

STAND BY THE UNION JACK!
THE IMPERIAL ORDER
DAUGHTERS OF THE EMPIRE
IN THE
PRAIRIE PROVINCES
DURING THE GREAT WAR
1914-1918

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Stand By the Union Jack:
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in the Prairie Provinces
During the Great War 1914-1918

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Abstract

This study examines the activities of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) in the Canadian prairie provinces during the Great War (1914-1918). Although the voluntary work of the IODE is mentioned briefly in most Canadian histories of the war period, the full extent and significance of the Order's wartime role has never been thoroughly examined. This study describes the various Great War interests of the Daughters of the Empire in the West and examines what motivated their successful war work. Furthermore, although Canadian imperialism has been the subject of intense study, the history of those Canadian imperialists who happened to be women has been neglected. Because they were women, the Daughters of the Empire expressed their patriotism in ways that differed from the patriotic expressions of men. The principal sources for this work were the IODE records held at the National Archives of Canada and the provincial archives of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, and a number of private collections of active IODE members and chapters.

When Britain declared war against Germany and its allies in August, 1914, the Daughters of the Empire in the three prairie provinces were eager and prepared to play a major support role in order to ensure victory for the British Empire. Acting as an integral part of an efficient,

well-organized national Order and energized by patriotic zeal, the IODE in the West made significant contributions to the Canadian and imperial war efforts.

The Daughters of the Empire operated an extensive soldier support program and several large-scale wartime projects which they financed through successful fundraising endeavours. The Order also took stances on important political issues which were deemed fundamental to the successful prosecution of the war -- even though it meant ignoring the official IODE policy of political neutrality. Finally, fearing that there had been a decline in imperial interest and cultural standards amongst English-Canadians and anxious about the consequences of large-scale foreign immigration into the West, the war inspired the IODE to try and improve prairie society through various patriotic, educational, health, social welfare, and economic development programs. Ironically, the Great War brought an end to the imperial ideals that formed the base of IODE ideology, and the society that the Daughters of the Empire worked towards was never realized.

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Chapter One

"Ready, Aye, Ready"

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) was a Canadian patriotic women's organization born and bred to serve the British Empire during war. The IODE was organized during the Boer War for women of the Empire who wanted to do war work during the imperial struggle. After the conflict in South Africa, the Order poised itself to play a key role in any future war. The Daughters of the Empire designed a highly organized and efficient society of patriotic women who were anxious to serve their country and their King in time of need. When Britain became embroiled in the Great War in 1914, the IODE was eager and prepared to make significant contributions to the Canadian and British war efforts in the hope of helping to bring the war to a victorious conclusion for the British Empire.

War broke out between Great Britain and the Boers of South Africa in October of 1899. This struggle renewed the interest of many English-Canadians in imperialism. They saw the Boer War as an opportunity to demonstrate the loyalty of the Dominion to the Mother Country.¹ When the Boer War

¹For elaboration on this period of Canadian imperialism and Canada's involvement in the Boer War, see Carl Berger The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), and Robert Page, The Boer War and Canadian Imperialism, Canadian Historical Association Booklet # 14, (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1987).

broke out, Mrs. Clark Murray -- a Scotswoman, and the wife of a professor at McGill University in Montreal -- was in England where "she met many women who were anxious to help on the home front but were handicapped by lack of channels through which to work."² Upon her return to Canada Mrs. Murray surmised that while men seemed to be organized and ready to respond to any emergency the Empire might face, women "as a body, had no bond of fellowship, nor opportunity for service, to render effective assistance in time of need."³ While men could go to war to do their patriotic duty, women had no means by which to express their imperialism. Mrs. Murray took it upon herself to organize an Empire-wide federation of patriotic women, whose purpose would be to foster a bond of union among the women and children of the Empire and to promote patriotism, service and loyalty to King and Country.⁴

²Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), IODE Records, R598, File II.6, The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: Golden Jubilee 1900-1950, p. 1.

³National Archives of Canada (NAC), Manuscript Division, IODE Records, MG 28, I 17, Volume 19, File 9, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: 1900-1925, p. 4.

⁴Mrs. Murray began to organize what was originally called the Daughters of the Empire Federation in Montreal early in 1900. She widely publicized the movement by sending telegrams to the mayors of the capital cities in the Dominion, asking them to call together the prominent women of their communities to organize Daughters of the Empire societies. After petitioning all of the Canadian provinces, Mrs. Murray sent out word that she had given up the idea because no one seemed to be interested. Shortly after, she received word from the women of Fredericton, New Brunswick, that she could not end her efforts because they had already

After a year of strenuous work -- during which time she almost single-handedly laid the initial foundations for this patriotic women's organization -- Mrs. Clark Murray's health began to fail, and she retired from her position as Secretary of the Federation. At this time, she suggested that the headquarters of the federation be moved to Toronto.⁵ Mrs. Murray also recommended that Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer become the first president of the new order.⁶ Both of her requests were adopted. The Head Office was moved to Toronto in October of 1901 and Mrs. Nordheimer became the first President of the Order which was later incorporated in 1901 under the title "The Imperial Order

formed a Daughters of the Empire chapter in their city. Encouraged by this show of interest, Mrs. Murray continued her efforts to organize a nation-wide federation of patriotic women. SAB, IODE Records, R598, File II.6, The IODE Golden Jubilee, p. 2; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 19, File 10, "Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Brief: Outline of History: 1900-1949," p. 1.

⁵This suggestion was probably a response to the interest that Ontario women were showing in the Order in this organizational period: the New Brunswick Chapter was the only one formed in 1900, and the only four chapters that were organized in 1901 (besides the National Chapter) were in Ontario. National Chapter IODE Records, "Record of Organizations of Chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire According to Charter Number."

⁶Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer was a prominent woman in Toronto. Her husband was President of the Federal Bank of Canada, a director for many other financial corporations, and was appointed German consul for Ontario in 1897.

Daughters of the Empire, and The Children of the Empire (Junior Branch)."⁷

The Daughters of the Empire quickly fashioned some symbols and developed some operating tools. The IODE's motto became "One Flag, One Throne, One Empire." An official IODE badge was designed to serve as an emblem of what the Order represented.⁸ During the first year of the Order's existence, the official publication of the IODE -- Echoes -- was inaugurated by the Daughters' Honorary Secretary, Mrs. R.E.A. Land.⁹ Echoes began as a small

⁷The IODE's name is often misconstrued in Canadian history and in the records of the Order itself. The group is mistakenly referred to as The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, The Independent Order Daughters of the Empire, The International Order Daughters of the Empire, and other variations.

⁸A crown at the top of the IODE badge represented Majesty and loyalty to the king. In the center of the badge was a white star with seven points; the whiteness denoted purity and high aims, and the seven points represented the seven divisions of the Empire. Upon the star was a Union Jack, with its union of three crosses that were emblematic of unity, loyalty and sacrifice. Finally, the star and Union Jack were surrounded by a white ribbon which symbolized the Empire Bond. This white band reminded the badge's owner that she was bound together with all the people of the Empire, that she must be loyal to King, Empire, the IODE, and individually to her local chapter. Public Archives of Alberta (PAA), Acc. No. 76.57, p. 3, Keomi Chapter IODE Minute Book 1917-1922, "Our Badge," (a paper presented by Mrs. A. McCreery at Vancouver, B.C., Municipal Annual Meeting of the IODE, March 18th, 1918), pp. 4-5.

⁹National Archives of Canada Library (NACL), P 198, Miss Constance Rudyerd Boulton, Looking Backward, 1900-1913: Echoes Special Number, June 1913, pg. 13. Mrs. R.E.A. Land was a Toronto woman "of strong Imperial convictions" who endeavoured to secure the support of a number of Toronto's

published leaflet, but soon developed into a substantial quarterly magazine. The Constitution, which included the objects to be attained and a description of the organization's structure, was planned and systematized by Mrs. Clark Murray, and adopted without alteration by the Order.¹⁰ As drawn up by Mrs. Murray, the IODE's Constitution made provision for primary, municipal, provincial, national, and imperial chapters. These chapters were arranged into a hierarchical system of jurisdiction that was to be headed by the the imperial chapter, and which worked down to the primary chapters.¹¹ The Imperial Chapter was intended to be the general consultative body of the Order, "with means for ascertaining the views of National Chapters."¹² Since an Imperial Chapter was never formed,

leading women in order to further the movement and transfer the Order's headquarters to Toronto. It was Mrs. Land who won over Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer and convinced her to become the IODE's first president. Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹For a complete description of the IODE's hierarchical chapter structure, see NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," Articles V to VII, pp. 8-19.

¹²NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," p. 25. Originally it had been hoped that an Imperial Chapter IODE would be formed out of London, England. It was not to be instituted before the organization of three National Chapters in the Empire. When it was realized that the Victoria League was already firmly established in Britain, the two organizations reached an agreement that they would not encroach on each other's domain. As a result, an Imperial IODE Chapter was never formed, and there were no IODE chapters organized in the British Isles. SAB, IODE Papers, R 598, File II.6, The IODE Golden Jubilee, p. 12.

the National Chapter of Canada was vested with its powers. The national chapters that were eventually organized in the Bahamas, Bermuda and Newfoundland operated under the Canadian IODE Constitution.¹³

In order to emphasize the importance of history and tradition -- particularly in relation to Canada and the British Empire -- the IODE Constitution demanded that each primary chapter choose a historic name. As a consequence, chapters in the early years were named after royalty, local, national, or imperial heroes, historical personages, significant Canadian or imperial historic events, or places of special interest in national or local affairs -- in the words of a contemporary journalist, "the nomenclature of the [hundreds of] branches of the organization [was] rich in patriotic lore."¹⁴ Another custom that the Order adopted was having each primary chapter choose its own motto. Mottos called the women of the Order to unite in loyal, courageous, steadfast service in the name of God, the King, the Empire, the Country: "United We Stand;" "Ever Loyal;" "Courage To Guard What We Hold;" "Fear God, Honour the King;" "One Empire;" "Love of Country Leads Me." Some

¹³A National Chapter called the "National Society Daughters of the British Empire in the United States" was also created to the south. This society's specific purpose was to establish and maintain homes for indigent men and women of British birth living in the United States. Ibid.

¹⁴W.A. Craick, "A Noble Order -- and the War," Maclean's, June 1915, p. 28.

chapter mottos asked the Daughters of the Empire to act to the best of their ability whenever there was an opportunity to work for public good: "To give rather than to receive;" "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with all thy might;" "Be Watchful of the Needy." Mottos also encouraged members of the IODE to be patriotic British subjects, and reminded them that they had a history and tradition that they could be proud of: "Of This One Thing I Brag, that I was Born in Canada Beneath the British Flag;" "Lest We Forget;" "One Hand on the Traditions of the Past."¹⁵

Interest in the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire developed gradually across the nation. In the years before 1909, the women of British Columbia, English-speaking Quebec, and the Maritimes began to show an interest in the Order, but the rate of chapter organization was small in comparison to Ontario. Significant interest in the Order did not begin in the Prairie West until 1909. Before that year, only four chapters were organized in the West: three in Edmonton, Alberta (one in each of the years 1905, 1906 and 1908), and one in Dauphin, Manitoba (1906).¹⁶

¹⁵NACL, Echoes, June 1914, pp. 48-103.

¹⁶By the end of 1908, there were seven chapters organized in British Columbia, four chapters organized in the Maritime provinces, and five chapters organized in Quebec. In comparison, there were eighty-eight chapters organized in Ontario before 1909. National Chapter IODE Records, "Record of Organizations of Chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire According to Charter Number."

In 1909, seven members of the National Executive -- including Miss C. Merritt, the National Honorary Organizing Secretary -- set out on a western organizational tour.¹⁷ Their goal was to promote the organization of Daughters of the Empire chapters amongst the women of the West in an effort to make the IODE a truly national, coast-to-coast women's organization. Financed by contributions from "public-spirited people" and travelling in a private train car placed at their disposal through the influence of Lady Mackenzie, the wife of railway and business magnate, Sir William Mackenzie, these National Executive members visited a number of western towns and cities during their journey to the Pacific coast. They met with the prominent women of each center, described the objectives and work of the Order, and organized chapters if interest was shown. They succeeded in organizing IODE chapters in Winnipeg, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, Battleford, North Battleford, Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, Saskatoon, Regina, and Grenfell. A total of eighteen chapters were organized in the prairie provinces during this tour.¹⁸

¹⁷The Executive members who accompanied Miss Merritt were: Mrs. Bruce, Honorary Treasurer; Mrs. Burns, "Echoes" Secretary; Miss Jackson, Can. Cor.; Miss Arnoldi, Recording Secretary; Miss C.N. Merritt of the Navy League; and Mrs. Langstaff, President of the IODBE in the U.S.A.. Echoes Special Number, pg. 20.

¹⁸Ibid.; National Chapter IODE Records, "Record of Organizations of Chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire According to Charter Number."

Western chapter organization continued to be relatively slow, but showed a definite increase after 1909. Between 1910 and 1913, there were thirty new chapters organized in the prairie provinces.¹⁹ The faster rate of organization was a result of the interest in the IODE that was generated by the western organizational tour. Members of new prairie chapters created during the tour eagerly encouraged the continued expansion of the Order in the West. Organizing secretaries were appointed in the major cities in the three provinces. Their job was to stimulate interest and organize new chapters in urban centers and rural areas. By the end of 1913, 49 chapters had been organized in the prairie provinces.²⁰

Each chapter in the West was different from the next. Chapters varied in size from the 10 members required by the Constitution to the hundreds of members that eventually made up larger chapters like the Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg and the Forget Chapter in Regina.²¹ While chapters of the Order throughout the nation had common concerns and the same general objectives, many individual chapters focused on

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹By 1917, Forget Chapter had over 150 members. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.k.ii, Minute Book Three, Forget Chapter, Membership List, p. 164. The membership of Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg reached its height during the Great War, when it had 325 members in good standing. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 29, File 14, "Historical Sketch of Fort Garry Chapter, 1909-1923," 1923, p. 14.

particular subject areas. Specific interests of primary chapters were diverse, and included preoccupations with social events, fundraising, hospital work, soldier services and upkeep of military graves, historic monuments, arts and entertainment, public school education, or in-chapter self-improvement of members.

The activity of urban chapters often differed from the routine of chapters in rural centers. The resources available for social events, entertainments, and fundraising differed from country to city, and thus determined the focus and type of projects that different chapters could undertake. Women in the city could usually meet more often than women in the country; they did not have to worry about the distances or harsh conditions that rural women often had to face when travelling to meetings.²² This is not meant to suggest that IODE women in rural areas contributed proportionally less or were less enthusiastic or less patriotic than Daughters of the Empire in urban centers. The determination of women in some small towns and rural areas to organize chapters, to meet regularly, and to

²²The rural chapter of Shorncliffe reported that its members had four different post office addresses -- Austin, Valley Stream, Edrans and Pine Creek -- and that they all drove from four to nine miles to meet in the Presbyterian Church (presumably in Pine Creek.) NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 82. The Fourth Annual Report of the Provincial Chapter of Manitoba pays tribute to the self-sacrifice and patriotism of rural women who were "completely isolated during the long cold winter and heavy floods of spring." Ibid., October 1916, p. 48.

participate actively in IODE undertakings attests to their value as members. Above all, even if they were unable to meet regularly or report substantial amounts of work done, "it meant much to the members [of rural chapters] to be linked with other women of the Empire" ²³

There were many different types of women who made up the chapters of the IODE in the prairie West. Some were married; others were single. Some were prominent in their community; others wished they were prominent; many were satisfied with an anonymous role. The women of the IODE were also of different political and denominational backgrounds or convictions, but Daughters of the Empire made a conscientious effort to avoid controversial subjects on which patriotic women might differ. Since the IODE existed to promote imperial and patriotic ideals, it was IODE policy to stay out of issues which involved denominational or party controversy. ²⁴

The Daughters of the Empire were Canadian imperialists. Like other Canadian imperialists at the turn of the century, their reverence of the history and institutions of the British Empire was not incompatible with their loyalty to Canada. ²⁵ They saw Canada as an integral part of the Empire and hoped that the Dominion would come to play a larger role

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid., December 1917, p. 11-12.

²⁵Berger, p. 9.

in imperial affairs. The women of the IODE would have agreed with a statement made by Principal G.M. Grant of Queen's University: "[We] are Canadian, and in order to be Canadian we must be British."²⁶ The membership articles of the original IODE Constitution stated that "all women and children in the British Empire or foreign lands, who are British subjects and hold true allegiance to the British Crown, are eligible for membership."²⁷ It made sense, then, that most of the women who joined the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were of British descent. Women who came from a British background had a natural interest in an organization devoted to patriotic work for the British Empire.

Until at least the end of the Great War, the membership lists of the IODE in the West did not contain names of women of south or east-central European descent or of Asian background. This situation was a result of the nativist approach that prairie Daughters of the Empire -- and most other English-Canadians in the West -- took in their dealings with "foreign" immigrants. The IODE believed that non-Anglo-Saxon foreign-born immigrants were not loyal

²⁶"G," "Current Events," Queen's Quarterly, V, summer 1898, p. 328.

²⁷NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "Constitution and Statutes of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire," Article IV, Section 1, pg. 6. Members also had to be naturalized citizens of the Dominion of Canada to qualify for IODE membership. Ibid., Vol. 2, File 4, 1914 Minutes of IODE National Chapter Executive, 14 May 1914, p. 85.

British subjects until they were totally assimilated to the language, customs and beliefs of English-Canada.²⁸ IODE members and their fellow Anglo-Canadians in the West called all non-British immigrants "foreigners" whether they were naturalized citizens or not. Foreign-born female immigrants who were not completely Canadianized did not qualify to become members of the Order because they were not considered loyal British subjects. Furthermore, at the Annual Meeting in Victoria in 1917, the question was brought forth as to "whether a woman of British birth who was married to a foreigner could be a member of the IODE, and the decision arrived at was that they must be debarred."²⁹ The IODE even questioned the loyalty of women who married foreigners.

Although the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire considered the assimilation of foreign immigrants a top priority before and during the First World War, they were only willing to contribute to the anglo-conformity process from a distance.³⁰ In the many addresses and reports given by Daughters of the Empire (and repeated in the magazine

²⁸Howard Palmer, "Strangers and Stereotypes: The Rise of Nativism -- 1880-1920," in R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., The Prairie West: Historical Readings (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), p. 322.

²⁹Saskatoon Phoenix, 16 June 1917, p. 4.

³⁰Anglo-conformists believed foreign immigrants were obliged to become Canadians by absorbing the language, culture and institutions of English Canada. Immigrants were expected to renounce their ancestral culture and traditions in favour of the behavior and values of Anglo-Canadians. Palmer, "Strangers and Stereotypes," p. 322.

Echoes) about how to solve the immigrant problem, the IODE never considered including "foreign" women in their organization as a means to assimilate them firsthand into western Canadian society. The group's nativist sentiments were stronger than their desire to include certain groups of non-British immigrants in their community in order to eliminate cultural differences.³¹

The IODE's nativist approach to women of non-British background did not apply to women from certain immigrant groups in the West who were easily assimilated. "Foreign" immigrants who were quick to adopt Canadian customs and who were willing and eager to learn to speak the English language were readily accepted as loyal British citizens and as Daughters of the Empire. For example, the IODE welcomed members of the naturalized Icelandic community in Manitoba into the Order and allowed a group of Icelandic women to create their own chapter; the Jon Sigurdsson Chapter in Winnipeg was entirely made up of women of Icelandic background.³² It is certain that the IODE was willing to allow the formation of this chapter because "by 1914 the

³¹Howard Palmer, "Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History: Post Confederation (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1982), p. 128.

³²NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 89.

Icelanders had become sufficiently assimilated to be almost 'honorary Anglo-Saxons.'³³

The majority of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire's members were urban married women who had enough leisure time during the day and in the evening to attend meetings and participate in IODE functions. By 1916, women themselves were suggesting that their involvement in groups like the IODE was partially a reaction to the extra time they had on their hands and the need to fill this time in useful and stimulating ways. As suggested by Saturday Night editorialist Marjory MacMurchy in a 1916 article about women's organizations:

The typical member of these associations . . . is married, not single. She is middle-aged. She is a woman with household occupations and yet with some leisure. Her children are wholly or half-way grown-up, and she is able to undertake some work outside. As the employment of home-making is at present understood, a woman in charge of a house, whose children are not in need of constant attention, has time for other employment. She also has sufficient initiative and energy to make other occupation necessary. She must have social intercourse. Few things are more unhealthy mentally than for a woman whose work is keeping house, to remain indoors alone, all day, every day. The need of this middle-aged, married woman for work and social co-operation, her impulse to help others and accomplish something worth doing in the world outside, are the forces which have created women's organizations.³⁴

³³John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 82.

³⁴Marjory MacMurchy, "Women's Organizations," Saturday Night, 7 October 1916, p. 21.

Although prairie IODE membership did include single women, young women, farm women who did have menial work to do at home, and wealthy women who did not have menial household obligations to attend to at all, MacMurchy's portrait accurately describes the majority of IODE women in the urban West in the first decades of the century.

In typical primary chapters in the West, single women constituted a smaller portion of overall chapter membership. In many cases, the single women who belonged to a primary chapter whose membership was predominantly married were often unmarried daughters of women who were already IODE members. There were, however, a significant number of chapters in the prairie provinces that were made up of young, single women. Chapters of this sort were frequently called "young women's" or "girls'" chapters. Some of these chapters were organized specifically for young women by established senior primary chapters or by provincial or municipal organizing secretaries who hoped to encourage a continued interest in the Order in upcoming generations of Canadian women.³⁵ In other cases, chapters were simply organized by younger, single women who were interested in the work that the Order was doing. Most girls' chapters

³⁵The Tannisuk ("an Indian word meaning 'daughter'") Chapter in Calgary claimed the distinction of being the first young women's chapter to be organized (in Canada). It was organized by Mrs. W.D. Spence, Honorary Organizing Secretary of the IODE for Southern Alberta. NACL, Echoes, June 1915, p. 78.

were made up of young, single girls who worked for a living. The most common occupations of these girls were teacher, bank clerk, stenographer or office clerk. In the Tnnisuk Chapter in Calgary, for example, four-fifths of the "girl members" were teachers or worked in banks and offices.³⁶

The position that a woman held in Canadian society in the first decades of the twentieth century was usually determined by the position that her husband or father occupied in that society. An examination of the occupation of the husbands or fathers of some prairie IODE members who belonged to the organization in the first twenty years of its existence indicates that a significant number of the husbands or fathers of western IODE members were professionals, politicians, civil servants and business owners -- the occupational groups which tended to encompass the leaders or prominent figures of western Canadian society. (See Table One in Appendix A.) Since a woman's identity was usually linked to that of her closest male relative, the respect given to this group of men was usually extended to their IODE wives and daughters. The second largest category of occupations of husbands or fathers of

³⁶"Tan-nis-uk Girls Break Record for War Relief Work," Calgary Daily Herald, 27 February 1918, p. 10. Other occupations of single IODE members in the West included bookkeeper, nurse, school principal, deaconess, tax collector, dentist, dressmaker, telephone operator, music teacher, and at least three society editors for prominent western newspapers. See Appendix A for information on sources used to obtain this information.

Daughters of the Empire in the West in this period was service industry jobs. (See Table One in Appendix A for a list of the occupations included in this category.) The men in this category and their families made up the middle ranks of prairie society. Most of them probably had substantial or adequate salaries, but it is likely that many of them did not have the kind of prestige that they would have preferred. In a western region that was full of opportunities at the turn of the century, it is probable that many of the men who worked in service industries hoped to "move up in the world". It is also likely that many of the women whose husbands worked in the service industry used or tried to use the IODE as a rung in their social-climbing ladder. Very few wives of common labourers or employees belonged to the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.

The prominence of a Daughter of the Empire was not always determined by her husband's or father's position or accomplishments. A number of prairie IODE members were famous or respected on their own merits. Female journalist Daisy MacGregor, editor of the woman's page of the Calgary Albertan, was a member of the Tannisuk Chapter in that city. Mrs. R.R. (Alice) Jamieson, who was the first woman in Canada to be appointed as a judge of a juvenile court, was also a member of an IODE chapter in Edmonton.³⁷ The most

³⁷PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 76.57, Keomi Chapter Minutes 1912-1917, 5 February 1914, p. 91.

well-known IODE member in the West, however, was Mrs. Colin H. (Minnie J.B.) Campbell (1862-1952). Although her husband had been a prominent cabinet minister in the Manitoban Roblin Government for thirteen years, Mrs. Campbell was known for her own accomplishments throughout the Dominion.³⁸ Mrs. Campbell was President of the Manitoba Provincial Chapter, a founding member and regent of the Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg, and a Councillor of the IODE National Chapter.³⁹ Mrs. Campbell took a self-assured, direct and aggressive approach to all of her endeavours that enabled her to accomplish great things in the name of the Order.

The IODE membership selection process had an effect in determining the nature of the Order's membership. The process was set up in such a way that the women of the Order could choose who they wanted as members in their organization. Women who were interested in becoming members of the IODE had to apply for admission into the chapter that they wished to join. Applicants were nominated and seconded at a meeting of the chapter, and successful nominees were

³⁸Colin H. Campbell was Manitoba Minister of Education from 1900-1905, Attorney-General from 1905-1913, and Minister of Public Works from 1911-1913. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 4, Manitoba Provincial Chapter: Miscellaneous, 1911-1913.

³⁹Besides her IODE work, Mrs. Campbell helped to organize the Red Cross Society and the YWCA in Winnipeg. She was a member of the WCTU. She was an active volunteer and fundraiser for a variety of social, religious and educational causes. Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), Finding Aid Description for the Minnie Julia Beatrice Campbell Papers.

elected by ballot at the following meeting.⁴⁰ If a convincing argument was made against an applicant she would not be nominated or elected a member. This system of membership selection was undoubtedly used -- whether or not it was openly acknowledged -- to establish the almost exclusively British, middle and upper class makeup of the Order.

The method of chapter organization in the West also helped to determined the makeup of prairie membership. When the IODE was originally established in western centers, the people who were asked to organize new chapters were well-known, well-respected women who were active in society and the community and whose husbands were the civic and business leaders in their respective cities. After these women organized a chapter, they appear to have encouraged the women who were in their social circles to apply for membership in the chapter. Consequently, women who had friends in the middle to upper ranks of society were more likely to have contact with the organizers of IODE chapters. Some women from the middle ranks of society likely recognized the original members of the IODE as the respected or prominent people in the community and aspired to be part of the organization because of what it could do for them socially. At the same time, it is feasible that women from

⁴⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "Constitution and Statutes of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire," Article IV, Section 7, p. 7.

the lower ranks of society would simply not have been interested in the Order because they belonged to different social circles and because they had different concerns and interests. Many IODE chapters appear to have had internal oligarchies. IODE women who belonged to the upper echelons of western Canadian society were virtually expected to become the leaders and most active members of IODE chapters. In most cases, this elite group of women held on to the top executive positions in their chapter executives and made decisions for their chapters that were almost always adopted by their IODE sisters.

Money was another factor that might have excluded some women from belonging to the Order. Women from low income families frequently had to work and take care of a household, which would have left them no time to attend IODE meetings or functions. It could also be expensive to keep up with the charity and social expectations of the Order. Some women simply could not afford to spend money on monthly dues and charitable donations, and most certainly could not afford to buy a life membership in the Order for \$25.00.⁴¹ Many women did not have the financial resources to keep pace with the social calendar of most IODE chapters. Not everyone could buy a new dress or ball gown for each formal ball, elaborate dinner or night at the theatre -- events

⁴¹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution", Article IV, Section 6, p. 7.

that were popular means of fundraising and socializing amongst the members of the organization in most of the urban centers. Definite financial demands came with being a Daughter of the Empire; many women would not have been able to fulfill such obligations.

Given their composition, the prairie chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had a paternalistic, condescending attitude towards immigrants and the lower ranks of society. This attitude was illustrated in the 1914 President's Address delivered at the IODE Annual Meeting by Mrs. A.E. Gooderham:

But Daughters of the Empire have other responsibilities to face [With] little except our own enthusiasm to inspire us, we must look after the lonely, provide means of education for the ignorant, open the doors of culture and opportunity for those in less fortunate circumstances than our own, tend the sick, and do all that lies within our power to make the life of the city or town in which we live healthier, sweeter, noble and better worth living for even the most humble citizen.⁴²

Later in her speech, Mrs. Gooderham continued:

Because we are Daughters of the Empire, we recognize the place that courtesy and consideration must have in the lives of good citizens. We realize perhaps more fully our relative worth as compared to other human beings We have no right to suit our own convenience if by doing so we make things harder for other

⁴²NACL, Echoes, June 14, pp. 8-9.

Canadians in less fortunate positions than our own.⁴³

In these comments, and in many other IODE references made "from above" and directed at helping those less fortunate -- including the poor and the immigrant -- "down below", the women of the IODE indicated that there were not many "unfortunate" people in their own ranks.

Like other imperialists at the turn of the twentieth century, the Daughters of the Empire feared for the future of the Empire. They recognized the potential threat from imperial rivals that Britain was facing on the seas and in conquered lands around the globe.⁴⁴ As a consequence, instead of petitioning imperial leaders to expand the Empire or create new colonies, the women of the IODE searched for ways that women and children could help to unify, improve, protect and strengthen the Empire that already existed. Because they were concerned about the health and safety of the British Empire, they put their energies into promoting the defense of the physical territories and the cultural and political institutions that made up that Empire.

The Daughters of the Empire employed every available means to ensure that British people remembered and held on to their imperial heritage and the imperial tradition -- even if their gestures were as small as deciding to bank at

⁴³Ibid., p. 12.

⁴⁴Ibid., Echoes Special Number, p. 10.

the "Imperial Bank" because it suggested the name of the Order, or selling "Be British" pins at local fairs.⁴⁵ The IODE strived "[to] promote in the Motherland and in the Colonies the study of the History of the Empire and of current Imperial questions"⁴⁶ Adults were educated about topics of imperial and patriotic importance in public addresses and lectures given by respected professors, military men and ministers, or through the media and in pamphlets. Children were educated about the Empire in children's organizations and in schools, where the IODE managed to influence certain aspects of school programming.⁴⁷ The women of the Order believed that it was important to promote the study of Canadian and imperial history, civics, and current events so that the people of the Dominion would understand why it was so important to defend the culture and institutions of the British Empire.

Two of the main constitutional objectives of the Daughters of the Empire were to supply and foster a bond of union amongst the women and children of the Empire and to

⁴⁵Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Minutes of Alexander Galt Chapter, Lethbridge Alberta, Minutes 1914-1917, 6 February 1914, organizational meeting; SAB, R598, File VI 5hi, Book 1, Minutes Victoria and Albert Chapter, Prince Albert, 2 August 1915.

⁴⁶NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, IODE Constitution, Article II., pg. 4.

⁴⁷The IODE's programs to educate children and adults about the traditions, the heritage and the contemporary problems of the Empire are discussed in Chapter 4.

promote unity between the Motherland, the sister colonies and themselves, and loyalty to King and Country.⁴⁸ As the former National Chapter honorary secretary, Constance Rudyerd Boulton, stated in the Special Number of the Order's magazine Echoes in 1913:

Imperialism is the keynote, the driving force of the Organization -- as its name and the spirit of its Constitution implies. To implant in every Canadian man, woman and child the grandeur of our heritage as a British people; to make real and practical to every individual the privilege of being a citizen of the British Empire; the unity of our far-flung dominion to the ends of the earth, self-governing within themselves, yet bound by tradition, loyalty and gratitude to the Motherland, together upholding the ideals of liberty, justice and honour of which the Union Jack is the emblem wherever it flies -- these are the aspirations which move the members to real acts of devotion and enthusiastic work, and make the Order an established institution and a power to be courted or feared in all matters connected with National or Imperial issues.⁴⁹

The IODE was particularly concerned with cultivating imperial sentiment in the Empire's youth. For that reason, they encouraged the creation of Children of the Empire and Junior IODE chapters.

According to the minute books from an early children's chapter, one of the aims of the Order was to have school children formed into Children of the Empire chapters. These children were to meet in their respective schools and take

⁴⁸NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," Article II, p. 4.

⁴⁹NACL, Echoes Special Number, pg. 10.

part in imperial celebrations "under the inspiration of the Union Jack." The aim in working with children was to "place higher ideals before . . . boys and girls, and to develop the spirit of loyalty and patriotic feeling, and make them worthy of the country and the time in which they live."⁵⁰ About forty Children of the Empire chapters were formed in Canada before the the First World War, and about forty more were organized during the war.⁵¹ In the original Children's chapters, boys were just as important members as girls. In later years, Junior Chapters made up of teen-age girls were formed under sponsorship of Primary Chapters, and were not necessarily based in schools.⁵² The major program that Children of the Empire were involved in was the inter-imperial correspondence scheme, which attempted to teach

⁵⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 19, File 16, IODE Records, "Information concerning 'Children of the Empire'," 1950.

⁵¹National Chapter IODE Records, "Record of Organizations of Chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire According to Charter Number."

⁵²NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 19, File 16, IODE Records, "Information concerning 'Children of the Empire'," 1950. No reason is given to explain why boys lost interest in the Order. It seems likely that as boys grew older, they would have become more interested in groups that were designed to meet boys' or men's organizational needs; there was no place for boys or men to fit into the active organizational structure of the IODE. Furthermore, the Boy Scout Movement -- which had the full support of the IODE -- supplied the same imperial education to young boys that the Order was offering to young girls.

children from throughout the Empire about their imperial comrades by linking them as penpals.⁵³

The IODE's interest in strengthening the bonds between the women and children of the Empire illustrates the fears it had about imperial decline and the hope it held that upcoming generations would learn to love the Empire and guarantee its future. By emphasizing the bonds that tied Canadian children to children throughout the Empire, the Order hoped to foster an imperial sentiment that would encourage the men and women of the future to build a stronger, united Empire.

A major characteristic of Canadian imperialism during this period was militarism: the admiration and exaltation of the martial virtues and a belief in the necessity for military preparedness. By the turn of the century, Canadian imperialists were aware that the Empire's position in the world was not as strong as it had been fifty years earlier.⁵⁴ In response to the perceived threat to the Empire's safety and existence, individual imperialists and imperialist groups such as the IODE promoted and took measures to ensure that Canada was mentally and militarily prepared to assist the Empire if and when the need should arise. It was Canadian imperialists who pressed most fiercely for Canadian participation in the Boer War, who

⁵³NACL, Echoes Special Number, 1913, p. 25.

⁵⁴page, p. 5.

were most apprehensive over the naval scare in the first decade of the 1900s, and who were in the forefront of the movements for the reform of the militia and the establishment of cadet drill in the schools.⁵⁵

The Daughters of the Empire believed that the vitality of the British Empire was revealed when her sons and daughters answered the imperial call and rallied around her against the Boers in South Africa, while

the world stood spellbound at the spectacle of the five free young Nations, the cubs of the British lion, returning to lay down their lives for the Grand old Mother, for the sake of that future which they believed -- and still believe -- can reach its great development under the Union Jack.⁵⁶

How could Britain's enemies question her stability when the men of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Britain's island colonies had so eagerly joined the fight for King and Empire and the women of Canada had organized a women's organization devoted to uniting the women of the Empire?

If the IODE had existed before the Boer War began, they certainly would have encouraged the dispatch of Canadian volunteers to South Africa. Since it was British participation in the Boer War that inspired Mrs. Clark Murray to organize the IODE, it is not surprising that the Order's first project was to provide comforts for the men of

⁵⁵Berger, p. 233.

⁵⁶NACL, Echoes Special Number, p. 10.

the Second Canadian Contingent, Mounted Rifles, on their departure for South Africa. A message was sent to the Second Contingent conveying the IODE's hopes for a safe voyage and a victorious return. Mrs. Murray also contacted the Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa, which agreed to supervise the marking and care of graves of Canadian soldiers who died on the African Veldt.⁵⁷ A fund was set up by the IODE to provide for the care of these graves. About \$2000.00 of this fund was used to send a monument from Canada to South Africa. This monument bore the word "Canada" on its four sides and was inscribed with the names of ninety Canadian soldiers whose graves were unmarked. The money left in the fund was invested, and the interest was used annually for the care and upkeep of the graves.⁵⁸

After the Boer War, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were quick to point out that the one hundred years of peace that Canadians had lived under was the "priceless gift of the Mother Country to her eldest daughter," made possible by the constant protection of the British navy and British manpower. In 1905, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire attempted to rouse public opinion to the necessity and obligation on the part of the Dominion to contribute to

⁵⁷The Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa was an imperial women's society in South Africa. Like the IODE, the Guild was organized in 1900 in response to the Boer War. Ibid., p. 11.

⁵⁸NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 19, File 10, Mrs. Richardson, "IODE: Brief Outline of History 1900-1949," p. 2.

the defence of the Empire by circulating a petition that demanded increased and continued Canadian Government contributions to naval defence.⁵⁹ After the Boer War, the IODE also participated in a movement encouraging the physical and military training of the nation's boys and young men. The Canadian Boy Scout movement and the formation of cadet drill corps in schools were favoured as a means to instill and perpetuate the qualities that would make young men into superior soldiers for the defence of Canada and the Empire.⁶⁰ The IODE promoted different forms of military preparedness because they anticipated that the

⁵⁹There can be little doubt that the Order was disappointed with the results of their petitioning. Although the project received much publicity from the Canadian press, and was "thoroughly advocated by many prominent people," it was not widely supported. Without adequate backing, the Daughters of the Empire were forced to withdraw the petition from circulation without presenting it to the Government. NACL, Echoes Special Number, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁰Berger, pp. 254-255. In 1918, the National Chapter passed a resolution that recommended, "That the attention of the Chapters be drawn to the Boy Scout Movement . . . , and that the Chapters be notified that it was in order to help these associations financially, when financial help was needed." NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 3, File 1, Minutes National Executive IODE, 7 June 1918, p. 37. Primary chapters supported local cadets corps and boy scout troops by financing banquets, camping expeditions and special events, by offering awards and prizes for shooting and other skills competitions, and by donating Union Jacks and troop or corps colours. IODE chapters frequently adopted companies of scouts and gave them financial support on a regular basis. For examples of the IODE's contributions to cadets and scouts, see NACL, Echoes, June 1917, pp. 85, 106; PAA, Acc. 87.145, Minute Book 1914-1916 Westward Ho Chapter IODE Edmonton, 7 May 1914, p. 31; SAB, R766 II.5.(b), Minutes 1917-1920, Golden West Chapter, Saskatoon, Sask., 9 July 1917, p. 59; SAB, R766 II.11(b) Minutes 1918-1921 Saskatoon Municipal Chapter, 29 April 1918, p. 8.

Empire would have to be protected by war again in the near future.

An integral part of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire's imperialism was their extensive program to make Canada the best that it could be so that it would be a worthy and respected member of the imperial family. Because they feared that the people of the Empire had degenerated morally, culturally and physically in recent years, the women of the IODE believed that it was their duty to encourage the rejuvenation of the British race. The original Constitution of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire outlined a definite nation-building mandate. Members were encouraged "to forward every good work for the betterment of their country and people; to assist in the progress of art and literature; to draw women's influence to the betterment of all things connected with our great Empire."⁶¹ In the years before and during the Great War, the IODE undertook a variety of projects aimed at elevating the health, welfare, educational, and cultural standards of the Dominion.⁶²

Patriotism was the base element of the IODE's imperialism. The first objective listed in the Order's original Constitution was "[to] stimulate and give

⁶¹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," Article II, p. 4.

⁶²See Chapter Four for a full discussion of the IODE's pre-war and wartime nation-building work.

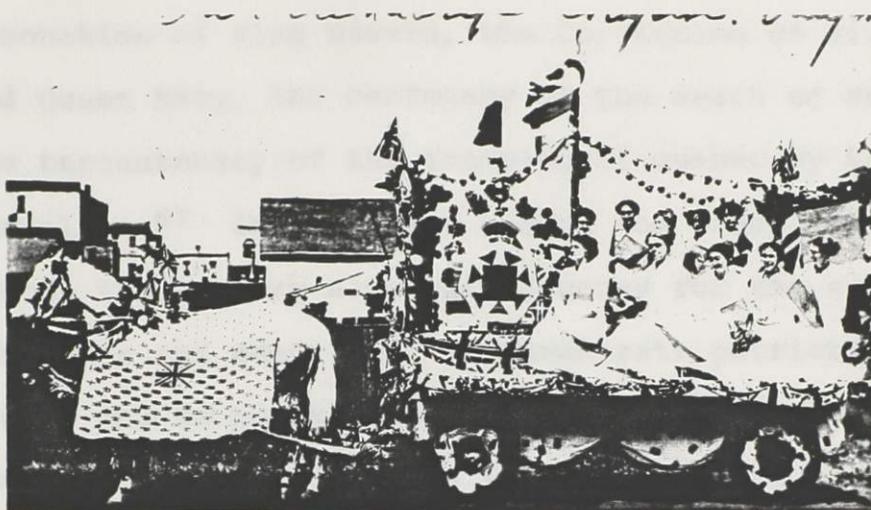
expression to the sentiment of patriotism which binds the women and children of the Empire around the Throne and person of their Gracious and Beloved Sovereign."⁶³

Following this constitutional directive, Daughters of the Empire took it upon themselves to instill patriotism in those Canadians who were lazy or ambivalent about expressing or proving their loyalty. Before the spirit of the Great War caught the people of Canada in its patriotic swell, the Order had to coax Canadians to exhibit their patriotism.

The IODE believed that it was very important to display their patriotism visually. They celebrated their love and devotion for their country and Empire loudly and frequently. Members saw it as their duty to organize or attend special programs for every patriotic day or special event on the imperial or Canadian calendar. Patriotic days included royal birthdays and anniversaries; Dominion Day; Trafalgar Day, which memorialized Nelson's victory at Trafalgar; and Paardeberg Day which commemorated the South African war battle at Paardeberg, in which the Royal Canadians played a prominent role in the final events of the battle which led to the Boer surrender.⁶⁴ Patriotic days were celebrated

⁶³NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," Article II., Object 1, p. 4.

⁶⁴Page, p. 14. During the Great War, a resolution that originated from Edmonton's Keomi Chapter was passed by the National Chapter, which asked that Paardeberg Day Celebrations be discontinued because "Pa-ardeburg [sic] Day is the celebration of a victory over the Boers in South Africa and . . . the Boers are like ourselves now fighting



Float on Dominion Day 1915, LaVerendrye Chapter, Dauphin, Manitoba. (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

with patriotic mass meetings, with participation in programs sponsored by the IODE, other groups, or the government, and with parades for which IODE chapters occasionally built and rode on floats.⁶⁵ Flags were often bought by the Order and given to children to wave and display on patriotic days or

for the Empire in the present war." This action was also suggested in consideration of the Order's South African sisters whose husbands and sons were fighting for the Empire. PAA, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, 1913-1918 Minutes Edmonton Municipal Chapter, 10 Feb 1916, p. 154. Similarly, the Municipal Chapter of Winnipeg decided not to celebrate Trafalgar Day in 1915 because Trafalgar Day commemorated a victory over France, and the French were now the Empire's allies. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, 1912-1916 Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes, 8 September 1915, p. 167.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, uncatalogued photograph of LaVerendrye Chapter, Dauphin, Manitoba, parade float on Dominion Day, 1915.

for special patriotic events.⁶⁶ The Daughters of the Empire also attended or participated in events such as the Coronation of King Edward, the Coronation of King George VI and Queen Mary, the centenary of the death of Nelson, and the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec by Samuel Champlain.⁶⁷ In the years before the Great War, chapters across the country also raised money for the erection of monuments and memorials to commemorate patriotic historic events and to honour patriots who had died for King and Country. Prairie chapters honoured significant patriotic events in prairie history.⁶⁸

⁶⁶Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, p. 20.

⁶⁷NACL, Echoes Special Number, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁸In 1909, the Battleford Chapter repaired the Memorial Gates of the Battleford Cemetery, that had been erected in honor of the soldiers who had been killed during the Riel Rebellion of 1885. Mrs. C.J. Greenwood Papers, Records of Battleford Chapter IODE, J.D. Herbert, A History of Battleford Chapter, p. 7; NACL, Echoes Special Number, p. 128, p. 131. In Saskatoon, all of the city's chapters joined forces to move and preserve the first stone schoolhouse to be built in the district from its original site onto the university grounds, where it was to be used as a museum and archives. This schoolhouse was deemed to be of patriotic interest because it had been used as a hospital during the 1885 Rebellion. The members of the Fitzgerald Chapter in Saskatoon contributed to a large native boulder memorial in honour of Royal North West Mounted Police officer Inspector Fitzgerald -- a member of the famous "Lost Patrol," who lost his life along with two other constables and a newly-retired ex-constable while attempting a winter police patrol from Dawson to Fort McPherson. Morris Zaslow, The Opening of the Canadian North (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971), p. 246; Saskatoon Phoenix, 14 November 1914, p. 10.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had a firm faith in the value of using symbols when expressing and inspiring patriotism and loyalty. The IODE genuinely believed that gestures such as flying the Union Jack or singing national and imperial anthems would have a positive effect on the stimulation of patriotism in Canada and throughout the Empire. At the same time, the Daughters of the Empire wanted it to be understood that "flag-waving" and other symbolic patriotic gestures were the last, rather than the first or only, expression of the IODE's patriotism.⁶⁹

The IODE had a great deal of pride in the Union Jack and believed that people of the Empire rallied beneath its tri-coloured crosses. The Order encouraged the widespread display of the Empire's flag and attempted to teach the population to respect and salute it. In the Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge, the suggestion that every Daughter of the Empire float the Union Jack from her home was heartily endorsed by all members. The women of Prince Albert went one step further and hoped to induce the citizens of their city to show more patriotism and have flags flying all the time.⁷⁰ As part of their program to instill patriotism in

⁶⁹This statement was made in response to the suggestion of some non-IODE critics who maintained that the Order's sole occupation was flag-waving in the early years of the Order's existence after the Boer War. NACL, Echoes Special Number, p. 12.

⁷⁰Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes, 17 Oct 1918, p. 73; SAB, R 598, File VI.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, 22 May 1917.

the nation's youth, the Alexander Galt Chapter Educational Committee also recommended to their local school board that school children be taught to salute the flag. The Saskatchewan Provincial IODE tried to ensure that all schools that did not have them were supplied with flags and flagpoles.⁷¹ Chapters in the West donated flags to children's groups such as scout troops, cadet corps, and the Winnipeg Boys Club in Winnipeg.⁷² The Brandon Chapter in Brandon, Manitoba, appears to have been gratified to comply when the oldest Indian on the Oak River reserve near Griswold, Manitoba, showed his "loyal affection for the British flag" by appealing to the chapter for a Union Jack to be wrapped around him when he died.⁷³

Another symbolic gesture that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire viewed as an important display of patriotism was the singing of imperial and national anthems. The Daughters of the Empire were concerned that these anthems were not being honoured as they should be. The Municipal Chapter in Edmonton noted that incorrect words for "O Canada" were being used at the local Pantages Theatre, and sent a copy of the authorized words to the theatre owner

⁷¹Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes, 18 March 1915, p. 62; SAB, R598, File VI.5.k.i, 1914-1916 Minutes Forget Chapter, Regina, p. 25.

⁷²NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 85.

⁷³Ibid., March 1917, p. 35.

to ensure that the national anthem would be properly sung.⁷⁴ The Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge was also concerned that appropriate respect was not being paid during the singing of anthems at public functions. This chapter passed a motion that their secretary write to the managers of the theatres in Lethbridge, asking them to insist upon the audience standing when "God Save the King" was being played.⁷⁵

Even aspects of the IODE's meeting procedure focused on honouring symbols of their loyalty to the Empire. One of the major executive positions that could be held in all levels of chapter organization was Standard Bearer. It was the Standard Bearer's "duty to have charge of the National Flag (Union Jack) and to see that it [occupied] a prominent place at the meetings of the Chapter."⁷⁶ As the chapter meeting was called to order the flag was to be saluted by all members. Before each meeting was dismissed the national anthem was sung. The repeated expressions of patriotism that were exhibited at each chapter meeting emphasized the importance that the IODE placed in the visual expression of their loyalty through symbols and symbolic gestures.

⁷⁴PAA, Acc. 77.127, Box 1, Item 1, 1913-1918 Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes, p. 128.

⁷⁵Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Paper, 1914-1917 Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes, 22 October 1914, p. 38.

⁷⁶NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," Article 5, Section 7, Paragraph 5, p. 12.

After fourteen years of organizational activity and imperialist campaigning, the IODE's stage was set. When the Great War broke out in August, 1914, the Daughters of the Empire were ready to act. The increased membership and the expansion of responsibilities that were both a result of the war gave the Order the opportunity that it had been anxiously awaiting -- to play a major wartime support role. The IODE was determined to do whatever was required to help bring about a victorious conclusion to the war for the British Empire -- even if this meant that certain IODE regulations had to be ignored for patriotic purposes. With this goal in mind, the Order immediately mobilized its growing ranks to serve the soldiers who made up the Canadian contingents. Many prewar IODE activities were adapted to meet wartime needs. The Order stepped up its aggressive promotion of military training, manpower recruitment, and eventually endorsed conscription. Patriotic celebrations and social occasions doubled as fundraising events for war causes. The erection of memorials to honour patriots became a major IODE occupation when graves and monuments had to be raised for thousands of Canadian servicemen who were killed in action. Imperial nation-building took on a new meaning when war forced the Daughters of the Empire to consider what the future held for post-war Canadian society. Carrying a weighty and diverse load of adopted responsibilities, the IODE was active and prominent during the Great War. In the

Canadian Annual Review for each of the war years, J. Castell Hopkins suggested that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was the most conspicuous women's organization doing war work in Canada during the Great War.⁷⁷ A history of the Order's activities during the war boasted:

The IODE possessed machinery that was probably not equalled and certainly not surpassed by any other women's organization in the Empire. In this regard they occupied a unique position in Canada. They provided channels through which patriotic enterprises could reach every part of the Dominion, and they were able to accomplish many things promptly because they were prepared and waiting when the call came.⁷⁸

⁷⁷See Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company Ltd.) for the years 1914-1918.

⁷⁸NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 26, "The IODE in Wartime," p. 4.

Chapter Two

Marching Orders

Although the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had been preparing for an imperial war since the end of the Boer War in 1902, the Great War came as a surprise to most other western Canadians. News of the British Empire's involvement in the European war against the Kaiser's Germany was unexpected in the Canadian prairie provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba in August of 1914, but it was greeted with an immediate and enthusiastic patriotic response. Citizens of prairie cities and towns who had formerly been inward-looking and indifferent to news of the events that led to war in Europe were quick to signify their loyalty to Canada and the Empire with spontaneous patriotic demonstrations such as parades, band concerts, and Union Jack waving. Volunteers raced to local armories in order to take their place in battalions heading for France. Individuals, voluntary organizations, and western provincial and municipal governments were immediate and generous with donations of money and goods to support the Imperial war effort. Western Canada's early expectation was that the war would be short -- over in a matter of months, possibly weeks. Little did Westerners realize that the First World War would last for four long years, from August of 1914 until November of 1918. Nor did they anticipate that this European skirmish would affect their lives so completely --

whether in the trenches in France or at home in the three prairie provinces that became absorbed in Canada's total war effort.

The majority of citizens in the prairie provinces were of British descent (57.2%), and their opinion determined western Canada's overall response to the Great War despite the polyglot nature of western society.¹ The immigrant minorities in western Canada may not have agreed with the views of English-Canadians about the war, but they were usually wise enough to keep their viewpoints to themselves.² A significant segment of western Canada's English-speaking population had strong imperialist sentiments and would have called for Canadian support of the Empire's war effort with or without constitutional compulsion. Canadian imperialists saw themselves as citizens of the Empire whose duty it was to respond absolutely and without hesitation to the wartime summons of the motherland.³ Many Westerners -- especially

¹Census of Prairie Provinces, Population and Agriculture: 1916, (Ottawa, The King's Printer, 1918), xx.

²J.H. Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 28.

³The appeal made by imperialists for Canadian support of the Empire's war was not enough to convince all English-speaking western Canadians that the war was a worthy cause. A significant number of Westerners fell behind Canada's war effort because, while they respected Canada's dedication to Britain and the Empire, they believed that the country's first priority was to engage in the war as a nationalist fight to protect Canada's institutions and principles from the threats posed by the Kaiser and his allies.

imperialists and reformers -- saw the war as the continuation of a mission that they had espoused for several decades: to create a humane civilization and extend it throughout the world. Their ideal was 'democracy', and "in standing against the 'autocracy' and 'militarism' of the kaiser [sic] and his 'Prussian' staff, they represented the fraternity, equality and liberty of a nobler civilization."⁴ The assertion that the war was being fought for 'democracy' rallied Westerners behind the war effort. The popularized images of "Germany the aggressor" and "Great Britain the protector" helped to justify the Empire's role in the European conflict.⁵

The IODE swiftly and zealously rallied to serve the Empire's mission for democracy and civilization. The Daughters of the Empire recognized the Great War as a turning point in their history. It would be later observed on the IODE's fiftieth birthday:

With the advent of the war, the chapters were ready to carry out that clause in the Aims and Objects, namely: "to provide an efficient organization by which prompt and united action may

⁴Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 348-349. Although belief in these missionary objectives of the war were prevalent in the English-speaking world, western Canadians believed that they, above all, embodied the ideals of the Allied cause.

⁵Thompson, Harvests, pp. 29-30.

be taken by the women and children of the Empire when such action may be desired."⁶

The Daughters of the Empire saw the Great War as their opportunity to justify the existence of their organization. During the fourteen long years before the war, members of the Order had tried to stimulate patriotism in fellow Canadians through education and symbolic expression. This kind of effort tended to yield long-term results that were not always tangible. Outsiders suggested that the IODE was serving no useful purpose. According to contemporary journalist, W.A. Craick,

some would have it that [the IODE] was largely a jingoistic, flag-waving organization without any real value to the community. Others were inclined to regard it as a society affair of an exclusive, high-&-mighty character.⁷

The Daughters of the Empire intended to use the opportunity of war to answer such criticisms.

The Great War created a new interest in the work of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and thereby resulted in a drastic increase in membership and chapter organization in the prairie provinces and across the Dominion. According to J. Castell Hopkin's Canadian Annual Review, the Imperial

⁶Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), IODE Records, R 598, File II.6, The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: Golden Jubilee 1900-1950, p. 25.

⁷W.A. Craick, "A Noble Order -- and the War," Maclean's, June 1915, p. 79.

Order Daughters of the Empire had 10 000 members in 1912, and membership was increasing at the rate of 2000 members per year.⁸ By 1914, IODE membership was up to about 25 000, and by 1918 there were an estimated 40 000+ Daughters of the Empire in the Dominion.⁹ In Canada, the number of IODE chapters increased from around 300 to over 700 during the four years of the war. In the West, the number of chapters increased from 49 chapters at the end of 1913 to 220 chapters at the end of 1918 -- an increase of 171 chapters.¹⁰

⁸J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1912 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Co. Ltd., 1913) p. 145.

⁹J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1914 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Co. Ltd., 1915), p. 233; J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1918 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Co. Ltd., 1919), p. 589.

¹⁰The sudden and significant growth in IODE membership was a consequence of wartime patriotic enthusiasm. Besides the obvious fact that the drastic increase in membership coincided with the outbreak and continuation of the war, records of chapter disbandment affirm this conclusion. Of 171 western chapters that organized between 1914 and 1918, at least three disbanded during the war, at least 70 disbanded by 1930, and at least 30 disbanded after 1930 or still exist. (Records of chapter disbandment are not available for 59 chapters organized during the war.) In comparison, of the 49 chapters that were organized between 1900 and 1913, one disbanded before 1914, 2 disbanded during the war, 9 disbanded between 1919 and 1930, and at least 27 disbanded after 1930 or still exist. (Records of chapter disbandment are not available for 10 of the chapters organized between 1900-1913.) National Chapter IODE Records, "Record of Organizations of Chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire According to Charter Number." These numbers suggest that proportionally more chapters that were organized before the war stayed together for a long period after the First World War than chapters

The Daughters of the Empire argued that their growing membership and their ability to reach every part of the country in any campaign contributed significantly to their effectiveness during the Great War.¹¹ The hierarchical, centralized structure of the Order was valued during the years of the conflict. As the National IODE President, Mrs. Albert Gooderham, suggested in a Presidential Address, ". . . without a Central Executive the Primary Chapters might be like an army without a general staff; no unity of purpose, no concerted action, and perhaps sometimes a consequent failure in results."¹² IODE members boasted that their Boer War experience and over a decade of preparation for another imperial war had made the Order the only patriotic women's group in the Dominion that was organized

that were organized in response to that war. The large number of chapters that were organized during the war and then disbanded within a twelve-year period after the war indicates that these chapters were organized specifically to do war work, and did not have enough interest in post-war IODE work to stay together. Since it frequently took many years for a chapter to "fizzle out and die" before it officially disbanded, the twelve-year period between 1918 and 1930 used in this comparison is an adequate measure of post-war response.

¹¹National Archives of Canada Library (NACL), P 198, Echoes, October 1918, Mrs. A.E. Gooderham, "President's Address," p. 13.

¹²Ibid.

to respond automatically to the state of national emergency.¹³

Although the onset of the Great War taught the Daughters of the Empire to appreciate the efficiency of their society, they found it necessary to alter or improve some of the Order's organizational structures and guidelines to meet new wartime needs. National, provincial, and municipal IODE executives -- who suddenly had to supervise hundreds of new chapters, thousands of new members, and dozens of appeal funds and war work projects -- found it necessary to centralize the work of the Order more than it had been before the war. The National Chapter tried to keep a tight rein on the activities of the primary chapters and attempted to centralize the money coming to the Order for various wartime appeals. In order to prevent bureaucratic confusion, the National IODE Secretary kept busy ensuring that new chapters did not choose the same names. Western chapters that were organized during the war wanted to name themselves after military men and local war heroes, Canadian military contingents, and Great War battles and campaigns.¹⁴

¹³SAB, IODE Records, R 598, II.6, The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: Golden Jubilee 1900-1905, p. 25; NACL, Echoes, October 1915, Mrs. A.W. McDougald, "Annual Meeting Report," p. 7.

¹⁴Some examples of western wartime chapter names are: the General Joffre Chapter in Edmonton, the Admiral Sir Christopher Craddock Chapter in Red Deer, the Major Livingstone Chapter in Yorkton, the 194th Highlanders Chapter in Edmonton, the Royal Scots Chapter in Calgary, the Salisbury Plains Chapter in Regina, the Ypres Chapter in

Because so many chapters were being organized and were independently choosing too-similar or the same war-related names, a rule that no two chapters should have precisely the same name was adopted.¹⁵

At the provincial level, the IODE in Saskatchewan proved to be a model of organization. Having recognized the need for unity of action, members of the Order organized the Saskatchewan Provincial IODE Chapter in October of 1915. To make the work of its executive more efficient, the Saskatchewan Provincial Chapter chose to elect its President, Secretary and Treasurer from the same location.¹⁶ In an address entitled "The Value of Complete Provincial Organization Throughout Canada," Saskatchewan Provincial President Mrs. Melville Martin, the wife of the premier of that province, told members at the National Annual Meeting in May of 1917 that a Provincial Chapter in each province would reduce the phenomenal workload of the National Chapter by providing primary chapters with a second source of information and central control. Mrs. Martin recommended

McAuley, the Mons Chapter in Shoal Lake, the La Somme Chapter in Saskatoon, and the Passchendaele Chapter in Assiniboia.

¹⁵W.A. Craick, "A Noble Order -- and the War," Maclean's, June 1915, p. 29. This regulation was enforced by the National Secretary to avoid administrative confusion.

¹⁶NACL, Echoes, October 1917, Mrs. Melville Martin, "The Value of Complete Provincial Organization Throughout Canada," p. 36.

that it was "in the best interests of [the] Order as a whole to have Provincial organizations created in all the Provinces."¹⁷

Some primary chapters found it necessary to regulate their membership in order to streamline chapter administration and work. Certain chapters at the primary level restricted their membership numbers, likely as a measure to prevent chapters from becoming too unwieldy to be efficient.¹⁸ In order to avoid confusion and disgruntlement between primary chapters in Winnipeg, and in an attempt to develop an esprit de corps within individual chapters, the Fort Garry Chapter unanimously passed a bylaw which limited members to membership in one chapter only.¹⁹ Even though

¹⁷Since provincial chapters would be in closer contact with local primary chapters and better acquainted with local conditions, they could react promptly to appeals and handle difficult situations with a greater ease than the National Chapter. NACL, Echoes, October 1917, Mrs. Melville Martin, "The Value of Complete Provincial Organization Throughout Canada," pp. 36-37. The only provinces that had provincial chapters before and during the war were Saskatchewan, Manitoba, British Columbia, and New Brunswick. The fact that Provincial Chapters were only formed in the West and in a Maritime province suggests that the members of the IODE in these areas did not feel adequately represented by a National Chapter that was located in Toronto. The Daughters of the Empire in Alberta considered organizing a provincial chapter near the beginning of the war, but elected to form the chapter after the war. Public Archives of Alberta (PAA), IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, 20 September 1915, p. 132.

¹⁸The Robertson Chapter in Saskatoon restricted its enrolment to 60 members. Saskatoon Phoenix, 19 October 1914, p. 6.

¹⁹Manitoba Free Press, 5 December 1914, p. 9.

the IODE was constantly encouraging new members to join them in their wartime efforts, some chapters were forced to regulate membership in order to work effectively.

Primary chapter executives knew that there was plenty of work to be done during the Great War. As a result, resolutions were passed in many chapters to hold more meetings and to get more war work done. Some chapters chose to meet once a week rather than once a month during the war. Many chapters elected to continue working through the summer instead of putting activities on hold during the holiday months as they had done before the war.²⁰ Because there was so much work to be done, the active members of the IODE tried to get every woman in the Order to do her part for the war effort. In some cases, active members appear to have felt as if they were fighting an endless battle against apathy. The executives of many chapters shared the complaint "that the work done by [the] Chapter [had] fallen very heavily on a few," and suggested that "more interest in [chapter] workings should be taken by all the members, as it would indeed lighten the work of officers and all concerned."²¹ Daughters of the Empire were occasionally

²⁰SAB, IODE Records, R 598, IV.5.hi, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, Book 2, 22 May 1917.

²¹NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 25. Chapters like the De Winton in Carberry even had an endless problem convincing members to become officers. Mrs. Margaret E. Switzer Papers, "History of DeWinton Chapter, Carberry, Manitoba," p. 2.

reminded that it was every member's constitutional duty to do her share of the work.²²

Different chapters used different methods to encourage their members to contribute to chapter work. Members of the Military Chapter in Calgary who would not or could not do work for the Red Cross were asked to contribute to Red Cross appeals.²³ The Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg distributed a "talents" questionnaire that asked women to indicate in what ways they could contribute to the Order's different endeavours so that members could be called upon when their specific services were needed.²⁴ In an attempt to encourage regular participation and attendance when there was work to be done, a number of chapters enforced strict attendance rules for members and executives.²⁵

The IODE also combatted perceived wartime apathy amongst Canadian women outside the Order. In a letter in

²²Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, p. 139.

²³Calgary Daily Herald, 19 January 1917, p. 10.

²⁴National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, IODE Records, MG 28, I 17, Vol. 29, file 15, questionnaire, "Fort Garry Chapter IODE December Meeting," December 10th.

²⁵Forget Chapter carried a motion that any officer or councillor who was absent three consecutive meetings without a reasonable excuse would be dropped from the Executive without further notice. A few months later, this chapter carried a motion that any member who was absent from three consecutive meetings without an excuse given to the regent or secretary would be dropped from the membership of the Order. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, VI.5.k.iii, Forget Chapter Minutes, 1918, 28 February 1918, p. 5; 22 May 1918, p. 55.

the Calgary Daily Herald entitled "Women Slackers Get it Right from the Shoulder", IODE member Mrs. Harriet (C.R.) Edwards "[Administered] a Merited and Timely Jolt to Women Idlers, Whose Name Even in Calgary [Seemed] to Be Legion."²⁶ After praising the work of the Daughters of the Empire, Mrs. Edwards asserted:

Just as a large number of men were forced to enlist, so we, in our fourth year, awake to admit that the time has come to draw the net for women slackers. Voluntary enlistment has failed, so far as certain women are concerned

"Conscription!" again I say. If there are women gambling in drawing rooms, there are hundreds of painted women walking the streets who do not know or care that we are at war. Mobilize them and give them a chance to earn their first honest day's wages. If physical conditions are such that we dare not put them at Red Cross work for fear of contaminating the garments, why not give them a hoe? They couldn't contaminate potatoes. And if, as we have been told, they would not work, instead of two meatless days, give them two eatless days -- they would be willing to work the third Are you content to be weighed in the balance and found wanting? Are you a slacker? That country which is not worth fighting for is not worth living in. The only alternative is to get out quick and the only place left is Germany. Conscription there or conscription here -- which do you prefer? . . . If men would cease to spend their time, mornings and afternoons, playing cards, billiards and pool in groups of twenty and thirty, and women their afternoons at bridges or walking the streets, frequenting tea rooms, picture shows and theatres during the day, no such drastic action would be warranted.

Daughters of the Empire, Canadian women, attention! Quick march to your country's call.²⁷

²⁶"Women Slackers Get It Right From the Shoulder," Calgary Daily Herald, 13 April 1918, p. 16.

²⁷Ibid.

Some IODE members took a hard line with women who did not seem to be giving as much as they should in the Empire's hour of need.

Although the IODE was an efficient organization of women who worked well together, the organization experienced its share of internal dissension and controversy. Conflicts between the different levels of the Order's administration and between individual members were practically inevitable considering the intensity and extent of the IODE's work during the war. The severity of these confrontations ranged from trivial disagreements to explosive, divisive battles. It is interesting that Manitoba was the location of two of the most volatile internal IODE controversies during the Great War. In 1915, the Manitoba Provincial Chapter Executive split when the Acting President and the Secretary questioned the work of the Treasurer, resulting in the resignation of several officers and councillors. Both sides accused the other of acting unconstitutionally. The Treasurer was accused of dispensing a War Relief Fund cheque without proper authority. The Acting President and Secretary were accused of holding unconstitutional meetings, dismissing and replacing the Treasurer without cause or authority, and showing profound disrespect for the Provincial President, Mrs. Colin Campbell, when she returned

from vacation to settle the mess.²⁸ It took over six months to resolve the issues of this feud; it undoubtedly took much longer to heal the wounds.

Manitoba Provincial President and National Councillor, Mrs. Colin Campbell, was the key figure in a second major IODE confrontation. In May of 1916, the National IODE Executive attempted to have a federal bill passed that would incorporate the Order and give it a Dominion Charter. Mrs. Campbell learned that the new charter would give general authority over all chapters to the National Executive which was predominantly made up of women residing in Toronto. Mrs. Campbell suspected that the purpose of the National Executive was to ensure that women in Toronto and the east had complete control over the Order.²⁹ On the advice of the Provincial Chapter's legal advisor and without consulting the National Executive, Mrs. Campbell took it upon herself

²⁸Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), P 2499, File 6, circular letter, Minnie J. Campbell to Members of the Provincial Chapter of Manitoba, 16 October 1915; Ibid., File 6, "President's Address," 23 October 1915; Ibid., address of Mary Coombes to Madam President and Members of the Provincial Chapter IODE of Manitoba, 23 October 1915; Ibid., P 2500, File 1, letter from Minnie J.B. Campbell, Provincial President, 10 November 1915; Ibid., "Statement of facts by Mary G. Wright, Florence E. McKenty, Prudentia E. McKay, Jean S. Hughes, and Lois M. Henson."

²⁹Mrs. Wilson Smith, a Manitoba Provincial Executive member, told the Annual Meeting that she was told, ". . . that east was east and west was west and never the twain shall meet, and therefore we must have provincial autonomy." NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 12, Part 1, File 1, "Extracts from Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire," May 16-18, 1916, p. 12.

to use her contacts in Ottawa to have the final reading of the bill held up until an amendment could be made and approved by the Order as a whole.³⁰ A special Executive meeting was held at the National Annual Meeting a few weeks later so that the National Executive could voice its strong objection to Mrs. Campbell's action and so that Mrs. Campbell could explain her position.³¹ The meeting minutes reported that Mrs. Campbell was directed by motion to have opposition to the bill withdrawn and that she apologized for her intervention.³² This was not the only occasion, however, when Mrs. Campbell expressed the opinion that the western IODE was being manipulated and dominated by the eastern IODE. The attitude of Mrs. Campbell and her

³⁰Senator Lougheed agreed to hold up the reading when Mrs. Campbell pointed out a number of inaccuracies in the bill. Ibid., p. 9; "Toronto Attempt Foiled at Meeting," Manitoba Free Press, 1 May 1916, p. 7.

³¹Eight days before the 1916 Annual Meeting, the Manitoba Provincial Council endorsed Mrs. Campbell's attempts to block the National Charter. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, 8 May 1916, p. 4.

³²A few weeks later, Mrs. Campbell sent a letter accusing the National Executive of falsifying the minutes of the special meeting. The Executive demanded an explanation and apology for these serious charges that were refuted by the court stenographer who took the minutes at the meeting. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, 18 June 1917, p. 83. Two days after the special meeting, the Edmonton Municipal Chapter discussed a letter that was received from Mrs. Colin Campbell concerning the bill to incorporate the Order. This chapter did not support Mrs. Campbell's resolution to reduce the power given to the National Executive in the charter. PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, 22 May 1916, pp. 180-182.

supporters suggests that the women of the West were not untouched by east-west regionalism that was prevalent in Canada before and after the Great War. Nevertheless, in response to these kind of dissensions that materialized during the war, the National Executive passed a resolution that called chapters to focus "the utmost concentration of effort and energy upon the immediate and pressing demands brought about by the circumstances of war, leaving all other issues, however important, in abeyance."³³

The women of the IODE were well aware that Canadian men were sacrificing their lives on European battlefields to protect British ideals and British citizens. Daughters of the Empire also knew that many civilians in war torn Europe were hard-pressed to meet even their barest needs. IODE leaders concluded that Canadian women should share in the trials of the Empire and her allies by exercising self-sacrifice and self-discipline on the home front. In 1916, the Honorary Secretary of the Winnipeg Municipal Chapter issued the following appeal to the IODE women in Winnipeg:

Let us all, each and every one - resolve to deny ourselves something - to practice economy and thrift - for we are indeed fortunate that we have luxuries and comforts, and our pleasures continue undisturbed - we are out of hearing of the din and roar of the Cannon - no Aeroplanes hover overhead to cause us sleepless nights, while those in the war-stricken zones have not even the bare necessities of life - could not every woman and

³³Ibid., Acc. 83.257, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, 1 March 1917, p. 59.

child still deny themselves for those weakened infants, the rickety child and the tubercular youth of Belgium who simply need food to restore health.³⁴

IODE members were encouraged to give up unnecessary extravagance by wearing out their old clothes, trimming their own hats, and dressing their young daughters in simple attire.³⁵ Women were even fined for wearing finery at IODE-sponsored Calico Balls.³⁶

The most significant sacrifice that the IODE saw themselves making was giving up their husbands, sons and brothers. Daughters of the Empire were encouraged to give up their close relatives to fight for their nation and Empire as part of their patriotic duty. Most IODE women were honoured to give up their loved ones: in an annual report for 1916, the Secretary of the Colonel Wyndham Chapter in Okotoks, Alberta, stated, "We are proud to announce that 4 of our members have given their sons to fight for our liberty."³⁷ Female relatives of Canadian servicemen were compared to "the Spartan mothers of old,"

³⁴PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 13, File: IODE Municipal Chapter - Annual Reports 1913-1943, "Fifth Annual Report, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, 1916," p. 4.

³⁵Ibid., P 2498, File 1, Fort Garry Chapter Minutes 1913-1914, 10 September 1914, p. 114; "Military Chapter Would Have Girls Simply Clothed, Calgary Daily Herald, 21 March 1918, p. 10.

³⁶NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 41.

³⁷Ibid., June 1916, p. 89.

who sent forth their loved ones to battle.³⁸ Daughters of the Empire who gave up husbands or sons to war service were honoured with Service Bars to attach to their IODE badges.³⁹

The IODE's belief in the rightness of the war and the Daughters' conviction that it was their duty to make a contribution to the war effort resulted in major fundraising efforts on behalf of the imperial forces. The Daughters of the Empire were primed to do everything they could to assist the Allied war cause. As a consequence, on August 3rd, 1914 -- the day before war was declared on Germany by Britain -- a movement was initiated by members of the IODE who felt that if Great Britain became involved in a continental war, all the women of Canada should be given an opportunity to participate in a project to assist the Empire's war effort. An invitation was issued to the officers of all women's nationally organized societies to attend a meeting on August 6th to discuss what steps women should take in event of a war.⁴⁰ A proposal was submitted to this meeting by the

³⁸"Great Progress Made By IODE," Manitoba Free Press, 28 April 1916, p. 7.

³⁹Blue bars were given for husbands and red bars were given for sons. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 20, file 10, Miscellaneous Correspondence 1912-1919, Margaret C. Gatewood, Convenor of Clasp Committee, to B.C. Provincial Executive IODE, 11 December 1915. In Manitoba, women who had given husbands or sons were presented with badges of gold. Manitoba Free Press, 13 February 1917, p. 9.

⁴⁰The women's organizations that participated in the Central Committee of the Canadian Women's Hospital Ship (and later, on the National Committee of Women for Patriotic Service) were the IODE, the National Council of Women, the

National Executive of the IODE suggesting that the women of Canada should raise funds to purchase a hospital ship that was to be offered to the British Admiralty. A resolution was passed recommending that at least \$100,000 be raised for that purpose within two weeks. It was further resolved:

That in the event of the Canadian Women's Hospital Ship not being practical for use in the present war, the fund collected be used for Naval and Military Hospital purposes under the direction of the British Admiralty through trustees to be appointed by the Central Committee.⁴¹

The Central Committee of the Hospital Ship Fund was made up of representatives from the different national women's organizations, but it was IODE initiative and leadership that inspired the design and execution of the scheme.⁴²

The national, provincial, municipal and primary chapters of the IODE were the centers of Hospital Fund collection activity. Because it had over four hundred

WCTU, the U. E. Loyalists, the Women's Art Association, Women's Institutes, the Girl Guides, The Canadian Women's Press Association, the King's Daughters, the YWCA, the Women's Missionary Societies of the several Churches, the Girl's Friendly Society, the Jewish Council of Women, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Associations, and the VON. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 19, "The History of the 'Hospital Ship Fund'," p. 4.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²The executive of this committee was made up of a number of IODE executive members: IODE President Mrs. Albert Gooderham and IODE Treasurer Mrs. John Bruce became the President and Treasurer of the Hospital Ship Committee; Miss Plummer volunteered to be secretary of the Central Committee.

chapters from the Atlantic provinces to the Yukon at the time, the Order was able to reach almost every locality in Canada.⁴³ Remarkable sums of money were raised in a short time in prairie communities alone. For example, the Westward Ho Chapter in Edmonton sent a cheque for \$600.00 to the Hospital Ship Fund dated August 8th, 1914, which indicates that this chapter raised that sum within two days of the idea being proposed. A campaign organized in the districts outside of Winnipeg in Manitoba collected \$6481.48 in one week, and a like sum was raised in Winnipeg in the same period.⁴⁴ The Central Committee never anticipated that they would raise so much money in such a short time; it soon became clear that the Committee's goal to raise \$100 000 in two weeks would be surpassed. The fund eventually totalled more than twice that amount -- \$282,857.77.⁴⁵

⁴³NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 23, File 13, "First World War," p. 2.

⁴⁴PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 87.145, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, p. 48; PAM, IODE Records, Mg 10, C 70, Box 1, Provincial Chapter Minutes, "Third Annual Report," 22 April 1915, p. 195.

⁴⁵NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 19, "The History of the 'Hospital Ship Fund'," p. 6. The splendid success of the work of the Hospital Ship Committee indicated that some central committee of women's organizations might be of great use in preventing overlap and delay in women's work during the war. Accordingly, the Committee decided to continue its efforts to systematize the war work of women's organizations under a new title: the National Committee of Women for Patriotic Service (commonly called the National Service Committee.) This committee became actively involved in Red Cross and field comforts work, Belgian Relief, encouraging recruitment and discouraging premature peace. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, File 13, "1915-1916 Annual Report, National Committee of

After communicating with British authorities, the Central Committee of the Hospital Ship Fund learned that a floating hospital was considered an impractical use of money and that it would be better to present the money to the British War Office without stipulation.⁴⁶ The IODE did not mind this request because the bottom line of their endeavours was always the war effort. In accordance with its original resolution and in response to the wishes expressed by military authorities and many contributors, the Committee distributed \$100 000 to the British War Office for Imperial Military Hospital purposes and \$182 857.77 to the British Admiralty for use in naval hospitals in England.⁴⁷

Women for Patriotic Service (National Service Committee)".

⁴⁶Canadian and British officials were concerned about how the IODE and the Central Committee would react to the news that the Admiralty did not want a hospital ship. Prime Minister Borden sent the following telegram to his High Commissioner in London, Sir George Perley: "Most confidential. Daughters of Empire propose raising fund to equip hospital ship. They evidently expect Admiralty to provide ship. Duchess is associated with movement and has asked admiralty whether they will accept. Worthington thinks hospital ship involves unwise expenditure of money and probably not required by admiralty. Duchess suggests that you immediately confer with admiralty confidentially and unless they think ship useful they might decline in graceful terms and in doing so suggest provision for Red Cross and for families of those at front. Answer before Monday afternoon desirable." NAC, Borden Papers, MG 26, H 1(e), Vol. 292, 169605, "War File", Borden to Perley, 5 August 1914.

⁴⁷The \$100 000 given to the war office was used to purchase about 40 motor ambulances for England and France, that were each inscribed 'Canadian Women's Motor Ambulance.' The money that was donated to the hospitals was used to build Nurse's Blocks in the naval hospitals at Haslar and

Some Canadian historians have mocked the IODE and the women of Canada for plunging with such patriotic fervour into this huge fundraising scheme to raise money for a hospital ship that the British Admiralty did not even want. This criticism is unfair. Even if some women were disappointed when the money was not used specifically for a hospital ship, the Central Committee of the Hospital Ship Fund did make provision for the possibility that a hospital ship might not be required at their initial organizational meeting. The hospital ship was a convenient concept around which to rally the women of the Dominion. Critics of this effort are missing the point: what is significant is the exceptional system of collection that was mobilized by the IODE to raise such a large sum of money in such a short period of time and the fact that Canadian women were able to make such a sizable contribution to the Empire's war effort.

Once the IODE was organized, it got involved in a number of wartime campaigns. The IODE drew on its experiences with the Hospital Ship campaign in order to pursue several large-scale wartime projects. Although their primary concern was the well-being of the Canadian soldier, the Daughters of the Empire tried to keep in tune with what

Chatham, in order to give more bed room in the hospitals for the sick and wounded. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 19, "The History of the 'Hospital Ship Fund'," pp. 6-8.

the general needs of the Empire were during the Great War.⁴⁸ The Order was quick to mobilize its forces when appeals were made for assistance -- whether the call came from the military, from war torn Allied countries, or from Canadian communities struck by disaster on the home front.

The Daughters of the Empire made substantial contributions towards the health care of the Empire's military forces. The demand on medical facilities in England and Europe was extreme, and the Order attempted to ease the situation by financing new medical institutions and donating money and goods to supply existing hospitals. The IODE furnished a building opposite Hyde Park in London that became the Daughters of the Empire Red Cross Hospital.⁴⁹ This hospital was reserved for officers -- a sign of IODE elitism -- had room for twenty-five men at one time, and was almost always filled to capacity during the war. A large number of Canadian officers received treatment there and IODE histories have pointed out "that few Red Cross Hospitals enjoyed a better record."⁵⁰ The Daughters of the Empire also furnished several military hospitals in England with beds, linens, pillows, bedclothes, stretchers and

⁴⁸See Chapter Three for a discussion of the IODE's particular concerns for the soldier.

⁴⁹Primary chapters raised a fund to finance the hospital's X-ray machine and operating theatre. *Ibid*, Vol. 33, File 26, "The IODE in Wartime," p. 11.

⁵⁰Ibid.

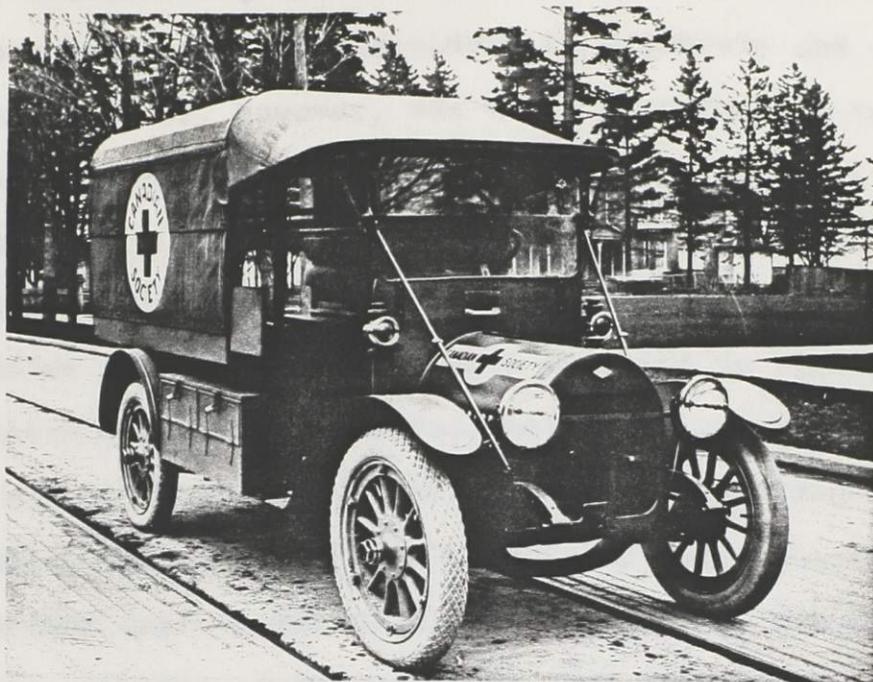
invalid chairs. IODE chapters in the West frequently donated supplies to hospitals at nearby military training camps. In Manitoba, the Provincial Chapter IODE was issued an "S.O.S." to come to Camp Hughes and set up its two-hundred bed hospital; within twenty-four hours, this task was accomplished.⁵¹

Prairie IODE chapters also donated medical equipment and supplies to be used by the military in the field or at the front. The Veterans Chapter in Winnipeg equipped and supplied a wheeled hut for wounded soldiers and pneumonia patients at Folkestone, England.⁵² The Forget Chapter in Regina gave money to a Regina physician named Dr. Morrel at Valcartier Camp to purchase a field bacteriological set and a field water analysis set for use in the Army Medical Corps.⁵³ With the cooperation of the different druggists in Calgary, the Sir Richard Grenville Chapter was able to send six large packing cases of druggist's supplies to the

⁵¹Ibid., Vol. 29, File 6, History of the Provincial Chapter of Manitoba, p. 6. The Lord Selkirk Chapter in Winnipeg kept the Sewell Camp Hospital supplied. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 11 August 1915, p. 159.

⁵²The hut was named in memory of Sergt.-Major Hall, V.C., "The Veterans' Chapter, IODE, Winnipeg, Hut," and it cost \$150. NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 86.

⁵³SAB, IODE Records, R 598, IV.5.k.i, Forget Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, 30 September 1914, p. 43.



Ambulance presented by the Manitoba Provincial Chapter, April 6, 1915. (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

front.⁵⁴ In short-term campaigns in 1915, the Provincial Chapters of Saskatchewan and Manitoba and the Daughters of the Empire of Southern Alberta each raised enough money to send a motor ambulance overseas for use at hospitals and at the front.⁵⁵

⁵⁴NACL, Echoes, June 1916, p. 86.

⁵⁵In Saskatoon, the Saskatoon Phoenix assisted the efforts of the local IODE to help raise \$2255.00 for an ambulance to be sent to the Queen's Canadian Military Hospital at Shorncliffe by running articles about the progress of the ambulance fund in their paper everyday for the duration of the campaign. Sympathetic stories were told about the people -- many of whom were mysteriously anonymous, or contributing their last dollar -- who added to the ambulance fund. Saskatoon Phoenix, "Women's Realm" section, 8 May 1915 to 20 May 1915. In Manitoba, the Provincial Chapter announced a plan to raise \$1 500 in 10 days to buy a Made-in-Canada motor ambulance. All chapters

The most significant and well-known medical supply effort undertaken by individual IODE members and chapters during the war, however, was their work for the Canadian Red Cross Society. Besides donating money to support the war work of the Canadian and British Red Cross Societies, the Daughters of the Empire made thousands of pieces of hospital supplies and clothing that were supplied to sick and wounded soldiers through those organizations.⁵⁶ Working on an individual basis, or in sewing circles organized by their chapter, Daughters of the Empire made large quantities of stretcher caps, surgical shirts, bed socks, hot water bottle covers, pyjamas, dressing gowns, bed jackets, night-shirts, shirts, socks, sleeping or balaclava caps, kit bags (containing toiletry articles, clothing items, slippers, writing paper and pencil, shaving supplies, and toilet

were asked to send contributions and "interest their friends in this call to colors." PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1912-1915, p. 164. Besides the public subscriptions solicited by the IODE in Southern Alberta, money was collected from all of the women and the girls in the area, with each one being asked to give twenty-five cents. NACL, Echoes, March 1915, p. 28.

⁵⁶Daughters of the Empire organized local branches of the Red Cross in many western cities. For example, the Military Chapter in Calgary organized a branch of the Red Cross in that city. NACL, Echoes, October 1915, p. 63. Many of the ladies who formed the Red Cross branch in Saskatoon were prominent IODE members. Saskatoon Phoenix, 28 October 1914, p. 6. In June of 1918, the Forget Chapter in Regina gave \$500.00 to their local Red Cross Fund. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.k.iii, Forget Chapter Minutes 1918, 11 June 1918, p. 63; PAM, IODE Records, P 2499, File 5, "The Canadian Red Cross Society Suggestions for Work," p. 4. Ibid., pp. 3-7.

paper), bedding (including pillows, pillow slips, sheets, towels and blankets), pneumonia jackets, handkerchiefs, and bandages.

When the National Chapter IODE heard of the serious lack of accommodation for Canadian soldiers on leave in London from the front, they quickly appealed to chapters across the Dominion for funds to establish the Empire Annex to the King George and Queen Mary Maple Leaf Club.⁵⁷ The response of Canadian IODE chapters to this appeal was prompt and enthusiastic; when the original Annex was complete, there were funds left over. The surplus was set aside and used to finance accommodation facilities in England later during the war.⁵⁸ The Daughters of the Empire prided themselves on their ability to meet wartime needs with prompt and generous financial contributions. They consequently viewed the founding of the Maple Leaf Club in London as the Order's most important corporate work in 1916.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Besides providing soldiers with a bed and some forms of relaxing recreation, the Annex served meals, had a laundry service, had a cheque cashing pay office, as well as an Overseas Reception Committee that sent workers to trains who arranged to send men to one of the King George and Queen Mary hostels. IODE Souvenir 1916, Shortt Collection, University Library, University of Saskatchewan, pp. 43-44.

⁵⁸NACL, Echoes, October 1916, "President's Address," p. 15.

⁵⁹Ibid., October 1916, "President's Address," p. 15.

The National IODE Executive got carried away with the success of the Maple Leaf Annex campaign. Assured that the IODE could finance another major venture, the National Executive committed the IODE to raise money to start a Nurses' Residential Club in London to provide accommodation and a place to rest for Canadian nurses who were serving overseas. Perhaps wishing that they too could play a more active role in the war, the IODE was eager to help Canadian women who were actually serving their country overseas. In early 1918, a letter was sent to all chapters asking for a donation of \$1.00 per member towards this project.⁶⁰ Shortly after, a letter of protest was received from the Municipal Chapter of Edmonton, criticizing the National Executive for taking on a scheme involving such a large responsibility without consulting the primary chapters who were expected to finance the project. It is likely that by 1918 the treasuries of the Edmonton chapters were feeling the pressure of the numerous appeals that the IODE was asked to contribute to during the war. The National Executive responded that the scheme had been put before the chapters but that it was the option of each chapter to decide whether or not to respond.⁶¹ Other IODE chapters throughout the Dominion must have shared the sentiments of the Daughters in

⁶⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, p. 199.

⁶¹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, p. 259.

Edmonton, because the response to this appeal did not match the response to previous appeals made by the National Chapter. In June of 1918, the National Executive began to worry about the IODE's reputation because the Nurses' Club project had been undertaken in the name of the Order and they were having continued problems raising enough money to finance it.⁶² Eventually, the Order did raise enough money to establish the Daughters of the Empire Club for Canadian nurses, but not without considerable dissension and worry about how to appeal successfully for the necessary funds.

Although the IODE's projects to build and supply medical institutions, equipment, and military housing facilities were of a general nature compared to their specific soldier support efforts, the purpose was the same. The IODE wanted to provide enough of the best facilities and supplies to meet the wartime needs of the imperial forces. Because they were well organized and capable of implementing major financing schemes, the Daughters of the Empire were able to undertake these lofty enterprises even though their first priority was soldier-related concerns.

Early in the war, outside organizations began to recognize the tremendous contributions that the IODE was making to many different wartime causes. The Order was soon inundated with appeals from Canadian branches of various

⁶²Ibid., Vol. 3, File 1, National IODE Executive Minutes 1918-1919, 7 June 1918, p. 23.

relief funds to give financial and material assistance to the victims and refugees of the European war. The prairie IODE summoned its resources to meet the survival and reconstruction needs of war-torn Allied countries. Homeless, hungry wartime refugees in Belgium, France and Serbia were supplied with shelter, food, and clothing through IODE-supported relief funds set up to assist these specific areas. In Manitoba, the IODE organized a Belgian Canned Food Week and citizens throughout that province donated approximately 20 000 cans of food to be sent to the Belgian Relief Headquarters.⁶³ Belgian Can Week was followed by Serbian Hospital Supply Week, at which time the Winnipeg IODE collected over 38 000 hospital supply and invalid food articles from the people of that city.⁶⁴ In Saltcoats and Regina in Saskatchewan, the IODE arranged for the donation of carloads of flour that were sent "to afford some relief to the afflicted Belgian people."⁶⁵ In response to a Red Cross Emergency Appeal for clothing for repatriated refugees in Allied countries, bales of clothing and other necessary goods were sent to war refugees in Belgium, France, and Serbia from almost every IODE chapter in western

⁶³IODE Souvenir 1916, University of Saskatchewan Library, Shortt Collection, p. 37.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 36.

⁶⁵Manitoba Free Press, 26 November 1914, p. 2.

Canada.⁶⁶ Horrified by the propagandized stories of German atrocities in Belgium and throughout Europe, the Daughters of the Empire in the West were relieved that Canada did not experience Great War hostilities on her own soil.⁶⁷ The hearts of the Daughters of the Empire in the West went out to the civilians who were victimized by the war in Europe, and they responded generously to war refugee relief appeals.

After coming to the aid of wartime victims in Europe, the Daughters of the Empire could do no less when disaster struck on Canadian soil. In 1917 an ammunition ship was struck by another vessel in Halifax harbour, resulting in a huge explosion that shattered the city and killed hundreds of people. The National IODE Executive immediately issued an appeal to all chapters, asking them to contribute to the relief of the Halifax sufferers.⁶⁸ Mrs. Sexton, the Regent of the Municipal Chapter of Halifax, was telegraphed and asked what the urgent relief need seemed to be in that city. In the confusion after the disaster, it appeared that a Home for Unclaimed Children was going to be required. When conditions in Halifax returned to normal it became evident that the number of homeless children was not as great as was

⁶⁶NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 25, File 6, "Memorandum to District and Provincial Branches, Canadian Red Cross Society," 1 November 1918.

⁶⁷Ibid., Vol. 32, File 32, "An Open Letter to the Women of Canada Concerning the Need for Fighting Men," August, 1915.

⁶⁸Ibid., Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, 13 December 1917, p. 161.

initially feared, and that a home was not needed. Mrs. Sexton re-examined the needs of Halifax for the National Executive, and finally submitted a strong plea for the "mentally deficient" children of that city. Even though this cause was not directly related to the Halifax disaster, it was adopted by the National Chapter. This decision caused a great deal of dissent within the Order. Chapters in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia protested that the money that they had sent for homeless children in Halifax was not being used for the purpose for which it had been given. Some Manitoba chapters requested a refund of their money.⁶⁹ Despite the protests, the fund raised for Halifax explosion relief was used to open a Home for Mentally Deficient Children in Halifax -- the first of its kind in Canada, the IODE was proud to point out.⁷⁰

The IODE was able to involve itself in various sizable projects that required substantial financial backing during the Great War because it was ready to face the wartime needs

⁶⁹Ibid., Vol. 3, File 1 National IODE Executive Minutes 1918-1919, 13 December 1918, p. 157.

⁷⁰NACL, Echoes, October 1918, "President's Address," p. 15. The IODE decided to work for the care of mentally deficient people since it was directly in line with the objectives laid down in the Order's Constitution. The National Executive's minutes read, "It was felt that these people are a menace to the nation under present conditions, and that so far the Government had not dealt with the situation, and the IODE would be doing good pioneer work in this direction by starting in Halifax a Home for Mentally Deficient Children." NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1918-1919, 1 February 1918, p. 181.

of the Empire from the beginning. What is especially noteworthy about the Order's success in these large-scale ventures, however, is that despite the organizational ability and time that they involved, they were not the primary concern of the Daughters of the Empire during the war. The IODE's first priority was the Canadian soldier; and although many of the general wartime projects undertaken by the Order were of benefit to Canadian servicemen, they did come second to the IODE's soldier support efforts.

The support of Canadian soldiers and the financing of major projects required a great deal of money. Even though IODE chapters had raised money for different purposes before the war, it did not take long for chapter treasuries to be depleted by wartime appeals. During the years of the Great War, the IODE became expert fundraisers capable of employing a wide variety of fundraising methods. While they often relied on the tried and tested manners of raising money, the women of the Order also displayed ingenuity in their ability to find new gimmicks that encouraged the Canadian public to continue contributing until the end of 1918.

The women of the IODE contributed substantial sums of their own money to the Order's fundraising appeals. Daughters of the Empire always paid their share to attend their own fundraising social activities. Certain appeals

warranted grandiose schemes of in-Order systematic giving.⁷¹ The most common fundraiser with IODE members, however, was the afternoon tea. To keep teatime contribution interesting, the Daughters of the Empire in the prairie provinces held theme teas. IODE members were invited to attend Irish Teas, Lilac Teas, Silver Teas, and chain teas.⁷² A ten-cent donation was required as admission to ten cent teas, a penny for each year of a woman's age was required as admission to birthday teas, and guests who received a small apron as an invitation to an Apron Tea in

⁷¹The National Chapter suggested a systematic giving plan to "mobilize a Grand Army of 11,111 volunteers":

The General gives	\$10.00
and secures	
10 Colonels who each give \$5.00	\$50.00
and each secures 10 Captains making	
100 Captains who each give \$2.00	\$200.00
and each secures 10 Lieutenants making	
1000 Lieutenants who each give \$1.00	\$1000.00
and each secures 10 soldiers making	
10,000 Soldiers who each give 25 cents	<u>\$2500.00</u>
<u>Making a Grand Total of</u>	<u>\$3750.00</u>

Smaller chapters could divide the plan to suit their size. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 25, File 6, "Special Appeal for France," circular letter from Assistant National Secretary, 3 April 1918.

⁷²Some chapters raised funds by means of chain teas. Each member on the roll had to arrange to have one tea day. If that lady did not have one lady from outside the Order to assist her, the function did not count as her tea day. Chain teas were obviously used to raise money and interest new women in joining the wartime efforts of the IODE. SAB, IODE Records, R 766, File II.6.b.218, Governor Laird Chapter Minutes 1916-1918, 10 February 1917, p. 27.

High Prairie, Alberta, had to contribute a cent for every inch of their waist measure.⁷³

The Daughters of the Empire would not have accomplished as much as they did during the Great War if they had relied on fundraising within their own ranks. The IODE therefore had to depend on donations from the general public. Chapters held house-to-house canvasses and media appeals for contributions. Mite or self-denial boxes were placed in public places, schoolrooms and IODE workrooms so that children and adults could drop in what small amount they could spare.⁷⁴ Daughters of the Empire became expert tag day organizers and accumulated considerable sums by selling citizens small tags, flags, or flowers on street corners. In 1917 alone, the chapters in Calgary as a whole tagged on four tag days, Rose Day bringing \$2000, French Red Cross Day bringing \$1900, Belgian Children Day bringing \$2340, and Sailor Relief Day bringing \$1800.⁷⁵ Considering the frequency with which the Calgary chapters used this particular type of fundraising, and keeping in mind that this was not the only method of fundraising being used

⁷³Saskatoon Phoenix, 25 August 1917, p. 5; Ibid., 21 April 1917, p. 6; NACL, Echoes, December 1918, p. 25.

⁷⁴Ibid., June 1916, p. 87; SAB, IODE Records, R 766, File II.11.b, Saskatoon Municipal Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 1 May 1915; Ibid., File IV.5.k.i, Forget Chapter Minutes, Book One, 1914-1916, 8 June 1915, p. 131.

⁷⁵Ibid., June 1917, p. 102.

during the year, the amounts that the people of Calgary gave to IODE members on street corners is quite remarkable.⁷⁶

The Daughters of the Empire in the West sold a variety of items to replenish their coffers. IODE members donated foodstuffs for home cooking, baking, and pickle sales. IODE chapters served lunches and refreshments at fairs, sports days and other special events. Flowers were sold from a booth in Saskatoon in the summer of 1917, and "little bouquets of sweet peas were taken to the Trans-Canada and Soo passenger trains and sold to the tourists" in Swift Current.⁷⁷ The Manitoba Provincial Chapter undertook a project to sell flour bags that were left over from the Manitoba war gift as souvenirs, with proceeds to be turned over to the St. John Ambulance Corps for the purchase of

⁷⁶War was an expensive venture. In order to finance the Canadian war effort, the federal government sold Victory Loan bonds that Canadians purchased with enthusiasm in 1917, 1918, and 1919. For example, the "Victory Loan" of 1917 yielded \$400 million and the "Victory Loan" of 1918 yielded \$660 million. Brown and Cook, p. 231. The prairie Daughters of the Empire contributed to the Victory Loan campaign by selling a remarkable number of Victory Bonds to the public on a commission basis. In 1917, members of the Governor Laird Chapter in North Battleford sold \$9000.00 worth of bonds and earned \$250.00 in commission. Mrs. Joan Church Papers, Governor Laird Chapter History, p. 7. Western chapters also purchased Victory Bonds. NACL, Echoes, December 1917, p. 63; SAB, IODE Records, R 766, File II.5.b, Golden West Chapter Minutes 1917-1920, 12 November 1917, p. 83.

⁷⁷Saskatoon Phoenix, 11 August 1917, p. 5; Mrs. Joan Church Papers, History of Victoria Chapter, Swift Current.

STAND BY THE UNION JACK

A MARCHING SONG FOR CANADIAN SOLDIERS

Words & Music by W.E. DELANEY



Dedicated to
Imperial Order Daughters of The Empire
Price - 50¢

"Stand by the Union Jack!"

Words and Music by W. E. DELANEY

SPINNETT

PIANO

VOICE *mf*

1. The call to arms has sounded and naught but "war" is talked. The
2. "Great Britain needs more warriors!" The cry rings far and near. And

ar - mies of old Europe in dead - ly strife are locked. From Can - a - da in
is re - cruit - ing centres how quick - ly men ap - pear. In ans - werto the

thousands men hur - ry on their way. To join the al - lied for - ces and
summons! How great the Em - pire's bond: - For ev - ry thousand asked for ten

The marching song "Stand By the Union Jack" was written, dedicated, and donated to the IODE, who sold it to raise money for war funds. (This copy of the song was found in the IODE Souvenir 1916, University of Saskatchewan Library, Shortt Collection.)

take part in the fray. Young men and old - er men are cheering on the
 thous and men are good! Young men and old - er men are rushing to the

stand front. At new of hard won vic to ry by Al hind scope or
 To aid the cause of free-dom and help bear the bat - tle's

flect. Dropped now are poi i - lice, in - stead we shoot with
 blunt. Brave wo - man tears keep back, their heads sub - mune alive

pride. The old Lion is fighting; see the Juberooth to his side! Then
 bow And say "Go, God bless you! for the Kin - dle needs you now." Then

CHORUS
mf *rit.* *tr.*
 Stands by the Un ion Jack, the flag of li ber - ty!... And
 Repeat 8x *mf* *f*

fight for the Em pire which all lows no ty/ an ny. All

for - ward! by land and sea, press on to the at tack! Hip,

hip, hurrah! for Britan's flag, the grand old Un - ion Jack! Then all Jack!
 1. 2.

soldier comforts.⁷⁸ IODE Chapters in Winnipeg sold the marching song "Stand By the Union Jack," written by Winnipeg musician W.E. Delaney and dedicated to the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.⁷⁹ On occasion, the IODE asked citizens to donate different items that could then be sold or auctioned by the Order to boost relief fund totals. Throughout the West, citizens were asked to save their waste paper, scrap iron, old boots, bottles, rags and other junk, which was collected by the IODE and sold by the carload. In rural locations, Daughters of the Empire collected donations of grain. In 1918, the De Winton Chapter in Carberry, Manitoba, put a barrel in each local grain elevator and farmers were encouraged to throw a shovelful of grain into the barrel each time they were unloading grain. Before the end of the war, three barrels were filled; \$41.80 was received for each barrel of grain.⁸⁰

The Daughters of the Empire did not always have to ask for money. By 1914, the IODE was recognized as an

⁷⁸"Sell Flour Bags to Assist Patriots," Manitoba Free Press, 10 October 1914, p. 9.

⁷⁹The song was sold by the IODE for 35 cents, with the proceeds going to the Provincial Chapter's War Relief Fund. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 4, "How Can we Help Most, Now!", circular letter from Mrs. Minnie J.B. Campbell.

⁸⁰Mrs. Margaret E. Switzer Papers, history of the De Winton IODE Chapter, Carberry, Manitoba, p. 3. The Neepawa Chapter in Manitoba had a wheat campaign to raise funds; the Bertram Dennison Chapter in Innisfail had 2 successful Oat Days, resulting in \$603.19 in receipts. NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 47; Ibid., June 1916, p. 87.

accomplished fundraising organization. Their expertise in this area was respected, and people frequently donated their money to the IODE because they knew the Order supported worthy causes.⁸¹ From time to time, benefactors even donated valuable items to be sold, raffled, or auctioned by the IODE.⁸²

Another commodity that the IODE sold to raise money was their service. Store and theatre owners in western Canada offered the Order significant percentages of gross receipts if IODE members helped with the sale of tickets or staffed a store for a day or days. The owners of these businesses knew that the IODE would work hard to sell as many tickets and goods as possible, and that the Order's prestige and advertising campaigns would draw larger crowds and add to

⁸¹A couple in Carberry who were celebrating their 60th Anniversary during the war asked their friends and family to make donations to the Red Cross rather than give them gifts, and over \$125.00 was received. Mrs. Margaret E. Switzer Papers, history of De Winton Chapter, Carberry, Manitoba, p. 2. Indian chiefs Moosomin, Myo and Assadsay from the North Battleford district gave a pow wow that earned \$40.00, which they turned over to the Governor Laird Chapter in North Battleford to show their patriotism. Saskatoon Phoenix, 16 July 1917, p. 5.

⁸²In Saskatoon, the Fitzgerald Chapter received gifts of Chinese goods from "the Chinamen" of the city that were sold by chapter members for a total of \$60.00. NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 99. A platinum necklace with a pendant set with amethysts and diamonds was donated to the Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson Chapter in Saskatoon by MacFarlane's Limited, jewelers, to be raffled for the purpose of increasing the chapter's funds for war relief. Saskatoon Phoenix, 26 March 1916, p. 5.

business profits.⁸³ In Lethbridge, the Lethbridge Candy Factory paid for the candy-making services of members of the Alexander Galt Chapter for an afternoon and evening, with the condition that the chapter pay for the candy ingredients.⁸⁴ The Prairie Gateway Chapter in Portage la Prairie earned \$500.00 by running a previously closed hotel during Methodist conference week in 1917.⁸⁵ Many chapters of the IODE earned money by catering luncheons and banquets, curling bonspiels, conventions, and bowling tournaments.⁸⁶ Members of the Battleford Chapter sold subscriptions for the Saskatchewan Herald and used the 25% commission they earned for patriotic purposes.⁸⁷

The women of the IODE also enjoyed combining duty with pleasure. Entertainments and socials held for Daughters of the Empire and the general public were as popular a means of raising money during the war as they had been before.

⁸³SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File IV.5.k.ii, Forget Chapter Minutes, Book 2, 1916-1917, 13 March 1916, p. 35; Calgary Daily Herald, 11 November 1916, p. 4. The Empire theatre in Saskatoon offered the Fitzgerald Chapter half the gross receipts from a day's entertainment to be used for Belgian relief if the chapter helped sell tickets. Saskatoon Phoenix, 10 July 1915, p. 6.

⁸⁴Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 22 October 1914, p. 36.

⁸⁵NACL, Echoes, March 1917, p. 49.

⁸⁶The Battleford Chapter catered and entertained at a teacher's convention. Mrs. C.J. Greenwood Papers, Battleford Chapter Minutes 1909-1927, 4 October 1914.

⁸⁷Ibid., 10 November 1914.

Social fundraisers organized and hosted by chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire in the cities and towns of the West included swimming galas, ice carnivals, patriotic carnivals, skating parties, picnic fundraisers, box and pie socials, military tournaments, and dinners for fundraising purposes. Vaudeville, minstrel and burlesque shows, musical concerts, and dramas were both sponsored and performed by Daughters of the Empire, the proceeds going to worthy war causes. Formal balls, informal dances, and military socials were frequently organized and attended by IODE members for the combined purposes of raising money and socializing. Patriotic card parties for playing bridge, whist, and euchre earned money for philanthropic causes.⁸⁸

The use of certain entertainments for fundraising was a controversial question for the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. At the beginning of the war, the National Chapter indicated that it expected that dances, gala garden tea parties, bridges and similar functions would be rare in most cities during the upcoming months because many loyal Canadians would put aside all frivolities in the hour of the Empire's great trial.⁸⁹ A letter was sent to all chapters from the National Executive, asking that no dance or card

⁸⁸"Patriotic Bridge at King George Hotel," Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 September 1916, p. 5; PAA, Acc. 83.257, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, pp. 7ff; NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 25.

⁸⁹NACL, December 1914, "Entertainment in Wartime," p. 7.

parties be given to raise funds because the nation was in a state of mourning.⁹⁰ As the war progressed, statements were frequently made against raising funds for patriotic purposes through these means of entertainment.⁹¹ If any attention was paid to these recommendations at first, they were not heeded for long. Indeed, given the fundraising demands made of the Order, the ban on certain social functions was an unrealistic stricture. The IODE needed to utilize every fundraising avenue available to them in order to meet the wartime needs that they were dedicated to support. After the initial shock of war wore off, newspapers throughout western Canada were full of notices advertising IODE balls, dances and card party fundraisers. By December of 1915, the Manitoba Provincial Chapter reported:

Social events there have been a-plenty, Winnipeg patriotic women not holding that there should be a division between joy, lightness of heart, and labour. Some there are whose hearts are too sore to enter into the dance or masquerade, but even they do not wish to dampen the spirits of the young.⁹²

Most Daughters of the Empire seemed to believe that it was not necessary for all women to exist in an absolute state of mourning for the duration of the European conflict.

⁹⁰Mrs. C.J. Greenwood Papers, Battleford Chapter Minutes 1901-1927, 10 November 1914.

⁹¹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes, 19 April 1916, p. 207.

⁹²NACL, Echoes, December 1915, p. 18.

Holding raffles was another method of fundraising that was questioned by some IODE members. Many chapters and individuals hesitated or refused to raffle items because it was a form of gambling.⁹³ Others found raffles to be perfectly acceptable means of raising money for patriotic endeavours, and they added to chapter treasuries by selling raffle tickets for prizes such as pieces of jewelry, parcels of land, a motor car, cakes, needlework, a painting, a calf, a pony, a pig, and a taxidermed deer head.

Every IODE chapter in the prairie provinces found its own ways to raise money during the Great War. The size and location of chapters seems to have had little bearing on their ability to raise money. Although urban chapters tended to accumulate larger sums (because they had more people to collect donations from and more members to do the collecting), many rural chapters raised more money than their counterparts in the city. Although it was impossible to determine exactly how much money the Imperial Order

⁹³There were mixed reactions to raffling within single chapters. Some members in the Golden West Chapter in Saskatoon tried to pass a motion so their chapter would not raise funds by conducting raffles, but the motion was lost. SAB, IODE Records, R 766, File II.5.b, Golden West Chapter Minutes 1917-1920, 11 March 1918, p. 119. When jewelry for a raffle was offered to the De Winton Chapter in Carberry, Manitoba, it was declined because members did not approve of this method of raising money. Mrs. Margaret E. Switzer Papers, History of De Winton Chapter, Carberry, Manitoba, p. 2.

Daughters of the Empire raised during the five years of the war, an approximate estimate was over \$5 000 000.⁹⁴

The IODE's significant financial contribution to the war effort was an expression of its conviction that the war was being fought for the good of the Empire and western civilization. Fundraising allowed the Daughters of the Empire to give tangible expression to their sense of loyalty and duty to their King and country. Furthermore, the IODE's objective to come to the aid of the Dominion and the Empire in time of emergency was achieved through its financial support of the war effort.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire was able to play a major support role during the Great War because it was an efficient establishment. Several years of organization and planning came together in 1914 to produce a strongly centralized, nation-wide woman's society which was able to undertake a variety of large-scale projects that were backed up by various financing schemes. The IODE was ready for war and was consequently 'out of the blocks' quickly when the call came. The Daughters of the Empire mobilized their forces as quickly as Canada mobilized its armed forces. How appropriate, then, that the Order's first priority was the men of the Canadian contingents.

⁹⁴NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 26, "The IODE in Wartime," p. 13.

Chapter Three
Husbands, Sons and Brothers

Although they involved themselves in a variety of war relief campaigns, the most important branch of the IODE's program during the Great War was their work for the soldiers of the Canadian contingents. The kind of field comfort work that had been done for Canadian soldiers during the Boer War was readily taken up again in 1914, but the scope of the organization's Great War soldier support efforts went beyond the commonly perceived images of knitting and sewing that have persisted in the minds of later generations. The Daughters of the Empire put all the time, money, and effort that they could muster into caring for the Dominion's fighting men before they left, after they left, and after they returned from active service. The Order also looked out for the welfare of soldiers' dependents in order to ease the minds of servicemen overseas with the assurance that their loved ones were being taken care of at home. Furthermore, in much of their soldier-related work, the IODE temporarily filled gaps that the government and military authorities were unable to meet quickly enough or at all, for whatever reason, during the war. Acting under the conviction that soldiers who were of sound mind and body would fight a better battle against the enemy, the IODE

hoped to contribute to imperial victory by serving the troops of the British Empire.

The IODE's work for soldiers began before the men left Canada. IODE chapters did their utmost to make the stay of soldiers in training camps in western Canada as comfortable and enjoyable as possible. In many cases, the IODE supplied the needs of training soldiers which the Dominion Government had been unable to provide. Canadian military authorities could not always get training troops housed and supplied quickly enough in the rush to mobilize the First Canadian Contingent. The IODE frequently helped out. In North Battleford, the Governor Laird Chapter worked diligently to comply with a request made by a local military officer. The chapter made twenty bed ticks that were urgently needed because there was no bedding in the local armoury where forty-one reservists who had been called for by the Government from the North Battleford area were to be housed temporarily.¹ Similarly, when cold weather arrived in Lethbridge before the 20th Battery had received their equipment, the Daughters of the Empire provided them with warm underwear, boots, rubbers, and other necessary clothing items.²

¹Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), IODE Records, R 766, File II.6.b, Governor Laird Chapter Minutes 1909-1915, 8 November 1914.

²National Archives of Canada Library (NACL), P 198, Echoes, June 1915, p. 82.

The Daughters of the Empire soon realized that the military authorities did not provide training soldiers with many forms of entertainment to occupy their spare time. To fill this void, IODE chapters opened and operated recreation rooms or soldiers' clubs in most locations where training troops were stationed in the West.³ A typical soldiers' club provided soldiers with a place to relax, to read, to write, or to play billiards and board games. Gramophones and pianos were often provided so that soldiers could entertain themselves with music.⁴ Some battalion bands used soldiers' clubs for band practice, and officers or invited speakers occasionally gave lectures in the recreation rooms.⁵ IODE chapters usually opened a canteen or tea room in the soldiers' clubs or provided the soldiers with free refreshments.⁶

³Some soldiers' clubs were located in the training camps, while other recreation rooms were found in whatever building space the organizing IODE chapter could locate to rent or have donated.

⁴The Governor Laird Chapter in North Battleford presented the 243rd Battalion with a gramophone and records, and the Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge presented the 25th Battery with a piano to use while they were in the city. SAB, IODE Records, R 766, File II.6.b.218, Governor Laird Chapter Minutes 1916-1918, December 1916, p. 18; Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, p. 108.

⁵NACL, Echoes, October 1917, "A Soldiers' Club," pp. 67-8.

⁶The Victoria and Albert Chapter in Prince Albert offered soldiers refreshments free of charge, but held fortnightly entertainments to cover refreshment costs. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert

Daughters of the Empire also sponsored special social events to entertain soldiers in training. IODE chapters organized and provided prizes for sports days and military tournaments.⁷ Officers and enlisted men were invited to join IODE members at card parties and were entertained by Daughters of the Empire at musical concerts and programmes.⁸ "Khaki" dances became a popular means of entertaining locally stationed regiments. Within days of war being declared and reservists and volunteers being gathered in Battleford, the Daughters of the Empire held a Soldiers Welcome Dance, "primarily to introduce the soldiers to the town people thereby making them feel welcome and at home in the town."⁹ In most locations, soldiers' dances were so successful that chapters held them on a regular weekly or monthly basis:

Chapter Minutes, Book 1, 13 March 1915.

⁷The Fort Macleod Chapter in Macleod gave a wristwatch and a pipe as prizes for the 13th C.M.R. Sports Day. NACL, Echoes, June 1916, p. 87. A military tournament was held under the auspices of the Military Chapter in Calgary. The men and officers enlisted in the second contingent and stationed in Calgary participated in contests of skill and strength, as well as march, drill and fighting exhibits. Calgary Daily Herald, 18 January 1915, pp. 3-4.

⁸The moving picture theatre at Sewell Camp (near Winnipeg) gave a portion of their week's proceeds to the Winnipeg Municipal Chapter IODE for providing part of their singing entertainment for the week. Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 13 August 1915, p. 162; Saskatoon Phoenix, 27 March 1915, p. 6.

⁹Mrs. C.J. Greenwood Papers, Battleford Chapter Minutes 1909-1927, 10 August 1914.

The first khaki dance given by the [Winnipeg] Municipal Chapter was held in the Coliseum, November 27, [1915]. These khaki dances have proved very successful. Men of the various regiments in the city have come to them regularly. It is a peculiar feature of our Canadian enlisting that all the "nice" boys have not taken out commissions, or even tried to do so, but many are just wearing the King's uniform of the private. Although we pride ourselves on being a democratic people, and would repudiate the statement that military snobbery was creeping in, yet there is something that prevents these nice boys from feeling just at home at any place that is essentially the recognized beat of officers. At the khaki dances the efforts of the Municipal Chapter were directed to the elimination of any of that isolated feeling from the mind of our brave "rankers." They have continued all winter, and have been much appreciated.¹⁰

Some IODE members used soldiers' social events to try to reduce the perceived gap between officers and enlisted men.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were eager to assist battalions, as well as individual reservists and volunteers, as they made their final preparations to leave for overseas duty. Chapters of the IODE donated regimental colours to a number of battalions that were organized in the West.¹¹ Other companies were provided with certain pieces

¹⁰NACL, Echoes, March 1916, p. 22; PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 15 November 1915, p. 179. Members of the General Sam Steele Military Chapter in Portage la Prairie held weekly Squadron Dances for the men of the 10th C.M.R. who were quartered in their city for the winter. NACL, Echoes, June 1916, p. 76.

¹¹The Michael O'Leary V.C. IODE and Children of the Empire Chapter in Wadena raised \$250.00 to purchase colours for the 214th Battalion, otherwise known as the Saskatchewan

or entire sets of band instruments for their regimental bands.¹² In Prince Albert, the Victoria and Albert Chapter held a sacred concert at a local theatre to raise money to help the 243rd Battalion pay their debt before they left the city.¹³ Some rural chapters fully equipped the few soldiers that volunteered from their small towns.¹⁴

Before reservists and volunteers left prairie towns and cities, the Daughters of the Empire showed their appreciation to the men who were going to war with farewell celebrations. The IODE often held banquets and formal balls in honour of departing soldiers. Huge farewell demonstrations at train stations were organized by the IODE

Wildcats. Mrs. Joan Church Papers, History of Michael O'Leary V.C. Chapter; Manitoba Free Press, 7 August 1916, p. 8. The Military Chapter in Calgary presented the 137th Battalion with \$200.00 in gold with which to purchase their colours. NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 103. The O-Me-Mee Chapter in Edmonton donated \$158.22 to purchase and present the colours to the 202nd Sportsmen's Battalion. Ibid., p. 105.

¹²The big undertaking of the Lloyd George Chapter in Edmonton in 1916-1917 was to provide a forty-piece band for the 202nd Battalion, C.E.F., which they paid for with "subscriptions from a generous public and a series of teas and entertainments." Ibid., p. 105. In the spring of 1916, the Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge donated four pipe drums and one large drum to the 113th Overseas Battalion which had recently been recruited in its town. Ibid., June 1916, p. 88.

¹³Captain Traill of the 243rd Battalion asked the IODE to help pay this debt. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File IV.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, Book 2, 19 April 1917.

¹⁴The Britannia Chapter in MacGregor, Manitoba equipped five soldiers that were in training at Portage la Prairie with the Third Contingent. NACL, Echoes, June 1915, p. 67.

so that reservists and volunteers would be properly sent off. Upon departure, soldiers were usually presented with useful gifts such as housewife kits (which were little packages of necessary articles such as needles, thread, buttons, stationery, and First Aid supplies), oranges and other fruit, field comforts, sweaters, and books to occupy their spare time.¹⁵

The IODE's care for the soldiers of the Canadian contingents did not end when the young men left Canadian shores. The Daughters of the Empire knew from their experience during the Boer War that soldiers were never supplied with all of the comforts or necessities that were required to make their lives bearable while in training or on the battlefield.¹⁶ This fact was emphasized when direct appeals for particular necessities were made to the IODE at all chapter levels by battalion officers, individual soldiers, or non-military individuals who were aware of the

¹⁵"The IODE to Wave Goodbye to Reservists," Saskatoon Phoenix, 19 August 1914, p. 4; Ibid., 21 August 1914, p. 4; Mrs. C.J. Greenwood Papers, Battleford Chapter Minutes 1909-1927, 18 August 1914; NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 31; Ibid., June 1916, p. 88; SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File IV.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, Book 1, 27 October 1914; Ibid., Book 2, 24 April 1917; NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 103.

¹⁶The Golden West Chapter in Saskatoon received direct appeals from men in the "Princess Pats" regiment for socks and other garments. Saskatoon Phoenix, 9 February 1915, p. 5. The Saskatchewan Provincial Appeals Committee asked the chapters in that province to give money for comforts for the Fighting Fifth Battalion. SAB, R 598, File VI.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, Book 2, 22 May 1917.

needs of the men at the Front. Unlike the Red Cross, which was organized for the purpose of supplying hospital and medical supplies in times of emergency or war, there was no single or central organization established before or after 1914 to provide field comforts for soldiers.

IODE members met in homes and workrooms to make, collect, bale, and ship soldiers' comforts. Woollen goods, clothes, towels, handkerchiefs, soap, tooth brushes, writing paper, envelopes and other helpful items were sent by the Order to the men in the trenches and camps in France and England. IODE workrooms frequently served as depots where the general public could donate comforts.¹⁷ Although many western chapters provided comforts for individual soldiers from their particular city, town or district, Daughters of the Empire also made (or bought) and sent field comforts for Canadian soldiers in general. In these cases, the comforts were distributed by one of the many organizations that took up the distribution of field comforts in England and

¹⁷When an IODE chapter held a comfort shower, they advertised to the public that they were collecting goods or money to purchase goods to be sent to soldiers overseas. Comfort showers lasted for a day or a period of days, during which time IODE members and private citizens were encouraged to "shower" the depots with needed objects that were to be crated and sent to the front or to the training centers in England. The Saskatoon Municipal Chapter held an annual comfort shower on Trafalgar Day. For the Trafalgar Day Shower in October of 1917, citizens were asked to bring money to be passed on to Captain Mary Plummer of the CFCC or to donate actual field comforts. "Trafalgar Day Gifts Are Asked For Soldiers," Saskatoon Phoenix, 18 October 1917, p. 4.

Europe.¹⁸ On occasion, Canadian soldiers in Europe and Great Britain were treated -- at the Order's expense -- to special foods which were absent from their military menu, including apples and oranges, chocolate, loaf sugar, and maple sugar.¹⁹ At Christmas, IODE chapters contributed to

¹⁸At the beginning of the war, the Red Cross handled some distribution of parcels of field comforts to men overseas -- mostly because everyone expected that they would. When the hospital demands made upon this society grew, the British War Office had Canadian High Commissioner Sir George Perley form the Canada War Contingent Association (CWCA) amongst private Canadian individuals residing in England. The sole objective of the CWCA was to supply field comforts to the men in the trenches and in the camps in England. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 23, File 13, "National Committee of Women for Patriotic Service Annual Report, 1915-1916," p. 8. In Canada, the Canadian Field Comforts Commission (CFCC) was organized early in the war at Valcartier Camp in Quebec. Miss Joan L. Arnoldi and Miss Mary Plummer were appointed commissioners of this government agency that distributed field comforts from the Moore barracks in Shorncliffe, England. "Letters to the Editor re: Canadian Field Comfort Commission," Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 July 1915, p. 4; "Canadian Soldiers Greatly Esteemed," Manitoba Free Press, 12 August 1915, p. 3. Western Canadian branches of the St. John's Ambulance Association also collected and organized the making of field comforts that were then distributed by branches of the organization overseas. PAA, Acc. 75.161, Club Women's Records, p. 32; PAA, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 250.

¹⁹ The Battleford Chapter sent chocolate in parcels of shirts to individual local soldiers that were in France. The Forget Chapter in Regina donated \$25.00 to send apples to soldiers in France. The Military Chapter in Calgary received donations from chapters throughout Alberta to purchase half a ton of maple sugar that cost \$275.00. In 1917, the Saskatoon Daughters of the Empire collected contributions of money to purchase cases of loaf sugar to be forwarded directly to the trenches where the boys were asking for an extra piece of sugar each day to satisfy their craving for something sweet. Mrs. C.J. Greenwood Papers, Battleford Chapter Minutes, 27 November 1917; NACL, Echoes, June 1916, p. 85; Ibid., December 1917, p. 64; Public Archives of Alberta (PAA), Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1,



Parcels to be shipped by the Lake Agassiz Chapter, Grandview, Manitoba (left). (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.) A little over 600 parcels sent overseas on Oct. 17, 1918, by the Jon Sigurdson Chapter, Winnipeg, Manitoba (right). (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 250; Mrs. Mary Lynch Staunton Paper, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1917-1922, 18 October 1917, p. 21; "IODE To Send Sugar To Boys In The Trenches," Saskatoon Phoenix, 12 May 1917, p.4.

official funds which were set up to buy Christmas gifts for soldiers. Other chapters sent special Christmas foods and gifts directly to the front.²⁰ Letters of appreciation for these field comforts and gifts were received by IODE chapters from soldiers in the trenches throughout the Great War.

Knitting was the one IODE comfort activity which continued from the beginning to the end of the Great War and perhaps has left the greatest impression on the minds of later generations of Canadians. IODE members found time to knit no matter what other projects their chapters undertook. When it seemed like the hours spent knitting were endless, when they wondered if their time would be better spent

²⁰In 1914, all chapters received a letter from the National Chapter Executive that announced that a special appeal had been made by Princess Mary of England on behalf of soldiers at the front, to provide each with a Christmas present. The fund asked for from one cent to twenty-five cents from every man, woman and child in the Empire. National Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 4, "How We Can Help Most, Now!", circular letter from Mrs. Colin Campbell to the Women of Manitoba, n.d..

The Municipal Chapter in Saskatoon suggested that suitable Christmas comforts included woollens, shirts, underwear, chocolate, candy, soap, boracic ointment, towels, and insect powder. In 1917, the Forget Chapter in Regina sent \$500 to Captain Plummer and Lieut. Arnoldi of the CFCC at Shorncliffe to buy Christmas gifts for Canadian soldiers, and requested that the gifts consist of 1 plum pudding, 1 tin fruit cake, 1/2 tin raisins and almonds, 1 tin cafe au lait, 1 roast fowl, 50 Players cigarettes, and 1 tin of peaches or pineapple. "An Appeal for Xmas Gifts for J. Canuck," Saskatoon Phoenix, 30 August 1915, p. 5. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File IV.5.k.ii, Forget Chapter Minutes 1917, p. 81.



Members of Winnitoba Chapter, Winnipeg, Manitoba, knitting for soldiers. (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

elsewhere, or when interest in knitting slackened, the Daughters of the Empire were encouraged by their leaders not to grow weary. Members were regularly reminded, "As long as our brave soldiers are on the march, or in the trench, they will need all the comforts that women can supply."²¹

Knitted soldier comforts that Daughters of the Empire made for servicemen included sweaters, mitts, scarves, wristlets, caps and helmets, "kneecaps", cholera belts -- and, of course, socks.

²¹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 4, "How Can We Help Most, Now!", circular letter from Minnie J.B. Campbell, Manitoba Provincial Chapter President to the Women of Manitoba, n.d..

If there was any suggestion by IODE members or IODE critics -- at the time or since -- that the Order's sock-knitting efforts were a waste of time, the significant number of appeals for socks and the many testimonials to the value of a steady supply of clean, hand-knit wool socks made by officers and men in the field, should have shattered such doubts. In 1916, the following despatch from London, England was printed in the Saskatoon Phoenix "IODE Notes" column to encourage women everywhere to continue knitting socks for soldiers:

London, March 14 -- The statement made by General Sir Edwin Alderson to Canadian journalists who visited the front, to the effect that "trench foot" has practically been eliminated from the Canadian troops, bears out what has been said in letters addressed to the Daughters of the Empire in connection with the sending of socks. Over and over again the fact has been emphasized that the comforts sent out by the Association have contributed not only to the men's happiness but to the maintenance of health under bad climatic conditions 'You can scarcely send too many socks,' said the sergeant-major; 'they may accumulate at times but sooner or later they are sure to be wanted.' General Mercer, when asked how the men were being looked after as regards comforts, said the socks sent had proved invaluable in saving the men's feet.²²

When a false rumour spread through Canada that no further socks were required by Canadian soldiers, the National Chapter reacted immediately by sending a circular letter to

²²Saskatoon Phoenix, 13 May 1916, p. 6.



IODE Sock Shower for soldiers, Winnipeg, Manitoba.
(PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

all chapters to point out the Canadian contingents' continued need for socks.²³ By the time of the armistice in 1918, the women of the Order had mastered the art of sock-making. There is no way to determine or even estimate the number of pairs of socks that the prairie IODE and their sisters across the country knit and sent to Canadian soldiers during the years of the Great War. A single sock shower held by the Winnipeg Municipal Chapter yielded 2579 pairs of socks, valued at \$1320.²⁴ An IODE history of the Order's wartime activities remarked, "Somebody has said that

²³NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 5 National IODE Executive Minutes 1914-1917, 1 November 1916, p. 255.

²⁴PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 23 February 1916, p. 193.

the number of pairs of socks shipped overseas was probably larger than the population of Canada, and the Daughters of the Empire prepared, collected and despatched a large proportion of them."²⁵

IODE members sought to increase the output and efficiency of their knitting and sewing efforts. Some chapters bought or borrowed knitting machines in order to turn out larger quantities of a quality sock product.²⁶ School children were enlisted by IODE members, or volunteered by their teachers, to knit and sew soldiers comforts under the auspices of the IODE.²⁷ Some chapters believed that their money and time were better spent when

²⁵NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 26, "The IODE in Wartime," p. 15.

²⁶Members of the Brandon chapters of the IODE were strongly in favour of machine-knit socks. They believed that machine-made socks were better quality and more comfortable when well-made, while hand-made socks were often badly made. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1912-1915, p. 186-7. The Veterans Chapter in Winnipeg set up their knitting machine in the city IODE workroom, and women were asked to finish the toes of their hand-knit socks there. Ibid., Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 11 August 1915, p. 160.

²⁷The teachers of East and West Kildonan Schools offered to have their pupils assist the war efforts of the Seven Oaks Chapter by sewing or knitting. A member of the chapter went to the schools to instruct the children about what had to be done. Ibid., Box 18, Seven Oaks Chapter Minutes 1914-1922, 1 October 1915, p. 48. The Secretary of the Lieutenant Muir Junior Chapter in Medicine Hat reported that her chapter had been helping with field comforts for the soldiers, and that they had been assisted by other pupils of the Elm Street School in this work. NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 28.

they hired women who were unemployed to knit or sew soldiers' comforts. For example, in order to provide one hundred night shirts for the Womens' Canadian Hospital in England, the Fort Garry Chapter hired unemployed seamstresses to make the shirts at 25 cents per garment.²⁸ In this way, the generally well-to-do women who were members of the Order could combine philanthropy with their field comfort work. Furthermore, some Daughters were probably happy to have someone else take over the manual labour aspects of their IODE duties.

The Daughters of the Empire in western towns recognized that soldiers might long for the things which had been familiar to them and thus endeavoured to provide the men serving overseas with remembrances of their homes. The Blain Haverson Chapter in Carman, Manitoba, sent news clippings and snapshots of home scenes to soldiers who hailed from that town.²⁹ Similarly, the unmarried members of the Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge made up scrapbooks of interesting local news items that were sent to soldiers in hospitals in England and France.³⁰ The Sir Johnson Forbes-Robertson Chapter in Saskatoon undertook a

²⁸PAM, IODE Records, P 2498, File 1, Fort Garry Chapter Minutes 1913-1914, 8 September 1914, pp. 110-111.

²⁹NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 48.

³⁰During the war, these young women worked on the scrapbooks once a week in groups of five. Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, p. 56, pp. 63-64, p. 155.

successful project to send photos of Saskatoon soldiers' children to their fathers.³¹ In 1915, the National IODE received word from Sir George Perley, Canadian High Commissioner in London, that men in London hospitals were longing for Canadian newspapers. In particular, requests had been made for papers from Calgary, Edmonton, Prince Albert and Saskatoon in the West, and from Toronto in the East. The National Executive appealed to members and received contributions for newspaper subscriptions, while many primary chapters influenced their local newspapers to donate subscriptions for the soldiers.³²

During the Great War, the Daughters of the Empire in the West were inundated with requests from various military

³¹Saskatoon Phoenix, 4 November 1915, p. 6.

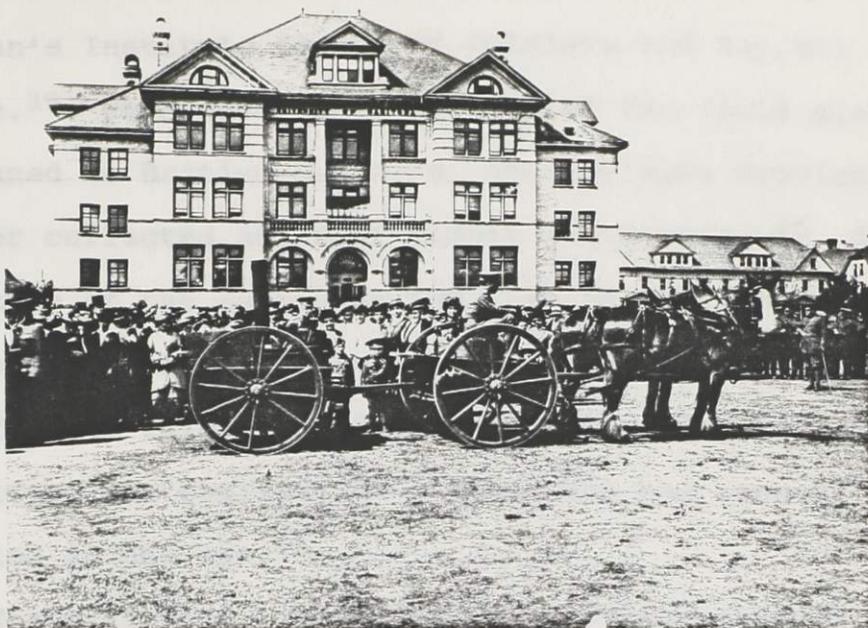
³²"IODE Officers Ask for Newspaper for Men in Hospital," Saskatoon Phoenix, 10 August 1915, p. 6; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 23, File 13, circular letter from Assistant National Secretary, 5 October 1916. The Saskatoon IODE received a letter from Private H. Bell requesting that the IODE influence Saskatoon daily and weekly papers to supply different hospitals and soldier clubs with papers. He reported that he had been in the hospital for six months, and had seen papers from almost every Canadian city but Saskatoon. He suggested that providing newspapers to English hospitals and soldiers' clubs was a good way to educate others about Canada and to advertise the City of Saskatoon. "Newspapers Wanted in Overseas Hospitals," Saskatoon Phoenix, 19 June 1916, p. 6. Another purpose for sending newspapers, magazines, and books was to provide entertainment for soldiers. The Admiral Sturdee Chapter in Weyburn, Saskatchewan, sent magazines and reading material via the Red Cross to railway guards "whose dreary duty it [was] to be far from the comforts and luxury of home and companionship, guarding railway bridges, without the excitement of active service in the field." "Tobacco and Magazines," Calgary Daily Herald, 22 December 1914, p. 12.

authorities, private committees, and appeal funds that were set up to provide for particular equipment needs of Allied soldiers. Although they were often hard-pressed to provide goods or funds to every society or individual that appealed to them, the IODE did their best to respond. The Winnipeg Municipal Chapter presented the Saskatoon men of the 28th Battalion with a field kitchen.³³ Western chapters contributed to National Chapter funds to purchase twenty-two field kitchens, three motor trucks, two automobiles, and eighteen machine guns.³⁴ The Manitoba Provincial IODE Executive placed an appeal for blankets for soldiers stationed in Great Britain before the people of that province. The appeal was met with an overwhelming response.³⁵ When the Germans began to use asphyxiating gases in trench warfare in France and Belgium, the National Service Committee contacted Mrs. Colin Campbell in Winnipeg to organize the making of respirators for the mobilized men

³³The Saskatoon Daughters of the Empire had decided to supply this need but were "forestalled in their patriotic intentions by their Winnipeg sisters." Saskatoon Phoenix, 24 May 1915, p. 3.

³⁴NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 26, "The IODE in Wartime," p. 16.

³⁵PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1912-1915, "Third Annual Report," 22 April 1915, p. 197. The total cash subscription was \$1,045.80, the total number of blankets forwarded was 1,044, which resulted in a total value of \$3,261.00. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 4, "How Can We Help Most," circular letter from Mrs. Colin Campbell to the Women of Manitoba, [n.d.].



The Manitoba Provincial Chapter presents a field kitchen to the 28th Battalion at the University of Manitoba. (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

of the second contingent and the reinforcements from that district.³⁶ Western IODE members also donated waste soft leather products such as cast-off gloves to the Glove Waistcoat Society of London, England. The leather products were remade into wind-proof garments (such as waistcoats) for sailors and soldiers serving in harsh weather conditions.³⁷ Similarly, western chapters joined other women's organizations to collect old furs for the use of

³⁶Ibid., File 3, newspaper clipping, "Urgent Call to Women of Winnipeg."

³⁷Ibid., Vol. 32, File 20, leaflet: "Glove Waistcoat Society."

Italian troops who were fighting in high altitudes in the Alps.³⁸ Many prairie chapters supported the work of the St. Dunstan's Institute for Blind Soldiers and Sailors in London.³⁹ When Lord Roberts appealed for field glasses to be loaned to British N.C.O.'s, the Manitoba Provincial Chapter collected and sent almost forty pairs.⁴⁰ The Daughters of the Empire in the prairie provinces responded generously to appeals for donations to the British Sailors' Relief Fund, which provided comforts for seamen and benefitted the families of sailors who had been killed or disabled in the war.⁴¹

Early in 1915, stories about the treatment of Canadian prisoners of war in Germany began to circulate in Canada. It was believed that the Germans were not feeding Allied prisoners of war adequately. In response, primary chapters

³⁸PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 76.57, Keomi Chapter Minutes 1912-1917, 4 November 1915, p. 143; Ibid., Acc. 87.145, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, 4 November 1915, p. 103.

³⁹The Edmonton Municipal Chapter held a patriotic concert and raised \$273.18 for this cause. Ibid., Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 257. The St. Dunstan's Home endeavoured to teach veterans who had been blinded during the war how to be independent and useful. "St. Dunstan's Home Deserves Assistance," Saskatoon Phoenix, 18 April 1917, p. 5.

⁴⁰NACL, Echoes, March 1917, p. 42.

⁴¹"Sailors' Relief Fund Enlarge Committee," Calgary Daily Herald, 21 September 1916, p. 8; "October 21st For Donations To the Sailors," Saskatoon Phoenix, 19 October 1916, p. 5; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 23, File 13, circular letter from Assistant National Secretary, Gertrude McGaffin, 11 December 1916.

adopted individual POW's and sent them food.⁴² Later in the war, when the Governor General's wife, the Duchess of Connaught, was leaving the Dominion, she organized a Prisoner of War Fund that the women of Canada could contribute to in order to provide for the welfare of Canadian POW's.⁴³ At the request of the National Chapter, IODE chapters throughout the Dominion subscribed to this fund because it proved a more satisfactory and economical means of providing for POW's than sending clothes and food directly.⁴⁴ When the war was over, the Daughters of the Empire pointed out, with satisfaction, ". . . that almost all the Canadians who [had] returned from Germany [bore] testimony to the value of the parcels of food. Many of our men would have died of starvation in a foreign land if it had not been for the packages that reached them with such unbroken regularity."⁴⁵

⁴²Ibid., Vol. 26, "The IODE in Wartime," p. 15.

⁴³"Duchess of Connaught's Prisoners of War Fund," Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 September 1916, p. 5.

⁴⁴PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 76.57, Keomi Chapter Minutes 1912-1917, p. 140.

⁴⁵NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 26, "The IODE in Wartime," pp. 15-16. In 1915, the National Chapter also received an request from Countess Benckendorff of the Russian Embassy in London, England, asking that the Daughters of the Empire to contribute to the Russian Prisoners of War Help Committee to provide for Russian POW's who were also suffering from starvation. This appeal was publicized in Echoes and responded to by primary chapters across the nation. NACL, Echoes, December 1915, p. 20, p. 22.

During the Great War, appeals for cigarettes and other forms of tobacco were made by individual soldiers and by an organization called the Overseas Tobacco Fund. Western chapters of the IODE responded to tobacco appeals in different ways. Most Daughters of the Empire believed that the Canadian government was negligent in failing to satisfy this particular desire and need of Canadian soldiers for tobacco:

That tobacco is not only essential for the nerve-racked soldiers under shell fire, but is a necessity in the operating room, was stated by Mr. Francis R. Jones, organizer for America for the Overseas Tobacco fund, when he addressed the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire yesterday afternoon at the Hotel Palliser. The tobacco supplied by the government was insufficient to meet the demand of the men, and it was to make up this deficiency that the Overseas club undertook the work of coping with the demand of the men for tobacco, and more tobacco. . . . [The] object of the movement was solely for the purpose of providing the tommies with one of the things which is classed as a necessity.

Objections to the movement might arise from moralists, clergymen and good mothers, that the narcotic was injurious, but in support of the arguments the speaker quoted the words of an eminent surgeon at the front who said that he would rather operate on a man who had a smoke than one who hadn't.⁴⁶

⁴⁶The article went on to read: "As an example of the wonderful soothing effect of a cigarette to a wounded Tommie, he cited the case of one who was brought in to the operating room with a severe shrapnel wound in the shoulder. The anaesthetic supply was exhausted, and on learning this fact the sufferer suggested that he be given a cigarette to smoke while the operation was being performed. Several were furnished him, until the wound was bandaged, and after his removal from the operating table he said to one of the attendants, 'That was the best smoke I ever had.'" "IODE Told About Work of Tobacco Fund in Canada," Calgary Daily

In 1916, the National Chapter sent a letter to all chapters, encouraging them to assist the Overseas Tobacco Fund appeal.⁴⁷ A few western chapters sent cigarettes and tobacco directly to soldiers who had written personal appeals. The Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg received a direct appeal for cigarettes from one soldier. In response, the chapter successfully appealed to cigar stands in the city for donations of cigarettes, and in July of 1915, sent 536 packages of cigarettes to soldiers overseas.⁴⁸ Other chapters donated money to the Tobacco Fund. The Manitoba Provincial Chapter saw the tobacco campaign as a worthy object because "every returned soldier personally asked [told them that] they would rather have cigarettes than anything else sent them in the trenches. Even those who [had] never smoked before [said tobacco had] saved many a man's reason."⁴⁹ In comparison, at an Edmonton Municipal Chapter meeting, serious doubts were voiced by various chapters about the advisability of the IODE undertaking

Herald, 31 October 1916, p. 4.

⁴⁷NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 20, File 10, Mary R. Gooderham to Mrs. A.G. Peuchen, 4 May 1916.

⁴⁸PAM, IODE Records, P 2498, File 2, Fort Garry Chapter Minutes 1914-1920, 27 June 1915, p. 53; 16 July 1915, p. 55.

⁴⁹Ibid., MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, "Secretary's Report, January 26, 1917," p. 37.

Tobacco Fund work.⁵⁰ The Edmonton chapters were probably responding to a campaign launched against the "immoral" provision of tobacco to the boys at the front by the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Canada.⁵¹ Although some IODE chapters hesitated, most prairie Daughters of the Empire continued to support the Tobacco Fund because their first priority was the comfort of the men in the trenches.

The importance placed on doing field comfort work for the Canadian contingents by the Daughters of Empire in western Canada is suggested by the fact that some chapters put aside pre-war projects in order to concentrate absolutely on making and sending comforts to the men

⁵⁰The resolution that was eventually passed by the Edmonton Municipal Chapter stated, "That as an organization we feel it impossible to become responsible to undertake this work, and that we suggest that the collection of this Fund be put in the hands of the Boy Scouts." PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 192.

⁵¹The WCTU in Ontario wanted every local union in Ontario to refuse to assist the Red Cross or other Patriotic societies who used their funds to send cigarettes to the men at the front. A report issued by the anti-narcotic department of the Ontario WCTU stated, "We believe that all who send cigarettes to the soldiers at the front are partisans in this national crime, for we know not how many are responsible for many of the casualties that exist, aside from those caused by German bullets and other ammunition . . . [What] we do object to is the wholesale shipment by Patriotic societies of cigarettes to the front, so that many of our boys who were unaccustomed to the habit formerly are being rendered useless and unfitted for this terrible hazardous life." Members of the WCTU condemned the Daughters of the Empire for encouraging and participating in the "promiscuous sending" of tobacco to Canadian soldiers. "Say Cigarettes Should Not Be Sent," Manitoba Free Press, 22 October 1915, p. 7.

overseas. For example, early in 1914, the aim of the Queen Victoria Chapter in Winnipeg was to establish and equip a cot in the Children's Hospital. After the declaration of war, this project was abandoned and all efforts were turned to knitting and sewing for volunteers.⁵² In Regina, the Forget Chapter felt that they could do nothing to help the city's unemployed because of their work for field comforts.⁵³ Considering the Order's patriotic, militaristic ideology, it is no surprise that their work for Canadian soldiers was often put ahead of doing local charity, health or welfare work.

The Daughters of the Empire not only believed that they should get credit for their efforts but that it was well deserved. This attitude was indicated in the following resolution that was carried at a National Executive meeting in 1915:

That individual members of Chapters be discouraged from making personal appeals for soldier Comforts in the Press - that they be encouraged to make all such appeals through their organization. In most cases, it is members of the Order from whom the response comes, and in loyalty to the Order we should give the credit where it is due. We can best impress upon the public the scope of our

⁵²NACL, Echoes, June 1915, p. 73.

⁵³SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.k.i, Forget Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, 8 June 1915, p. 131. No prizes were given to the Boy Scouts or Girl Guides in 1916-1917 by the General Sam Steel Chapter in Portage la Prairie because the chapter's work was entirely in the line of providing comforts for the men at the front. NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 77.

Order, by showing it every respect ourselves. Do your work as much as possible through a Chapter of the Order.⁵⁴

Chapter executives at all levels in the West and throughout the Dominion did their best to keep track of the work done by their members so that they would be able to show the total amount of patriotic work done by the Order during the war.⁵⁵ It was also the general feeling of the IODE that every garment sent overseas should be labelled with an IODE marking tag. The Daughters of the Empire wanted to show the soldiers that the IODE women of Canada were thinking about them, as well as remind the men that the items were not government issue.⁵⁶ The National IODE Executive went to great lengths to purchase marking tags to add to field comforts so that the IODE would get full credit for sending them.⁵⁷

⁵⁴NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes, 3 February 1915, p. 39.

⁵⁵Members of IODE chapters in Manitoba were asked to record what work they had done individually so that it could be counted with the aggregate of work done by their chapter. NACL, Echoes, December 1915, p. 18.

⁵⁶The IODE also considered marking tags to be an excellent source of propaganda. NAC, IODE Records, MG 28, I 17, Vol. 3, File 1, National IODE Executive Minutes 1918-1919, 6 November 1918, p. 123; PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 65.103, Item 41, Beaver House Chapter Minutes, 6 June 1918, p. 105.

⁵⁷Ibid., File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes 1914-1917, 8 October 1915, p. 115.

During the Great War, the IODE endeavoured to keep a record of their accomplishments in the public eye. Daughters of the Empire in most western cities made sure that the Order's activities were thoroughly covered by the local press. Furthermore, when the National IODE Executive felt that the Order was not given the credit it deserved for its contributions to the Canadian Red Cross Society in that organization's 1918 central report, the Executive asked the Red Cross if it was possible to have the IODE's work reported in the 1918 Red Cross Annual Report.⁵⁸ The Daughters of the Empire may have been inordinately concerned with ensuring that other groups did not get credit for their war work; women of the Order certainly devoted a great deal of time and effort to ensure that the IODE received the recognition it deserved.⁵⁹ The Daughters of the Empire probably hoped that public awareness of their efforts would result in greater public contribution to the Order's causes.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were also faced with several soldier-related concerns on the home front during the Great War. One of the constitutional

⁵⁸Ibid., File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, 3 April 1918, p. 26.

⁵⁹In 1916, Saturday Night editorialist Marjory MacMurchy criticized womens' organizations for putting too much emphasis on the importance of receiving credit for their work: "What difference does it make who does the work if the work is done? It is seldom a useful business, this determining of credit." Marjory MacMurchy, Saturday Night, 7 October 1916, p. 21.

objectives of the IODE was "to care for the widows, orphans and dependents of British soldiers or sailors during war, sickness, accident or reverses of fortune."⁶⁰ The women of the IODE believed that if the men fighting in the trenches in Europe knew that their dependents were being cared for adequately back in Canada, it would be one less worry and they might be better able to concentrate on the task at hand. In cities and towns throughout the West, the Daughters of the Empire were frequently the first organization to take on the responsibility of caring for the wives, children, widows, orphans, and mothers of Canadian servicemen.

When Great Britain declared war on Germany and her allies on August 4th, 1914, she had about 10 000 reservists in Canada -- most of whom were called to colours at twenty-four hours notice. On August 6th, Prime Minister Robert Borden announced Canada's intention to send a first contingent of 25 000 men to supplement British military forces. Recruiting started immediately. As a result of a pre-war depression in the West, many of the prairie men who went to war had been unemployed and had no savings.⁶¹ A number of these men did not have time before they left for

⁶⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 18, File 5, "Constitution of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire," Article II, Object 5, p. 5.

⁶¹Desmond Morton, Canada at War: A Military and Political History (Toronto: Butterworth and Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1981), p. 57.

active service to provide a living for their wives and children who were left to survive as best as they could. Since the Dominion Government did not legislate for allowances for soldiers' families in need until September 4, 1914, there was an urgent need to provide care for the families of men who left before Canadian Patriotic Fund benefits were available.⁶²

As soon as reservists and volunteers began to depart in August of 1914, and before local committees of the Canadian Patriotic Fund were in working order, the IODE began to do relief and visiting work to meet the needs of destitute soldiers' dependents. Once the Canadian Patriotic Fund began to provide allowances to soldiers' families, the Daughters of the Empire helped local Patriotic Fund committees (which were usually made up of military representatives, clergy, and prominent businessmen) administer the Fund.⁶³ An examination of the work of the Edmonton Relief and Visiting Committee provides a good study of what the Daughters of the Empire did in the West to take care of soldiers' dependents.

⁶²Philip H. Morris, ed., The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Record of its Activities from 1914-1919 (Ottawa: The Canadian Patriotic Fund Executive Committee), p. 7.

⁶³"Soldiers' Families To Be Well Looked After By Citizens," Saskatoon Phoenix, 26 August 1914, p. 2. For information about the Canadian Patriotic Fund and the work of the IODE for the Canadian Patriotic Fund in other western locations, see Philip H. Morris, The Canadian Patriotic Fund: A Records of its Activities from 1914-1919 (Ottawa: The Canadian Patriotic Fund Executive Committee.)

The Edmonton Visiting and Relief Committee was formed out of the Edmonton Municipal Chapter for the purpose of caring for the needy families of the reservists and volunteers of the Allied armies.⁶⁴ Their first task was to register the families of servicemen.⁶⁵ After registration was completed, each primary chapter in Edmonton appointed a committee of visitors who visited the registered families, reported on their needs, and received funds, fuel, clothing or foodstuff from the Relief Committee to carry out their relief work.⁶⁶ In order to provide for the families in need until the Patriotic Fund became active in September of 1914, each chapter was asked to donate money to a central fund; additional funds were collected on tag days and from boxes located in public places.⁶⁷ The Relief Committee arranged for the purchase and distribution of supplies such as groceries and meat from the Hudson's Bay Company. Committee members purchased bread and milk tickets to pass on to needy families. Edmonton IODE patriotic relief workers found that their "credit was good with the Civic Relief Department and

⁶⁴PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 74.1, Box 6, Item 179, Relief Committee Minutes, 29 August 1914.

⁶⁵Ibid., 9 September 1914.

⁶⁶The 1916 list of IODE visitors had 308 names, which was about 73% of the Daughters of the Empire in Edmonton. Ibid., Box 1, Item 182, Report of Visiting Committee IODE, 9 March 1916, Eleanor Broadus, Secretary Visiting Committee, p. 4.

⁶⁷Ibid., Box 6, Item 179, Relief Committee Minutes, 29 August 1914.

with the cooperation of this department [they] were able to send fuel (an expensive item) wherever it was needed by soldiers' dependents."⁶⁸

When the Patriotic Fund became active in Edmonton, the work of the Edmonton Relief and Visiting Committee changed somewhat. As Relief Committee Secretary, Eleanor Broadus, stated: "We were in reality a Visiting Committee serving as an auxiliary to the Patriotic Fund Committee, but keeping our own organization intact."⁶⁹ The IODE visitors assisted the Patriotic Fund committee in a number of capacities. The Patriotic Fund Committee had the Daughters of the Empire investigate dependents' applications for assistance. IODE volunteers visited dependent families once a month for the first six months that they received Patriotic Fund allowances; after that, families were asked to report monthly to the IODE Relief and Visiting Office.⁷⁰ The IODE also used these visits to help the Patriotic Fund Committee disburse its funds.⁷¹

IODE visitors in Edmonton did more than investigate cases and deliver cheques; they also gave a great deal of moral support, companionship and practical assistance to

⁶⁸Ibid., 9 September 1914; Ibid., Box 1, Item 182, Report of Visiting Committee IODE, 9 March 1916, Eleanor Broadus, Secretary Visiting Committee, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 2.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 3.

⁷¹Ibid., 22 March 1915, p. 1.

soldiers' wives and families. Daughters of the Empire offered friendship and advice to women who were left alone with the full responsibility of caring for their homes and children while their husbands were away. IODE volunteers offered comfort and condolences to the families of soldiers who were killed or wounded in action.⁷² Members of the Order tried to brighten the lives of soldiers' dependents whenever possible. Some chapters in the West organized wives' and mothers' social clubs or provided entertainments for such clubs that were already in existence.⁷³ At Christmas, IODE chapters across the country held Christmas parties, provided Christmas dinner, bought Christmas gifts for children, and frequently gave Christmas trees to soldiers' families.⁷⁴ Visitors arranged for doctors and

⁷²Ibid., Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 177. The corresponding secretary of the Saskatoon Military Chapter's Active Service Committee wrote letters to mothers, wives and sisters of soldiers who were killed or wounded, as well as letters of congratulation to soldiers who received promotions or won Military Crosses and other such awards for valuable and patriotic services performed on behalf of the Empire. Saskatoon Phoenix, 12 September 1916, p. 6; Ibid., 13 October 1916, p. 5.

⁷³PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 74.1, Box 1, Item 182, Report of Visiting Committee IODE, 22 March 1915, Eleanor Broadus, Secretary Visiting Committee; SAB, R 598, File VI.5.k.ii, Forget Chapter Minutes 1917, 14 November 1917, p. 93.

⁷⁴"Generous Gifts Sent Soldiers' Families," Calgary Daily Herald, 27 December 1916, p. 8. Members of the Keomi chapter chose not to subscribe to the Edmonton Widows and Orphans Christmas Tree Fund because they decided that they wanted to use this money for orphans' education, which they deemed of greater importance than the Christmas Tree Fund. It is interesting to see a chapter establish priorities for

nurses to see the ill and found lawyers to deal with dependents' legal difficulties. When reservists' wives or mothers followed husbands or sons to England, Daughters of the Empire provided them with clothing for children and baskets of provisions. Visitors were able to induce some young girls to enter technical schools and learn skills so that they could work to help provide for their family.⁷⁵ Members of the Fort Edmonton Chapter were successful in securing steady employment for a war widow in their neighbourhood.⁷⁶

Some of the "practical assistance" given by the Edmonton Daughters of the Empire was very paternalistic, and was likely offensive to many of the soldiers' wives to whom it was offered. For example, in 1914, the Committee's minutes reported on an address given by one of its members, Mrs. Hyndman. Mrs. Hyndman suggested that visitors use the opportunity of their relief visits for

the use of its money; many chapters donated money to every sentimental, patriotic scheme that was suggested to them, whether or not these projects would result in the best use of the funds. PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 65.103, Item 41, Beaver House Chapter Minutes, 6 December 1917, p. 86.

⁷⁵Ibid., Acc. 74.1, Box 1, Item 182, Report of Visiting Committee IODE, 9 March 1916, Eleanor Broadus, Secretary Visiting Committee, p. 4.

⁷⁶NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 104. The Neepawa Chapter in Neepawa, Manitoba, provided an infant's trousseau and paid a hospital bill of \$30 for a soldier's wife. Ibid., p. 77. The Plum Creek Chapter in Souris, Manitoba, helped to find employment for dependents of those who joined the Canadian forces. Ibid., March 1915, p. 40.

giving of counsel in matters relating to general questions of child-rearing, household health and hygiene; and the chance for training in business matters - starting savings accounts, wise and proportioned expenditure, etc.. Mrs. Hyndman outlined briefly a plan for informal meetings in the visitors' homes of the mothers with whom the visiting is brought into touch -- meetings at which there might be music, helpful reading, and simple talks on the subjects mentioned.

Mrs. Hyndman's talk was practical, suggestive, and characterized by a sensitive realization of the need for "social" work among the families with whom we are dealing this winter.⁷⁷

The Daughters of the Empire used their Patriotic Fund work with soldiers' dependents -- particularly those from the lower ranks of society -- to perpetuate their nation-building efforts. In the eyes of the IODE, they were using their visits to educate soldiers' families in ways that would make them better Canadian citizens.

During the war, the Daughters of the Empire in Edmonton became upset because they believed that some soldiers' wives were taking advantage of the Patriotic Fund. Visitors reported that beneficiaries of the Fund were spending their allowances indiscreetly. IODE volunteers complained that soldiers wives were using Patriotic Fund money to purchase pianos, expensive stoves, and life insurance for their children.⁷⁸ In response, the Executive of the Relief and

⁷⁷PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 74.1, Box 6, Item 179, Relief Committee Minutes, 9 September 1914.

⁷⁸Ibid., Item 180, Relief Committee Minutes, 1 March 1915.

Visiting Committee urged visitors to investigate patriotic relief cases closely:

Mrs. Ferris [the chairwoman of the committee] spoke of the necessity of investigating each case most carefully and assuring ourselves that we are not being imposed upon. Many women who have always earned their living are now doing nothing to support themselves but living in idleness on the Patriotic Fund. Some others conceal from us the fact that they have some additional source of income, and we hear of others who go often to the vaudeville and moving picture shows, but cannot pay their board-bills and other debts. Mrs. Ferris suggested that in some cases, it may eventually be necessary to pay board bills and give out a small sum weekly for pocket money. We must remember that Alberta's allowance is higher than the allowances given further east, if we are not careful the local contribution will soon be exhausted and our appeals to Ottawa for more money may be in vain if we have not exercised a proper caution in the distribution of what we have.⁷⁹

There probably were some soldiers' wives who took advantage of the system for personal gain. At the same time, some IODE visitors -- in Edmonton and in other western cities --

⁷⁹Ibid., Item 179, Relief Committee Minutes, c. September 1915. In a meeting held to discuss whether or not Canadian Patriotic Fund rates should be lowered, a number of IODE visitors and three members of the Patriotic Fund Committee concluded that it was unwise to reduce the rates -- even if some soldiers' wives were receiving more money than they had ever received before because their husbands assigned some of their pay to their families, but were not saving as they were expected to (by the IODE Relief and Visiting Committee, it is presumed.) Ibid., Item 180, Relief Committee Minutes, 1 March 1915. The suggestion by a visitor that beneficiaries be asked how they spent the Patriotic Fund money was vetoed by a prominent member of the Patriotic Fund Committee. Visitors were told that a circular letter urging economy was being sent out with cheques, but were instructed to urge soldiers' wives to save the assigned pay. Ibid., 7 April 1915.

were overly high-handed in their attempts to control how soldiers' wives spent their Patriotic Fund allowance.⁸⁰

The Daughters of the Empire also saw it as their duty to care for soldiers' orphaned children. In many centers, members of the IODE took it upon themselves to look after individual orphans -- war babies, as some Daughters of the Empire called them -- until other arrangements could be made. In Winnipeg, the Brock Centennial Chapter made the care of the soldier's child their individual work. This chapter opened the Children's Khaki Club, a shelter for children (ranging in age from 8 months to 18 years) whose fathers were in active service or had died in battle and whose mothers were either dead or incapacitated by illness. The Khaki Club was maintained through the efforts of the members of the Brock Centennial Chapter. Gift showers were organized by patriotic workers.⁸¹ Generous gifts of provisions, groceries, preserves, vegetables and new clothing of all kinds were received from private donors.

⁸⁰While some Daughters of the Empire worried that soldiers' wives were living frivolous lives at the expense of the Patriotic Fund, other IODE members were angered by the often unfair criticisms, generalizations, and unnecessary interference in the lives of soldiers' wives. The Military Chapter in Calgary chastised western women for being overly harsh and judgmental with soldiers' wives and expressed indignation at the gossip and interest that people were taking in matters concerning soldiers' wives that were purely personal. "Cheer Soldiers Wives, Don't Reprove Them," Calgary Daily Herald, 14 August 1915, p. 10.

⁸¹NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 57.

The orphans of Canada's fighting men held a special place in the hearts of the Daughters of the Empire.

The IODE's work for Canadian soldiers did not end when they had completed their active service -- whether as a result of injury, death, or when released from duty at the end of the Great War. The Daughters of the Empire wanted to do what they could to make the veteran soldier's return to Canada a positive experience. Most IODE chapters in the larger western centers either organized committees or had representatives on Returned Soldiers Welcome and Aid Leagues that were formed in their city for the specific purpose of assisting newly returned soldiers.⁸² The work of these committees (and of individual IODE chapters in centers where such committees were not in existence) began as soon as returned soldiers arrived at their western destinations, where they were met and warmly greeted by Daughters of the Empire.⁸³ In some locations, the IODE organized homecoming

⁸²The Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge formed a Returned Soldiers Committee to assist local returned men and make sure that they were comfortable. Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 16 November 1916, p. 145. The IODE in Saskatoon and Prince Albert appointed representatives to the Returned Soldiers Welcome and Aid Leagues in their cities. "Practical Work Done by IODE For R.S.W. League," Saskatoon Phoenix, 22 March 1917, p. 5; SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, 8 February 1916.

⁸³The Alexander Galt Chapter's Returned Soldiers Committee met trains when soldiers came in, which they said was much appreciated by the veterans. Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1917-1922, 13 September 1917, p. 17. The Saskatoon Active Service Committee also met returning soldiers at the train and took

celebrations to welcome returned soldiers. For example, in May of 1918, the De Winton Chapter in Carberry held a banquet for returned soldiers from their district and presented each man with a gold signet ring.⁸⁴

In an address entitled "The Problem of the Returned Soldiers," given at the 1917 IODE National Annual Meeting in Victoria, Manitoba Provincial President Mrs. Colin Campbell stated that the one great task before the women of the IODE was to win the soldiers back to civil life:

May we help them to forget they are soldiers.
More than ever will the mother, wife and sister
seek to make home and home influences the nation's
bulwark. Help them to take up the common round,
the daily task.⁸⁵

In this speech, Mrs. Campbell discussed the problem that the nation would face when the total mass of physically fit men returned to Canada, ready to resume active, civilian life. Even before the end of the war, veterans were demanding that the government take steps to provide employment for returned soldiers. The Great War Veterans Association requested that the Federal Government discharge all civil servants who were

them to their homes, to the hospital, or entertained those who were going beyond Saskatoon. Saskatoon Phoenix, 15 May 1917, p. 5; Ibid., 12 June 1917.

⁸⁴Mrs. Margaret E. Switzer Papers, De Winton Chapter History, p. 3.

⁸⁵NACL, Echoes, October 1917, "The Problem of the Returned Soldiers," address given by Mrs. Colin Campbell, IODE National Annual Meeting, Victoria, May 1917, pp. 47-48.

of military age and fitness, as well as all aliens holding Government positions, and fill their positions with returned soldiers who were qualified to fill the jobs.⁸⁶ In an effort to improve the lot of Great War veterans, and perhaps recognizing a potentially explosive situation, some western IODE chapters attempted to enhance employment prospects for returned soldiers. The Westward Ho Chapter in Edmonton gave \$3.00 to a returned soldier who solicited their help to enable him to get established on a homestead.⁸⁷ Five members of the IODE in Edmonton sat on the Committee of the Returned Soldiers Bureau; they worked with prospective employers to arrange jobs for returned soldier.⁸⁸ The Alexander Galt Chapter's Returned Soldiers Committee tried to assist returned soldiers by getting them jobs.⁸⁹ Edmonton's Beaver House Chapter presented a petition to the Edmonton Municipal and National chapters that demanded that the federal government establish training schools where

mained soldiers and especially those who by reason of the peculiar nature of their wounds or other maladies [could] be taught some useful art, handicraft or trade suitable to the special circumstances of each individual case, so that

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 50.

⁸⁷PAA, IODE Records, Acc 83.257, Westward Ho! Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, 7 March 1918, p. 94.

⁸⁸Ibid., Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 144.

⁸⁹Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 16 November 1916, p. 145.

those of an independent spirit amongst them [could] in due course regain their self respect which always accompanies self reliance.⁹⁰

Although the National Chapter did not forward the petition because the matter had already been brought before the government, the concern of the Edmonton Daughters for the future of returned soldiers in western society was displayed by their attempt to find a solution to the veteran problem.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire felt a strong obligation to care for the convalescing maimed and wounded men who returned to Canada before and after the armistice. In some instances, the Order was able to fill gaps that were left by a federal government that obviously did not anticipate the extent to which soldiers' convalescent facilities would be required before the end of the war. In fact, the Daughters of the Empire in Manitoba claimed the distinction of having established the first convalescent soldiers' home in Canada -- three months before any other was set up, and a year before the Military Hospital Commission was appointed.⁹¹

Early in 1915, the IODE in Manitoba investigated the alleged carelessness in the treatment of convalescent

⁹⁰PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, 14 October 1915, p. 133; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes, 3 November 1915, pp. 127-129.

⁹¹NACL, Echoes, October 1917, "The Problem of the Returned Soldiers," address given by Mrs. Colin Campbell, IODE National Annual Meeting, Victoria, May 1917, p. 47.

soldiers among those in training in Winnipeg. They found that convalescing men who had just returned from hospitals were being cared for together with men who were just getting sick. There was an obvious need for separate lodging for convalescents.⁹² About one year later, the IODE Convalescent Soldiers' Home was opened in Winnipeg, run by a committee of Daughters of the Empire -- first under the authority of the militia, and then for the Military Hospitals Commission.⁹³ Originally, the Home cared for training soldiers who had been stricken with illness during their battalions' stay in Winnipeg. When wounded men began to arrive in Winnipeg from the battlefields in Europe, the IODE home was the only facility ready to receive the first convalescing returned soldiers. As the war progressed, the Convalescent Soldiers' Home had to move twice to keep up with the increasing demand on its services; an average of 100 patients were treated and over 3000 meals were served

⁹²"Empire Daughters May Hold Enquiry," Manitoba Free Press, 29 January 1915, p. 1.

⁹³The Convalescent Soldiers' Home was financed by: subscriptions from IODE chapters, other patriotic organizations and the public to pay for furnishings, special projects, and Christmas gifts and dinners; donations of goods from IODE chapters throughout Manitoba; and through substantial federal funding (listed as Military District No. 10 Subsistence in the Homes' statement of receipts and disbursements.) PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 8, "Convalescent Soldiers' Home, 1915-1922: Reports and Statements" file, "IODE Convalescent Soldiers' Home Annual Report: Auditor's Reports and Financial Statements," p. 5.



IODE Convalescent Soldiers Home, Donald and Broadway, Winnipeg, Manitoba. (PAM, IODE Collection, uncatalogued.)

per week, and 83 beds were in constant use.⁹⁴ Although other hospitals were soon opened by the government in Winnipeg and in other western cities to care for convalescing soldiers, the Manitoba IODE were proud that they had been able to meet the need for such a facility before the Military Hospitals Commission was in working order.

IODE chapters frequently assisted the military agencies that ran other soldiers' convalescent homes or hospitals in western cities by equipping the facilities with beds,

⁹⁴IODE Souvenir 1916, University of Saskatchewan Library, Shortt Collection, p. 55.

linens, hospital clothes and other hospital supplies.⁹⁵ Daughters of the Empire also supplied convalescent hospitals with special culinary treats or hard-to-get foods, and attempted to satisfy the physical needs of particular patients.⁹⁶ Soldiers in TB hospitals who had contracted the disease while overseas were given special attention by IODE members who took them for clean air drives in the country and brought them gifts of fresh fruit and vegetables. In Lethbridge, the Alexander Galt Chapter took the new tuberculosis sanitarium for returned soldiers at Frank "under its wing." On hearing that the men in residence found it very lonely in the sanitarium and became depressed, the ladies sent them a moving picture machine with films.⁹⁷

⁹⁵SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.k.ii, Forget Chapter Minutes 1916-1917, 27 January 1916, p. 15; Saskatoon Phoenix, 25 March 1916, p. 6. In Saskatoon, the Daughters of the Empire were given charge of the official opening of the Returned Soldiers Home on 21st Street. "IODE To Make Arrangements to Open Soldiers' Home," Saskatoon Phoenix, 10 June 1916, p. 6; "IODE to Have Charge of Opening Soldiers' Home," Saskatoon Phoenix, 13 June 1916, p. 6; "Large Attendance at the Opening of Soldiers' Home," Saskatoon Phoenix, 16 June 1916, p. 6.

⁹⁶IODE chapters in the prairie provinces showered soldiers' convalescent hospitals with a wide variety of goods, including fruits, jams, pickles, and a wide assortment of vegetables. The rural chapters of Manitoba showered the IODE-run Convalescent Soldiers' Home in Winnipeg with butter, eggs, and meat -- items that were scarce and expensive during the Great War years. NACL, Echoes, June 1916, pp. 75-84. Mrs. Joan Church Papers, History of Fitzgerald Chapter, Saskatoon.

⁹⁷The Military Chapter in Calgary hired automobiles to take returned soldiers from the Tubercular Hospital for drives twice a week. Ibid., December 1916, p. 29. The Colonel Farquar Chapter of Regina sponsored a fruit shower

Although their material donations to the hospitals were valuable, the IODE's ability to meet the human needs of the convalescent men was also a significant contribution. Chapters supported local military hospitals by performing entertaining programmes for the patients. Furthermore, most IODE chapters in the West had a hospital visiting committee, which sent visitors to the hospitals to pay regular visits to invalid soldiers. As the war progressed and the number of wounded men who returned to Canada steadily increased, the work of hospital visiting committees grew to the point that every member of most chapters was needed to make the regular visits to convalescing soldiers.⁹⁸ With their entertainment and visiting efforts, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were able to come into military convalescent institutions and supply a human touch that brightened the lives of wounded Great War veterans.

The Daughters of the Empire worried about how disabled veterans would be treated by their countrymen when they

for the soldiers at the Earl Grey Tubercular Hospital. Ibid., December 1917, p. 32; Ibid., December 1916, p. 24.

⁹⁸In 1915, the Queen Victoria Chapter in Winnipeg appointed a committee to visit hospitals, and pay special attention to invalid soldiers. As the war progressed, the Queen Victoria Visiting Committee needed to expand because their work was getting heavier. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 18, Queen Victoria Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 4 February 1915, p. 61; Ibid., 7 October 1915, p. 94. In February of 1916, the Soldiers Hospital Visiting Committee of the Winnipeg Municipal Chapter reported 3222 visits, with magazines, flowers, fruit and delicacies being taken to hospitalized soldiers. Ibid., Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 23 February 1916, p. 193.

tried to settle back into Canadian society. IODE members made every effort to show their respect to maimed or invalid soldiers that they met in public and on the street, and asked others to do the same. Daughters of the Empire were encouraged to teach their children to appreciate the returned soldier. In the words of Mrs. Campbell:

Then, too, we must teach our children to respect the returned soldier -- his sacrifice, his valour and youth appeal to us; but to the generations after us, the old soldier, physically unfit, when time perchance has worn off the glamour, may not appeal to the men and women of their day.⁹⁹

The women of the IODE believed that courtesy and deference were the least things that they could give to the men who had sacrificed so much to preserve the Empire.

Another group of returned soldiers who received special attention from the IODE in Saskatchewan were the men who were mentally affected by their wartime experiences and consequently hospitalized in the Battleford Provincial Asylum. At first, members of the Governor Laird Chapter in North Battleford paid visits to the patients. The Superintendent quickly decided that the visits only disturbed the patients more, and the visiting ceased.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹NACL, Echoes, October 1917, "The Problem of the Returned Soldiers," address given by Mrs. Colin Campbell, IODE National Annual Meeting, Victoria, May 1917, p. 48.

¹⁰⁰Mrs. Joan Church Papers, Governor Laird Chapter History, p. 7. When the Saltcoats Chapter resolved that mentally-affected returned soldiers should not be confined in the same space as other insane persons, and that the IODE

The Governor Laird Chapter continued to donate their own money and received donations from chapters throughout Saskatchewan to provide treats for returned men who were patients of the institution.¹⁰¹ The IODE's willingness to work for mentally afflicted veterans indicates that they believed that it was their responsibility to provide for all returned soldiers.

The final thing that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire could do for their country's soldiers was to honour and commemorate their heroism and sacrifice. When soldiers died while in training in prairie towns and cities or were killed in action in Europe, the women of the IODE in the West took it upon themselves to attend their funerals and organize remembrance services.¹⁰² In many locations, the graves of veterans and soldiers killed in training were adorned with flowers or potted plants annually on Decoration

should provide a facility to house the mentally affected veterans who were in the Battleford Provincial Asylum, the Saskatchewan Provincial Executive sent a letter to that chapter explaining that the IODE could not build and equip a hospital that could compare to the government institution at Battleford. SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File IV.8.a, Saskatchewan Provincial Executive Minutes 1914-1921, 18 September 1918, p. 119.

¹⁰¹The Governor Laird Chapter hoped to receive \$2.50 from each chapter in Saskatchewan, so they would have a dollar per week to spend on each returned soldier in the asylum. Ibid., R 766, File II.6.b, Governor Laird Chapter Minutes 1916-1918, 9 July 1918, p. 140; 21 October 1918, p. 161.

¹⁰²On August 31, 1918, the Calgary IODE chapters held a Remembrance Service in Central Park before a monument to South African heroes. NAEL, Echoes, December 1918, p. 25.

Day.¹⁰³ In Winnipeg, the Municipal Chapter formed a Memorial Committee to carry on the work of visiting and decorating the graves of soldiers. This committee eventually formed itself into a Memorial Chapter because there was so much work to be done in this area.¹⁰⁴

IODE monuments and memorials of different types were erected or created in memory of the men who died for the Empire, but who were buried overseas. Many chapters made honour rolls that listed the names of fallen men who had been citizens of their small town, who had attended the local high school, or who had mothers, wives, daughters or sisters in the IODE. In most towns and cities in the West,

¹⁰³Saskatoon Phoenix, 15 May 1917, p. 5. Decoration Day appears to have been a special day set aside to honour all those men who fell in battle, at which time soldiers' graves were decorated with flowers and plants. In some cities, Decoration Day Parades made up of military units from the district, cadet corps, militia reservists, veterans and members of the IODE made a procession to the city's graveyards to decorate soldiers' graves. "Decoration Day Parade Promises to be Great Military Pageant," Manitoba Free Press, 13 May 1916, p. 13; PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 18, Queen Victoria Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 1 June 1916, p. 142.

¹⁰⁴The Memorial Committee visited and decorated the graves of the veterans and soldiers who had died since mobilization in Winnipeg. A plot with the capacity for 500 graves was secured from the city in Brookside Cemetery and set aside for the burial of these soldiers. A flagstaff was erected in the center of the plot, and the Order raised enough money to mark each grave with a small marble or Canadian granite tablet giving the name, rank and battalion. A fund was opened to collect contributions for a central monument dedicated to the fallen soldiers. NACL, Echoes, June 1916, p. 80; PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1916-1918, 30 January 1917, p. 39; 28 February 1917, p. 43; NACL, Echoes, March 1917, p. 42.

the IODE erected some form of physical monument to the fallen men from their area.¹⁰⁵ In some cases, chapters chose to pay tribute to the memory of fallen husbands and sons in useful ways. For example, the Military Chapter in Calgary honoured their war dead by donating beds to the Princess Patricia Hospital in Ramsgate, England.¹⁰⁶

After the war, the Daughters of the Empire in Canada began to raise a fund of \$200 000 to promote the educational work of the Order as a memorial to the Canadian men and women who had died in the defence of the Empire during the war. The fund was to be expended in the following ways:

- a) To found scholarships of sufficient value to provide a university education, or its recognized equivalent, available for and limited to the sons and daughters of: a) the soldier, sailor or aviator killed in action or who died from wounds, or by reason of the war, prior to the

¹⁰⁵After the war, a unique memorial was sponsored by the Military Chapter IODE in Saskatoon. Elm trees were individually selected and paid for by the next of kin or friends of fallen soldiers and planted along the Next-of-Kin Memorial Avenue in Woodlawn Cemetery. At the base of each tree there was an iron guard on which a brass plate was securely fastened, that bore the date 1914-1918 (or 1939-1945, after the Second World War), the name of the person being honoured, the unit with which he served, where he died, and his age. In all, three miles of elm trees were planted along the Avenue, that began along a roadway that lead to the Woodlawn Cemetery entrance, and then to the Cairn (an 11-foot cairn that was built in two tiers of native stone and topped with a marble cross, and a marble tablet with the words "Our Glorious Dead") and the Soldiers Plot in the center of the cemetery. Shortt Collection, University of Saskatchewan Library, pamphlet: "Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Military Chapter Next-of-Kin Memorial Avenue," c. 1951, pp. 1-3.

¹⁰⁶NACL, Echoes, December 1916, p. 29.

declaration of peace; b) the permanently disabled soldier or sailor; c) the soldier or sailor who, by reason of injuries received in service overseas, dies after the declaration of peace while his children, or any of them, are of school age:

b) Post-graduate scholarships in British universities to be distributed among the provinces from a national fund:

c) The placing in schools selected by the Department of Education of every province, some of the reproductions of the series of War Memorial pictures painted for the Dominion Government by the leading artists in the Empire, to commemorate Canada's part in the war, so that in every community the children of Canada may be constantly reminded of the heroic deeds of the men and women whose sacrifices saved the Empire and its cherished institutions.¹⁰⁷

By creating university scholarships and by placing historical pictures in schools, the Order endeavoured to develop a practical memorial that would be of lasting benefit to the descendants of fallen servicemen.

The IODE's work for soldiers serving the British Empire during the Great War was significant and diverse. Besides supplying a tremendous amount of field comforts to men in the camps and trenches of England and Europe, the Daughters

¹⁰⁷NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 19, File 9, "IODE 25th Anniversary History," pp. 21-22. The Order also hoped to raise enough Memorial Fund money to: sponsor a Travelling Fellowship, to be competed for by the IODE and Provincial scholars; to organize a lecture foundation in Canada for the teaching of Imperial History; to promote courses of illustrated lectures, free to the children of Canada, about the history and geography of the Empire; and to place, within five years, a Daughters of the Empire Historical library in every school in Canada where there were children of foreign-born parents. *Ibid.*, Vol. 12, part 1, File 1, "Minutes of the 1919 Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and The National Chapter of Canada," pp. 23-24.

of the Empire rendered assistance to training soldiers, returned veterans, and the dependents of active servicemen on the homefront. They also memorialized the sacrifices of fallen Canadian soldiers with physical and functional memorials. In many instances, the well-prepared and capable Order was able to meet soldier-related needs that the overburdened federal government and military authorities were unable to meet immediately or at all. Motivated by their patriotic duty to help preserve the Empire, the military minded Daughters of the Empire drew on their past experiences and their war-related constitutional objectives to set a course of action for the Great War. The war allowed members of the IODE to do what they did best: serve the Dominion's husbands, sons and brothers who were fighting for the British Empire so that these men would be better able to face the task of delivering imperial victory.

Chapter Four

Trustees for the Future

In the decade preceding the Great War, the prairie Daughters of the Empire were deeply concerned about the nature of society in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The IODE feared that there had been a steady decline in imperial interest and cultural standards amongst English-Canadians in the West. Furthermore, members of the Order were caught up in the ripple of anxiety that spread through western Canada when large waves of foreign immigration reached Canadian shores and flowed west in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Like most of their fellow English-Canadians, Daughters of the Empire in the three prairie provinces feared that their predominantly British standards -- which were showing signs of weakness -- would be swallowed up or displaced by the large influx of new cultural and religious customs that were brought into the region by immigrants from eastern, central and southern Europe. In the years before the Great War, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire attempted to reinforce the Anglo-Saxon character of western society by educating Canadians -- both old and new -- about the importance of membership in the Empire and the values for which it stood.¹

¹The original Constitution of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire outlined a definite nation-building mandate; members were encouraged "to forward every good work for the betterment of their country and people; to assist in

The Great War did not interrupt the IODE's endeavours in this field. In fact, the outbreak of war in 1914 gave new energy and urgency to the Order's nation-building activities. The Empire was fighting a righteous war to safeguard its ideals and institutions. The Daughters of the Empire knew of no better opportunity -- of no better reason -- to purge prairie society of unwanted traits and to implant the finer characteristics of British civilization in the West.

In the years before and during the Great War, many IODE chapters attempted to improve the quality of the Empire's citizens by beginning self-improvement programs in their own chapters. At chapter study meetings, invited guest lecturers and chapter members spoke on imperial and national topics of current and historical importance. For example, in order to be better acquainted with the function of British institutions, the Beaver House Chapter in Edmonton studied parliamentary law.² The Lord Selkirk Chapter in Winnipeg also undertook a self-improvement study program early in 1914:

the progress of art and literature; to draw women's influence to the betterment of all things connected with our great Empire." National Archives of Canada (NAC), Manuscript Division, IODE Records, MG 28, I 17, Vol. 18, File 5, "IODE Constitution," Article II, p. 4.

²Public Archives of Alberta (PAA), Acc. 65.103, Item 41, 1915-1919 Beaver House Minutes, p. 106.

In this Chapter, the early part of the year was spent in study for self improvement, with several lectures to strengthen interest. Thus when the crisis [of the First World War] came, these people were better able to undertake the work that lay before them.³

The logic behind these self-improvement programs was simple: women were encouraged to improve themselves so that they could better serve their Empire in times of need or emergency.

The Daughters of the Empire were not satisfied with improving themselves; they also hoped to contribute to the regeneration of society as a whole. In an attempt to develop a citizenship that was physically strong and healthy, the Daughters of the Empire took an active interest in improving health conditions in the Dominion. Since tuberculosis was one of the major diseases that threatened the health and strength of Canadians, IODE chapters from across the country regarded their work toward the prevention and cure of tuberculosis as one of their more important activities. Chapters provided the funds to build, equip, or furnish a number of preventoria and sanatoria across the country. In the West, the Saskatchewan Daughters of the Empire raised money to support the Fort San Sanatorium in the Qu'Appelle Valley. In 1918 and 1919, the Saskatchewan IODE raised over \$10 000 to build and furnish a children's

³National Archives of Canada Library (NACL), P 198, Echoes, June 1915, p. 73.

pavilion at Fort San.⁴ The Manitoba Daughters of the Empire built and furnished a 30-bed King Edward VII Memorial Hospital in Ninette, Manitoba in 1912.⁵ Daughters of the Empire in different locations across the country also opened TB-preventing fresh air camps for children who were underprivileged.⁶

The IODE also supported local hospitals. Before and during the Great War, IODE chapters furnished many hospital wards and provided for their upkeep. For example, Mistanusk Chapter in Edmonton had hospital work as its chief interest. This Chapter furnished and maintained a four-bed children's ward in the Royal Alexandra Hospital in Edmonton, and maintained the "Mistanusk Ward" in a new hospital at Onoway, which was forty miles northwest of Edmonton.⁷ The Mistanusk and other IODE chapters supplied hospital rooms and entire wards with cots, furnishings and linens. Through these

⁴Mrs. Joan Church Papers, Forget Chapter History, 1959, p. 5.

⁵NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 29, File 14, "Historical Sketch of Fort Garry Chapter, IODE, Winnipeg, Manitoba: 1909-1923," p. 11. Upon the request of a returned soldier who was a patient in Ninette Hospital, the Manitoba IODE supplied a gramophone, records, a mandolin, games and magazines to the hospital. Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Provincial Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, Provincial Secretary's Report, Quarterly Meeting 28 October 1917, p. 88.

⁶Ibid., Vol. 19, File 10, Mrs. Richardson, IODE: Brief Outline of History 1900-1949, p. 2.

⁷NACL, P 198, Constance Rudyerd Boulton, Looking Backward, 1900-1913: Echoes Special Number, June 1913, p. 126.

health-care contributions, the Daughters of the Empire hoped to assist in the development of a healthier Canadian citizenship.

Education was the IODE's primary nation-building tool. The IODE firmly believed that they could teach all Canadians -- whether of British or "foreign" background -- how to be better citizens of the Empire. Looking to the future, the Daughters of the Empire focused their educational efforts on the children of the Dominion. As one primary chapter secretary remarked, "Let us remember this, that there is no force so strong, no force that can produce such tremendous results as the education of the young, which ultimately means the education of the nation."⁸ In 1904, the National Chapter formed an education committee to organize the Order's educational work. This committee was made up of IODE members and Canadian educators, including ministers of education, university presidents, professors, public school officials, military officials, and clergymen. The importance that the Order placed on educational work was indicated by the fact that this was the only IODE committee to ever include men in its membership.⁹ With the influence, advice, and backing of the country's leading educators, the

⁸NACL, Echoes, June 1918, Medicine Hat report, p. 31.

⁹Nancy Sheehan, "The IODE, the Schools and World War One," History of Education Review, Vol. 13, No. 1, 1984, p. 33; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 18, pamphlet, "Empire Building: Review of Educational Work of National Chapter IODE," c. 1918, p. 3.

IODE was able to implement a number of imperial education programs in the nation's public schools.

In the years before the Great War, IODE chapters sponsored essay contests to interest children, their parents and their teachers in imperial topics. Departments of Education gave permission for the Order to administer these essay contests in the public schools, where Daughters of the Empire encouraged children to write essays for international, national, and local essay contests on subjects of imperial, patriotic or national historic and contemporary importance.¹⁰ Essay winners were given prizes such as pins, medals, and books on imperial topics, and many of the prize-winning essays from across the Dominion were published in Echoes.¹¹ The willingness of educators to allow students to participate in IODE essay contests indicated that the atmosphere of the classroom and the

¹⁰Some of the essay topics assigned for wartime essay contests included: "Lord Selkirk and his Colony of Settlers"; "The Early Days of the Hudson's Bay Company"; "The British Constitution, its Administration, and wherein it differs with the constitution of Germany and France"; "The British Empire"; "The Union Jack"; "The Air Service"; and "Canada's Duty in the Present War."

¹¹The Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg awarded twenty-eight framed copies of Queen Alexandra's message to her people on the death of King Edward VII for essays written about that king's life. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 29, File 4, "Historical Sketch of Fort Garry Chapter IODE, Winnipeg, Manitoba: 1909-1923," pp. 8-9; Sheehan, p. 35.

attitude of school officials and teachers supported the imperialist ideals that the IODE espoused.¹²

Another important element in the IODE's educational agenda was Empire Day. Empire Day was founded in 1897 by Mrs. Clementina Fessenden of Hamilton, Ontario.¹³ With the cooperation of the public school boards, Mrs. Fessenden arranged to have the afternoon of May 23rd set aside each year for the purpose of inculcating patriotic sentiment in public school children. From the time of its establishment in 1901, the IODE organized Empire Day activities as part of their imperial responsibility. Chapters sponsored a wide variety of patriotic school and public celebrations on that day in cities and towns throughout the Dominion. Schools were visited by members of the IODE who awarded prizes for patriotic essay contests and general proficiency, gave addresses on imperial and patriotic topics, and presented flags to the school children.¹⁴ Empire Day was an important

¹²Sheehan points out that although there were some complaints that the IODE was interfering with the curriculum of the school, most comments on their work were favourable. The one province where the IODE had great difficulty getting into the schools was Quebec. Sheehan, p. 36.

¹³Mrs. Fessenden was an active member and regent of a Hamilton IODE chapter, and was well-respected by the Daughters of the Empire for her role as founder of Empire Day. After her death, a chapter of the IODE in Hamilton was named the Clementina Fessenden Chapter and the Order dedicated a memorial tablet to her in St. John's Anglican Church in Ancaster, Ontario. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 32, File 18, pamphlet, "The Founding of Empire Day."

¹⁴PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 200; Ibid., p. 201.

event on the IODE calendar. It provided IODE members with an opportunity to go into the schools and personally build a respect and understanding for "things imperial" in the nation's future generations.

Although the purpose of the IODE's pre-war public school programs was to educate all Canadian children about the Empire, chapters in the West hoped that their educational activities would be of particular benefit to school children of non-British immigrant background. IODE members agreed with most western educators that non-English immigrants had to be assimilated to the ways of English-Canada and that Canadianization efforts should begin with public school children of foreign-born immigrants: young minds that would easily absorb the English language and be impressed with British ideals of citizenship. Organizers of IODE essay contests and Empire Day activities aimed at interesting foreign children in imperial topics.¹⁵ The IODE also encouraged western educators to emphasize the teaching of British history and civics in public schools where most or all of the children were foreign-born or had foreign-born parents. Furthermore, pre-war IODE chapters in the West donated imperial symbols such as Union Jacks and pictures of British royalty to prairie public schools in districts that

¹⁵The Brandon Chapter gave Empire Day patriotic entertainments especially for foreign children. NACL, Echoes, June 1918, p. 48.

were populated with non-English immigrants.¹⁶ The Daughters hoped that constant exposure to the symbols, language, and history of the British Empire would facilitate the Canadianization of "foreign" children in the public schools of the prairies.

The outbreak of war forced the women of the Order to donate most of their time and energy to many non-educational war-related undertakings. The IODE, however, continued to educate people about the British traditions and institutions that Canadian men were fighting to uphold:

Of necessity the educational work had to take a secondary place; but the very fact that much [was accomplished showed] that while her sons fought for Canada, her daughters not only upheld them, but strove to perpetuate in Canada the ideals for which they fought.¹⁷

Pamphlets, lectures and motion pictures became media that explained to both children and adults why Canada and the Empire were at war.¹⁸ In order to keep its own members

¹⁶Ibid., March 1914, p. 15.

¹⁷NAC Library, PAAP FC 8 - 14Y1, IODE Annual Report 1918-1919, Part 2, p. 1148.

¹⁸Letters were written to the Ministers of Education throughout the Dominion, urging them to circulate war-related literature in the nation's schools. NACL, Echoes, October 1915, "The Secretary's Report," p. 21. The Provincial Chapter of Manitoba was instrumental in influencing the Manitoba Department of Education to distribute a pamphlet entitled "The War and How it Came About" in Manitoba schools. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1912-1915, p. 136.

knowledgeable about the European conflict, members of the Fort Garry Chapter in Winnipeg decided that their monthly roll call had to be answered by some war fact.¹⁹

Educational schemes such as the formation of Children of the Empire chapters, essay contests, and Empire Day celebrations were also continued during the war years. In fact, wartime Empire Day celebrations provided western chapters with an opportunity to make money while stimulating patriotism. In 1915, the Winnipeg Municipal Chapter held an Empire Day Concert in conjunction with the Public School Board which added over \$1000.00 to the coffers of the Red Cross Society.²⁰ In 1917, the Saskatoon primary chapters observed Empire Day by showing patriotic films at a local theatre. School children were treated to a special free afternoon performance; in the evening, adults could pay to see the patriotic films and to hear a program of British music.²¹

The major wartime educational aim of the IODE during the war was to Canadianize non-English immigrants. Although the need to assimilate "foreigners" had been a special concern of the IODE and other British Canadians before 1914, the war against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire

¹⁹Ibid., P 2498, File 1, Fort Garry Chapter Minutes 1913-1914, 25 September 1914, p. 116.

²⁰Ibid., MG 10, C 70, Box One, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 129.

²¹"Empire Day to Be Observed by IODE Picture Show," Saskatoon Phoenix, 8 May 1917, p. 5.

served only to intensify the anxieties of Anglo-Canadian prairie-dwellers who were surrounded by recent immigrants from enemy countries.²² The obvious response of British western Canadians like the Daughters of the Empire was to step up attempts to anglicize non-English immigrants, make them into loyal British subjects, and thus protect and preserve the British character of prairie society. In her 1916 Report on Educational Work, the National Education Secretary, Mrs. George H. Smith, told her IODE sisters why the present war provided the ideal opportunity to Canadianize immigrants:

I am inclined to place side by side with any work the IODE is doing at the present time, the urgent need of great effort to assimilate the foreign element of our population as speedily as possible, while immigration has practically ceased. Now is the day of our opportunity, if we wish to keep abreast with our work of consolidating of the Empire. If we do not wish, at the end of this century, to be confronted with the problem of a hyphenated Canada, we must work now in the laying of the foundations of a sane loyalty.²³

By 1914, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had started to complain that Canadian education authorities were not doing enough to inculcate immigrant children with

²²J.H. Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 94.

²³NACL, Echoes, October 1916, "Report on Educational Work," p. 23.

patriotic sentiment and Anglo-Canadian ideals.²⁴ Members of the IODE felt that they could significantly supplement the patriotic work already being done in schools:

It is through the Public Schools of Canada that the Daughters of the Empire hope to contribute their share towards the building of the nation, by supplementing the efforts of the Educational Authorities, in the encouraging of the teaching and study of British History, that all our children, but especially the foreign-born, may learn more and yet more of those ideals and institutions for which our Empire stands.²⁵

Programs to intensify the imperial education given immigrants were initiated by the Order on a national level during the Great War, but the work focused on the three prairie provinces because of the high concentration of foreign-born immigrants that had settled in the West.

Because the Order's educational work was intensified during the war, the National Chapter encouraged provincial, municipal and primary chapters to add an educational secretary to their chapter executive. The official education policy of the National Chapter was to encourage the teaching and study of British history in the public schools of Canada, and especially in those districts where there were foreign-born children. It was the educational secretary's job to interest her chapter in this work. The

²⁴Sheehan, p. 38.

²⁵NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 18, pamphlet, "Empire Building: Review of Educational Work of National Chapter IODE," c. 1918, p. 11.

wartime provincial educational secretaries in the prairie provinces that had provincial chapters -- Mrs. C.C. Hearn in Manitoba and Mrs. R.R. Morgan in Saskatchewan -- worked closely with their provincial Ministers of Education and other education officials to implement the Order's educational programmes in the public schools.²⁶

IODE educational secretaries had a substantial list of responsibilities. They were expected to promote the educational work of the Order by presenting prizes for the highest marks in the annual history examinations of the public schools, by presenting prizes for essays and debates on historical subjects in the higher schools of their municipalities, and by assisting in patriotic school celebrations such as Empire Day.²⁷ They were also instructed to assist in the implementation of the three major branches of educational work which had been outlined by the National Chapter at the IODE Annual Meeting in the spring of 1914:

²⁶Educational work in Alberta seems to have been less organized than it was in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, where there were provincial chapters that appointed provincial educational secretaries who centralized educational work in their provinces. Educational reports from both Mrs. Hearn in Manitoba and Mrs. Morgan in Saskatchewan make references to cooperation with their Ministers and Departments of Education. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 1, Manitoba Provincial Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, p. 134; NACL, Echoes, October 1918, "IODE Educational Work in Saskatchewan," p. 31.

²⁷"Educational Work Undertaken By IODE," Saskatoon Phoenix, 14 March 1917, p. 5.

- 1) The presentation by the National Chapter of collections of copies of famous pictures depicting the chief events in the history of the Empire, to the head training schools for teachers in all the provinces, and by the primary chapters to the schools in outlying districts, where there are the children of the foreign-born in attendance.
- 2) The presentation by the primary chapters of selected and graded libraries of illustrated books on the history of the Empire to schools where children of the foreign-born attend.
- 3) The supplying of stereopticon views of the geography and history of the Empire to all schools.²⁸

Chapters were asked to adopt one or more schools in outlying districts where there were foreign-born children and equip these schools with historical pictures, slides, and libraries that would help teachers to educate immigrant students about British ideals and institutions.²⁹

During the war, the National Chapter presented sets of illustrations depicting the chief historical events of Canada and the Empire to all of the normal schools in Canada. The IODE's purpose in donating these pictures to the normal schools was to assist in the patriotic training of teachers who would be expected to give an imperial

²⁸NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 18, pamphlet, "Empire Building: Review of Educational Work of National Chapter IODE," c. 1918, p. 12.

²⁹The National Chapter and the Saskatchewan Provincial Chapter both passed resolutions requesting chapters to adopt schools, particularly in the West, that were attended by children of foreign-born parents. *Ibid.*, p. 15; Saskatchewan Archives Board (SAB), IODE Records, R 598, File IV.8.a, Saskatchewan Provincial Chapter Minutes, 11-12 April 1917, p. 83; "Education Furthered By Daughters of the Empire," *Saskatoon Phoenix*, 10 August 1917, p. 5; Mrs. Joan Church Papers, Swift Current Victoria Chapter History.

education to their students in the public schools. Primary chapters were also encouraged to purchase sets of the reproductions as gifts for prairie public schools because the pictures would make the teaching of history easy, interesting and vivid to non-English children who were unable to read historical texts.³⁰ The reaction to the Order's presentation of historical pictures to schools was positive. University of Saskatchewan President, Dr. Murray, was quoted as saying: "I hardly know of any better form of impressing upon pupils of our schools the important incidents and personalities of our national history than the pictures which the Daughters of the Empire have secured."³¹

Different travelling collections of historical pictures were also exhibited to the public by the Daughters of the Empire in cities and towns throughout the West. These exhibits were frequently held in local schools and public places so that both children and adults could benefit from the imperial education that was offered by the historical pictures.³² In October of 1916, Mrs. Colin Campbell donated a set of sixty historical pictures depicting the development

³⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 18, pamphlet, "Empire Building: Review of Educational Work of National Chapter IODE," c. 1918, p. 13; "Educational Work Undertaken By IODE," Saskatoon Phoenix, 14 March 1917, p. 5.

³¹NACL, Echoes, October 1918, "Educational Work of the Order," p. 43.

³²Saskatoon Phoenix, 17 November 1917, p. 4; "British Picture Exhibit Opens At University Today," Saskatoon Phoenix, 20 November 1916, p. 5.

of the Empire as a permanent memorial to Mrs. Genevra Beattie. Mrs. Beattie had been a member of the IODE in Winnipeg before she perished on the Lusitania when it was torpedoed by German submarines in 1915. The pictures were used as a loan exhibit for normal and public schools in Manitoba and were considered to be a useful and lasting memorial.³³

The Order also compiled several series of lantern slides which depicted different aspects of the history and geography of Canada and the Empire. Three sets of slides known as the IODE Empire Slides were compiled by IODE members and consisted of views of British Columbia, views of the Klondike, and views of Pioneer Western Life. The National Chapter also had a set of slides that depicted the Empire's finest moments in the Great War. These slide sets were loaned to chapters for exhibition in schools and to the public throughout Canada, and primary chapters were encouraged to purchase permanent sets for use in their communities.³⁴

The most significant education project undertaken by the Order during the war was to provide libraries to public

³³"Gift of Sixty Pictures Made," Manitoba Free Press, 28 October 1916, p. 10.

³⁴NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 18, pamphlet, "Empire Building: Review of Educational Work of National Chapter IODE," c. 1918, pp. 13-14; Ibid., Vol. 3, File 1, National IODE Executive Minutes 1918-1919, 18 September 1918, p. 89.

schools where some or all of the students were children of foreign-born immigrants. After consulting with the appropriate Departments of Education, chapters from across Canada -- but mostly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan -- adopted schools in the outlying districts of western Canada and equipped them with "graded and selected libraries of British history books" suitable for children of public school age and especially suitable for those who read and spoke English imperfectly.³⁵ Hundreds of libraries were given to foreign schools during the war. In Manitoba, 164 libraries were presented to foreign schools by 1919, with a large number going to Mennonite schools at the suggestion of Manitoba educational authorities.³⁶ In the 1918 Annual Report of the Saskatchewan Educational Department, the Saskatchewan Educational Secretary reported that a total of 105 IODE libraries had been placed in the public schools of Saskatchewan.³⁷

The Daughters of the Empire offered incentives to children to encourage them to read the books in the IODE libraries. When a child had read ten of the books in the library presented to his or her school, the primary chapter which had adopted that school presented the child with a

³⁵"Educational Work Undertaken By IODE," Saskatoon Phoenix, 14 March 1917, p. 5.

³⁶Sheehan, p. 39.

³⁷NACL, Echoes, October 1918, "IODE Educational Work in Saskatchewan," p. 31.

button that had the flag, in shield-shape in the center, encircled by the words "Children of the Empire, IODE, Library Member". The Order hoped to organize the senior girls of adopted schools into Junior Chapters and ultimately to organize Primary Chapters among the mothers of the children in these communities.³⁸

The IODE believed that an effective way to bring the educational work of their organization into the schools was to enroll every available woman teacher as a member of the Order. Although the Daughters of the Empire felt that the English-speaking women teachers who were working in prairie schools were doing good work for the Empire by building up a solid future citizenship, they suggested that teachers might feel a keener interest in the IODE's educational endeavours if they were made members of the Order in regular primary chapters or in special teachers' chapters.³⁹ At the same time, IODE members were told that with their patriotic convictions, they could do their country a great service by becoming teachers. At the 1918 National IODE Annual

³⁸NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 33, File 18, pamphlet, "Empire Building: Review of Educational Work of National Chapter IODE," c. 1918, p. 13.

³⁹A few chapters were organized that were made up entirely or predominantly of teachers. NACL, National Council of Women of Canada Yearbook: 1914, "Report of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire," xliv; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, 6 March 1918, p. 215; IODE Souvenir 1916, University of Saskatchewan Library, Shortt Collection, p. 87.

Meeting, Saskatchewan Educational Secretary, Mrs. Morgan, encouraged IODE members to enlist as school teachers:

The great need of the west is teachers of true missionary spirit, who will carry the gospel of the empire to our future citizens. As our sons have enlisted for service in France, will not our Daughters of the Empire enlist for service as teachers in our public schools? If they do, in five years the future of Canada will be saved.⁴⁰

IODE members were encouraged to become teachers and thus put their hands personally to the task of assimilating the foreign element.

Although they focused on the education of immigrant children, the prairie Daughters of the Empire did make some attempts to educate foreign adults. In Saskatoon, members of the Fitzgerald Chapter taught English to foreign girls at the YWCA two nights a week.⁴¹ Chapters of the IODE in the West also supported appeals from the Reading Camp Association. This organization was attempting to improve the social and educational conditions for the many unassimilated foreign-born men working in the nation's frontier lumber, mining, and railway camps by providing them with educational reading materials.⁴² The Order also hoped

⁴⁰"IODE Members Should Enlist as School Teachers," Calgary Daily Herald, 31 May 1918, p. 10.

⁴¹NACL, Echoes, December 1914, "Breezes From the West," p. 19.

⁴²Ibid., "Canada's Immigration Problem," address given by Mrs. Walter James Brown at 1914 Annual Meeting, p. 49; Ibid., March 1917, p. 76; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 23, File

that the British education that non-English children received in the public schools would eventually "rub off" on their parents.

At the end of the Great War, the IODE National Education Secretary suggested that two circumstances militated against full cooperation of the chapters in the Order's educational work: the tremendous quantity of war comforts being supplied by the Chapters, and the failure of IODE members to understand the need and value of educational work in Canada during the war.⁴³ The war caused educational concerns to come second but the IODE never lost sight of the importance of the question. When the war was over, they took up the matter of educational policy with renewed vigour. At the opening session of the Annual Meeting of the IODE in March of 1919, Mrs. Fred Smith of Edmonton stated, "that now that the war [was] over, the great work of the IODE in regard to the education of the foreigner and the general question of education, would no doubt be taken up with more zest."⁴⁴ Mrs. Smith claimed that education was a

13, A. Fitzpatrick, Superintendent of The Reading Camp Association to the Chapters of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, 5 October 1916.

⁴³NACL, Echoes, October 1916, "Report on Educational Work," p. 23.

⁴⁴NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 12, Part 1, File 1, "Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire and the National Chapter of Canada, May 26th to 31st, 1919," p. 3.

burning question in the West that needed the closest attention of the IODE in the post-war period.

Although education was the primary focus of the IODE's nation-building efforts, the members of the Order also devoted attention to certain social welfare and economic conditions that seemed to threaten the well-being of prairie society during the Great War. For example, near the end of the war, Manitoba Provincial President Mrs. Colin H. Campbell spurred the IODE in her province and at the national level to take an interest in child welfare. At the National Annual Meeting in Toronto in June of 1918, Mrs. Campbell presented a resolution that was endorsed by the National IODE, demanding that the Federal Government establish a Child Welfare Bureau to enquire into the following matters concerning the welfare of Canadian children: infant mortality, birth rate and the record of births, illegitimacy, children's institutions, child immigration, child desertion, child labour, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, children's courts, children's playgrounds, mothers' pensions, mental defectives, race degeneracy, and the health and training of children.⁴⁵ It is difficult to determine to what degree the demands made by the IODE influenced government decisions concerning child welfare because the Order was not the only

⁴⁵Ibid., "Findings and Resolutions from Minutes of the National Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: May 27th to June 1st, 1918," pp. 14-15.

organization that took part in a child welfare movement in this period. For example, the Social Service Council of Canada -- which was made up of representatives from various church, welfare, agriculture, and women's organizations that were part of the Canadian social gospel movement -- was also looking to the government for answers to the many social and health problems facing the Canadian child.⁴⁶ Irrespective of which group had the most influence, the government response to the child welfare movement was the creation of a Child Welfare Division of the federal Department of Health in 1921.⁴⁷ The IODE's involvement in the child welfare movement reflected the Order's interest in the physical and mental health of Canada's future citizens, as well as their fear that the Canadian population was suffering from moral and racial degeneration.

The prairie Daughters of the Empire were also interested in local relief. Even though their chief wartime relief concern was for soldiers' dependents, the IODE could not ignore the needs of the non-military families in their communities who suffered from unemployment and destitution during the war. At the time of its organization in October of 1914, the Saskatchewan Provincial Chapter Executive stated, "The poor and deserving families of our province

⁴⁶Richard Allen, The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada 1914-1928 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), pp. 64-65.

⁴⁷Canada, House of Commons Debates, 9 May 1921, p. 3130.

should also be cared for, and it becomes the duty of each Chapter to inquire into all cases in their own community and take charge of the needy ones."⁴⁸ Chapters in Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Manitoba recognized a philanthropic duty to those less fortunate than themselves and responded by collecting clothing, furniture and household goods for destitute families.⁴⁹ In Edmonton, the Westward Ho Chapter donated a cow to a needy homesteader who had a family of small children.⁵⁰ In some western cities, IODE chapters gave financial support to local Children's Aid Societies, which provided shelter for homeless children.⁵¹ In Moose Jaw, the Moose Jaw Chapter operated an employment bureau which procured jobs for those in need of work, as well as distributed large amounts of clothing to needy families in the city and on the prairies.⁵² In Saskatoon, Daughters of

⁴⁸NACL, Echoes, December 1914, "Provincial Chapter for Saskatchewan," p. 11.

⁴⁹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 4, pamphlet entitled "How Can We Help Most, Now!", p. 3; "Fitzgeralds Are Asked To Bring Garments For Poor," Saskatoon Phoenix, 9 July 1915, p. 6; "Calls for Clothing For Home Relief Are Very Urgent," Saskatoon Phoenix, 12 August 1915, p. 6; NACL, Echoes, June 1915, "Brock Centennial Chapter" report, p. 73.

⁵⁰PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 87.145, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, 3 December 1914, p. 63.

⁵¹NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 98; PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 2, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1918-1921, p. 6; Don Kerr and Stan Hanson, Saskatoon: The First Half Century (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1982), p. 159.

⁵²NACL, Echoes, June 1916, p. 85.

the Empire gave financial support to a Day Nursery where working mothers could leave their children in the care of a matron whose salary was partially paid by the IODE.⁵³

Through their various relief and welfare ventures, the Daughters of the Empire attempted to raise the western Canadian population to a decent standard of living that was worthy of citizens in a great nation. The IODE was an organization with a social conscience. The women of the Order knew that there was no established government agency to take care of most social welfare needs. Furthermore, IODE members recognized that their social and financial positions, their fundraising skills, and their organizational abilities gave them the means to help the less fortunate in their communities. The Daughters of the Empire could not ignore appeals from local people in need, even though they sometimes felt that their attention should be devoted exclusively to war work.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire also believed that they could build a vital nation by helping to develop prosperous communities for Canadians to live in. To this effect, western IODE members promoted local businesses and home industry. In May of 1915, Member of Parliament R.B. Bennett opened an IODE Made-in-Canada Exhibition in

⁵³SAB, IODE Records, R 766, File II.5.b, Golden West Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 5 December 1914, p. 25; "Day Nursery Proving Usefulness in Larger Degree," Saskatoon Phoenix, 8 April 1915, p. 5; NACL, Echoes, June 1915, p. 75.

Calgary. Bennett paid tribute to the wartime work of the Calgary Daughters of Empire who encouraged their fellow citizens to buy made-in-Canada or made-in-Calgary goods. The Calgary IODE hoped that their exhibition would help foster an increase in trade to the Calgary home market so that the retailers, manufacturers or farmers who made their living by that trade could carry on their businesses, give employment to others, and thereby benefit the community.⁵⁴ IODE chapters throughout the West and across the country encouraged women to buy goods that were made in their home towns, in Canada or in the Empire, and to refrain from buying any German-made goods.⁵⁵ At Christmas, Daughters of the Empire were encouraged to buy their children local- or Canadian-made toys rather than German-made toys.⁵⁶ The IODE hoped that their campaign would give impetus to home industry, reduce unemployment, and create a healthy Canadian economy.

⁵⁴"Householders Should Protect Home Industry," Calgary Daily Herald, 14 May 1915, p. 12.

⁵⁵PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes, pp. 183-187; NACL, Echoes, December 1914, p. 12, p. 32. The Keomi Chapter Minutes recorded that members of that chapter would not buy German-made goods. PAA, Acc. 76.57, Keomi Chapter Minutes 1912-1917, p. 168.

⁵⁶Ibid., Acc. 83.257, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, 5 October 1916, p. 11. A toy fair held in Toronto in March of 1915 displayed samples of German toys to show Canadian manufacturers that they could make the same kind of toys that had been imported from Germany before the war. "Women to Encourage the Manufacture of Canadian Made Toys," Calgary Daily Herald, 19 August 1915, p. 20.

A desire to make Canada the best it could be so that it would be a worthy and respected member of the imperial family had always been an integral part of the IODE's imperialism. To achieve this end, the Order filled its pre-war years with a variety of educational, health and welfare programs, with the intention of building a great Canadian nation. During the Great War -- despite their wartime preoccupation with fundraising and comfort-making -- the prairie Daughters of the Empire did not abandon the nation-building activities that they had begun before 1914. Instead, the war gave fresh impetus to IODE nation-building. IODE educational programs were augmented, particularly in the areas of imperial awareness and immigrant assimilation. Wartime welfare problems and a concern for the Canadian economy inspired the IODE to implement social programs and to promote local business and industry. The war and its ideals provided justification for many of the IODE's nation-building policies. They believed that Canadian society should reflect the same values which were being fought for by Canadian men in the trenches of Europe.

Chapter Five

The Politics of Patriots

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire believed that a united front was essential if the Order hoped to operate effectively during times of war or peace. In order to avoid division within its ranks, the IODE attempted to maintain a policy of political neutrality. Daughters of the Empire endeavoured to stay out of issues that involved politics and party controversy on which the members of the Order -- which consisted of women from both major political parties -- might differ.¹ The Great War put the IODE's neutrality policy to test. During the war, a number of political questions arose which were of grave importance -- in the opinion of Daughters of the Empire -- to the Canadian and imperial war effort. Members of the IODE felt compelled to set aside their non-political position in order to support political causes which were deemed necessary to a victorious outcome to the war.

For the most part, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had a compatible relationship with the wartime Conservative government. Both groups were dedicated to using Canadian resources to press the war aggressively to a victorious conclusion. When Britain declared war on Germany on August 4, 1914, the Canadian Government immediately

¹National Archives of Canada Library (NACL), P 198, Echoes, December 1917, "The Problem of Politics," pp. 11-12.

offered 25 000 men to the British war effort and indicated its commitment to maintain the strength of the Canadian Corps in France. With the full support of the Opposition, the Conservative Government also quickly passed the War Measures Act. This act was of a "blanket" character and gave the government unprecedented widespread authority to deal with the many aspects of Canada's total war effort.² Prime Minister Robert Borden pledged "to put forth every effort and to make every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our Empire."³ Western members of the IODE responded by offering their wholehearted support to this "win the war" government in matters that they deemed to be of patriotic importance: recruitment, registration and conscription of military manpower, and the need for a national government in wartime.

Western Canada's first contribution to the imperial war effort came in the form of military manpower. Although most Westerners did not expect that the war would last long enough for Canadians to be involved in the military struggle, the volunteer rate in western Canada was high. Immediately after war was declared young men rushed to enlist -- many anxious lest the war should end before they

²R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1821: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 213.

³Documents on Canadian External Relations, I, 37, as seen in Brown and Cook, p. 212.

had their chance to take part in the battle against the German foe.⁴ These early volunteers need not have worried about missing the action overseas. The first division of Canadian troops sailed for Europe by October of 1914 and had entered the line in France by spring.⁵ As the war continued, Canadian casualty lists grew longer with every passing day. While demands for replacements increased rapidly with every offensive, the rate of voluntary enlistment in Canada and the West began to drop steadily by the summer of 1915. The government launched recruiting drives to encourage eligible men to enlist, but these schemes did not come close to filling the gap created by huge losses sustained at the front.⁶ Since the

⁴Although some enthusiasts at the time (and certain historians since) have attributed the high enlistment rates early in the war solely to western generosity and spirit of sacrifice, other factors must be taken into consideration. While patriotism and desire for adventure motivated some men to enlist, it has been suggested that because of the unemployment and uncertain prospects of a flat economy in early 1914, "thousands of British-born men were pleased to accept a uniform and a rifle in exchange for a trip home and a brief exercise in educating the Germans in their proper place." Gerald Friesen, The Canadian Prairies: A History (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), p. 348.

⁵Brown and Cook, p. 215.

⁶For example, during the winter of 1916-1917, the monthly gap between military losses and enlistment figures widened at an alarming rate -- the difference in February 1917 was over 15 000 although it averaged around the 5000 mark. R. Matthew Bray, "'Fighting As An Ally': The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," in R. Douglas Francis and Donald B. Smith, eds., Readings in Canadian History: Post-Confederation, (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1982), p.335.

government's efforts were proving ineffective, middle and upper class English-Canadian citizens in patriotic organizations such as the IODE or in newly formed citizens' recruiting organizations took it upon themselves to assist or supplement official recruiting efforts.

Western Daughters of the Empire were eager to help the government's recruitment campaigns. Recruiting meetings in western cities were occasionally held under the auspices of local IODE chapters, often at the request of recruiting officers.⁷ Rural chapters also participated in recruitment drives. When it became known that Wadena, Saskatchewan, was to be the headquarters for the 204th Battalion, the Michael O'Leary V.C. Chapter "at once directed its energies towards recruiting."⁸ The Victoria Chapter in Swift Current had a clever recruitment gimmick. The IODE ladies set up a mysterious "for men only" tent at a local fair. Their interest piqued, men entered the tent only to find that it was a recruiting office. The chapter's records assure that they "secured quite a few recruits" in this way.⁹

⁷In Edmonton, a recruiting meeting to be addressed by a Col. Guthrie was held under the auspices the Edmonton Municipal Chapter. Public Archives of Alberta (PAA), IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 207.

⁸NACL, Echoes, June 1917, p. 95.

⁹Mrs. Joan Church Papers, Swift Current Victoria Chapter History.

The Daughters of the Empire firmly believed that it was the patriotic duty of every Anglo-Canadian man to fight for his country and the Empire unless his services were absolutely necessary to the home front war effort. As a consequence, Daughters of the Empire took an active part in inducing unwilling eligible men to volunteer.¹⁰ The Daughters of the Empire wanted to make a clear distinction between those men who could not enlist and those who would not enlist so that slackers could be subjected to public contempt that might coax them to volunteer. In Lethbridge, the regent of the Alexander Galt Chapter reported to her chapter that two local clergymen had spoken to her regarding a number of young men who were willing and anxious to enlist but who were debarred on account of some physical defect. These men had been the recipients of white feathers and angry anonymous letters, and the clergymen wanted to know if the chapter could take some action on the matter. Although giving white feathers to idlers was not an officially-

¹⁰Women could be nominated to receive the Lady Gwendolen Guinness badge for persuading eligible men to join the British forces. Mrs. Colin Campbell recommended that Manitoba IODE Provincial Treasurer Mrs. G.O. Hughes receive the badge "for having induced Walter Thomblinson to join the Overseas Division of the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve." Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), IODE Records, P 2500, File 3, Royal Navy Volunteer Reserve Recruiting Secretary to Mrs. Colin Campbell, 2 April 1917. At the request of the British Admiralty, Lady Guinness's husband, a naval captain, travelled to Canada to make appeals to Canadian men to join the British Navy. Lady Gwendolen joined her husband on this trip. She spoke to women in western Canada about the British war effort. "Lady Guinness Makes Appeal for Navy Men," Saskatoon Phoenix, 30 October 1916, p. 5.

sanctioned IODE activity, it is quite likely that some zealous members of the Order took it upon themselves to accost eligible-looking young men in the streets and demand to know why they were not serving their King and Country. After discussing the problem of distinguishing between slackers and those who were willing but unfit for service, the members of the Alexander Galt Chapter drafted a resolution that was sent to the National IODE Executive:

Whereas it is a well established fact that many young men physically fit are unwilling to offer themselves for military service and,

Whereas many young men willing to enlist are debarred from the service by the strict physical and medical examination they have to pass and,

Whereas it is our opinion that a distinction should be made between these two classes in the treatment accorded them by the public, therefore be it,

Resolved that the Alexander Galt Chapter IODE places itself on record as favoring the issuance of a distinctive badge or button to all offering to enlist who are rejected by the medical examiner on account of physical disabilities or defective vision, such badge or button when worn would protect the willing ones who cannot enlist from unjust criticism and leave the willing ones to bear the opprobrium which is their due.¹¹

The National Executive agreed with the sentiments expressed in the Alexander Galt Chapter's resolution. The Executive sent a letter to Military Headquarters asking that a

¹¹Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 26 October 1915, p. 95.

certificate might be given to men who were physically unfit for active service.¹²

The Daughters of the Empire believed that the support of the Dominion's women was vital to a successful Canadian recruitment drive. Until August 1915, a man needed his wife's written permission to enlist.¹³ Women had the power to say "yea or nay" to their husband's enlistment; the Order encouraged women to give their approval willingly.¹⁴ In an

¹²Upon discussion of this resolution by the National IODE Executive, it was pointed out that some young men might not care to advertise a physical defect by wearing such a button. National Archives of Canada (NAC), Manuscript Division, IODE Records, MG 28, I 17, Vol. 2, File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes, 3 November 1915, p. 125.

¹³In August 1915, the requirement for married men to have the written permission of their wives before enlisting was waived in the hope of securing more recruits. J.L. Granatstein and J.M. Hitsman, Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 35.

¹⁴In the autumn of 1915, western IODE chapters distributed copies of a pamphlet entitled "An Open Letter to the Women of Canada concerning the need for Fighting Men." The pamphlet was circulated throughout the country by the National Committee of Women for Patriotic Service -- a committee that was organized by the IODE and which had a large number of IODE National Executive Members on its executive. (See Chapter One for a description of the origins of this committee.) After repeating well-known propaganda about German atrocities in Belgium, the letter urged women to give up their husbands, sons and brothers to defend the Empire, and to guard against "the very practical result of a Canada governed by Germans." Women were encouraged to make it easy for their men to "obey their country's call to service" by willingly letting them go to war. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 32, File 32, "An Open Letter to the Women of Canada concerning the need for Fighting Men," August 1915.

address to the National Annual Meeting in May 1915, National Standard Bearer Mrs. A.W. McDougald stated:

In other countries the state is the chief recruiting officer, but in Canada, particularly where the service is voluntary, much depends on the personal power of the women. And the women have not betrayed their trust. They have put aside their personal pride and dearest affections and urged their dear ones to seize the privilege and opportunity of defending our common Empire.¹⁵

The recruiting efforts of the prairie Daughters of the Empire were, in fact, significant and appreciated. The Hon. Sir Hugh J. Macdonald, K.C., ex-premier of Manitoba, attributed the enlistment of a substantial number of volunteers in Military District No. 10 to the recruiting efforts of the Manitoba Daughters of the Empire.¹⁶

At the height of their recruitment drive in 1915, the Daughters of the Empire were upset by indications that a women's peace movement was being started in Canada. The IODE found it frustrating that while they were putting their energies into convincing young men to volunteer to fight in order to bring the war to a successful Allied victory, peace propaganda was being circulated by women from neutral countries who were part of an international peace movement. IODE members in the West immediately joined other Canadian women to "oppose actively a movement which [they] could not

¹⁵NACL, Echoes, October 1915, pp. 54-55.

¹⁶IODE Souvenir 1916, University of Saskatchewan Library, Shortt Collection, p. 25.

but regard as untimely and mischievous."¹⁷ The Order worked with the National Committee of Women for Patriotic Service to publish and circulate an "Open Letter Concerning Peace."

The letter reminded Canadian women that "the war [could not] cease until the Allies [were] in a position to dictate terms which [would] crush militarism and assure the world against future aggression by any power that may lose its sense of morality in its will to conquer."¹⁸ Western Canadian IODE chapters gave whole-hearted support to a National Chapter resolution that warned against the dangers of premature peace and condemned the activities of this women's movement.¹⁹

As casualty lists grew longer, patriotic and recruiting organizations began to apply pressure on Sir Robert Borden's Conservative government to use more aggressive measures to fulfill Canada's commitment to the expeditionary forces. Recruiting activists strived to keep the manpower issue before the public eye, while entreating the government to

¹⁷This international women's peace movement culminated in a Women's Peace Congress at the Hague.

¹⁸NACL, Echoes, October 1915, "The President's Address," p. 15; Ibid., December 1915, "Peace Movements," p. 7.

¹⁹Saskatchewan Archives Board, IODE Records, R 766, File II.5.b, Golden West Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 10 April 1915, p. 59; PAM, IODE Records, P 2498, File 2, Fort Garry Chapter Minutes 1914-1920, 9 April 1915, p. 36; SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.k.i, Forget Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, Book One, 22 April 1915, pp. 113-115; "Women Make Noble Response to Appeal," Manitoba Free Press, 10 May 1914, p. 4.

institute a system of national manpower registration to survey all adult, male Canadians in order to determine who could be spared for military service. Recruiting organizations hoped that once such a census was complete, direct appeals could be made to those men declared eligible for overseas service, who would respond patriotically and join the ranks of the steadily depleted Canadian Expeditionary Force.²⁰ The IODE also petitioned the government to institute a system of manpower registration. At the annual meeting in 1916, the National IODE endorsed a notice of motion presented to them by Brigadier-General, the Hon. Mr. Mason. The motion concerned the failure of the recruitment system and the need for national registration of manpower, and was introduced to the Senate by Mason on 14 April 1916.²¹ Most prairie chapters supported Mason's motion and agreed that it would be wise for the government to register Canadian manpower.²²

²⁰Bray, "Fighting As An Ally," p. 331.

²¹The IODE officially backed this motion because "[it] was thought that the endorsation [sic] of a large body of women like the Daughters of the Empire would be good." NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 12, Part 1, File 1, "Extracts from Minutes of the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire," pp. 31-32.

²²PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 65.103, Item 41, Beaver House Chapter Minutes, 4 May 1916, p. 33; SAB, IODE Records, R766, File II.5.b, Golden West Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 8 May 1916, p. 145; PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 18, Queen Victoria Chapter Minutes 1912-1916, 4 May 1916, p. 136. A letter was sent by the National Secretary to all chapters, enquiring if members endorsed Brigadier-General Mason's notice of motion concerning manpower registration. In

In response to the pressure for registration that was being applied by organizations such as the IODE and individuals such as Brigadier-General Mason, the Borden Government established the National Service Board in the fall of 1916. The Board's primary objective was to take an inventory of Canadian manpower to ensure that the Dominion's labour resources were properly managed. Registration cards were mailed to citizens by the National Service Board in the first week of 1917.²³ The implementation of this national registration scheme earned the hearty approval of western IODE chapters. In response to a letter from Prime Minister Borden and Director General of the National Service Board, R.B. Bennett, a meeting of the four Calgary chapters was held by Mrs. W.D. Spence, Honorary Organizing Secretary for southern Alberta, to consider the best possible means of cooperating with the National Service Commission. The enthusiastic meeting passed a resolution that read:

That the Calgary chapters of the Daughters of the Empire endorse the efforts of the national service board in obtaining an inventory of the man power [sic] and offer their services individually or

response, the Victoria and Albert Chapter in Prince Albert moved that they did not feel "competent to come to any conclusion, as men of great ability disagree on the subject." SAB, IODE Records, R 598, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, Book 2, 9 May 1916.

²³Answering and returning the cards was not mandatory, and results of the voluntary registration were reportedly disappointing. Granatstein and Hitsman, pp. 42-45.

collectively to further the work in any way the board may suggest.²⁴

The only regret of the Calgary IODE was that the resources of women would not be tabulated in the inventory.

IODE members believed that Canadian women were capable of taking on active military or military support responsibilities. By the middle of 1915, some IODE chapters in the West had organized women's training corps of IODE members and non-members. Women in the corps were given drill instruction by officers from local military outfits.²⁵ Some women's corps took rifle practice or organized rifle clubs. First aid and ambulance classes were also organized by the IODE in many western centers. In a first aid course offered by the St. John Ambulance Association to members of the Fitzgerald Chapter in Saskatoon, women learned the symptoms of disease, general anatomy and physiology, how to prepare hospital rooms and beds, and how to tend to a variety of injuries. The purpose of these courses was to train volunteers for active service with the ambulance association overseas.²⁶ In 1918, the IODE petitioned the

²⁴"IODE Will Support National Registration," Calgary Daily Herald, 5 January 1917, p. 10.

²⁵Saskatoon Phoenix, 26 August 1915, p. 5.

²⁶Women who took the course were not obliged to serve, but if they received an ambulance association certificate they were given preference in acceptance to the Royal Army and Navy medical corps. Saskatoon Phoenix, "Young Women Invited to First Aid Class," 27 August 1914, p. 4.

Dominion Government to organize a Woman's Auxiliary Army, Navy and Royal Air Service Corps on the same lines as the Woman's Army Auxiliary Corps ("W.A.A.C.'s") and Women's Royal Navy Service (W.R.N.S. or "Wrens") in the United Kingdom.²⁷ The IODE's hope was to form a women's service corps that would free Canadian men for active fighting by taking their place behind the lines in Europe or in industries in the Dominion. Nothing came of the Order's petition.²⁸

Although registration was viewed as a positive step, some IODE members did not believe that it would secure many new recruits. At the same Calgary meeting in January, 1917, two IODE chapter regents -- Mrs. Nolan and Mrs. Cruikshank -- suggested that "conscription would be a good thing, and that it was not far distant." Mrs. Nolan predicted that the national registration scheme would fail and that it would be followed by conscription.²⁹ The suggestion of conscription was received with a great deal of applause by those present at the meeting.

²⁷NAC, Borden Papers, OC 313 (1) - Oc 313 (5) (MG 26, H1(A), Vol. 68, p. 351262, Asst. National Secretary IODE to Sir Robert Borden, 3 May 1918; NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 12, Part 1, File 1, "Findings and Resolutions from Minutes of the National Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, May 27th to June 1st, 1918," p. 13.

²⁸NACL, Echoes, May 1918, p. 29.

²⁹"IODE Will Support National Registration," Calgary Daily Herald, 5 January 1917, p. 10.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire supported the conscription of more Canadian men for a number of reasons. IODE members wanted Canada to contribute enough men to ensure a full and victorious war effort. The IODE did not believe that it was fair that some loyal men were fighting while others were idle; it was commonly held that slackers should be forced to serve their country and Empire. The Daughters also believed that if more men were sent overseas, all Canadian soldiers would be able to return home more quickly. The IODE supported conscription because they thought it would "help the valour of our brave young boys" to know that the IODE was working on the homefront to try to help Canadian soldiers come home.³⁰

When the National Service Board's registration program failed to encourage the enlistment of enough recruits to keep Canada's fighting divisions at full strength, patriotic organizations and recruiting committees lobbied for conscription. Early in 1917, the Win-the-War movement was organized in Toronto by English-Canadian businessmen and professionals. The movement supported Borden and his conscription policy and came out strongly in favour of a coalition or national government that would provide a total war effort on Canada's part.³¹ In the frenzied crisis

³⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 31, File 3, "The Problem of the Returned Soldier," address given by Mrs. Colin H. Campbell, p. 2.

³¹Bray, "Fighting as an Ally," pp. 336-337.

atmosphere created by win-the-war, recruiting, and patriotic societies, Ottawa began to feel the force of English-Canadian public opinion in favour of conscription.³² This pressure, combined with a visit to the front and consultations with British military officials, convinced Borden that compulsory military service was necessary to maintain the strength of the Canadian Corps in France and to solve Canada's recruiting problem.³³ Borden had the Military Services Bill introduced in Parliament in May of 1917.

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire endorsed Borden's conscription policy. At the Annual Meeting in May 1917, Manitoba IODE Provincial President Mrs. Colin Campbell expressed her regret that Canada had been unable to recruit enough volunteers to fill the nation's fifth contingent of 100 000 men. She proclaimed, "If they won't go to the call of the Empire voluntarily, we must send them." Mrs. Campbell also initiated the passage of a resolution at that meeting which endorsed the Dominion Government in its stand for conscription of men, and prayed "that money, labour and service be conscripted of every man and woman, that all may

³²Brown and Cook, p. 220.

³³Granatstein and Hitsman, p. 47; Desmond Morton, Canada at War: A Military and Political History (Toronto: Butterworth and Co. (Canada) Ltd., 1981), p. 71.

equally do their duty to their King, Country and Empire."³⁴ Prairie Daughters of the Empire were so adamantly in favour of conscription that when the Executive of the Local Council of Women (LCW) in Edmonton passed a resolution against conscription without consulting its affiliated societies, the Edmonton Municipal IODE Chapter issued a stern objection which resulted in the LCW re-opening the issue for discussion among all affiliated members.³⁵

In the spring and summer of 1917, while the Military Services Bill was being praised and condemned by Canadians throughout the Dominion and debated by Conservatives and Liberals in the House of Commons, Prime Minister Borden turned his attention to planning the future of his government. Unless the term of parliament was extended through an agreement with the Liberals, a general election had to be called before the end of December, 1917. Liberal party refusal to agree to such an extension, however, made a wartime election inevitable.³⁶ Opposition leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier also refused to join Borden in a coalition government because he could not afford to alienate French-Canadian voters in Quebec, most of whom were against

³⁴NACL, Echoes, October 1917, "The Problem of the Returned Soldier," address given by Mrs. C. Campbell, pp. 46-47; Ibid., October 1917, p. 51.

³⁵PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 83.257, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1916-1919, p. 35, p. 54.

³⁶Granatstein and Hitsman, p. 67.

conscription. Meanwhile, the Military Services Act became law on 29 August 1917 after three months of bitter parliamentary debate.³⁷ Prime Minister Borden pledged that conscription would not be implemented until after the general election, which was called for December 17, 1917.³⁸ Naturally, the implementation of conscription became the key election issue.

After a number of failed attempts to form a Union government, Borden and his Conservatives took an initiative that made coalition inevitable when they passed the Wartime Elections Act by means of closure in September, 1917. This act disenfranchised "enemy aliens" who had been born in an enemy country, whose mother tongue was the language of an enemy country and who had been naturalized after March 31, 1902.³⁹ This bill effectively eliminated a large group of voters who had traditionally voted Liberal. At the same time, this Act enfranchised a new group of voters who would undoubtedly vote in favour of conscription by supporting the Conservative party in the next election: the wives, widows, mothers, sisters and daughters of members of the Canadian

³⁷John Herd Thompson, The Harvests of War: The Prairie West, 1914-1918 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978), p. 116.

³⁸Granatstein and Hitsman, p. 86.

³⁹Howard Palmer, "Strangers and Stereotypes: The Rise of Nativism -- 1880-1920," in The Prairie West: Historical Readings, eds. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), p. 324.

forces who had served or were serving overseas. Western Liberals realized that these measures left them with little power, particularly in the West; thus, they were finally convinced to join the Conservatives and form a Union government in October, 1917. In the wartime election that followed in December, the Union Government scored an overwhelming victory that was largely based on their success in the West and the pro-conscription vote.⁴⁰ As Borden had promised, conscripts were called for training on 3 January 1918.

The IODE had agreed with Prime Minister Borden that it would be better to postpone a federal election until after the war. The Order had feared the possible election of a new government that was not as dedicated to an aggressive Canadian war effort as were the Conservatives. When the national election was called, the Daughters of the Empire campaigned to secure a government that would press the war to an imperial victory.⁴¹ The IODE became interested in the "Win-the-War" movement because it actively supported the election of a Union Government and the implementation of conscription. IODE National President Mrs. A.E. Gooderham urged every Daughter of the Empire to use her utmost

⁴⁰Thompson, Harvests, pp. 126-127.

⁴¹The IODE passed a resolution that read: "As an Imperial and Patriotic Organization it must be a matter of profound regret to every member of the Order that the country is to be plunged into an election in wartime." NACL, Echoes, October 1917, "A Protest," p. 68.

endeavour to further the "Win-the-War" campaign. Each chapter was asked to cooperate by sending delegates to Win-the-War conventions wherever they were held across the country. Seats were frequently reserved at the conventions for members of the Order who wore their IODE badges.⁴²

As the election drew nearer, the IODE National Executive pulled back from its original stance on the Order's involvement in the Win-the-War campaign. There is no explanation given for the National Executive's hesitation to sanction further involvement in the election campaign by the IODE as an organization. Perhaps there was political dissension between individual members; the IODE had always feared the possibly ruinous effects that could result over differences in party politics between the Order's members.⁴³

⁴²Ibid. This Echoes issue also printed a copy of the resolutions passed at the first Win-the-War conference in Toronto in August of 1917, and informed the Order that Mrs. Gooderham was one of the representatives who presented the resolutions of the convention to the Prime Minister. Ibid., "The Win the War Convention," p. 92.

⁴³Ibid., December 1917, "The Problem of Politics," p. 11. In Calgary, the Calgary Daily Herald reported that a great deal of noise was being made in women's circles in that city over that fact that IODE National President Mrs. Gooderham had telegraphed the secretaries of IODE chapters across the country to obtain opinions from leading members as to whether, "if all women were given the federal franchise, a majority of them would be likely to vote in favor of conscription." Basing her views on an unsubstantiated report in a Toronto newspaper, an unidentified Calgary woman claimed that this action was inspired by the Borden's Conservative government, and that "scandalous use [had] been made of the organization (the IODE) for partisan purposes." "The IODE and That 'Tory Plot'," Calgary Daily Herald, 14 September 1917.

In any case, the National Executive eventually passed a resolution regarding the wartime election so that all Daughters of the Empire would understand the Order's official policy:

Whereas the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire is a patriotic organization that includes in its ranks Canadian women of both political parties who are loyal to the great Imperial ideal;

Whereas it has always been the policy of our Order to support Imperialism without taking part in political strife or party controversy;

Whereas our Order has already put itself on record as endorsing all undertakings that aim to secure a decisive victory in the war, including conscription of men, wealth and resources, and the win-the-war policy;

Whereas we recognize that in the coming Dominion election, vital questions will be settled affecting our Empire that all loyal citizens must pronounce upon according to their convictions;

And whereas we recognize that our Imperial ideals may be interpreted differently by loyal and devoted Daughters of the Empire;

Be it resolved that the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire will not take part in the election campaign as an organization;

But be it further resolved that it is the duty of every member of the Order in this time of Imperial crisis to use her vote and influence as a citizen in the campaign to secure a Government that will press the war aggressively to a victorious conclusion.⁴⁴

⁴⁴NACL, Echoes, December 1917, "The Problem of Politics," p. 11. The IODE's request that members use their "vote" to press for a win-the-war government must have pleased the Conservative Government. Since women did not have the franchise in time for the 1917 federal election, those women who did have the vote received it through the Wartime Elections Act. One of the Borden government's strategies in passing this act was to garner support for their wartime policies from women whose husbands, fathers, sons, and brothers were active servicemen. Granatstein and Hitsman, p. 72.

The resolution encouraged Daughters of the Empire to become actively involved in the Win-the-War campaign and the election of a Union Government, but to act as individuals rather than in the name of the IODE. Different chapters responded differently to this resolution. After reading an extract from Echoes on the subject, the Edmonton Municipal chapter deliberated as to whether or not the IODE as a body could take part in a political campaign. They decided to approach the Edmonton Next of Kin Association and put before them the importance of returning Win-the-War candidates.⁴⁵ In comparison, members of the Drummond IODE Chapter in Melfort, Saskatchewan, made a statement in the Manitoba Free Press indicating that they were in full support of all the Win-the-War platforms. This chapter also wanted an open Win-the-War convention to be organized for the Prince Albert constituency and Win-the-War meetings called in all polling subdivisions throughout the constituency for the purpose of selecting delegates to attend such a convention.⁴⁶

The Daughters of the Empire on the prairies were undoubtedly thrilled and relieved when a national government was brought in, Borden was returned as prime minister, and the Military Services Act was implemented within weeks of the election. In fact, when military officials planned a

⁴⁵PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 250.

⁴⁶"Urge National Government," Manitoba Free Press, c. 14 September 1917, n.p..

new registration of all men and women over 16 years of age for June 22, 1918, IODE members in the West eagerly volunteered to help receive registration cards at registration stations.⁴⁷ The IODE was also convinced that once new men were conscripted to serve overseas, military authorities would be able to give a temporarily leave to the men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force's First Contingent who had been away from their loved ones continuously for three years. A petition was circulated by the National Chapter requesting that the minister of militia grant a well-deserved furlough to the surviving members of the First Contingent:

The petition of the undersigned citizens of Canada respectfully showeth; That while fully appreciating the urgent need of every available man in order to maintain the Canadian Expeditionary Force at strength in Flanders and France, the opinion is ventured that it is possible without seriously impairing the efficiency of the forces to grant furlough to the few remaining Canadian heroes of the First Contingent for rest and recuperation in Canada.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Granatstein and Hitsman, p. 91; PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 65.103, Item 41, Beaver House Chapter Minutes, 6 June 1918, p. 105; Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Chapter Minutes 1917-1922, 16 May 1918, p. 58; Mrs. Joan Church Papers, Saskatoon Fitzgerald Chapter 1918 Annual Report; SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File VI.5.k.iii, Forget Chapter Minutes 1918, Book 4, 22 May 1918, p. 53.

⁴⁸PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 10, "IODE Provincial Chapter Miscellaneous: Sundry records, etc.," petition to the Minister of Militia at Ottawa re furlough to the remnant of the 1st Contingent of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

Although many prairie chapters supported and circulated the petition without hesitation, a number of western chapters were opposed to sending this petition to the Minister of Militia.⁴⁹ The IODE in Edmonton felt that it was "out of the province" for the Daughters of the Empire or any other body of women to embarrass the minister of militia with a petition demanding a course of action that he had expressed an anxious wish to follow but was impossible to implement.⁵⁰ The Forget Chapter in Regina discussed the petition and moved, "That it would not be adviseable [sic] for [their] Chapter to attempt to influence the discretion of the Government in military matters and that the Secretary write the National Chapter to that effect."⁵¹ This case indicates that prairie chapters of the IODE did not always agree with the positions taken by the National Chapter of the Order.

Daughters of the Empire did not always avoid contentious issues -- even when they were aware that they were treading on forbidden ground. The reaction of the Order to the activities of Colonel Armand Lavergne provides an interesting example. Armand Lavergne was a French-

⁴⁹Ibid., Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1916-1918, 31 January 1918, p. 88.

⁵⁰NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes, 1917-1918, 6 March 1918, p. 221; PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 256.

⁵¹SAB, IODE Records, R 598, IV.5.k.ii, Forget Chapter Minutes 1917, 11 Dec 1917, p. 109.

Canadian nationaliste, as well as an army colonel who was in charge of recruiting for the Canadian Defence Force in Quebec. Although Lavergne was willing to encourage volunteers to enlist for home defence, he was strongly opposed to compulsory military service for use in the European war. In 1917, Lavergne drew crowds of thousands at public rallies where he denounced conscription.⁵² The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were not amused. In response to Lavergne's actions, five hundred women at the 1917 IODE National Convention passed the following resolution:

Resolved: We earnestly request the prime minister that drastic measures to the utmost limit of the law be taken to punish the treasonable conduct of Monsieur Armand Lavergne, and that he be deprived of all rank and insignia pertaining to the profession which he disgraces, and by the holding of which he insults our noble troops and their splendid record.

This meeting also desires humbly to express the belief that such strong measures will have a salutary effect upon the confused and hesitating attitude of the people of this country in this crisis through which it is passing.⁵³

Within hours of passage of this resolution, telegrams endorsing the convention's actions poured into the national

⁵²Granatstein and Hitsman, p. 69.

⁵³"National Chapter of IODE 500 Strong, Demand That Col. Armand Lavergne Be Punished," The Saskatoon Phoenix, 30 May 1917, p. 1.

meeting site from chapters in the West.⁵⁴ What is especially significant about the Lavergne situation is that "in order to present and deal with the resolution the convention temporarily suspended its rules . . . as the question was one of urgent national importance."⁵⁵ The members of the Order believed that doing their patriotic duty was a greater priority than strictly following their regulations.

Although the relationship between the IODE and the Conservative and Union governments was generally harmonious and their objectives remained the same, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire occasionally disagreed with Prime Minister Borden's methods when dealing with certain issues during the Great War. On occasion, the IODE felt it necessary to press the Borden Government to act more aggressively on issues such as recruitment and conscription. In some instances, the IODE protested the government's lack of action on concerns which the Order deemed to be of national or imperial importance. These rare protests tended

⁵⁴NACL, Echoes, October 1917, p. 31. Later, when one National Executive member asked if this resolution might not be detrimental to the Order in Quebec, its drafter pointed out that the resolution was not against Quebec or its people, but against a traitor to the British Empire. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes, 18 June 1918, p. 79.

⁵⁵"National Chapter of IODE 500 Strong, Demand That Col. Armand Lavergne Be Punished," The Saskatoon Phoenix, 30 May 1917, p. 1.

to be inoffensive expressions of the IODE's anxiety about wartime problems.

Although the Daughters of the Empire were preoccupied with issues related to the supply of Canadian military manpower, important wartime home front concerns such as inflation, food shortages, and the threat of enemy aliens also captured the Order's attention. In the last two years of the war, the Canadian Government had to deal with a wartime problem that affected every citizen on the home front -- inflation. In 1917 and 1918, there was a noticeable increase in the price of food, fuel, clothing and housing that ordinary western Canadians blamed on the profiteering ventures of eastern "Big Business." Westerners demanded that the federal government take measures to check inflation. The government's response was to set up a Food Controller's Office and a Fuel Controller's Office. The purpose of these agencies was to facilitate the conservation of food and fuel resources during the war. The Food Controller was particularly unpopular with western Canadians during the war. The Food Controller's Office issued a series of regulations on the use of certain foods that were in short supply because of wartime demand, but failed to take western conditions into account. Furthermore, the objective of the controller was not price control. Reduced prices for food would have increased accessibility to the public and defeated the effects of conservation campaigns.

The Food Control department quickly came under the criticism of western Canadians for its inability to stop inflationary trends.⁵⁶

The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were particularly worried about how inflation and food shortages would effect Canadian soldiers serving overseas. In the spring of 1917, the National Executive appealed to the members of the Order to help the men who were fighting for the Empire by easing the food and inflation crisis through food conservation and economy:

It is in no spirit of arrogance, but in the spirit of humble service that we deem it incumbent on the Order to do its utmost to give the light and leading so vitally essential to this crucial period of Canada's welfare.

We ask that members pledge themselves to observe two meatless and two potatoless days a week, the meatless days to be Wednesday and Friday, and also to abstain from the use of veal and young lamb.

We also ask that every member realize for herself and impress on others the terrible gravity of the situation, and the imperative need of loyal and immediate co-operation and acquaint herself with the various aspects scientific, economic, social of this many sided problem."⁵⁷

Many IODE chapters in the prairie provinces spontaneously agreed to observe the suggested meatless and potatoless days. Other western chapters who wanted to do their share to conserve foodstuffs found that the National Executive's

⁵⁶Thompson, Harvests of War, pp. 156-158.

⁵⁷Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1914-1917, 28 May 1917, pp. 180-181.

pledge for two meatless and potatoless days was made without consideration of the regional differences in production and consumption that existed between eastern and western Canada. The Alexander Galt Chapter in Lethbridge concluded that because of wartime transportation problems created by rail car shortage in the West, and since beef and potatoes were grown in surplus over home consumption in southern Alberta, they could make a more intelligent conservation contribution by consuming home products and importing less foodstuffs. The Alexander Galt Chapter eventually resolved not to use veal or lamb (which were in short supply), but felt that they were taking the proper stand by otherwise ignoring the appeal for meatless and potatoless days.⁵⁸

When prices continued to escalate in 1917 and 1918 despite voluntary and government controls, the Daughters of the Empire joined the ranks of Canadians from all regions of the Dominion to protest the high cost of living and the rising prices of all necessary foods. There was a strong

⁵⁸Ibid. After the national resolution regarding meatless and potatoless days was read to the Winnipeg Municipal Chapter, the following statement was made in the chapter minutes: "Attention was drawn to the danger of wealthy people's failure to distinguish between thrift and parsimony, between economy and meanness -- and to the possibility of our forcing others out of work by our practice of economy. We must live and let live -- saving money in order to hoard it is false economy -- money must be kept in circulation." This resolution seems to be justifying the well-to-do lifestyles that some IODE members were used to living. PAM, IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 11, Winnipeg Municipal Chapter Minutes 1916-1918, 21 May 1917, p. 57.

feeling among the women of Canada that the increased cost of living was unwarranted and only to the advantage of profiteers. To express the opinion of IODE members about exorbitant food prices, the IODE drafted a resolution that was forwarded to the government and the press:

. . . [We] as an Order representing 40, 000 women all over Canada would request the Government to take such steps to regulate the prices of foodstuffs and their use, that the people may be able to obtain the necessities of life at a reasonable cost and that such foodstuffs may be conserved as are needed by our men overseas.⁵⁹

The IODE wanted the government to intervene further in the wartime economy to control the use and price of food so that mothers could feed their children and the military could feed Canada's fighting men.⁶⁰

The Daughters of the Empire in the prairie provinces actively promoted wartime food conservation and production programs. Most prairie chapters encouraged their members and the general public to comply with the directives of the Food Controller. In Saskatoon, members of the Municipal Chapter IODE made a motion at a special Local Council of Women's meeting concerning food conservation, "that all

⁵⁹NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 6, National IODE Executive Minutes 1917-1918, 4 October 1917, p. 111.

⁶⁰It took very little persuasion to convince the IODE that the Government was doing everything they could to reduce the high cost of living. The National Executive was immediately mollified by literature sent to them by the Food Controller. Ibid., 17 October 1917, pp. 115-117.

loyal and patriotic women should follow Food Controller suggestions, cheerfully and conscientiously obeying the Food Pledge as set out."⁶¹ The Saskatoon Municipal Chapter also made a motion that "local grocers be asked to patronize home producers and women buy home grown vegetables, or that the women of the city undertake to market vegetables in order that such quantities need not be imported."⁶² Saskatoon Daughters of the Empire planted IODE gardens with vegetables which were canned at a community canning kitchen opened by the Order and then sold for profit.⁶³ Many chapters conserved food by ceasing to serve refreshments at chapter meetings or by closing their fundraising tea rooms. Some chapters stopped selling candy and baked goods because these goods required the use of scarce products such as white flour and sugar.⁶⁴ IODE "Victory" luncheons were organized to demonstrate to Saskatoon women the use of wartime foods and recipes that did not require goods such as meat, sugar,

⁶¹SAB, B 82, Saskatoon Local Council of Women, Minute Book One, 1916-1919, pp. 77-79.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³NACL, Echoes, December 1918, p. 57.

⁶⁴SAB, IODE Records, R 598, File IV.8.a, Saskatchewan IODE Provincial Chapter Minutes, 24 & 25 April 1918, p. 112; Mrs. Mary Lynch-Staunton Papers, Alexander Galt Chapter Minutes 1917-1922, 17 January 1918, p. 33.

and flour. Wartime recipes were exchanged and wartime cook books were sold.⁶⁵

Although most IODE members threw their support behind government food conservation and production regulations and suggestions, some prairie Daughters of the Empire complained that the directives set out by the Food Controller were not practical. In Edmonton, the Keomi Chapter refused to take up the Food Conservation Cards that were distributed by the Food Controller in Ottawa. They viewed the distribution of the cards as a waste of time and money on part of the Controller and questioned a number of inconsistencies in the food control program. Members of the Keomi Chapter complained that while Canadians were asked to economize in their use of beef, bacon, and white flour, barley that could have been ground for flour or used to feed cattle was still being used to make beer, "a useless commodity." Keomi members also wanted know to why Albertan citizens who lived in "fish country" were paying 25 to 35 cents a pound for fish when the price of fish was set at 10 cents a pound by the Food Controller. Finally, this chapter wanted to know why coarse flours such as graham, corn meal, rye, bran and oatmeal were sold in such small sacks when Canadians were being asked to use them so widely, and why they had to pay

⁶⁵"Local Women Desirous of Assisting Food Controller," Saskatoon Phoenix, 5 September 1918, p. 5; NACL, Echoes, June 1918, pp. 39-40. Similar demonstrations were held in Edmonton, Lethbridge, Rosthern and Winnipeg.

more for these flours when they were made from the waste parts of grain.⁶⁶ Like other western Canadians in 1917 and 1918, members of the Keomi Chapter resented the obvious contradictions evident in the food control regulations and the lack of consideration given to the reality of the food production and conservation situation in the prairie West.

Another home front situation that was considered by the prairie IODE to be a serious problem worthy of government attention was the perceived threat of "enemy aliens" in the West. As of August 4, 1914, immigrants who had emigrated from Germany or the Austro-Hungarian Empire were suddenly viewed as "enemy aliens" in Canada because their homelands were at war with Britain and her allies. Before the war, Germans had been regarded as culturally similar, assimilable, and therefore one of Canada's best groups of immigrants. For a while at the beginning of the war, English-Canadians were reluctant to give up these opinions of German immigrants. They held on to the belief that it was the Kaiser and his Prussian staff who were the heinous aggressors, not the innocent German people. However, news stories about wartime "atrocities" in Belgium and the sinking of the Lusitania caused a complete reversal in Anglo-Canadian opinion; now, all people who were of German

⁶⁶PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 76.57, Keomi Chapter Minutes 1917-1922, pp. 24-25.

descent, in Germany and beyond, were held equally responsible for the crimes of the war.⁶⁷

The "enemy alien" in Canada faced two types of intolerance during the war: unofficial and official. Unofficial discrimination was widespread in the West and was displayed in a variety of forms. Enemy aliens were often fired from their jobs during the early years of the war until labour shortages forced employers to hire any worker despite his ethnic background. Enemy aliens suffered verbal and physical abuse at the hands of aggressive patriots or returned soldiers. Immigrants of German or Austro-Hungarian descent faced the antagonism of neighbours who suspected all enemy aliens of espionage.⁶⁸ Although these types of actions were not sanctioned by the authorities, they occurred with regularity.

The term "official discrimination" can be applied to measures that the Dominion government took to regulate or control the activities of "enemy aliens" during the war. Although there was little real danger that treasonous acts such as espionage or sabotage would occur, the western Canadian public believed that the "enemy aliens" in their midst posed a very real threat. The federal government responded to this public pressure by implementing a number of regulations intended to control the potentially

⁶⁷Palmer, "Strangers and Stereotypes," p. 323.

⁶⁸Thompson, Harvests, p. 78.

treasonous activities of unnaturalized "enemy aliens". Each alien was required to register with a local magistrate and report to him regularly so that a system of checks on the mobility of aliens could be established. Over eight thousand aliens were eventually detained in internment camps set up by an order-in-council in October of 1914.⁶⁹ Periodicals written in enemy languages were gradually suppressed; those journals published outside of Canada were prohibited, and those printed within the country were subject to the censorship imposed on the Canadian press.⁷⁰ As historians R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook suggest:

That restrictions upon aliens intensified during the war is undeniable But it is . . . likely that the government's actions held in check the unrestrained enthusiasm of native Canadians to persecute their fellow citizens.⁷¹

Government officials probably feared that if they did not respond to public fears with some restraints and regulations, private individuals or groups would take vigilante action against "suspicious" enemy aliens.

In response to their fears about the loyalty of enemy aliens during the Great War, the Daughters of the Empire

⁶⁹Thompson suggests that men were probably interned as a result of the high unemployment rate among immigrant workmen, not because of a fear of subversion. Once manpower was in short supply in 1916, most internees were paroled to supplement the work force. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

⁷¹Brown and Cook, p. 226.

pressured their municipal, provincial, and federal governments to fire German and Austrian employees. The IODE National Executive "urgently [protested] against the employment of the Germans and Austrians in high positions by the Government," and refused to assist in recruiting while this "anomalous situation" continued.⁷² The Edmonton Westward Ho Chapter also discussed the employment of alien enemies, whether naturalized or not, by the Government. A committee was appointed to investigate and obtain facts about particular cases where enemy aliens were employed by government offices so that the chapter could frame a resolution protesting such conditions.⁷³ The Alien Measures resolution that the Westward Ho Chapter eventually presented to the Edmonton Municipal Chapter read:

That where as it has come to the knowledge of the IODE that there are employed by the governments and City service persons of Alien enemy origin and whereas the espionage [sic] practiced by these alien born people both naturalized and otherwise has caused the greatest damages to the Allied cause -- and we know that the sympathies of the germans [sic] and Austrians in this province as elsewhere are opposed to the success of our soldiers at the front and hostile to our cause.

We therefore ask the Dominion and Provincial Governments and the City Council of Edmonton to see to it that germans [sic] and Austrians and persons of doubtful sympathy with our cause are not employed and that a copy of this resolution be

⁷²NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes, 1 March 1916, p. 175.

⁷³PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 87.145, Westward Ho Chapter Minutes 1914-1916, 7 October 1915, p. 95.

sent to Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Hon. A.L. Sifton and Mayor Henry.⁷⁴

Westward Ho's chapter minutes did not mention action being taken in this matter; neither did they record any responses received from the Prime Minister, the Premier, or the Mayor. In a similar circumstance, however, the Edmonton Municipal Chapter wrote to the local Land Titles Office because they had learned that an unmarried German man had been given a position in preference to a British family man. The IODE asked that employment be given to the country's own subjects before foreigners. The Land Titles Office simply answered that the German had been a naturalized British subject since 1898.⁷⁵ This response was likely unsatisfactory in the minds of the IODE who suspected the naturalized "enemy alien" citizen equally with the unnaturalized. For the most part, local, provincial, and federal governments did not succumb to pressures applied by the IODE and like-minded

⁷⁴Although the Westward Ho Chapter discuss enemy alien espionage and damages as though they were absolute fact, they do not give any reference to the source of this information. Ibid., 29 November 1915, pp. 109-111. The letter was also sent to Col. Sherwood, Chief of the Dominion Police, asking his opinion of the danger and what was being done about it. Ibid., p. 113.

⁷⁵Ibid., Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 86, pp. 89-90. Members of the Edmonton IODE boycotted the local McDonald Hotel until the management complied with Order's request to dismiss all of their "alien" help. Ibid., p. 158.

western Canadian citizens to fire employees of enemy alien descent during the Great War.⁷⁶

The IODE stood out as a wartime women's organization because it did not get involved in the politics of the woman's suffrage issue. During the Great War, the question of granting the franchise to women became a heavily discussed topic in Canadian women's circles, in political circles, and in the press. Women claimed that they had earned the franchise through their many wartime contributions and sacrifices.⁷⁷ Suffragists demanded that the provincial and federal governments pass legislation granting women the right to vote. Woman's suffrage was so widely discussed that IODE leaders were forced to state the

⁷⁶The IODE's unwavering attitude toward "the enemy" -- whether in Canada or in Europe -- affected their relationship with other women's groups. In 1918, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire severed its affiliation with the National Council of Women (NCW) because that organization would not repudiate its association through the International Council of Women with the National Councils of Women in the enemy countries of Germany, Austria and Bulgaria. The IODE re-affiliated with the National Council of Women in the spring, 1919, after the NCW publicly repudiated any further connection with the women of enemy countries. NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 12, Part 1, File 1, "Findings and Resolutions from Minutes of the National Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: May 27th to June 1st, 1918," pp. 11-12; Ibid., "Findings and Resolutions from Minutes of the National Annual Meeting of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire: May 26th to 31st, 1919," pp. 35-36.

⁷⁷J.H. Thompson, "'The Beginning of Our Regeneration.' The Great War and Western Canadian Reform Movements," in R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, eds., The Prairie West: Historical Readings (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1985), pp. 460-462.

Order's position on the topic. The IODE National Executive quickly made it understood that the Order was non-political and therefore neutral on the question of the franchise, although individuals were free to do as they wished when not representing the Daughters of the Empire.⁷⁸

IODE members claimed that they were staying out of the fight for suffrage in order to avoid dissension as a result of political discussion within the Order. Daughters of the Empire did not want to create disunity in their organization that would detract from their war work. Furthermore, in their opinion, the issue of suffrage did not have relevance to the IODE's imperial and patriotic aims. The enfranchisement of women was not viewed as a necessary element in a successful war campaign.

The women of the IODE were undoubtedly motivated by a fear that their own influence would be eroded if all Canadian women were given the franchise. Before and during the Great War, the women of the IODE had obvious influence in Canadian public affairs. Because of their own social positions and as a result of the prominent political, business, and professional positions held by their husbands, members of the Order were able to influence some decisions made by government and education authorities. The socially prominent members of the Order were often able to determine

⁷⁸NAC, IODE Records, Vol. 2, File 5, National IODE Executive Minutes 1914-1917, 4 October 1916, p. 247.

the trends set by the social elite. Futhermore, the IODE believed that they were particularly effective in shaping public opinion. As stated by the National Standard Bearer in a recruiting speech in 1915:

While some of us are waiting for the vote, don't let us neglect to use the greater power we already possess -- a power much older than the vote, so old it antedates all organized society -- the power of moulding [sic] and shaping and educating public opinion, upon which in the final analysis must rest the enforcement of the law.⁷⁹

The Daughters of the Empire obviously believed that their ability to influence public opinion was a more effective tool in their hands than the vote. Before the franchise was granted, the IODE was one of a very few groups in Canada that exercised women's influence in society. The Daughters knew that their influence would be diluted when every other Canadian woman used her vote to determine the course of national affairs.⁸⁰

⁷⁹NACL, Echoes, December 1915, p. 58.

⁸⁰Despite the Order's official policy to remain neutral on the subject of the franchise, and in contrast to the lethargic attitude most IODE members took towards getting the vote, a few prairie Daughters of the Empire did come out in favour of woman's suffrage. For example, the Admiral Sturdee Chapter in Weyburn sent a telegram to Saskatchewan Premier Walter Scott, asking him to favourably consider the petition for women's franchise that was presented to him by the women of Saskatchewan on February 14, 1916. SAB, Scott Papers, IV.158, Women's Rights: Suffrage, 1910-1916 (59457-59528), Eva Sherrock to Scott, 14 February 1916, p. 59505.

Even though they remained neutral during the struggle for suffrage, prairie Daughters of the Empire offered plenty of advice about how patriotic women should use their vote once the franchise bills were passed in the western provincial legislatures in 1916 and in the House of Commons in 1918.⁸¹ The women of the Order were reminded that they could use the franchise to benefit their country. IODE leaders told members to use their votes to counteract the possible negative effects of giving the vote to all women despite their racial background, social position, or sense of morality. Furthermore, western IODE members were encouraged to enlighten the foreign-born naturalized woman as to how she should cast her ballot.⁸²

Another reform campaign which was given impetus by the war and which was closely connected to the fight for woman's suffrage was the prohibition movement. Not unlike their reaction to the franchise movement, the official policy of the IODE on the issue of prohibition was neutrality. For example, when asked to participate in a "monster" WCTU

⁸¹Brown and Cook, p. 298.

⁸²The Saskatchewan Education Secretary reminded members of their responsibility to teach foreign-born women how to use their vote: "To individual Chapters must be left the work of interesting the foreign born woman. Unless an enemy alien she now has a vote as you have. Are you prepared to use your vote for the benefit of your country and to enlighten her as to how she should use her vote? This is a great responsibility. Have you yet realized it is yours?" NACL, Echoes, October 1918, "Report on Educational Work in Saskatchewan," p. 33.

prohibition parade, the Edmonton IODE responded that the Order had "no power" to get involved in the prohibition movement as an organization although it was acceptable for individuals to take part in the parade as long as they did not attend as representatives of the IODE.⁸³ Some of the Order's reasons for staying out of the prohibition campaign were probably the same as their reasons for staying out of the suffrage movement. Daughters of the Empire undoubtedly feared that active debate of the controversial prohibition question could split the IODE into factions. Furthermore, it is possible that a large percentage of IODE members who belonged to the upper echelons of society did not view drinking as a sin when spirits were being imbibed by responsible, respectable citizens of their rank. It is likely that given their position in society, a considerable number of IODE women and their husbands drank both before and after prohibition was legislated.⁸⁴

The Daughters of the Empire apparently did not view prohibition as a patriotic measure necessary to winning the war. The IODE seem to have been untouched by wartime prohibition arguments that condemned alcohol for squandering

⁸³PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, p. 131; *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸⁴Paul Voisey, "The 'Votes for Women' Movement," in The Best from Alberta History, Hugh Dempsey ed. (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1981), p. 176; James H. Gray, Booze: The Impact of Whisky on the Prairie West (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972), p. 199.

the nation's wartime human and physical resources, that stated that a drunken soldier could not fight, a drunken worker could not produce, and the grain distilled into whiskey could not be used for food.⁸⁵ For the most part, the records of the IODE in the West do not mention such concerns relating to alcohol. Only one western wartime IODE chapter mentioned that barley was being used to make beer instead of foodstuffs to feed Canadian soldiers and civilians.⁸⁶ The reactions of the Daughters of the Empire to the prohibition and franchise movements suggest that IODE members did not believe that these reforms would have any bearing on the outcome of the war being fought in Europe.

During the Great War, the Daughters of the Empire did everything in their power to bring about victory for the Dominion and the Empire. Although this was a patriotic

⁸⁵Thompson, "'The Beginning of Our Regeneration'," p. 292.

⁸⁶The only time that the IODE in the prairies conveyed a sense of uneasiness about the use of alcohol was when it offered a "temptation" to soldiers who were training in western cities. In Edmonton, the Municipal Chapter successfully petitioned the local military authorities to put all bars out of bounds to soldiers except between 5:00 and 8:00 p.m. and all wholesale houses out of bounds entirely. PAA, IODE Records, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes 1913-1918, pp. 137-138. The Manitoba Provincial IODE Chapter passed a resolution that expressed their appreciation to the Roblin Government for passing legislation that closed bars at 7 p.m.. NACL, Echoes, June 1915, p. 65. Although the IODE's concern for the welfare of soldiers was real, western IODE chapters in these training centers may have been partially motivated by the potential threat that drunken soldiers posed to their communities.

goal, the means to this end were often of a political nature. Official IODE policy demanded a neutral stance on political questions; nevertheless, members of the Order found that their sense of duty would not allow them to divide politics and patriotism into separate spheres when considering wartime issues. The Daughters of the Empire were principled when it suited them; otherwise, they applied pressure wherever and whenever they could. Winning the war took precedence over everything else: the IODE would not let its official neutrality stand in the way of important matters that could influence the outcome of the Great War.

Chapter Six
In Times of War

In his Canadian Annual Review for 1916, J. Castell Hopkins assessed the Great War activities of Canadian women's groups by stating:

The greatest of these organizations, as far as war-work [sic] was concerned, was the [Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.] It's [sic] 500 branches or chapters were in closer cooperation, its policy more precise and clear, its practical efforts better co-ordinated, than in other cases.¹

Hopkins' tribute helps to explain why the members of the IODE were able to do such a good job in their wartime fundraising, soldier support, educational, and issue-related endeavours. During the war, the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire had a large and growing membership of women who were dedicated to making a significant contribution to the imperial war effort. These women were encouraged by their leaders to make the unity of the Order their first priority: to avoid internal dissension, criticism, or fault-finding, to put aside petty squabbles and controversies, and to work together for the war.² Members learned to recognize the power of small things in the aggregate -- if they all

¹J. Castell Hopkins, The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1916 (Toronto: The Annual Review Publishing Company Ltd., 1917), p. 419.

²National Archives of Canada Library (NACL), P 198, Echoes, "The President's Address, 1918," p. 13.

contributed their little bit to a common cause, great things could be done.³

The IODE were ready, willing and able to do their part for Canada and the Empire during the Great War. Their experiences during the Boer War had taught them where their services could best be used. After the war in South Africa, the IODE prepared itself to play a major support role in the Empire's next military conflict. By the time that hostilities broke out in Europe in 1914, the Order was more than ready to act. The Daughters of the Empire were so eager, in fact, that they began to organize their first significant fundraising project -- to supply a Hospital Ship to the British Admiralty -- the day before Great Britain officially declared itself at war with Germany. The IODE answered the Empire's summons in 1914 with a patriotic fervour.

J. Castell Hopkins suggested that one of the IODE's strengths was that their policies were precise and clear. The Daughters of the Empire had a well-defined set of ideologies and objectives which were established before and upheld throughout the Great War. The Order was motivated primarily by its imperialism -- an imperialism consisting of two major components: patriotism and militarism. The

³Public Archives of Manitoba (PAM), IODE Records, MG 10, C 70, Box 10, file "IODE Municipal Chapter - Annual Reports 1913-1943," "Seventh Annual Report - Secretary's Report for the Year 1918 Municipal Chapter Winnipeg IODE," p. 1.

Daughters of the Empire believed that they had a duty to their country and Empire that they were obligated to fulfill. They answered this call to arms with an unswerving patriotic devotion that was openly displayed in their symbols and their acts. The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire also sincerely believed that the Empire was fighting a righteous war and that the battle had to be fought to a victorious conclusion in favour of the civilized British world. This deep-rooted militaristic conviction influenced the Order's entire wartime agenda. The Daughters of the Empire realized that the war could not be won without fighting men. Consequently, the object of most IODE endeavours during the war was to recruit and assist Canadian soldiers so that the Dominion would have a strong contingent of men in peak physical and mental condition who were able to give their best in battle. The Daughters of the Empire compromised their policy to remain neutral on political issues in order to support campaigns promoting the adequate supply of Canadian military manpower. They gave financial aid to the Empire's forces. They provided Canadian soldiers with comforts and moral support at every stage of military life. They memorialized soldier sacrifices. They looked after the dependents of prairie soldiers while their men were fighting overseas. They promoted food conservation to ensure that Canadian soldiers did not go hungry in the trenches. They undertook nation-building programs -- which

focused on improving the nation's educational, health, and welfare standards -- in order to create a better society for veterans to return home to. The IODE also ignored home-front social issues such as the fight for woman's suffrage and prohibition because they were not considered important to the war effort and because they threatened to stir up disruptive, counter-productive discussion within the Order at a time when stability and unity were vital to a successful war support campaign. While the men of the Empire fought the Great War in the trenches of Europe, the women of the IODE expressed their imperialism in a way that was uniquely feminine.

Basically, the IODE in the three Canadian prairie provinces was a smaller part of a greater whole during the Great War. For the most part, IODE chapters in the West focused on the same issues as chapters in other regions of the Dominion.⁴ The continuity of IODE aims throughout the Dominion can be attributed to the singleness of purpose and the centralized organization of this national women's society. From time to time, controversial topics brought out regional differences between the branches of the IODE in east and west. Certain issues stirred up western resentment

⁴The prairie IODE may have had more "hands on" involvement with the Canadianization of "foreign" immigrants because of large-scale non-English immigration into the West, but the entire Order was concerned about the education of immigrants because the work was seen to be of grave importance to Canada and the Empire.

towards the National Executive which was headquartered in Toronto and run by women of that city, but the women of the IODE tried to put aside their regional differences during the war. The contribution to the Canadian war effort of the IODE in the prairie provinces was at least proportionally equal to that of their sisters throughout the Dominion.

Although the IODE was a nation-wide organization -- with chapters from Halifax to the Yukon and with a membership of over 40 000 by the end of the war -- its members represented only a fraction of the 2 186 000 women in Canada between the ages of fifteen and eighty that were recorded in the Census of 1911.⁵ Considering the fact that English-Canadian women showed an enthusiastic interest in the Dominion's war effort, why did the IODE's patriotic organization not attract more members? One explanation is that other existing women's organizations such as church groups, the Women's Institutes, the YWCA, the WCTU, and National and Local Councils of Women were also doing war work. The women of the Dominion who were in a position to belong to women's groups were divided between the various women's organizations.⁶ It is also important to remember that enrolment in the Order was limited by the exclusive

⁵Marjory MacMurchy, "Women's Organizations," Saturday Night, 7 October 1916, p. 21.

⁶It is known, however, that Canadian women in this period frequently belonged to more than one of the popular women's organizations. An enthusiastic woman might belong to as many as five organizations at one time.

social and ethnic membership guidelines that were still upheld by the Daughters of the Empire in the West and throughout the Dominion during the war.⁷ Furthermore, the IODE's particular approach to wartime issues would not have sat well with all western Canadian women. The IODE's brand of imperialism -- its ardent patriotism and militarism, as well as its conservative approach to social reform -- would have alienated the large segment of prairie Canadian womanhood which was intensely wrapped up in western reform movements that were aimed at significantly changing the status quo. The IODE in the West attracted women who liked Anglo-Canadian prairie society the way it was: English-speaking, British and Protestant. Although the IODE's patriotic zeal, singleness of purpose, narrowly defined set of ideologies, and determination to avoid dissension discouraged certain women from joining its ranks, these very attributes made the Order a unique and successful organization during the Great War.

Because they were waiting and prepared for another imperial war by 1914 -- because they were prompt, efficient and focused -- the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire were able to make a significant contribution to the Canadian Great War effort. At the outset of the war in 1914, the IODE recognized an opportunity to prove its value as an organization. War allowed the women of the IODE to prove

⁷See Chapter One.

that they could do more than talk about their ideals. The Daughters of the Empire were given a chance to put their highly-structured organization into action and to practice their beliefs. Furthermore, although other women's groups took up war work in 1914, they were not able to operate in the prepared and efficient manner that made the Daughters of the Empire a well-respected organization during the First World War.

Ironically, the Great War proved to be the zenith of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire's existence as an imperialistic, patriotic woman's organization. The IODE was born of an imperial war and flourished in a period of imperial optimism. The Boer War gave the Order life and established its patriotic and militaristic aims and ideologies. In the years after the South African conflict, the IODE gradually expanded and developed at a time when imperialism was on the rise again. By 1914, the Daughters of the Empire were prepared to serve their King and country in the hour of need -- and they did. Four years later, however, it was clear that the Great War had brought a close to the imperialist Edwardian era in Canada. The very values for which the Order stood were thrown in doubt by war's end. Disillusionment set in and the organization's imperial zeal was undermined. The IODE did survive to serve in another world war from 1939 to 1945 and to undertake various philanthropic, educational and nationalist endeavours to the

present day.⁸ Nevertheless, the patriotic ardour of the Order's first twenty years would never be recaptured. While the Daughters of the Empire longingly looked back to the days of the Great War when their work had been both "interesting" and "spectacular", the irony remained that the IODE was mortally wounded by the very war which had held such promise for the Order and for imperialism. The Empire and nation that the IODE had worked toward for twenty years were never to be realized.⁹

⁸Although the Order made significant contributions to the Canadian war effort during the Second World War, the work was not carried out with the same kind of patriotic fervour because imperialism was not such a big factor. The Daughters of the Empire raised about the same amount of money in the Second World War as they had in the First, and the Order's history does not indicate that there was as drastic an increase in membership in 1939 as there had been in 1914. Saskatchewan Archives Board, IODE Records, R598, File II.6, The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire Golden Jubilee: 1900-1950, pp. 75-76.

⁹Ibid., p. 49, p. 76.

Appendix A

Table One

Occupations of Husbands and Fathers of Prairie IODE Members

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Membership Lists</u>		
	<u>Full Membership</u> (190)	<u>Executive</u> (297)	<u>Both</u> (487)
Professionals	68 (36%)	93 (31%)	161 (33%)
Politicians	35 (18%)	27 (9%)	62 (13%)
Government Employees			
Civil Servants			
Business Owners	17 (9%)	36 (12%)	53 (11%)
Farmers			
Service Industries	61 (36%)	130 (44%)	191 (39%)
Common Labourers	9 (5%)	11 (4%)	20 (4%)
Employees			

"Professionals" refers to accountants, architects, dentists, doctors, druggists, lawyers, engineers, opticians, legal officials, clergy, and educators. "Government Employees" refers to surveyors, military officers, and men whose only listed occupation was active service. "Service Industries" includes bank managers, bookkeepers, business administrators (such as managers, managing directors, etc.), craftsmen, tradesmen, contractors, financial agents (real estate, insurance, etc.), newspaper editors and reporters, police officers, rail employees, salesmen, travellers, barbers, and grain merchants.

Sixty-three percent of the men listed in the Full Membership

List and 52% of the men listed in the Executive List fell under these categories, which suggests that more than half of the women of the IODE were the wives or daughters of men who held prestigious jobs, who earned a substantial or more than substantial income, and who were prominent in their communities, provinces, or the nation. Thirty-two percent of the men listed in the Full Membership List and 44% of the men listed in the Executive List had jobs in businesses or industries that served the public in some capacity. Five percent of the names on the Full Membership List (9 out of 190) and 4% of the names on the Executive List (11 out of 297) were men who worked in menial positions, presumably for low wages. These figures imply that a very small number of IODE members were from lower income families or in lower social positions.

The first source that I used to compile these lists of names of IODE members was three full membership lists from three different prairie urban chapters in three different western cities. Two of these membership lists are from chapters that were located in provincial capitals (Forget Chapter in Regina in 1917 [SAB, R 598, File VI.5.k.ii, 1917 Minutes Forget Chapter, p. 164], Keomi Chapter in Edmonton in 1916 [PAA, Acc. 76.57, 1912-1917 Minutes Keomi Chapter, p. 192]), while the third is a membership list from a chapter in a smaller urban center in Saskatchewan (Victoria and Albert Chapter in Prince Albert in 1916 [SAB R 598, File VI.5.h.i, Victoria and Albert Chapter Minutes, Book 2].) By using these three lists and Henderson's

Directory for each city between the years 1913 to 1919, I was able to determine the occupation of 190 husbands or fathers of IODE members. I call this the "Full Membership List".

The second source that I used to compile a list of names of IODE members was different rolls of IODE executive members. The Municipal Chapter of Edmonton records for 1916 included a list of executive members for every chapter in Edmonton (PAA, Acc. 77.137, Box 1, Item 1, 1913-1918 Edmonton Municipal Chapter Minutes, pp. 260-274.) Also, the June issues of Echoes magazine for the years 1914-1918 include the names of most western chapter's executive members with a brief annual summary of the Chapter's activities (NAC Library, P 198.)

Besides the names of executive members who belong to IODE chapters in Edmonton, this second list also names the executives of chapters from large and small urban centers in the three prairie provinces. By using Henderson's Directory for the different cities between the years 1913 and 1919, I was able to determine the occupation of 297 husbands of fathers of western IODE executive members. I call this the "Executive List".

In total, I was able to find out the occupation of the husbands and fathers of 487 IODE members.

It could be argued that these executive lists are a poor representation of chapter membership because they only name women who had been elected as executive members. However, since I have gone over executive lists for a four- year period, and since there was usually a complete change of executive each year, I

would suggest that most members in average chapters served in an executive capacity at some time, and therefore these executive lists do serve as an adequate representation of chapter membership.

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