

# COFFEE, TEA AND SPINSTERS' SPREES: FEMALE IMPERIALISM IN SHERBROOKE AND THE EASTERN TOWNSHIPS

---

Katie Pickles

*Department of History, University of Canterbury*

## ABSTRACT

Drawing upon archival sources, private scrapbooks and interviews, this article focuses on the history of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) in the Eastern Townships. It outlines the growth and development of the Order, its work in health, education and welfare, and its large contribution to both local and national efforts during wartime. It also traces the IODE's change and decline through the twentieth century, exploring its significance in an increasingly French Canadian area, and its construction of maternal citizenship. The IODE was the largest group of twentieth century female imperialists in the British Empire, and as patriotic women it supported the advancement of an Anglo-Canada that celebrated all things British and advanced Canada's destiny as a part of the British Empire.

## RÉSUMÉ

*Aidée de sources archivistiques, de coupures de journaux et d'entrevues, l'auteure retrace l'histoire de l' "Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire" (IODE) dans les Cantons de l'Est. Elle donne un aperçu de l'évolution et du développement de cette organisation, et brosse un tableau de son implication dans les domaines de la santé, de l'éducation, du bien-être social, ainsi que de ses importantes contributions, tant au niveau local que national, durant la Guerre. L'auteure s'attarde également sur les différentes étapes de son évolution, des débuts jusqu'à son déclin, explorant en cela son concept de maternage et son rôle dans une région qui se francisait progressivement. Au XX<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'IODE était le plus important groupe de femmes impérialistes de l'empire britannique. L'IODE s'est consacré à l'avancement du Canada anglais, a célébré tout ce qui est revêtait un caractère britannique et a confirmé la destinée du Canada en tant que membre de l'Empire anglais.*

## Introduction

On Valentine's Day in 1962 over 200 people attended a "spinsters' spree" hosted by the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE). IODE members turned-up in their most festive clothing, while an orchestra played in a hall that featured tables "centred with large frilly hearts with a mobile design of cupids and hearts suspended from the centre." This debutante-style Valentine's dance was in aid of the IODE's educational and welfare funds.<sup>1</sup> Along with fashion shows and sherry parties, spinsters' sprees were a popular post-World War II fundraising activity for the IODE. As well as raising funds, such displays of "feminine mystique"<sup>2</sup> were grounded in a post-war conservative women's culture that was fearful of Communist influences on impressionable teenagers, and instead encouraged "appropriate" behaviour.<sup>3</sup> Hence women's voluntary work was strongly connected to the invention of nation and citizenship. Indeed, the post-war IODE had grown out of a turn-of-the-twentieth century female imperialism that was also grounded in women playing a central part in nation and empire because they were mothers.

This article centres the history of the IODE in the Eastern Townships, ever mindful of the importance of the local, yet also enriching interpretations through the national and imperial contexts. Scholars internationally, and in Canada, are considering how nations are made and re-made.<sup>4</sup> The IODE was one women's organization active in constructing Anglo-Canada.<sup>5</sup> In so doing, it advanced a hegemonic identity that appealed to an imperial sense of unquestioned conquest and colonization of native peoples. Economic and cultural "progress" was supported, and the assimilation of all difference was demanded. Canada was to become a nation through conformity to a grand narrative, the contents of which were to be based upon British democracy and constitutional monarchy, the Christian myths and saintly symbols of the British Isles, and economic and cultural "progress" through new innovations and technologies.

More so than in other parts of Canada, in the Eastern Townships the IODE existed against the backdrop of a declining Anglo-Canadian presence. While the identity that it advanced was hegemonic Canada-wide, paradoxically, locally, it was in the minority. By 1900, Anglo-Canadians were down to half of all Eastern Townships people, making up only 9 per cent of the population.<sup>6</sup> Combined with the rise of French/Quebec nationalism and the language laws of the 1970s, Quebec was the province of Canada where

the ideology of the IODE was at its weakest. In this article, the history of the Eastern Townships IODE is recovered. After setting the national and international context, the local establishment and development of the Order is outlined. A second section covers the IODE's work during wartime, and a third its work in education, health and welfare projects. A fourth section focuses on maternal Anglo-Canadian identity in the Eastern Townships. Where it began the century as "female imperialists," by the end of the century, the IODE had retreated to a private sphere of "woman's culture."

This article draws upon a variety of sources. Because it was concerned with history and heritage, the IODE kept meticulous minute books and records of events. Some of these records now form archival manuscript collections. Interviews with members of the Stanstead Chapter IODE, the last remaining chapter in Quebec, also provide insights, as do the carefully assembled private scrapbooks of the same chapter.

### **Setting the context**

The IODE chapters in the Eastern Townships were a microcosm of the twentieth century's largest female imperialist organisation in the British Empire. The IODE began amid the backdrop of the South Africa War (1899–1902), when in 1900, Margaret Clark Murray, a journalist, philanthropist and wife of an influential McGill professor, returned to Montreal from London where she had experienced much pro-war jingoism and decided to act upon the public outpourings of Anglo-Canadian patriotism that she sensed around her. Clark Murray had ambitious plans to form an empire-wide Federation of Daughters of the British Empire and Children of the Empire. She would start the organization in Canada, and fan outwards to the other parts of Empire, including Britain.<sup>7</sup> She set about her mission by sending out telegrams to the mayors of the capital city of each province, asking them to call together women to form regional chapters of her proposed organization, asserting that it was time to "stand by our Queen at all cost, to shake our fists if necessary in the face of the whole of Europe, and show them what we are made of."<sup>8</sup>

Thus Clark Murray, and other patriotic women around the British Empire, expressed a female imperialism that placed great importance in, and was justified by, an appeal to women's perceived maternal capabilities. The South African Guild of Loyal Women also formed in 1900, and the Victoria League in 1901. Historians are now turning to British female imperialism in the Edwardian era. Bush and Reidi have worked on the Victoria League, and Bush also on the

Girls' Friendly Society, the Primrose League, and the British Women's Emigration Association.<sup>9</sup> More generally, there is now a large literature on women and imperialism at various historical times, in different parts of the world.<sup>10</sup> In the British Commonwealth, women's organizations are being read for their contributions to citizenship.<sup>11</sup>

Female imperialism was closely tied to imperial propaganda clubs, "conservative movements that sought to foster imperial patriotism. Utilizing textbooks, exhibitions and entertainments to promote their ideas, their varied constitutions and their defensive and cultural concerns all came together in the theme of imperial unity."<sup>12</sup> The Navy League, the Victoria League, the Girl Guides and Boy Scout Movements epitomised such organizations. The IODE was clearly a part of this historical moment, enjoying strong links to imperial defence and collaboration with the Navy League.<sup>13</sup> From 1922 to 1946 the Lennoxville IODE Girl Guides were supported by the Maple Copse Chapter, with two IODE members in leadership roles as District Guide Commissioners.<sup>14</sup> Throughout its history, the Stanstead Chapter IODE has donated funds to support Girl Guides and Brownie troops.<sup>15</sup>

Reflecting on the IODE's aims and organization in 1935 the *Sherbrooke Telegram* patriotically stated that, "any person who ever had the honour and pleasure of knowing Mrs. Clark Murray must have realized that her mind radiated patriotism in the broadest sense of the word." Of the IODE's badge it was stated that the white star denoted purity and high mind, and that the garter circling the whole was "a bond uniting all in sacred allegiance and good fellowship."<sup>16</sup> Such moral bonds were connected to patriotism, with symbols of the IODE's organization advancing empire unity. The motto was "one flag (the Union Jack), one throne (the British Monarchy), one Empire (the British Empire)." The badge cast imperial foundations in metal, with the crown symbolizing the British monarchy, the Union Jack for Britain and the Empire, surrounded by a seven-pointed outward-radiating star, one point for each of the major territories of the Empire.<sup>17</sup> The IODE simultaneously advanced an Anglo-Celtic Canada that was grounded in a "sense of power" within the British Empire.<sup>18</sup> Figure one shows the original badge. By 1978, times had changed and the badge was replaced with a logo of four red maple leaves on a blue background. At the same time the name was changed to "just IODE" – the imperial foundation officially rendered redundant.

Clark Murray's way of going about organizing her Order involved

tapping into an elite Protestant network representative of the Canadian establishment, her connections spanning outwards from affluent Anglo-Celtic Montreal society. Fredericton was the first place to assemble a group of women at a meeting on 15 January 1900, where the mayor read Clark Murray's telegram, "will the women of Fredericton unite with the women of Montreal in federating as "Daughters of the Empire" and inviting the women of Australia and New Zealand to unite



*Figure One. Original IODE badge.  
Source: Katie Pickles, Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire.*

with them in sending to the Queen an expression of our devotion to the Empire and an emergency war fund to be expended as Her Majesty shall deem fit?" As well as involving Britain's antipodean Empire in unity, Clark Murray's empire-wide ambitions included plans to set up an imperial chapter in London as soon as possible. That ambition, however, tested the limits of "empire unity" for a Britain that still considered itself the superior core of that Empire. Clark Murray's ambitions of empire-wide membership were soon crushed, blocked by the rival British women's patriotic organization formed in 1901 and taking its name from the matriarch of imperialism herself, the Victoria League. Toronto members sided with the Victoria League and made Toronto the national headquarters.<sup>19</sup>

Although it had started in Quebec, from the outset the IODE grew more rapidly in Ontario than elsewhere. Chapters outside of central Canada were boosted by two grand recruitment train trips, one in 1909 to the western provinces, the other in 1910 to the eastern. Overall, membership grew steadily until the First World War when it peaked at 50 000. That war saw the retention of dominance of the chapters of central Canada as well as the thickening of chapters in the east and west. Membership during the interwar years dropped to 20 000 before receiving a boost to 35 000 during the Second World War. In the postwar years membership has steadily declined with provincial proportions remaining uniform. Ontario has enjoyed the largest membership followed by British Columbia, Alberta, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, all of a similar size. Once on par with these four provinces, Quebec's membership has declined the most rapidly

with only the Stanstead Chapter remaining. Given the political situation in Quebec, perhaps this is not surprising.<sup>20</sup> Paradoxically, the Eastern Townships appears to have held on to its membership and identity in the face of growing Quebec nationalism.

The IODE began in Sherbrooke in 1910, when Mrs. Arthur Vankoughnet (formerly Miss Gertrude Smith of Sherbrooke) visited with Miss Merritt from St Catherine's Ontario, and suggested to Minnie Hallowell Bowen that a Chapter be formed.<sup>21</sup> Hallowell Bowen obliged and the King George V Chapter (1910–61) was the foundation chapter. An Admiral Nelson Chapter for children was formed in 1910.<sup>22</sup> The Duke of Wellington Chapter (1911–74) followed in 1911, and in 1912 the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter formed.<sup>23</sup> The "levels" of the IODE are national, provincial, municipal and the individual chapter. Municipal chapters have worked well in a city the size of Sherbrooke, uniting and bolstering local chapters. During the 1930s the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter met at the YWCA MacKinnon Memorial building.<sup>24</sup>

During the First World War, a large number of women sought an avenue through which to contribute to the war effort. At this time, in the Eastern Townships and nationally, IODE membership grew rapidly. In September 1914 the 53<sup>rd</sup> Regiment Chapter (1914–74) formed, and in June 1918 the De Laval Chapter formed. The De Laval Chapter represented "the French part of our community" that "enlisted their sympathies largely in support of French relief work. These ladies have done splendid work sending contributions to 'France's Day Fund'." Members also contributed to the IODE French Relief Fund and provided garments for French refugees.<sup>25</sup> The Sir John Fisher Chapter formed in Knowlton in 1914 and the Major General Loomis Chapter, which appears not to have been long-lived, was largely devoted to the support of a club for business girls, formed in Sherbrooke at the end of the war.<sup>26</sup>

The Udolphus Lord Aylmer Chapter in Melbourne and Richmond began in 1921.<sup>27</sup> In Lennoxville, the Maple Copse Chapter, its name chosen in memory of Lennox Robertson, Percy Scarth and Gerald Wilkinson "three local young men killed in France at a small engagement referred to as Maple Copse by the army," began in 1922.<sup>28</sup> The Stanstead Chapter began in November 1924 with Mrs. George Hume as organizing secretary. Mrs. H.P. Stockwell was the first regent and "look unto the rock from whence ye are hewn" was chosen as the motto. For a long time, meetings were held once a month at Stanstead College. At the cost of ten cents, tea was served at the close of each meeting.<sup>29</sup> In Sherbrooke, the Sir John Sherbrooke Chapter

(1931–1963) formed during the Depression and so did the Missisquoi Chapter in Bedford (1931). As well as local welfare and education work, the Missisquoi Chapter supported the IODE's national project at Susie Sorabji's school in Poona, India.<sup>30</sup>

The onslaught of the Second World War again led to the organization of new chapters; De Laval Chapter reformed (1939–56), Aldershot Chapter formed in 1939, and the Sir Dudley Pound Chapter formed in 1941. In the post-war years the Royal Oak Tree Chapter (1960–70) existed for a decade and the Sir John Sherbrooke Chapter (1974–85) reformed. The namings of chapters are a testament to the IODE's vision for an Anglo-Canada. Chapters were named after regiments, memorials, prominent citizens, a monarch, or sometimes, simply after the place of the chapter. In 1941, two names were suggested for new chapters: the *Sherbrooke* Corvette Chapter after the ship that the IODE sponsored, and the Elizabeth S. Hume Chapter. Elizabeth S. Hume was the IODE's leading local citizen. Born in Quebec, educated in England, on returning to Canada she married George L. Hume, M.D., becoming a member of the Order in 1910. She was regent of the Duke of Wellington Chapter, vice-regent of the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter and then in 1920, became regent of the Municipal Chapter for the next 15 years.<sup>31</sup>

Membership was most often by invitation. There is evidence that potential members, once invited along, were voted in or out through ballot. In turn, the administrative structure of the IODE developed a hierarchy, best reflected in the structure of the "Order" itself, with annual meetings held at the provincial and national levels.<sup>32</sup> Figure two shows members processing with the wreath to the Cenotaph as



Figure Two. Source: ETRC, IODE Municipal Chapter of Sherbrooke fonds.



*Figure Three. Source: ETRC, IODE Municipal Chapter of Sherbrooke fonds.*

a part of the 1951 national meeting in Ottawa. Officially, membership in the IODE was open to “all women and children in the British Empire or foreign land who hold true allegiance to the British Crown.” The unofficial reality of membership was more restricted and varied in different provinces and at different times during the century.<sup>33</sup> A Stanstead member recalls that members were voted in after three trial meetings. She remembered some Catholic women coming along, but believed that their Priest did not want them to join and they withdrew.<sup>34</sup> Another Stanstead interview revealed that in the mid-1990s there were three American members in the chapter, “without voice and vote,” who belonged for social reasons. The significance of being located on the United States border is interesting. Is it co-incidence that Stanstead is the last existing Chapter in Quebec? While the IODE has defined itself as “British,” against the United States and its republicanism, has an Anglo-minority been boosted through proximity to its American neighbour?<sup>35</sup>

### **War work**

As a female imperialist organization during wartime, the IODE was clear in its support of nation and empire rallying to the cause. Women’s place during wartime has received much attention and debate from historians, with some making the argument that women are essentially peaceful, while others reveal women’s complicity in war.<sup>36</sup> Another debate considers whether women’s wartime



work in non-traditional occupations challenged women's place in society more generally.<sup>37</sup> In the case of the IODE, its conservatism and patriotism combined to help out in the war effort from its socially constructed place as mothers without seeking to permanently challenge the gender order. Figure three captures the juxtaposition of domesticity and warfare at an IODE fundraising event.

Nationally, the First World War was the golden age of the IODE when its membership peaked and when it performed a phenomenal amount of war work. In total, IODE chapters in Sherbrooke raised \$33 171.05. With the national total raised by all IODE chapters estimated at \$5 000 000, excluding the IODE Navy Fund and some local charities, Sherbrooke contributed seven per cent of the national total.<sup>38</sup> As soon as war broke out, the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter sent a resolution to national headquarters in Toronto "expressing their loyalty and their desire to do all in their power to aid the Empire in her hour of stress."<sup>39</sup> National directed the Municipal Chapter to co-operate with other women's organized societies in a campaign for the Canadian Women's Hospital Ship Fund. Sherbrooke obliged and \$4000 was raised. Attention soon turned to the Navy and supporting Lady Jellicoe's appeal for comforts for the sailors of the North Sea Fleet. All of Sherbrooke's chapters co-operated in this work. The King George V Chapter organized a "Navy Sewing Circle" which produced 973 finished articles – consisting of items such as pyjamas, day shirts and socks. In all 5775 articles were produced by the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter in addition to \$4778.80 in cash in response to special appeals for the Navy.<sup>40</sup>

Individually, chapters also chose their own specific projects. The King George V Chapter supported a YMCA hut overseas, donating \$3000 in 1918. The Sir John Sherbrooke Chapter paid special attention to the support of prisoners of war and to "keeping the boys supplied with tobacco." An indication of the wealth of the membership of the chapter, "a very large proportion" of the funds raised came from voluntary contributions from the members, enabling the sum of \$1488 to be given to the British Red Cross, the Canadian Red Cross and the Navy.<sup>41</sup>

The 53<sup>rd</sup> Regimental Chapter was largely comprised of the relatives of men who had enlisted in that regiment, and the activities were accordingly directed towards keeping the men supplied with home comforts – with 1060 boxes of socks, chocolates, gum and cigarettes dispatched. Members also met once a week to sew for the Red Cross and made over 5780 garments. The Duke of Wellington Chapter performed varied war work. While the 117<sup>th</sup> Regiment trained

in Sherbrooke, the chapter equipped and maintained a club and recreation room for the men. Further afield, it provided magazines, pamphlets and trench books to the field hospitals in France and Salonica. In all, 5000 pamphlets, 200 Christmas parcels, 400 magazines, and boxes of books, games and puzzles were sent to the trenches. Indicative of the level of anti-German sentiment, the Duke of Wellington Chapter organized an exhibition of toys made by disabled soldiers in the overseas convalescent homes. "The idea being to combat the impression that the only good toys obtainable were those bearing the legend 'made in Germany'." Meanwhile, as mentioned above, the De Laval Chapter's work focused on aid for France.<sup>42</sup>

With the outbreak of the Second World War, once again the IODE sprang into action. The Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter adopted a ship – appropriately choosing the *Sherbrooke*. In the Maple Cope Chapter alone an average of 60 members raised over \$5550 for war work. Some of the money went to IODE national funds, while some was spent on local service men. Again, work involved cultivating a maternal identity with knitted articles and Christmas gifts of cigarettes or chocolates sent to all Lennoxville and Ascot men serving with the forces overseas. Where larger chapters adopted battleships, Maple Cope Chapter "adopted" the *Berimis*, a small sea-going tug-boat operating out of Halifax, and supplied it with comforts, food, socks, cigarettes and musical instruments.<sup>43</sup>

If war saw the IODE displaying patriotism and citizenship, in peacetime it promoted Anglo-Canadian identity through the memorialization of war. The IODE's first national project had been the marking of the graves of fallen Canadian soldiers in South Africa, and the memorialization of war has continued to the present day. Chapters in the Eastern Townships have always supported the national chapter's war memorial projects of educational bursaries for children of the war dead, and then the War Memorial Scholarships for post-graduate work in Britain and later Canada.<sup>44</sup> Locally, the memorialization of war has been an important component of the IODE's work with chapters involved in their community's war memorials. For example, the Maple Cope Chapter contributed to the foundation of the Lennoxville war memorial, and then attended every service of remembrance with a wreath.<sup>45</sup> The Stanstead Chapter participated annually in Armistice Day activities and contributed to the cenotaph memorial. A 1935 report stated that as well as attending Armistice Day together, and placing a wreath on the war memorial, members placed wreaths on individual graves in three

cemeteries.<sup>46</sup> In 1946, the chapter donated \$725 towards the IODE's National War Memorial and in 1948, the regent, Mrs. J.D. Ferguson, unveiled the new honour roll at Dufferin Heights while a wreath was laid by Mrs. Williamson, the vice-regent. A service then followed at the Haskell Opera House.<sup>47</sup>

### **Education, health and welfare**

As a patriotic organisation, promoting citizenship through education was always an important overall focus of the IODE both nationally and in the Eastern Townships. Prominent members were themselves teachers. A local example being Miss Cora Davis, elementary school teacher and the Maple Copse Chapter's educational secretary for 26 years. Under her direction the chapter "adopted" the Lennoxville High School, supplying library books, prizes, patriotic pictures, flag folders and IODE calendars. After her death the chapter supplied five small library tables in her memory. While Lennoxville High School included senior grades, a memorial Marthe L. Stewart Bursary was awarded to a candidate entering Bishop's University.<sup>48</sup>

All chapters offered scholarships for students of all ages. Although the vast majority went to Protestant schools there were exceptions – in 1968, medals went to the Ursuline Convent in Stanstead and in 1976 a student at the same convent won second place in a provincial poster competition about the Montreal Olympics and peace.<sup>49</sup> Offering scholarships and prizes served a variety of citizenship-building objectives. As was the case nationally, the IODE in the Eastern Townships made a special effort to support the relations of those who had served in the world wars with "preference to a returned soldier's sister, brother, son or daughter" often a condition of educational awards.<sup>50</sup> In essay competitions, the topics for study indicate the encouragement of a Canadian nation within the British Commonwealth, such as a 1967 centennial project essay on "my interpretation of the last message spoken by Governor General Vanier."<sup>51</sup>

Providing books in English to Anglo-Canadians was an area of IODE educational aid unique to chapters in Quebec. From 1906 to 1971, when its grant from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was terminated, the IODE supported the McLennan Travelling Library. This library circulated books to English-speaking populations in the far parts of the province down through the Eastern Townships and up into the Ottawa Valley. Individual chapters gave on-going support to local libraries, such as the Stanstead Chapter to the Haskell Free

Library, where the Canadiana shelf was a priority.<sup>52</sup>

Patriotic talks and lectures were important from the early days. In Stanstead, "the subjects of these talks varied, all being educational and some patriotic." Topics during 1924–1935 included Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, War Memorials, Drummond, Robert Louis Stevenson, Canadian Music, Grieg and Norwegian Music, Wolfe, Greek Drama, Our Imperial West, Brazil, League of Nations, Bruce Lockhart's *British Agent*, West Indies, Education in Scandinavian Countries, Immigration and British Families, and Summer School in the Canadian Labrador.<sup>53</sup> By 1970 topics had changed to encompass the environment as a part of nation and citizenship, and the Stanstead Chapter heard a talk on water pollution and the phosphates which cause algae and pollution in waterways.<sup>54</sup>

Chapters enjoyed long and strong relationships with Bishop's and McGill Universities, and Stanstead College. Over the years, Stanstead members were teachers at the college and Mrs. McClary, the Stanstead Chapter IODE's educational secretary (1961–68) had a husband on the staff. The IODE often met in rooms at the college, and in 1956 donated a Karsh portrait of Queen Elizabeth II for Le Baron Hall. From the 1920s McGill held a summer school at the college. For many years the IODE welcomed students and professors – holding teas at Mrs. Butters' sumptuous home next to the College. In 1951, "the tea was well attended and the weather was perfect, the grounds were gorgeous, making a very successful tea."<sup>55</sup> Educationally, the teachings of the summer school fitted well with the IODE's "empire study" department. In 1935, the IODE heard talks by Mr. Hackett of the college on "Some Aspects of the British Empire," and one by Mrs. Carrington of the then Bishop's College (now Bishop's University) on "Life in Australia and New Zealand."<sup>56</sup>

Education and welfare work often overlapped. As well as providing patriotic flags, pictures of monarchs and IODE calendars, IODE chapters throughout the Eastern Townships provided schools with basic supplies such as milk and clothing. Nor was its presence fleeting. After 1936, the Stanstead Chapter IODE provided milk and clothing to the Model School, a Protestant public school.<sup>57</sup> As this aid continued in the post-war years, Sunnyside School children were provided with vitamin pills and a contribution to go towards hot lunches.<sup>58</sup>

As well as work with children in the schools, individual chapters have supported a wide variety of welfare work. An example being the provision of baskets full of food and useful supplies to families of returned soldiers and immigrants. Members throughout the Eastern

Townships worked together at the IODE Memorial Hospital for Tuberculosis at 97 Woodward Avenue, Sherbrooke. Co-ordinated through the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter, this was a small hospital whose patients were veterans of the First World War. Dogged by struggling finances, there was an on-going argument between the IODE and the Royal Canadian Legion over the ten-year lease of the hospital. The sanatorium closed in 1935, and in 1936 the IODE handed over the building for a period of ten years to a board of trustees of the Legion, to be used as headquarters for Branch 10, and to provide transient ex-service men with a bed and a meal. With its designs on getting rid of the Legion and moving into the building as its own headquarters unrealised, the formal transfer to the Legion took place on 28 August 1937.<sup>59</sup>

The onset of the Great Depression provided the opportunity for no end of welfare work. As the Depression was hard-felt in parts of the Eastern Townships, in Lennoxville the Maple Copse Chapter collaborated with the Lennoxville Town Council in relief work, providing food and clothing to the needy. Collaborating with the members of other women's organizations in Lennoxville, a work-room was opened in the Town Hall where "clothing was collected and distributed and requests for help were received. Milk was also regularly supplied to needy children." Renowned for its organisation and efficiency, also in collaboration with other women's organizations, on two occasions the Chapter prepared ration books, with one memo noting that 3600 books were prepared for the final stage of rationing.<sup>60</sup>

### **Maternal Anglo-Canadian identity**

From its declining position as Anglo-Canadian in a province where a "French race" was growing in strength, IODE chapters in the Eastern Townships were tapped into the IODE's national philosophy that forthrightly articulated belief in a "British race."<sup>61</sup> Figure four displays the white standard bearers for a British Canada. Studies attempting to show the "British" or "English" as an ethnic group in Canada are very recent and are testimony to the extent of the hang-over of hegemonic constructions of Britishness.<sup>62</sup> The lack of attention has also to do with the tension in treating "English" "the same" as other ethnic groups. As Greenhill cautions, "there is a danger that a valorized English ethnicity will be linked with power in such a way as to make it even more hegemonic, a culture to which all others must aspire. But invisibility is also problematic; subversive parodies and travesties of power are impossible when its workings are



Figure Four. Source: ETRC, IODE Municipal Chapter of Sherbrooke fonds.

unrecognised."<sup>63</sup> Rather than become entangled in whether Englishness or Britishness was or was not "ethnic," it is more helpful to look to the localized invention of Britishness.<sup>64</sup>

As it did throughout Canada, the IODE in the Eastern Townships existed to create a British Canada. A 1935 article in the *Sherbrooke Telegram* on the League of Nations by the Municipal Convener Mrs. C.H. Brown indicated where Canada should be placed: "In the British Empire we have the nucleus and example leading us to world peace and unity. Mr. Bennett's suggestion of a League of Amity of Anglo Saxons, would, if attained, make a stable foundation upon which other nations could be influenced to build."<sup>65</sup> It appears that belonging to the IODE was a way for Anglo-Canadians in Quebec to unite through a Canada-wide organization. Supporting IODE national and international projects cemented Anglo-Canadian identity. As a sample chapter, the Maple Copse Chapter recorded contributing "to the many objects of the whole Order," which included scholarships, supporting the Save the Children Fund and the IODE in the Canadian North.<sup>66</sup> In promoting British culture and institutions, the IODE in the Eastern Townships was no different from other chapters all around Canada. Chapters supported British film – believed to be the "finest pictures."<sup>67</sup> Members were active in "heritage" projects; in Stanstead, there were connections to the Stanstead Histori-

cal Society and collapsed buildings were “cleaned up.”<sup>68</sup> In 1973, the Stanstead Chapter entered an historic float in the Beebe Centennial Parade.<sup>69</sup>

If the IODE in the Eastern Townships appears in the main to have lived in “one solitude,” not surprisingly, it did feel most keenly the IODE’s overall neglect of the French language. In 1956, a draft letter from the Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter to national headquarters in Toronto advised that the IODE would no longer be permitted to present naturalization greeting cards to new citizens in the courthouse unless they were printed in French as well as English. The IODE’s national convener for immigration and Canadianization agreed with this stance and expressed surprise that the problem had not arisen before. She thought that if bilingual cards were printed they should be available to all interested chapters. The convener stated that “government literature is printed in both languages and I feel that the Order should do the same in this respect.” Nationally, however, booklets were still being published in English only in 1975. The postmaster-general’s special assistant announced that the Post Office could not help the IODE with its work; a polite way of telling them that their booklet was no longer suitable because chapters had been placing the IODE’s English-only booklet “How to become a Canadian citizen” in post offices.<sup>70</sup>

Robert Young has argued that “Englishness” has been “fissured with difference and a desire for otherness.”<sup>71</sup> This is clearly the case in Canada where the Canadian construction of Britishness is unique. The identity of “English” or “Anglo-Canadian” has often uncritically blended English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh into a single group. Greenhill suggests that this confusion was deliberate and served to disempower other groups; “English ethnicity’s most salient characteristics are submerged by a variety of forces that make its hegemonic status obscure.”<sup>72</sup> As Howard Palmer suggests “Anglo-Celts,” Canadians of English, Scots, Welsh, or Irish descent did not always think of themselves as an undifferentiated group; “they could and did have differences of opinion among themselves when it came to their own ethnic identity. But when it came to the other ethnic groups – the Anglo-Celts closed ranks.”<sup>73</sup> In an Anglo-enclave such as the Eastern Townships, and especially as the twentieth century wore on and membership in the IODE declined, there is evidence of more diversity in membership. With more diversity came the acceptance of parts of Canadian society that were at best peripheral in the IODE’s upper-class Protestant Edwardian foundations. For example, in 1981 at a coffee party and “bring and buy,” a festive atmos-

phere extended to honoring the patron saint of Ireland with “delicious hot cross buns and donuts with coffee were served from the dining table which was decorated in paddy green in honor of St. Patrick’s Day.” In order to survive, the IODE invented traditions that encompassed Christian and saintly traditions in new celebratory combinations.

Overall, the IODE’s history through the twentieth century involved a shift from patriotism to charity, from proud public patriotic marches through the streets and confident assertions of making a British Canada (as in figure two), to uneasiness about the past and a quiet retreat in the private space of charity. In short, as the British Empire itself became history and Canada became officially multicultural, proud female imperialism was replaced by quiet maternal charitable work that was concerned with children and individuals. The ageing demographics were reflected in the projects undertaken, with members exchanging the post-war focus on youth evident in the spinsters’ sprees for fundraising through marathon bridge events and supporting meals on wheels and talking books sections in libraries. Through the 1980s and 1990s Stanstead members supported the “vial of life” project, where senior citizens were provided with a plastic vial containing a bilingual information sheet with vital medical information for use in an emergency.<sup>74</sup> Also reflecting the ageing membership, at the 1992 annual Christmas party in Rock Island for the Border Senior Citizens, volunteers from Stanstead Chapter IODE helped 100 guests enjoy “a delicious family style turkey dinner” that was “topped off with a delicious tasty dessert.”<sup>75</sup> At the time, the chapter’s membership overlapped with the Border Senior Citizens and the Allegro Group of the Centenary United Church.<sup>76</sup>

It might be argued that in the last years of the twentieth century what was left of the IODE retreated into a “women’s culture”; a private sphere of domesticity, care and nurture. In some ways this is true, and women’s historians have been correct in arguing that women have a particular past that cannot be presumed to mirror the portion of male reality that most historians have chosen to highlight.<sup>77</sup> This article began, however, by situating women-organized events such as the Sherbrooke Spinsters’ Sprees in a wider national and imperial context. The IODE claimed a patriotic voice based upon its gendered maternal capabilities. Because members were women, the ways of asserting Anglo-Canadian identity have always utilized their “female” skills as homemakers, teachers, nurses and even socialites. The IODE’s history demonstrates the need to move





Figure Five. Source: ETRC, IODE Municipal Chapter of Sherbrooke fonds.

beyond essential notions of “public” and “private” spheres in explaining the past. Women have been “female imperialists” influencing nation and empire from their maternal position.

There are plenty of local examples of the IODE in the Eastern Townships utilizing its domestic skills to invent and display Anglo-Canadian identity. Evoking class, members have adorned themselves with gold, fur and white gloves, a part of the Canadian “fur nation.”<sup>78</sup> One item of material culture still used for teas and functions is the silver tea service donated by Mrs. C.C. Colby to the Stanstead Chapter IODE around 1935. This heirloom at once denotes empire, class and women’s culture.<sup>79</sup> Recent scholarly work has begun to explore the significance of food as culture. Elspeth Probyn has drawn attention to the convergences of eating, culture, ethics, sexuality and identity.<sup>80</sup> Franca Iacovetta has demonstrated the importance of recipes and cooking classes as a tool of citizenship in Cold War Canada,<sup>81</sup> and Sneja Gunew sites food as an important cultural symbol and medium of cultural production.<sup>82</sup> In the same vein, the IODE’s teas and coffee, and sherry parties can be read as displays of Anglo-Canadian identity. In figure five a new generation appears, bolstered by the old imperial traditions. IODE members hoped to pass on their traditions to their daughters. Of course, other women’s organizations drew upon the same maternal skills, writ-

ing cookbooks and holding fairs to raise funds. But what is interesting about the IODE is how in its twilight years it continued to promote citizenship, advancing its patriotic purposes at social and educational functions. Such ambitions saw the combination of patriotism and maternal culture through fashion and events.

The invention of the IODE's Anglo-Canadian culture has involved a combination of material culture from the past with the symbols of state. For example, at the 1970 Stanstead Chapter IODE's annual bazaar at Sunnyside School, the entrance and gymnasium were decorated with cornstalks, pumpkins and autumn flowers, reminiscent of a harvest festival atmosphere, mingled with Canadian and Union Jack flags, and red and white bunting.<sup>83</sup> Likewise, at the chapter's golden anniversary in 1974 there were spring flowers, sherry, "gold candles in antique brass holders that flanked a floral arrangement of yellow and white daisies," and a head table "centred with a floral piece of gold chrysanthemums and blue daisies, a gold candle and 50 numeral, depicting the blue and gold colors of the Order. Lighted white candles in crystal completed the décor."<sup>84</sup>

## Conclusion

An account of a tea at the Stanstead Chapter IODE's annual bazaar in October 1968 included the decorating committee of Mrs. T. Hall and Mrs. Ivar Lemon, making decorations out of autumn flowers, flags and the IODE banner. Harnessed to symbols of patriotism were those of class and culture, "the tea table, where Mrs. A.H. Scarth and Mrs. H.J. Stubbs poured, was centred with a silver candelabra, white candles and entwined with greenery and tiny mauve asters. Bright colored flowers in gold centred the tea tables."<sup>85</sup> Here was female imperialism recast into material culture, displaying women's social and domestic skills in creating an imperial ordering of things. Importantly, such creations embedded the IODE's citizenly symbols in the flora and produce of the Eastern Townships, claiming a "naturalized" place. In the face of the declining proportion of Anglo-Canadians in the Eastern Townships, the IODE grounded its identity and drew strength from a national network. Ironically, rather than being part of an hegemonic identity as it was nationally, locally, in the Eastern Townships – the IODE represented a minority. It was a contradiction in terms as a national/local "hegemonic/minority," and one that was increasingly placed in a private sphere of woman's culture and charity. As an organization, it may have declined faster than elsewhere in Canada, but it also dug-in, appearing as a proud, formidable and vital part of the history of the region.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks to the archivists at the Eastern Townships Research Centre at Bishop's University, and the Colby-Curtis Museum in Stanstead, and to Tom Fletcher and the anonymous reviewers. I am grateful to the McGill University Geography Department, in particular to Jan Lundgren for the opportunity to be his teaching assistant on the 1995 field trip to Stanstead, and to Stanstead members of the IODE for their knowledge and hospitality. The scrapbooks of Ruby Greer were an invaluable source of information in the writing of this article.

## NOTES

- 1 Eastern Townships Research Centre (ETRC), FONDS IODE P060/004a Sherbrooke Municipal Chapter IODE Scrapbook, clipping.
- 2 A term coined and articulated in Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1983, 1<sup>st</sup> edn 1963).
- 3 For a general discussion of post-war women in North America see Joanne Meyerowitz (ed.), *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945–1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).
- 4 See Karen Dubinsky, *The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1999), Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Verso, 1993), Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: The Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London and New York: Verso, 1994), Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (eds), *The Myths We Live By* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990), Veronica Strong-Boag, Sherrill Grace, Abigail Eisenberg and Joan Anderson (eds), *Painting the Maple: Essays on Race, Gender, and the Construction of Canada* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1998).
- 5 See Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), in press. For other published work on the IODE see Nancy M. Sheehan, "Philosophy, Pedagogy and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada 1900–1945", *History of Education Review*, 2:2 (1990),

- 307–321, Nancy Sheehan, “Women’s Organisations and Educational Issues, 1900-1930”, *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la Femme*, 7:3 (1986), 90–4, and Nancy Sheehan, “The IODE, the Schools, and World War I”, *History of Education Review*. 13:1 (1984), 29–44.
- 6 See Gary Caldwell and Erick Waddell, *The English of Quebec* (Sainte Foy, Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982), Jean-Pierre Kesteman et al, *Histoire des Cantons de l’Est*, (Sainte Foy: Québec, Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1998), Clark-Jones, “Come Join Your Friends”, *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies*, 16, Spring 2000, 15–27.
- 7 Pickles 2002, 15.
- 8 Ibid, 15–16.
- 9 Julia Bush, *Edwardian Ladies and Imperial Power* (London: University of Leicester Press, 2000), Julia Bush, “Edwardian Ladies and the “Race” Dimensions of British Imperialism”, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 21:3 (1998), 277–289, Julia Bush, “ ‘The Right Sort of Woman’: Female Emigrators and the Emigration to the British Empire, 1890–1910”, *Women’s History Review*, 3:3 (1994), 385–409, Katie Pickles, “Exhibiting Canada: Empire, Migration and the 1928 English Schoolgirl Tour”, *Gender, Place and Culture*, 7:1, (2000), 81–96, Katie Pickles, “Forgotten Colonizers: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) and the Canadian North”, *The Canadian Geographer* 42:2 (1998), 193–204, Elizabeth L. Riedi, *Imperialist Women in Edwardian Britain: The Victoria League 1899–1914*, PhD Thesis, University of St Andrew’s, 1998.
- 10 Some examples of work are Antoinette Burton (ed.), *Gender, Sexuality and Colonial Modernities* (London and New York: Routledge, 1999), Nupur Chaudhuri, and Margaret Strobel (eds), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), Anna Davin, “Imperialism and Motherhood”, *History Workshop*, 5 (1978), 9–64, Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), Clare Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), Ruth Roach Pierson and Nupur Chaudhuri (eds), with Beth McAuley, *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race* (Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1998), Margaret Strobel, *European Women and the Second British Empire* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press,

- 1991), Vron Ware, "Moments of Danger: Race, Gender, and Memories of Empire", *Journal of History and Theory*, 31:4 (1992), 116–32, Vron Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism, and History* (London and New York: Verso, 1992).
- 11 Fiona Paisley, *Loving Protection?: Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights, 1919–39* (Carlton South: Melbourne University Press, 2000), Fiona Paisley, "Citizens of their World: Australian Feminism and Indigenous Rights in the International Context, 1920s and 1930s", *Feminist Review*, 58, (Spring 1998), 66–84, Angela Woollacott, *To Try Her Fortune in London: Australian Women, Colonialism and Modernity* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), and Angela Woollacott, "Inventing Commonwealth and Pan-Pacific Feminism: Australian Women's Internationalist Activism in the 1920s–30s", *Gender and History*, 10:3 (1998), 425–448.
  - 12 John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880–1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 148.
  - 13 Pickles 2002, 16.
  - 14 ETRC, Wendy Lessard (ed.) and Jane C. Pearson (compiler), *A Brief History of Women's Organizations in Lennoxville*, 1974, 8.
  - 15 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, "Stanstead Chapter IODE Gathers by Ivy Hatch", 1985 from *The Stanstead Journal*.
  - 16 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, "Aims and Organization of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire" from the *Sherbrooke Telegram* 27 June 1935.
  - 17 Pickles 2002, 16.
  - 18 See Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
  - 19 Pickles 2002, 17. Toronto also took "Federation" out of the name.
  - 20 *Ibid*, 26.
  - 21 The *Sherbrooke Telegram* 4, 7, 27 June 1935, "Silver Jubilee of the founding of the I.O.D.E. in Sherbrooke 1910–1935", 30.
  - 22 *Ibid*, 31.
  - 23 ETRC P060/001/001 Municipal Chapter of Sherbrooke.
  - 24 The *Sherbrooke Telegram* 4, 7, 27 June 1935, 40.

- 25 *Echoes*, 77, 1919–20, “Summary of the Work Done During World War I”, 83.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 *The Sherbrooke Telegram* 4, 7, 27 June 1935, 35.
- 28 ETRC Lessard and Pearson, 8.
- 29 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, “The First History of Stanstead Chapter I.O.D.E.” by Mary Flint, in the *Sherbrooke Telegram*, 27 June 1935.
- 30 *The Sherbrooke Telegram* 4, 7, 27 June 1935, 38.
- 31 ETRC, FONDS IODE P060/004a, 1941 correspondence.
- 32 Pickles 2002, 24.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 34 Interview, Stanstead, Quebec, 31 August 1995.
- 35 Interview, Stanstead, Quebec, 28 August 1995.
- 36 See Ruth Roach Pierson, “ ‘Did Your Mother Wear Army Boots?’ Feminist Theory and Women’s Relation to War, Peace and Revolution”, in S. MacDonald, P. Holden and S. Ardener (eds), *Images of Women in Peace and War: Cross Cultural and Historical Perspectives* (London: MacMillan, 1987).
- 37 See Ruth Roach Pierson, “*They’re Still Women After All: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986).
- 38 *Echoes* 77, 1919–1920, “Summary of the Work done during World War I”, 83. The sums raised by the IODE in Sherbrooke for war purposes were as follows: King George V \$15 824.38, Duke of Wellington \$10 955.24, Sir John Sherbrooke \$3528.38, 53<sup>rd</sup> Regimental \$2304.68, De Laval \$558.37.
- 39 *Ibid.*
- 40 *Ibid.*
- 41 *Ibid.*
- 42 *Ibid.* For anti-German sentiment see Katie Pickles, “Edith Cavell – Heroine. No Hatred or Bitterness for Anyone?”, *History Now*, 3:2 (1997), 1–8. The IODE was outraged by the execution of Cavell.
- 43 ETRC Lessard and Pearson, 8.
- 44 For details of the IODE and war memorials see Pickles 2002, chapter 6.
- 45 ETRC Lessard and Pearson, 9.

- 46 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, "The First History of Stanstead Chapter I.O.D.E." by Mary Flint, in the *Sherbrooke Telegram*, 27 June 1935.
- 47 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *The Stanstead Journal*, 11 November 1948 "A Patriotic Memorial".
- 48 ETRC Lessard and Pearson, 8.
- 49 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, anonymous clipping.
- 50 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, anonymous clipping.
- 51 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, anonymous clipping.
- 52 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, "Stanstead Chapter IODE Celebrates 60<sup>th</sup> Anniversary" by Ivy Hatch, *The Stanstead Journal*, 1984.
- 53 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, "The First History of the Stanstead Chapter IODE" by Mary Flint, the *Sherbrooke Telegram*, 28 June 1935.
- 54 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *The Stanstead Journal*, 1970, "Stanstead Chapter IODE Hears talk on pollution".
- 55 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, anonymous clipping and hand-written note.
- 56 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, "The First History of Stanstead Chapter I.O.D.E." by Mary Flint, in the *Sherbrooke Telegram*, 27 June 1935.
- 57 Interview, Stanstead, Quebec, 31 August 1995, and Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, various clippings from *The Stanstead Journal*.
- 58 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, anonymous clippings.
- 59 ETRC Lessard and Pearson, 8.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 For a useful study of race in Canada see Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).
- 62 John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965). Porter's study was the first to investigate differences critically in the social situation of "English" Canadians. More recent works on "British ethnicity" are Pauline Greenhill, *Ethnicity in the Mainstream. Three Studies of English Canadian Culture in Ontario*. (Montreal, Kingston and London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), Ross McCormack, "Networks Among British Immigrants and Accommodation to Canadian Society:

- Winnipeg, 1900–1914”, *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, 17, 34, (1984), 357–74; and Ross McCormack, “Cloth Caps and Jobs: The Ethnicity of English Immigrants in Canada, 1900–1914”, in Jorgen Dahlie and Tina Fernando (eds.) *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), 38–57.
- 63 Greenhill 1993, 157.
- 64 From a British context, Catherine Hall makes this suggestion *White, Male, and Middle-Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 206. See also Catherine Hall, “ ‘From Greenland’s Icy Mountains...to Africa’s Golden Sand’: Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England”, *Gender and History*, 5:2 (1993), 212–230.
- 65 The *Sherbrooke Telegram*, 4, 7, 27 June 1935, 37. “The League of Nations” by Mrs. C.H. Bowen, Municipal Convener.
- 66 ETRC Lessard and Pearson, 9.
- 67 The *Sherbrooke Telegram*, 4, 7, 27 June 1935, 31.
- 68 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *The Stanstead Journal*, May 1979.
- 69 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *The Stanstead Journal*, 1973.
- 70 Pickles 2002, 152.
- 71 Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995).
- 72 Greenhill 1993, 153.
- 73 Howard Palmer, “Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century”, in Gerald Tulchinsky (ed.), *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives* (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman Ltd, 1994), 297–333.
- 74 Colby-Curtis Museum F2T1 IODE newspaper articles 1935–1984, “Vial of Life Helps Stanstead Elderly”, 29 May 1981.
- 75 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *Newport Daily Express*, 16 December 1992.
- 76 Interview, Stanstead, Quebec, 28 August 1995; Interview, Stanstead, Quebec, 31 August 1995.
- 77 Veronica Strong-Boag sets out female rituals and traditions in V. Strong-Boag and A.C. Fellman (eds) *Remaking Canada: The Promise of Women’s History* (Toronto: Copp Clark



- Pitman, 1986). See also Margaret Conrad, "Recording Angels" in A.L. Prentice and S. Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Neglected Majority, Essays in Canadian Women's History*, volume 2 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1985).
- 78 See Chantal Nadeau, *Fur Nation: From the Beaver to Brigitte Bardot* (London and New York, Routledge, 2001).
- 79 Interview, Stanstead, Quebec, 31 August 1995.
- 80 Elspeth Probyn, *Carnal Appetites FoodSexIdentities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).
- 81 Franca Iacovetta, "Recipes for Democracy? Gender, Family, and Making Female Citizens in Cold War Canada", *Canadian Woman Studies/Les cahiers de la femme*, 20, 2, (2000), 12–21.
- 82 Sneja Gunew, "Introduction: Multicultural Translations of Food, Bodies, Language", *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 21, 3 (2000), 227–237, Sneja Gunew, "The Melting Pot of Assimilation: Cannibalizing the Multicultural Body", in S. G. Lim, L.E. Smith and W. Dissanayake (eds.) *Transnational Asia Pacific: Gender, Culture, and the Public Sphere* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1999).
- 83 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *The Stanstead Journal*, October 1970, "Annual Bazaar Held at Sunnyside School".
- 84 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, the *Sherbrooke Record*, 25 June 1974, "Stanstead Chapter IODE Celebrates Golden Anniversary at Stanstead College".
- 85 Stanstead Chapter IODE Scrapbook, *The Stanstead Journal*, 5 October 1968.

