

PHILOSOPHY, PEDAGOGY, AND PRACTICE: THE IODE AND THE SCHOOLS IN CANADA, 1900-1945*

Nancy M. Sheehan

Introduction

*Not by the power of Commerce, Art or Pen
Shall our great Empire stand, nor has it stood,
But by the noble deeds of noble men—
Heroic lives and heroes' outpoured blood.*

*Frederick George Scott
The Alexandra Readers, Fourth Book*

The above selection from a school reader used in Alberta and Saskatchewan was not atypical of the general emphasis on Empire found in readers used in most provinces in the first part of the twentieth century. Nor was it atypical of a general belief among politicians, business people, and military leaders that being Canadian meant a reverence for the Empire.

Canadians, both women and men, advocated closer ties with Britain and the Empire, promoted British institutions and values, and assumed nationalism and imperialism to be one and the same. Carl Berger's *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* delineates the imperialistic thrust that became a movement in Canadian society, and the supporting ideas, personalities, and events.¹ As the nineteenth century waned this imperialistic movement gained strength. Spurred on by the celebrations marking Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the outbreak of hostilities in South Africa, and the influx of non-English-speaking immigrants to Canada, Canadians increasingly looked to Britain as the embodiment of progress and strength in the world.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) took to heart the vision of Empire expressed by Frederick George Scott, a vision not only imperialist and racist, but also, by today's standards, class-biased, sexist, and patriarchal. In the first half of this century it was part of the general atmosphere in Canada and in the schools, and it was within this matrix that the IODE formulated its educational policy.

A closer look at the patriotic educational philosophy, pedagogy, and practice of the Order may help us to understand better Canadian society of the time and the role of women in it, and, in general, the complex interplay of class, race, and gender within the context of schooling. It will allow us to get inside the schools,

observing the curriculum and the formal and informal socialization practices. As I will argue, British imperialism, at least the Canadian view of it, was not only racist but also sexist; it was a world view dominated in early twentieth-century Canada by males, a world almost deaf to the call of women for a change in the social system. Though promoters of imperialism, the IODE constituted a countercurrent to this view.

The years between 1880 and 1920 have been characterized as years of reform in Canadian society. Urbanization, industrialization, and immigration caused a certain amount of upheaval in the way Canadians viewed their future. Many responded by suggesting alterations in the political, religious, and educational sectors of society, and some groups founded organizations interested in reform. Women and men shared concerns, often working together in church and voluntary groups. However, more and more women began to prefer their own organizations.

Many of these organizations directed their effort towards some sort of reform activity—temperance, home economics programmes, tuberculosis prevention, mothers' allowances, and attacks on delinquency, prostitution, and white slavery, to name a few. Suffrage was advocated not as an equal right but to help reformers achieve their goals. It was assumed that women with their votes would support issues that bettered society. This assumption sprang from a belief that women would use their maternal abilities and experience to benefit society—to make it more homelike by providing genuine concern, support, and legislation in the struggle against social ills. Historians in North America have categorized these women as feminists, using such terms as maternal, social, domestic, moral, and soft in conjunction with feminism to draw a distinction between those who advocated women's public activity for reform purposes and those who were concerned with equal rights.² In Canada the term "maternal feminism" has been used most often and has become a part of our historiography.³

The rising interest in imperialism and the increased involvement by women in events outside the home came together in the formation in 1900 of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. Established as an organization of women to promote patriotism and to enhance ties with Britain, it saw itself as a patriotic educational organization rather than as one devoted to the reform of society and to economic and political change. The IODE was imperialist in its goals and racist in its belief in the superiority of the British people. It was middle and upper class in membership, activities, and lifestyle; and it was patriarchal in its church affiliation, in its support for government policy, and in its members' identification as wives of prominent people. These characteristics coloured the organization, its philosophy, and its educational practice. An examination of the school-based work of the IODE makes a good case study through which to explore the linkage between organizational characteristics and educational practice.⁴

I. The IODE: Educational Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice

The educational work of the IODE was all-embracing and included the education of the members themselves and of the community of adults, children, and immigrants. A member of the executive remarked in 1919 that "our educational work is the great thing that differentiates our Order from all other organizations."⁵ The philosophy, policy, and pedagogy that developed and evolved over time was affected by growth within the organization but influenced as well by external events. In 1905 an article in *Echoes*, the IODE quarterly magazine, stressed the weakness of a system of education which merely trained the mind and considered character a secondary matter. A.H.U. Colquhoun argued that "to produce good citizens...is as much the duty of the schools as to teach the pupil to read or write."⁶

Although pageantry, pictures, and plays could help produce good citizens to keep Canada from becoming a nation of coarse minds and wills, reading the best books was ideal according to Constance Laing, the education secretary:

Let the boy roam with Hiawatha, sail the seas with Sinbad, build stockades with Crusoe, fight dragons with Jason, let him play at quoits with Odysseus and at football with Tom Brown. These playmates will never quarrel with him or bully him, but from whom he will learn to be brave, self-reliant, manly, thoughtful of others, straightforward, with his face toward the light.⁷

Such a passage reveals the high level of education among the women, their love of books, and their belief that character and citizenship developed from good example as much as from dictate. It also demonstrates a belief that citizenship meant more than flag-waving and patriotism, more than reverence for the British Empire, "its glorious traditions, its ideals and the privileges of its citizenship."⁸

Another principle guiding the work of the IODE was the belief that children held the best hope for the country. The wonderful and wondering minds of children were open to new ideas. The idea that "give me a child until he is seven..." was evident in their literature. They also thought that having reached the child "we expect also in some degree to influence the parents and older brothers and sisters."⁹

The goal of this educational philosophy was to develop in Canadians a love and respect for the British Empire and an understanding of Canada's role as a member of the Empire. To effect this political socialization, the experience of the United States should be followed: it had successfully assimilated many different nationalities into one true and loyal republican power. As one IODE member commented, it had done so by "attaching the utmost importance to 'Old Glory,' the 'Stars and Stripes,' the emblem of their country. Its history and significance are fully taught and impressed on the minds of the young and old."¹⁰ Further, it was argued, the use of the English language in the public schools of the U.S. was the necessary unifying force.¹¹ Clearly, to the IODE the public school was the

key to a Canada secure and faithful to imperialist traditions and values. The role of the IODE was to supplement the efforts of the educational authorities.

In some ways the IODE members were watchdogs as well as active protagonists of an imperial way of life. Many women believed that in their hands principally lay the instruction of the children of the Empire, both in home and in school. This meant the education of mothers. It also meant lobbying provincial governments to ensure that teachers were of British birth and had true national feelings.¹² At the annual meeting in 1913 there was some debate on the issue of securing teachers from Britain. On the one hand it was argued that such teachers would teach the children to be British subjects, loyal to King and Empire, and versed in English culture; literature, and music. On the other hand, a Mrs. Hannington of Victoria was worried that it was difficult for young women and men from Britain to adapt to the conditions on the prairies, especially in foreign settlements where language, culture, and lifestyle were so different. She suggested that Canadian and American women accommodated themselves more quickly to these conditions. Good teachers first, "the Imperial aspect" second, according to Mrs. Hannington. Debate on this issue was very vocal.¹³ Although such debates inspired passionate response, there was agreement that the mothers of Canada had the main responsibility for developing in children an attitude of respect and enthusiasm for the teacher and the school. As one IODE member argued, the educational system must receive appropriate recognition as the chief factor in national progress.¹⁴ To ensure respect for the system, qualified teachers must have decent salaries and working conditions. Members of the IODE believed they had an important educational role to play in achieving these ends.

IODE women, in many cases former teachers, were concerned with the "how" of teaching British values and tradition as well as the "what." "Nothing delights the heart of a child like a story." One member, in some detail, spoke of the use of pictures, illustrated lectures, stories, and questions to impress on children the magnitude of the war effort and examples of heroic feats and patriotic behaviour. Another suggested that pictures and stories not only of soldiers and ships and battles, but also of boys and girls and animals, were appropriate for children.¹⁵ In Winnipeg, Saturday afternoon attendance at an IODE-sponsored function for children increased from an average of 65 to 250 when story-telling, lantern slides, and moving pictures were introduced.¹⁶ To assist teachers, the IODE encouraged its members to donate historical pictures, good photographs, engravings, art reproductions, and historical libraries. IODE chapters across the country sponsored scholarships, patriotic programmes, and essay contests. The details of this aspect of IODE work became well developed over the years.

II. Patriotic Programmes In Schools

At the turn of the century the use of the school system to promote the British connection was not new in Canada, but it did gain momentum as the Empire reached its zenith. Arthur Lower in *Canadians in the Making*¹⁷ and Robert M. Stamp in "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario"¹⁸ have argued that the

atmosphere and curriculum of the Canadian schools at that time were turning out young Englishmen rather than young Canadians. John Herd Thompson in *The Harvests of War* concludes that, at least on the prairies, the school was a significant tool in creating and maintaining Canada's war effort.¹⁹ The IODE was a part of this movement and its education secretary, an important official at both national and local levels, promoted the imperialistic atmosphere.²⁰

The beginnings and growth of the IODE's interest in schools and school children coincided with the "new education" movement,²¹ although the IODE did not appear to be aware of it—at least the term is not found in their literature. On the other hand, a number of their tactics and their educational philosophy fitted the "new education" theme. A good example was Empire Day, the idea of an Ontario woman, Mrs. Fessenden, which fitted beautifully with the IODE vision of "one country, one flag, one empire." Before World War I, Empire Day was probably the most prominent school activity in which the IODE took an interest. The concept of a "national patriotic scheme of education" focusing around an annual Flag Day was promoted by Ontario's Minister of Education and endorsed by the other provinces. The IODE immediately began to suggest programmes for the day, offer prizes for "imperial" activity to be presented at the ceremony, and volunteer its members to address schools and provide them with "Empire Day" materials. These materials were both explanatory and exhortatory, emphasizing Britain as "land of our birth" and as "mother"; only under the Empire and the one great flag, the Union Jack, were found liberty, prosperity, and happiness.

Suggestions for Empire Day activities did not change much over the years before World War I. The Union Jack played a prominent role in the programme, with students presenting the military salute to the flag and saying in unison: "Emblem of Liberty, Truth and Justice, Flag of my Country, to thee I bow." One popular classroom exercise was to identify within the Union Jack the crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick—the banners of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was recommended that a flagstaff be acquired upon which the Union Jack could be run up to unfurl in the breeze, while the assembly stood at attention. However, bad weather, lack of space, and noisy areas often made this impossible. Another almost universal part of the programme was a lesson on the places around the globe coming under the flag. Teachers supplied mimeographed maps of the world and had children colour the Empire in red. Geography and history lessons accompanied map work, impressing upon the classes the reality, growth, magnitude, unity, and common purpose of the Empire. The privileges, responsibilities, and duties of citizenship were also taught, along with lessons on the death of Nelson or the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

A school assembly special to Empire Day consisted of songs, recitations, the awarding of prizes for imperial essays, an address by a visitor, and the singing of God Save the King. Songs such as "Rule Britannia" and "Land of Our Birth (The Children's Song)" were popular. Recitations included "Children of the Empire," "Admirals All," or "Britons Beyond the Seas." A platform party including the

Colonel of the local regiment, the Bishop of the Anglican cathedral, the Regent of the IODE, and the mayor or reeve of the municipality lent a certain solemnity to the occasion. The invited guests presented Empire pins or British history books or cards descriptive of the Union Jack to contest winners, addressed the children on an event of importance or on the exploits of a great Empire builder, and invoked the thanks of the Almighty for making the assembly members of the greatest, most triumphant Empire known to man.²²

Empire Day fitted the "Education for Social Efficiency" theme of the "new education" movement—an appreciation of liberty, respect for institutions, and the need to vote intelligently. Its focus on one day of the school year highlighted this theme without affecting the regular academic programme of the school. Empire Day and celebrations on other patriotic days remained on the school's periphery as did the new practical subjects such as manual training, domestic science, agriculture/school gardening, and physical and health education.²³ The physical education and health curriculum was promoted by reformers for its disciplinary value, moral and social self-control, military preparedness, and patriotism. The atmosphere and programme of Empire Day emphasized this military, patriotic, doing-one's-duty attitude.²⁴

Important as it was, however, Empire Day came only once a year, and the IODE members wanted imperial subject matter placed on a more regular basis. To this end they devised and drew up "Patriotic Programmes For Use in Schools the Last Friday in the Month," received approval of the Minister of Education of Ontario for their content, and secured their distribution by the school inspectors. The programmes consisted of a motto, "The fleet of England is her all in all," or "Lives of great men all remind us we can make our lives sublime"; activities, such as "Sketch the condition of England in the time of Queen Elizabeth," or "Sketch the lives of three great British writers—Shakespeare, Dickens, Scott," or "Describe the Canadian Flag"; readings, such as "Life of Nelson," Tennyson's "To the Queen," or Helen M. Johnston's "Our Native Land"; and musical selections such as "The Maple Leaf Forever," "The British Grenadiers," or "Soldiers of the Queen." Some months the programmes had themes, often concentrating on one of the countries of the Empire such as India, Australia, or Canada. If there was too much material for an Empire Day or for the last Fridays, the IODE suggested that the extra selections be used for other patriotic anniversaries—including, after the war, Armistice Day and the Second Battle of Ypres.²⁵

The new education movement introduced and advocated changes in methodology as well as content. It emphasized teaching the whole child using a variety of resources, of which the IODE supplied many. For example, essay contests and library books, which formed a part of the material for Empire Day, also added to the informal activity and non-textbook resources needed in new education classrooms. Winners of essay contests often read their work and received prizes at Empire Day celebrations. Titles like "The British Empire," "King Edward VII, His Life and Times," "The Debt That Canada Owes to Great Britain," and "Canada's Duty in the Current War" continued the British em-

phasis. Some essay contests were restricted by type of school, age, and grade, and a few by gender. When gender was a criterion there were fewer contests available for girls.²⁶

Essay prizes were books such as *The Princess Mary Gift Book*, *King Albert of Belgium, Canada's Part in Our Imperial Defense*, and *The British Constitution*.²⁷ The donated library books likewise emphasized British history and geography, Empire location, English biography, and selections by British and male authors. The *IODE Catalogue of Library Books* is, indeed, instructive. In the largest section, History and Biography, the sixty-seven selections for all age groups gave a preponderant place to British history, British heroes, and British rulers. There were references to Canadian explorers like David Thompson and Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and to Canadian politicians like Sir John A. Macdonald and Thomas D'Arcy McGee. However, selections such as *Stories from British History*, *Heroes in British History*, *My First Book of British History*, and *Rulers Then and Now* (Julius Caesar to Queen Victoria) were more prominent. Other sections on Travel, Fiction, Poetry, and Plays featured Scott, Shakespeare, Kipling, Stevenson, Tennyson, Conrad, Blake, and Burns, among others. Few titles mention women or girls. And although the lists were annotated for age and for gender the *only* selections specifically mentioned for girls were L.M. Montgomery's "Anne" novels.²⁸ The lists are very much a reflection of the kinds of selections found in Canadian school readers before 1940. They reflect an imperialistic, racist, sexist, and class view of the world.

Leaving no stone unturned in its imperial educational mission, the IODE also had a *Catalogue of Gramophone Records* from which a chapter could select a set for donation to a school. Gramophones could be purchased through the IODE National Educational Department. The catalogue was organized by type of recording into:

- 1) "Patriotic Songs," such as "Rule Britannia," "God Bless the Prince of Wales," "Princess Elizabeth," and "Patriotic Medley";
- 2) "Regimental Music" with entries like "Gathering of the Clans" and "Entry of the Gladiators' March";
- 3) "British Carols, Songs and Dances" including "Londonderry Air," "Ye Banks and Braes," and "Flow Gently, Sweet Afton";
- 4) "English Folk Dances," for example "London Bridge" and "The Mulberry Bush";
- 5) "Speeches," such as "Empire Day Messages to the Boys and Girls of the British Empire, from His Majesty King George V and Her Majesty Queen Mary";
- 6) "Lectures on the Empire and Other Subjects by Notable Authorities," listing such diverse topics as "Shakespearian Recital," "The Englishman Through the Ages," and "Talks on the British Empire."²⁹

After World War I the IODE established the War Memorial Scheme to emphasize Canada's role in the War. One aspect of this scheme included the IODE War Memorial Scholarships, which were undergraduate scholarships to study for a bachelor's degree at a Canadian institution, and post-graduate scholarships tenable in Britain, available to children of military personnel killed or disabled during the war. The area of study in Britain was open as long as it was "any subject vital to the interest of the Empire," such as "history, economical development, the constitution, the government."³⁰ A second aspect of the scheme was the War Memorial Pictures, a set of nineteen pictures including "HRH The Prince of Wales," "Landing of the First Canadian Division at St. Nazaire," "War in the Air," "Canadian Cavalry and Tanks," and "The Surrender of the German Fleet." In 1922 alone, these sets were presented to a thousand schools throughout Canada.³¹

The practice of using all kinds of resources to promote their goals, the philosophy of educating the whole child—physically, morally, emotionally, and intellectually—and the policy of emphasizing special programmes and days place the educational work of the IODE in the mainstream of the new education movement.

In 1941 Canada was again embroiled in war and the IODE rose once again to the cause. It did not, however, forget its imperial mission in the schools. Empire Day—which had been the victim of a growth in nationalistic fervour after World War I, the interest in the United States which developed in the 1920s, and the depression of the 1930s—was revived across a country again in the midst of war. An IODE release promoting Empire Day, 1941, announced that hundreds of prizewinners in schools across the country would receive the booklet "Canada within the Empire."³² The foreword notes that "this booklet has been compiled by the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire for Grades I to VIII...in the hope that it will prove useful to teachers...who are endeavoring to inculcate into the minds of children true patriotism and ideals dear to all Canadians." The contents include chapters on "The Royal Family"; "Royal Residences—Buckingham Palace, Windsor Castle, Sandringham House and Balmoral Castle"; "Trip to Home of Our King—London"; "The Story of the Statute of Westminster"; "The Monarchy"; and "British Democracy."³³ The IODE version of "ideals dear to all Canadians" had not changed in forty years.

III. The IODE—An Assessment

As an imperialistic educational organization, the IODE was involved in all matters calculated to enhance Canada's links with the Empire, and supported activities and ideas synonymous with its view of Britain, her institutions, and her social system. In this it was unique among national women's organizations, most of which were oriented towards social reform and whose members have been labelled maternal or domestic feminists. The reformist women were interested in such areas as temperance, child welfare, urban reform, public health, child and female labour, and women's suffrage. They were concerned with anything which

undermined or detrimentally affected the family and the home. Most of these women reformers and their organizations in general shared an awareness of the social, economic, and political ills of the country. Having fought an uphill battle to get their ideas accepted and operational, they did win some support in political, business, and educational circles.

The IODE, however, faced no such struggle. It did not step in to fill a void or to give a new direction to society. Hence it is extremely difficult to measure its influence, especially its educational influence. In 1900 when the IODE was founded, Canada was in the midst of imperialistic fervour. Business leaders who were profiting from trade within the Empire, political leaders who were leading a Dominion still tied to Britain, military leaders who supported Canada's involvement in the Boer War, and educational leaders whose job it was to assimilate the thousands of immigrant children in their care—all supported the central role of the British connection. The IODE was, in effect, a keeper of the status quo. It added the voice of women to the imperialistic chorus.

The imperialistic flavour was particularly prominent in the schools. It was even before the foundation of the IODE that its future member, Mrs. Fessenden, would suggest an Empire Day. At a Dominion Educational Association meeting in 1898, the idea of Empire Day was approved by the Ministers of Education of all the provinces.³⁴ Before long the Day would figure prominently in the Order's educational work. Empire Day became an overt means of political socialization with its emphasis on recitations, songs, readings, classroom displays, sports, assembly programmes, and parades. According to George Tomkins it reflected an "overwhelming imperialist orientation that was paradoxically American in form but British in content."³⁵

Moreover, the school textbooks promoted a dual loyalty—to Canada and to Britain. The Ontario Readers were authorized for use in the schools in various editions until 1937. Many series produced in other provinces reflected the style, content, and flavour of the Ontario series. The Third Book is illustrative.³⁶ It begins with Governor-General Grey's Empire Day message and ends with a Canadian poem, "In Flanders Fields." Twenty-three selections refer to the brave deeds of Englishmen. Some forty selections deal with combat. Classical Victorian writers are prominent: for example, Carlyle, Dickens, Tennyson, R.L. Stevenson, and Sir Walter Scott. One poem, "The Canadian," brings home the British message:

I never saw the cliffs of snow,
The Channel billows tipped with cream,
The restless, eddying tides that flow
About the island of my dream.
I never saw the English downs
Upon an April day.
The quiet, old Cathedral towns,
The hedgerows white with may.

And still the name of England,
Which tyrants laugh to scorn,
Can thrill my soul. It is to me
A very bugle-horn.³⁷

For women, there was very little public role in this world of the Empire. Tough pioneer women appear a couple of times, and George Eliot's spirited Maggie Tulliver appears once. For the most part, Empire builders and defenders were heroes, explorers, soldiers, and wise rulers, characters who were not female. The dominant message to girls in the Third Reader is expressed by Charles Kingsley in "A Farewell": "Be good, sweet maid, and let who will be clever."³⁸ Clearly, the Readers give the impression that the Empire was progressive, central to all action, the most enlightened of all civilizations; and the British people themselves brave, intelligent, moral. Many Canadian selections were selected on British criteria: like "Flanders Fields" and "The Canadian," they implied loyalty to the mother country, or spoke of Canadian love for her.

The theme of Empire so prominent in Ontario schools was found in school curricula and textbooks from coast to coast. In Nova Scotia, Superintendent MacKay commented that "the annual occurrence of the festival of July the First, Empire and Victoria Days, will afford in every grade occasion for Empire lessons, geographical and historical, appropriate to the age and intelligence of the pupils."³⁹ Manitoba's instructions were more definitive. During physical education the teacher was admonished to remember, as the children marched around the school yard, that he or she was building a strong Empire. Literature was to be taught as "a consummate expression of the spirit of the British people." Geography was to serve a similar purpose.⁴⁰ In the Northwest Territories, under the direction of the first Superintendent of Schools, D.J. Goggin, a national imperialist, "British and Canadian History, English Literature, Grammar, Composition and Reading, and the Geography of the British Empire...were studied...to teach patriotism and civic duty."⁴¹ The lessons were supplemented with the singing of patriotic songs and the recitation of poems fostering patriotism. The first textbook produced in the Province of Alberta was aptly named *The Alexandra Reader*.⁴² On the West Coast, from Confederation to the 1920s, loyalty to and love of Britain were vigorously encouraged in the textbooks. According to Harro Van Brummelen, "the many selections about British war heroes made clear that there was little doubt that God was always on the side of the British."⁴³

The educational work of the IODE was to promote and enhance established government policy, a policy heartily approved by school officials. Superintendents and Ministers of Education across the country, from Alexander MacKay in Nova Scotia, to George Ross in Ontario, D.J. Goggin in the Northwest Territories, and A. Robinson in British Columbia, were advocates of the school's role in making society a better place through imperialism. Carl Berger has argued that there was a direct relationship between imperialism and social reform, and that

British racial superiority was thought to be the antidote to the ills caused by urbanization, industrialization, and immigration.⁴⁴ Barbara Roberts has suggested that, in the view of the IODE, the way to a Canadian nation with sound, rational moral principles was through “the extension of British institutions and wholesome influences.”⁴⁵ The IODE upheld these sentiments. Its goals included bettering society through the school system. Support was established in the form of an education committee to represent the IODE in all educational matters and to advise and act on educational activities throughout Canada. The Order secured a representative group of educators—ministers of education, university presidents and professors, public school personnel, and military officials. This was the only IODE committee ever to include men,⁴⁶ and it did ensure that the activity it promoted would receive a warm welcome from the ministries of education, school boards, principals, and teachers across the country.

The schools of the day were in the midst of change as educational reformers attempted to introduce new courses, a variety of resource materials, and emphasis on the whole child. The trend favoured the IODE in its quest for imperial enhancement of the curriculum; although seemingly unaware of this movement and its specific language, the organization nevertheless promoted a progressive philosophy and methodology. Perhaps the women did not associate their Empire activities with this professional movement; to them the promotion of patriotic imperialism was basic to the role of the school.

This examination of the IODE and its programmes serves two purposes: first, to reveal the use of the school for socialization purposes, and second, to show the emerging role of women as a force in society. To a political, business, and military elite, an elite for whom, because of birth, schooling, or vocation, Britain and the Empire meant so much, the link to Britain was important, comfortable, and natural. The Empire was world-wide, ostensibly progressive, and the embodiment of wealth, culture, and free political institutions; thus, it made sense for a young, struggling, sparsely populated country to be a part of this larger identity, which would bind it together in the face of urbanization, industrialization, and especially immigration. The use of social agencies—the government, the church, the public school—to forge an imperialistic identity was sensible and necessary. Since new immigrants were lacking in knowledge of the English language and in British concepts of righteousness, public decency, liberty, law, order, and government, they needed to be schooled in being Canadian. Loyalty to the Dominion involved seeking a common imperial citizenship with common responsibilities and a common inheritance. This socialization process worked. Even after World War I when Canada became more independent and the links to Empire began to decline, the values that the Empire was supposed to have stood for—justice, courage, honesty, loyalty, and duty—remained ingrained in the curriculum and textbooks of the public schools. The country’s involvement in World War II was the ultimate test of this political socialization.

The IODE’s objectives were educational and long-term. As the wives, sisters, daughters, and mothers of Canadian leaders, members of the IODE saw

themselves playing a different role than members of other women's organizations, like the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the National Council of Women, and the suffrage groups, which sought immediate, practical solutions through changes in legislation. Having close ties to the political, financial, and social elite of the country, the members of the IODE held values reflecting those of the ruling class; they did not see their role as one of agitating for legislative change. They were not willing to disturb the status quo by, for example, supporting the extension of the suffrage until this became a government measure. They did not attempt to change official policy; rather, they were the allies of government, willing to serve where and as they were needed.

In some ways the Order was a paradox. Its members must have believed wholeheartedly in their role in society; the IODE was, after all, organized and active across the country. Yet the imperialism it promoted ignored women. The school readers, library books, gramophone records, Empire Day programmes, and essay contests were male-oriented. Girls and women were silent, mostly invisible, and above all, domestic. As Anna Davin has argued, women had a responsibility to Empire—the responsibility of producing and rearing a race of strong, loyal, English “men.” The women of the IODE attempted to carry out this duty in part through an “imperial” curriculum.⁴⁷

As it appears to us today, the IODE, at least in its early years, was neither feminist nor reformist. It did not, in fact, claim to be either. It wanted to preserve a Canada allied closely to Britain, with British values, institutions, customs, and class privileges—a society that, given immigration policies, the French fact, and encroachment from the United States, seemed in danger. The IODE was thus unlike most women's reform organizations. But it did share one policy with them; all of them saw a role for women outside the home in educating children and other women about the Empire, and all viewed the school as a major agency in that cause.

NOTES

- * This is a revised version of a paper first presented at the October, 1988 conference of the Canadian History of Education Association in London, Ontario.
- 1. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
- 2. See Aileen Kraditor, *The Ideas of the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1890-1920* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); Williams O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969); Daniel Scott Smith, “Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism in Victorian North America,” in *Clio's Consciousness Raised*, ed. Mary Hartman and Lois Banner (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); Carl N. Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982). See also William J. Reese, *Power and the Promise of School Reform: Grassroots Movements*

- During the Progressive Era* (Boston: Routledge, Kegan Paul, 1986), esp. chap. 2, "Municipal Housekeepers."
3. See, for example, Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1800s-1920s* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979); Wayne Roberts, "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto: 1877-1914," and Wendy Mitchinson, "'The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism,'" in Kealey, *A Not Unreasonable Claim*; Carol Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragist, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983); Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds., *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press and OISE, 1983); Gillian Weiss, "'Education is Better than Agitation': Clubwomen and Citizenship in Vancouver, 1910-1925," paper read at Canadian History of Education Association meeting, October 1983; Nancy M. Sheehan, "Temperance, the WCTU and Education in Alberta, 1905-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1980), chap. 1.
 4. For information on characteristics of the organization, its membership, and its leadership, see Nancy C. Sheehan, "The IODE, the Schools and World War I," *History of Education Review* 13, 1 (1984): 29-44, and "Women and Imperialism: The IODE, Propaganda and Patriotism in Canadian Schools, 1900-1940," *Aspects of Education* 38 (in press).
 5. *Echoes*, June 1919, 19.
 6. Address by A.H.U. Colquhoun in *Echoes* 19 (Feb. 1905): 3.
 7. Vancouver City Archives [hereafter VCA], 255 Vol. 191, *IODE in B.C. 1900-1925*, 24.
 8. *Echoes*, June 1919, 19.
 9. *Ibid.*
 10. *Echoes*, June 1913, 24-25.
 11. Public Archives of Canada [PAC], MG 28, I 17, Vol. 3, File 18, *Empire Building: A Review of the Educational Work of the National Chapter of Canada* (pamphlet), 10.
 12. *Echoes*, June 1913, 24-25.
 13. PAC, MG 28, I 17, Vol. 11, file 5: Minutes, Annual Meeting 1913.
 14. Mrs. Smith, "The Patriotic Programmes," *Echoes*, June 1914, 41-42.
 15. *Echoes*, Oct. 1919, 55.
 16. Public Archives of Manitoba [PAM], MG 14 C6, Minnie Campbell Papers, Box 10, 1921.
 17. Arthur Lower, *Canadians in the Making* (Toronto: Longmans, 1958), 349-53.
 18. Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: the Training of Young Imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies* VII, 3 (Aug. 1973): 32-42.
 19. John Herd Thompson, *The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978).
 20. For a discussion of the educational activities of the IODE, see Sheehan, "The IODE, the Schools and World War I," 29-44.
 21. For a discussion of the New Education movement, see Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), and George S. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum* (Toronto: Prentice-Hall, 1986).

22. References to and programmes for Empire Day are plentiful in IODE records. See, for example, *Echoes Special Number* (1913), 16, 17. See also Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario," 37.
23. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 115-16.
24. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 191.
25. These programmes are found scattered all through the IODE papers in the PAC, and in *Echoes*. See, for example, MG 28, I 17, Vol. 33, Files 14, 18, and 28; *Echoes*, Oct. 1904, Oct. 1906, June 1907.
26. See *Echoes Special Number* 34 (1913): 116, 134.
27. See Public Archives of Saskatchewan [PAS], R-598, IODE VI 5ki, Minutes of Meetings of Forget Chapter, Regina, 1915, and PAM, Minnie Campbell papers, MC 14, C6, Box 7, IODE Fort Garry Chapter, 1913-14.
28. Public Archives of New Brunswick [PANB], Provincial Records of the IODE, MC 200, MS 28/25, Educational Interests: Reading Lists, *Catalogue of Library Books*.
29. PANB, Provincial Chapter of the IODE, MC 200, MS 28/25, Educational Interests: Reading Lists, *Catalogue of Gramophone Records*.
30. PAM, Minnie Campbell papers, MC 14, C6, Box 20, Report of the National War Committee, Annual Meeting, 1920.
31. PAC, IODE Papers, MC 28, I 17, Vol. 28, File 18, War Memorial Pictures.
32. PAS, IODE Papers, R 598, II 8 National Chapter, Misc., *Empire Day, 1941*.
33. VCA, Pamphlet 1939 - 96, *Canada Within the Empire*.
34. Dominion Education Association, *Proceedings*, 1898 (Halifax 1900), xxxvii, xxxviii.
35. Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 145.
36. *The Ontario Readers, Third Book* (Toronto: T. Eaton Co., 1925).
37. J.E. Middleton, "The Canadian," in *The Ontario Readers, Third Book*, 169-70.
38. Charles Kingsley, "A Farewell," in *The Ontario Readers, Third Book*, 59.
39. "Course of Study in the Common Schools," *Journal of Education* (Nova Scotia), Apr. 1912, 84.
40. Fay Gonick, "Social Values in Manitoba Education, 1910 - 1930" (M.A., University of Manitoba, 1974), quoted in Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 145.
41. Northwest Territories, *Annual Report of the Council of Public Instruction*, 1898, 27-28.
42. *The Alexandra Readers* (Toronto: MacMillan Co., 1908). This was a set of five readers, Primer through Fourth Reader, with a Teachers' Handbook. Various editions were published up to 1922. It was authorized for use in Alberta and Saskatchewan.
43. Harro Van Brummelen, "Shifting Perspectives: Early British Columbia Textbooks from 1872 to 1925," in *Schools in the West: Essays in Canadian Educational History*, ed. Nancy M. Sheehan et al. (Calgary: Detselig, 1986), 27.
44. Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 179-80.
45. Barbara Roberts, "'A Work of Empire': Canadian Reformers and British Female Immigration," in Kealy, *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, 185-201.
46. The original committee included the Minister of Education of Ontario (Harcourt), the President of the University of Toronto (Loudon), the Principal of McGill (Peterson), the Provost of Trinity (Macklem), Professors Edgar (Victoria), Long (Toronto), and Hutton (University College), Inspector Hughes of the Toronto Public Schools, Lieut. Col. Pellatt, and Mr. H.W. Auden (Upper Canada College). *Echoes*,

Oct. 1905, 15, and *The Educational Monthly of Canada* XXVIII, 10 (Dec. 1905): 361-62.

47. Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop* 5 (Spring 1978): 9-65.