boag's piece on the "citizenship debates," which took place over the 1885 Franchise Act, sheds new light on federal politicians' views of female suffrage, yet we have only the broad outlines of opposition to and support for the franchise and feminism (Strong-Boag 2002).

Over the past decade, scholars have considered the charge, first made by Carol Lee Bacchi and later elaborated upon by Mariana Valverde, that first wave Canadian feminists were racist (Bacchi 1983; Valverde 1992 & 2000). "[E]ntrenched polarities" developed among historians with some scholars uniformly condemning the beliefs and actions of first wave feminism while others sought to defend them. Janice Fiamengo avoids both "the reductive conclusion that all first wave feminist writing promoted a monolithic racism," and arguments that early feminists not be judged so harshly for being "a product of their age" (Fiamengo 2002a, 154). In examining the race thinking of Nellie McClung and others, she has discerned ambiguity, contradiction, and variation: "because it demonstrates that white supremacy, undeniably the dominant ideology...was nonetheless not absolute in Canadian society before World War II" (Fiamengo 2002a, 155 & 2002b). Literary critics have been contributing much to our understanding of racialization and racism within the first wave (Henderson 2003; Mukherjee 1995), but richly detailed studies by historians that are more attentive to the connections between discourse and action, and the broader political and social context, are needed. We also need studies of what Anglo-Celtic women thought about women of colour and Aboriginal women, and their interactions, and how women of colour and Aboriginal women themselves may have conceived of female activism. Jane Rhodes has done some work on the African-Canadian abolitionist, writer and feminist Mary Ann Shadd Cary, and Peggy Bristow has researched Black women's community activism in Buxton and Chatham (Bristow

1994; Rhodes 1998). More is required.

The Canadian literature remains underdeveloped. There is deficient information about an array of individuals, organizations and forms of interaction or non-interaction, and of how gender, race, ethnicity, class, religion, region and nation intersected with one another in shaping ideas, actions, and relationships. Canadians have not drawn inspiration and insights from the international literature.

The Politics of Colonization, the Politics of Empire

New imperial studies and post-colonial theory have had a profound impact on the international historical literature on first wave feminism, with books such as *Burdens of History* by Antoinette Burton being particularly influential (Burton 1994). Ruth Roach Pierson rewrites Canadian history within a broader framework by posing questions about the relationship between colonialism and imperialism, including the complex gendered and racial relationships between "colonizer and colonized" (Pierson 1998). Cecilia Morgan has written about Canadian travelers to the imperial centre of London, and Adele Perry on the white settlement of British Columbia (Morgan 2001 & 2003; Perry 2001 & 2004). The non-Canadian literature has demonstrated the essential importance of revising the approach to the history of feminism. As Burton has noted, "the category of feminism itself emerged from the historical context of modern European colonialism and anti-colonial struggles" (1994, 6). Extensive research has been done elsewhere about the evolution of feminism and its connection to the British imperial context. Marilyn Lake argues that earlier Australian feminists' sense of themselves "was constituted in these years around the turn of the century within an imperialist framework, in terms of dichotomies drawn between the 'civilized,' and the 'primitive,' 'Europeans' and 'natives,' 'advanced' and 'backward'" (Lake 1994). The South African feminist literature accounts for the

further complexity of a feminist movement forged in a context where both the indigenous population as well as a population of non-British European origin - the Afrikaners - had been colonized (Gaitskill 2002; Scully 2000; Vincent 1999a & b). Such work illustrates the importance of investigating the historically contingent and contextually specific development of feminism in a white settler colony and then former colony with ongoing political, social, and cultural ties to empire.

Canadians have only begun to take this fully into account. How did the imperial framework influence the policies and priorities of women's organizations? How did imperialism shape the outlook of individual feminists? Catherine Cavanaugh's piece on Irene Parlby, "Imperial Daughter," maintains that Parlby's "vision of an inclusive West remained circumscribed by race" and shaped fundamentally by British imperialism (Cavanaugh 2000, 117). Janice Fiamengo's otherwise careful explication of the race thinking of Nellie McClung and others acknowledges the "the imperialist foundations" of early feminism in Canada, but does not attempt to elucidate the precise nature of such imperialism in this national context or to consider whether or how it might have changed over the course of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Fiamengo 2002a & b).

In the British imperial context scholars have drawn attention to the implications of the emergence of feminism alongside the displacement and oppression of indigenous peoples. Patricia Grimshaw has noted about feminists and their supporters in New Zealand and Australia that "[they] made their case for equity and justice for the female sex in societies immersed in negative constructions of indigenous peoples of both sexes" (Grimshaw 2001, 33). White middle-class feminists asserted entitlement to civil and other rights within national contexts "founded on racial imperialism." Grimshaw and Anne Curthoys maintain that feminists came to see themselves as colonizers (Curthoys 1994; Grimshaw 2001). Indigenous women

would become the subject of study and the object of activism at the same time as the women's movement became more self-conscious of its traditionally exclusionary politics and practices. The absence of work on the interconnections between feminism, feminists and First Nations peoples in Canada calls into serious question the narrative of female activism and emancipation.

Published research by the American historians Gail Landsman, Delores Janiewski and most recently, Margaret Jacobs (Jacobs 1999; Janiewski 1998; Landsman 1992) has explored the complex and often contradictory relationships between white feminists and Native American women in the context of white colonization and eventual indigenous dispossession. They explore how Native American women from specific tribes served as "inspiration" for early white feminists in the United States as they were perceived to have a cultural heritage which accorded women certain rights and direct political involvement. Feminists "used the example of Native American women to criticize the patriarchal nature of their own society, to construct an interpretation of the origins of women's subordination, and to demonstrate the contingent, historical, and man-made creation of patriarchy through law and social custom" (Janiewski 1998, 70).

This literature highlights the influence of the Iroquois matriarchal heritage. Given that the Iroquois occupied lands which traversed the border between United States and Canada, and that cross-border contacts were commonplace between American and Canadian feminists over the course of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, it is likely that representations of and interactions with Iroquois women influenced the women's movement. The ambiguous figure of E. Pauline Johnson, or Tekahionwake, a woman of mixed Mohawk (part of the Iroquois Confederacy) and Anglo-Celtic heritage who was a well-known performer, writer and poet in the late

nineteenth century and early twentieth century, has been the subject of studies by Veronica Strong-Boag and Carol Gerson, as well as Cecilia Morgan (Gerson and Strong-Boag 2002; Strong-Boag and Gerson 2000; Morgan 2003). Johnson spoke repeatedly about and for Aboriginal women but what formal or informal connections were forged between herself and the women's movement remains unknown or the extent to which she herself identified as a feminist remains unclear.

Katie Pickles and Shauna Wilton's work on the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) examines British imperial ties within the women's movement. Founded in 1900 to give assistance to Canadian troops involved in the Boer War, the IODE developed into one of the largest women's organizations in the country. Their purpose "was to promote patriotism and ties to the Empire" through various educational and charitable endeavours (Pickles 2002a & b; Wilton 2000). Pickles and Wilton document the kinds of activities IODE women engaged in and address how members shaped and were shaped by contemporary discourses relating to empire, race, and female citizenship. Nonetheless, there is considerable confusion in their work as to whether IODE members can be categorized as feminists or not. British historians such as Julia Bush and Antoinette Burton have taken pains to provide some demarcation between female imperialists and imperial feminists (Burton 1994; Bush 1998, 282 and 2000). Wilton refers to the maternal feminism of IODE members but concludes it was not a feminist organization. Pickles uses female imperialism in one publication title and imperial feminism in another. Further examination of the IODE would appear to be in order, including its links to other women's organizations within and outside of Canada promoting imperial sentiments.

Internationalism and Transnationalism

Imperial politics overlapped with international concerns. Non-Canadian literature examines the international networks forged among feminists and the various transnational organizations that they created. Mini Sinha, Donna Guy, and Angela Woolacott argue in *Feminism and Internationalism* that "Recent feminist scholarship has raised new questions about the local and the global contexts of women's movements and feminisms world-wide" (Sinha, Guy and Woolacott 1999) only occasionally. American historians Bonnie Anderson and Nancy Hewitt have convincingly argued that feminist internationalism can be traced well back into the mid-nineteenth century (Anderson 2000; Hewitt 2001). Conventional interpretations of feminist history can therefore be dramatically reworked. By "re-embedding" American feminist initiatives in the world of the mid-nineteenth century, one can uncover "an alternative foundation for modern feminism" which was "rooted in communitarian values and organic conceptions of both oppression and liberation" (Hewitt 2001, 136).

An increasing array of transnational feminist organizations was created from the late nineteenth century onwards. Feminists formed international connections, often building upon existing personal and political ties concerning temperance, suffrage, prostitution, pacifism, women's legal rights and socialism. Leila Rupp documents the development of the International Council of Women, the International Alliance of Women, and the International League of Peace and Freedom. She traces both the conflict and community created within these international women's organizations, seeing them not as opposites, "but as part of the same process by which women came together across national borders to create a sense of belonging and to work and sometimes live together" (Rupp 1997, 10). Canada was among the first countries to form a national section in all of these organizations and feminists here would actively participate in them,

but the exact nature of the involvement is unknown. Canada's ICW national section was called the National Council of Women of Canada and its then President, Lady Aberdeen, would become the long term president of the ICW. Canada hosted, in 1909, one of the only quinquennial congresses of the ICW outside of the US. There is obviously a great deal here of potential importance to Canadian historians.

Canadian ties to Britain and the British Empire were fundamental in the creation of another international organization in the early twentieth century, the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union (BDWSU) formed in 1914. Australian historians Angela Woolacott and Marilyn Lake note its impetus was to allow feminists in the self-governing dominions of the empire to join together, and that "enfranchised Australian and New Zealand women might help Canadian and South African women also attain the vote" (Lake 1994; Woolacott 2000). More needs to be known about Canadian feminist involvement and the impact of this kind of direct international support. One could also look at the possible connections and disconnections between the discussion which took place within the BDWSU over the inclusion of women from India and the widespread public debate in Canada over the immigration of Indian women which took place during the same period of time. Ena Dua has deftly analyzed the debate, known as the "Hindu Woman's Question," but the precise involvement of Canadian women activists and potential links to the international feminist movement remain unstudied (Dua 1999a & b; 2000; 2004).

The BDWSU assumed the name of the British Commonwealth League (BCL) in 1925 and broadened its mandate beyond the franchise, and became "Commonwealth feminists." As Woolacott explains, "Commonwealth feminism (as opposed to imperial feminism)...suggested that the enfranchised (white) women citizens of the dominions, not just British women, were responsible for their less fortunate imperial

sisters" (Woolacott 2000, 221). Australian scholars have noted the various ways in which indigenous women became a key subject of inquiry and discussion within the British Commonwealth League in the 1920s (Woolacott 2001, Lake 1999). In Australia, feminists involved in the BCL "actively sought to prod the Australian government into responsible action and effect improvements in the lives of Aboriginal women." Feminists felt both superior to and responsible for Aboriginal women. Canadian feminists attended the same meetings of the BCL when the situation of indigenous women was explored extensively. So what occurred in this country? How did the experiences of feminists here and the specific dynamics of First Nations issues shape their participation in the BCL on this topic?

The Pan-Pacific Women's Association (PPWA), formed in 1928, was part of the rapid expansion of feminist internationalism in the inter-war period. The organization included such countries from the Pacific rim as New Zealand, the US, Japan, China, Samoa and Canada - along with India. The organization met every couple of years, including in Vancouver in 1937, to promote cross-cultural understanding between East and West and to follow a social reform agenda aimed at establishing social and economic standards for urban and rural, as well as islander women throughout the Asian Region. Australian scholars such as Fiona Paisley have maintained that the PPWA represented a "less xenophobic internationalism [which] provided a new conceptual space for East/West internationalism within which Australians found themselves well placed" (Paisley 2002, 109). Australian involvement in the PPWA further de-centred imperial feminism, allowing for a degree of cooperation, however tenuous, on women's issues across developed/developing divides (Woolacott 1999). There is evidence of Canadian feminist involvement in this organization in which conceptions of the Orient and Orientalism got played out between and among different groups of women, but there is little if any coverage of

it.

Beyond mapping out and analyzing organizational involvement, this recent literature on the first wave has also contributed to a rethinking of the periodization of the history of feminism. Reflecting the initial historiographical focus on developments in the United States and Britain (and somewhat secondarily in countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada) the term "first wave" was adopted to describe what appeared to be an upsurge in organizations, activists and political influence from the mid-nineteenth century through to the 1920s when suffrage and other reforms were attained; followed by a noticeable decline and a period of quiescence, with feminists only becoming a visible presence once again in the 1960s. Although very soon after the term's adoption scholars began to question the extent of the downturn, and hence whether "wave" was an apt designation, there was general acceptance of some form of decline during the middle decades of the twentieth century. As the historiography has developed over the last ten years with the attempted de-centring of British and American narratives of early feminism along with these new studies of international and transnational initiatives, this standard interpretation has been altered so that the first wave is now generally considered to extend into the mid-1940s. In some countries such as Egypt and Ireland the middle decades of the twentieth century, it has been shown, would be a period not of quiescence but of intensification of efforts by feminists to gain the franchise and achieve other positive social reforms for women. These years saw extensive organizing by women beyond national borders to address an array of issues. Some feminists re-directed their efforts to address the emerging debate which would take place in the League of Nations and later the United Nations over women's vs. human rights (Lake 2001; Offen 2000 & 2001). In the case of Canada, the traditional periodization of first wave feminism has remained largely intact, not because

of any explicit attempt to reconfirm it, but because so little research has yet been done on feminist activism, at least among English-Canadians, between the 1920s and the post-World War II era.²

The historiographical trend toward internationalism and transnationalism might re-inscribe middle-class women, and even more specifically, white, middle-class women, as the central focus. They had the time, resources, and skills to engage in regular correspondence and could take long overseas trips. Nolan and Daley argue: "While the recognition of international links between suffragists and suffrage organizations is important, a focus on this aspect may, inadvertently, lead us back to undue concentration on middle-class women" (Nolan and Daley 1994, 22). It is essential to go beyond the liberal-feminist international organizations to consider the socialist-feminist international women's movement. It would also be beneficial to look beyond the large national organizations where white, middle-class women predominated and who were the most likely to forge formal links with groups outside the country, to explore groups and initiatives at a local level where working-class and ethnic or racialized women were most active. Important links between the local and the global could be uncovered at this level.

A more concerted effort to re-enter the discussion about first wave feminism at this juncture will allow Canadian scholars to draw upon insights and innovative approaches in the non-Canadian literature (and sidestep pitfalls), and will also result in feminist historians in this country making important contributions to the international dialogue on this topic. Canadian historians may provide new ways of understanding trans-Atlantic links forged between North American and European feminists beyond those between America and Britain which continue to so dominate the historiography (Bolt 2004); the relationship between feminism and the nation as more complex than that

currently presented in the literature given the greater awareness of different and competing notions of "the nation" within this country. It is likely that the process of racialization among feminists in this white settler colony race will not fit the model developed by either Antipodean or South African scholars given the quite different processes of colonization of indigenous and other European populations as well as the divergent pattern of immigration of non-English speaking immigrants.

To borrow Nancy Hewitt's term, we need to "re-embed" Canadian first-wave feminism in the world. Mrs. Canada, one of the archetypal figures of female emancipation at the turn of the twentieth century, must "go global" (Hewitt 2001). This does not mean the end of "nation" as the subject of inquiry or frame of reference; rather, attentiveness to national context is essential. But it does mean recognizing the nation as having "permeable boundaries" and that nation needs to be placed in a larger frame of reference to empire and the world (Burton 2000). This will open whole new avenues of research and create an important means of understanding our feminist past.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Maureen Moynagh, Karen Dubinsky, Lynne Marks, Suzanne Morton, Linda Kealey and Cecilia Morgan for reading earlier versions of this paper. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewers of *Atlantis* for their comments.

Endnotes

1. An exception to this trend has been work done on rural women and feminism (Ambrose 1996; Ambrose and Kecknie 1999; Halpern 2001; Kecknie 2004), which offers new insights into the contributions of Ontario farm women to the early women's movement - although it is reflective of many of the ongoing weaknesses in the English Canadian literature.

2. Canadian historians not only need to extend their research forward into the mid-twentieth century but back into the nineteenth century to better situate the genesis of feminism. Little research has been done on the period prior to the 1880s, very little of it in the past several decades, and that by literary critics (Murray 2002). Possible connections between women's involvement in the abolition movement, various philanthropic endeavours, and temperance in the early nineteenth century to the later emergence of feminism, all of which have been documented as being of significance in other contexts, have yet to be established here. Thanks to Cecilia Morgan for pointing this out to me. Correspondence with Cecilia Morgan, October 2004.

References

Ambrose, Linda. *For Home and Country: The Centennial History of the Women's Institutes in Canada*. Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1996.

_____ and Margaret Kecknie. "Social Control or Social Feminism: Two Views of the Ontario Women's Institutes," *Agricultural History* 73 (Spring 1999): 222-37.

Anderson, Bonnie. *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830-1860*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Bacchi, Carol Lee. *Liberation Deferred: The Ideas of English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

Baker, Jean, ed. *Votes for Women: The Struggle for Suffrage Revisited*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Beaumont, Catriona. "Citizens Not Feminists: The

- Boundary Negotiated Between Citizenship and Feminism by Mainstream Women's Organisations in England, 1928-1939," *Women's History Review*, 9.2 (2000): 411-29.
- Bolt, Christine. *Sisterhood Questioned: Race, Class and Internationalism in the American and British Women's Movements, c.1880s-1970s*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Bristow, Peggy. "'Whatever You Raise in the Ground You Can Sell It in Chatham': Black Women in Buxton and Chatham, 1850-1865," *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up: Essays in African Canadian Women's History*. Peggy Bristow, coord. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994, pp. 69-142.
- Bulbeck, Chilla. "Hybrid Feminisms: The Australian Case," *Journal of Women's History* 6.3 (Fall 1994):112-25
- Burton, Antoinette. *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women, and Imperial Culture, 1865-1915*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994.
- _____. "Some Trajectories of 'Feminism' and Imperialism," *Feminisms and Internationalisms*, Mrialini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woolcott, eds. London: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 214-24.
- _____. "States of Injury: Josephine Butler on Slavery, Citizenship and the Boer War," *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, Ian Fletcher, Laura Mayhall and Philippa Levine, eds. London: Routledge, 2000, pp. 18-32.
- Bush, Julia. "Edwardian Ladies and the 'Race' Dimensions of British Imperialism," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21.3 (1998), 277-89.
- _____. *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power*. London: University of Leicester Press, 2000.
- Cavanaugh, Catherine. "Irene Marryat Parlby: An 'Imperial Daughter' in the Canadian West, 1896-1934," *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, Catherine Cavanaugh and Randi Warne, eds. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000, pp. 100-22.
- _____. and Randi Warne. "Introduction," *Telling Tales: Essays in Western Women's History*, Catherine Cavanaugh and Randi Warne, eds. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2000.
- Christie, Nancy. *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Cleverdon, Catherine. *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974. Reprint of 1950 edition.
- Cook, Sharon Anne. "Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930. Montreal: McGill-Queens, 1995.
- Curthoys, Ann. "Citizenship, Race, and Gender: Changing Debates Over the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the Rights of Women," *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds. New York: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 89-106.
- Daley, Caroline and Melanie Nolan, eds. *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press, 1994.
- Dalziel, Raewyn. "Presenting the Enfranchisement of New Zealand Women Abroad," *Suffrage and Beyond*. New

York: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 42-62.

Danylewicz, Marta. *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987.

D'Itri, Patricia. *Cross Currents in the International Women's Movement, 1848-1948*. Bowling Green, OH.: Bowling Green State University, 1999.

Dua, Enakshi. "Introduction," *Scratching the Surface: Canadian Anti-Racist Feminist Thought*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1999a, pp. 7-31.

_____. "Racialising Imperial Canada: Indian Women and the Making of Ethnic Communities," *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*, Antoinette Burton, ed. New York: Routledge, 1999b, pp. 119-33.

_____. "The Hindu Woman's Question: Canadian Nation-Building and the Social Construction of Gender for South Asian Women," *Anti-Racist Feminism: Critical Race and Gender Studies*, George Dei and Agnes Calliste, eds. Halifax: Fernwood, 2000, pp. 55-72.

_____. "Racializing Imperial Canada: Indian Women and the Making of Ethnic Communities," *Sisters or Strangers: Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, Marlene Epp et al., eds. Toronto: University Toronto Press, 2004, pp. 71-88.

Duley, Margot. "'The Radius of Her Influence for Good': The Rise and Triumph of the Suffrage Movement in Newfoundland, 1909-1925," *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*, Linda Kealey, ed. St. John's, Nfld.: ISER, 1993a, pp. 14-65.

_____. *Where Once Our Mothers Stood We Stand:*

Women's Suffrage in Newfoundland, 1890-1925. Charlottetown, PEI: Gynergy, 1993b.

Edwards, Louise. "Narratives of Race and Nation in China: Women's Suffrage in the Early Twentieth Century," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25.6 (2002): 619-30.

Fiamengo, Janice. "A Legacy of Ambivalence: Responses to Nellie McClung," *Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason and Adele Perry, eds. Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History. Fourth Edition*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002a, pp. 151-63.

_____. "Rediscovering Our Foremothers Again: The Racial Ideas of Canada's Early Feminists, 1885-1945," *Essays in Canadian Writing 75 (Winter 2002b)*: 85-118.

Fletcher, Ian, and Laura Mayhall and Philippa Levine, eds. *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*. London: Routledge, 2000.

Forbes, E.R. "Battles of Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement," *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989, pp.67-89.

Fournier, Francine. "Les femmes et la vie politique au Québec," *Travailleuses et féministes: Les femmes dans la sociétés québécoise*, Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard, eds. Montreal: Boréal, 1982, pp. 337-58.

Gaitskell, Deborah. "The Imperial Tie: Obstacles or Assets for South Africa's Women Suffrage Before 1930?" *South African Historical Journal* 47 (2002): 1-23.

Gerson, Carole and Veronica Strong-Boag, eds. *E. Pauline Johnson, Tekahionwake: Collected Poems and Selected Prose*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.

- Glenn, Susan. *Female Spectacle: The Theatrical Roots of Modern Feminism*. Harvard, 2000.
- Gorham, Deborah. "English Militancy and the Canadian Suffrage Movement," *Atlantis* 1.1 (1975): 83-112.
- _____. "The Canadian Suffragists," *Women in the Canadian Mosaic*. Gwen Matheson, ed. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1976, pp. 23-56.
- Grimshaw, Patricia. "Women's Suffrage in New Zealand Revisited: Writing from the Margins," *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds. New York: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 25-41.
- _____. "Reading the Silences: Suffrage Activists and Race in Nineteenth Century Settler Societies," *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*, Patricia Grimshaw, Katie Holmes, and Marilyn Lake, eds. London: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 31-48.
- Halpern, Monda. *And On That Farm He Had a Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900-1970*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 2001.
- Henderson, Jennifer. *Settler Feminism and Race Making in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.
- Hewitt, Nancy. "Re-Rooting American Women's Activism: Global Perspectives on 1848," *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*, Patricia Grimshaw, Katie Holmes, and Marilyn Lake, eds. London: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 123-37.
- Jacobs, Margaret. *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879-1934*. Lincoln Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.
- Janiewski, Dolores. "Gender Colonialism: The 'Woman Question' in Settler Society," *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhur, eds. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1998, pp. 57-76.
- Kealey, Linda. *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s-1920s*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1979.
- _____. *Enlisting Women for the Cause: Women, Labour, and the Left in Canada, 1890-1920*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Kechnie, Margaret. *Organizing Rural Women: Federated Women's Institutes in Ontario, 1897-1919*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's, 2004.
- Kitossa, Tamari. "Criticism, Reconstruction and African-Centred Feminist Historiography," *Back to the Drawing Board: African-Canadian Feminisms*, Njoki Nathani Wane et al., eds. Toronto: Sumach, 2002, pp. 85-116.
- Kwon, Insook. "'The New Women's Movement' in 1920s Korea: Rethinking the Relationship between Imperialism and Women," *Feminisms and Internationalism*, Mrialini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woolacott, eds. London: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 31-61.
- Lake, Marilyn. "Between Old Worlds and New: Feminist Citizenship, Nation and Race, the Destabilisation of Identity," *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds. New York: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 234-51.
- _____. "Frontier Feminism and the Marauding White Man: Australia, 1880s to 1940s," *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhur, eds. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana

University Press, 1998, pp. 94-105.

_____. "Childbearers as Rights Bearers: Feminist Discourse on the Rights of Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal Mothers in Australia, 1920-1950," *Women's History Review* 8.2 (1999): 347-63.

_____. "From Self-Determination via Protection to Equality via Non-Discrimination: Defining Women's Rights at the League of Nations and the United Nations," *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*, Marilyn Lake, Katie Holmes and Patricia Grimshaw, eds. London: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 254-71.

_____, Katie Holmes and Patricia Grimshaw, eds. *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*. London: Palgrave, 2001.

Landsman, Gail. "The 'Other' as Political Symbol: Images of Indians in the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Ethnohistory*, 39.3 (Summer 1992): 247-84.

Morgan, Cecilia. "History, Nation, and Empire: Gender and Southern Ontario Historical Societies, 1890-1920s," *Canadian Historical Review* 82.3 (2001): 419-528.

_____. "A Wigwam to Westminster: Performing Mohawk Identity in Imperial Britain, 1890s-1900s," *Gender and History*, 25.2 (Aug. 2003): 319-41.

Mukherjee, Arun. "In a Class of Her Own," *Literary Review of Canada* (July-Aug. 1995): 20-23.

Murray, Heather. "Great Works and Good Works: The Toronto Women's Literary Club, 1877-1883," *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, Veronica Strong-Boag, Mona Gleason and Adele Perry, eds. Fourth Edition. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp.

103-20.

National Council of Women. *Women of Canada*. Toronto: 1900.

Newman, Louise Michele. *White Women's Rights: The Racial Origins of Feminism in the United States*. New York: Oxford, 1999.

Newton, Janice. *The Feminist Challenge to the Canadian Left, 1900-1918*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's 1995.

Nolan, Melanie and Caroline Daley. "Introduction," *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*. New York: New York University Press, 1994, pp. 1-24.

Offen, Karen. *European Feminisms, 1700-1950*. Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2000.

_____. "Women's Rights or Human Rights? International Feminism Between the Wars," *Women's Rights and Human Rights*, Marilyn Lake, Katie Holmes and Patricia Grimshaw, eds. London: Palgrave, 2001, pp. 243-53.

Paisley, Fiona. "Australian Feminism and Indigenous Rights in the International Context, 1920s and 1930s," *Feminist Review* 58 (1998): 66-84.

_____. "'Unnecessary Crimes and Tragedies': Race, Gender and Sexuality in Australian Policies of Aboriginal Child Removal," *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities*. Antoinette Burton, ed. New York: Routledge, 1999, pp. 134-47.

_____. *Loving Protection?: Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights, 1919-1939*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000.

- _____. "Cultivating Modernity: Culture and Internationalism in Australian Feminism's Pacific Age," *Journal of Women's History* 14.3 (2002): 105-32.
- Perry, Adele. *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*. Toronto: UTP, 2001.
- _____. "Whose Sisters and What Eyes? White Women, Race, and Immigration to British Columbia, 1849-1871," *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa, eds. Toronto: UTP, 2004, pp. 49-70.
- Pickles, Katie. "Coffee, Tea and Spinsters' Sprees: Female Imperialism in Sherbrooke and the Eastern Townships," *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* 21 (Fall 2002a): 73-97.
- _____. *Imperial Feminism and National Identity: The International Order of the Daughters of the Empire*. New York: Manchester University Press, 2002b.
- Pierson, Ruth. "Introduction," *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhur, eds. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1998, pp. 1-19.
- Rhodes, Jane. *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1998.
- Riedi, Eliza. "Women, Gender, and the Promotion of Empire: The Victoria League, 1901-1914," *Historical Journal* 45.3 (2002): 569-99.
- Roome, Patricia. "Henrietta Muir Edwards: The Journey of a Canadian Feminist." PhD Thesis, University of Calgary, 1998.
- Rupp, Leila. *Worlds of Women: The Making of An International Movement*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Sangster, Joan. *Dreams of Equality: Women and the Canadian Left, 1920-1950*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989.
- _____. "Women and Work: Assessing Canadian Women's Labour History at the Millenium," *Atlantis*, 25.1 (Fall/Winter 2000): 51-62.
- Scully, Pamela. "White Maternity and Black Infancy: The Rhetoric in the South African Women's Suffrage Movement, 1895-1930," *Women's Suffrage and the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, Ian Christophe Fletcher, Laura Nym Mayhall and Philippa Levine, eds. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 68-84.
- Sinha, Mrialini, Donna Guy and Angela Woolacott, eds. *Feminisms and Internationalism*. London: Blackwell, 1999.
- Smitely, Megan. "'Inebriates', 'Heathens', Templars and Suffragists: Scotland and Imperial Feminism, c. 1870-1914," *Women's History Review*, 11.3 (2002): 455-80.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. *The Parliament of Women: The National Council of Women of Canada, 1839-1929*. Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1977.
- _____. "Peace-Making Women: Canada, 1919-1939," *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives*, Ruth Roach Pierson, ed. London: Croom Helm, 1987, pp. 170-91.
- _____. "Independent Women, Problematic Men: First-

and Second-Wave Anti-Feminism in Canada from Goldwin Smith to Betty Steele," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 57 (May 1996): 1-22.

_____. "The Citizenship Debates': The 1885 Franchise Act," *Contesting Canadian Citizenship*, Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn and Robert Menzies, eds. Toronto: Broadview, 2002, pp. 69-94.

Strong-Boag, Veronica and Carole Gerson. *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.

Tickner, Lisa. *The Spectacle of Women: Imagery of the Suffrage Campaign, 1907-1914*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1988.

Tyrell, Ian. *Woman's World, Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1880-1930*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991.

Valverde, Mariana. "'When the Mother of the Race is Free': Race, Reproduction, and Sexuality in First-Wave Feminism," *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History*, Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992, pp. 3-26.

_____. "'Racial Poison': Drink, Male Vice and Degradation in First-Wave Feminism," *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, Ian Fletcher, Laura Mayhall and Phillippa Levine, eds. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 33-50.

Vincent, Louise. "A Cake of Soak: the Volksmoeder Ideology and Afrikaner Women's Campaign for the Vote," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32.1 (1999a): 1-17.

_____. "The Power Behind the Scenes: The Afrikaner Nationalist Women's Parities, 1915-1931," *South African Historical Journal* 40 (May 1999b): 51-73.

Weber, Charlotte. "Unveiling Scheherzade: Feminist Orientalism in the International Alliance of Women, 1911-1950," *Feminist Studies* 27.1 (Spring 2001): 125-57.

Wilton, Shauna. "Manitoba Women Nurturing the Nation: The Manitoba IODE and Maternal Nationalism, 1913-1920," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 35.2 (Summer 2000): 149-65.

Woolacott, Angela. "Inventing Commonwealth and Pan-Pacific Feminisms: Australian Women's Internationalist Activism in the 1920s and 1930s," *Feminisms and Internationalism*, Mrialini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woolacott, eds. London: Blackwell, 1999, pp. 82-104.

_____. "Australian Women's Metropolitan Activism: From Suffrage, to Imperial Vanguard, to Commonwealth Feminism," *Women's Suffrage in the British Empire: Citizenship, Nation and Race*, Ian Fletcher, Laura Mayhall and Phillippa Levine, eds. New York: Routledge, 2000, pp. 207-23.

_____. *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.