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Résumé de l'article

En 1912, l'Ordre impérial des filles de l'Empire (OIFE) a dévoilé un monument à la mémoire du général sir Isaac Brock à Brockville, en Ontario. Ce monument ne représentait qu'une part de l'effort d'un réseau de femmes, surtout anglo-saxonnes, de l'OIFE, du United Empire Loyalists de l'Ontario, et de la Société historique de l'Ontario à célébrer le centenaire de la Guerre de 1812 en tant que « Centenaire Brock. » Nous analyserons le contexte du « Centenaire Brock » en appliquant la théorie des réseaux sociaux aux études de mémoire collective, et en réinterprétant les faits historiques de 1898 à 1912. Une analyse des listes des membres réaffirme certains arguments sur les idéaux impérial et féministe, et indique de nouvelles pistes à explorer en ce qui concerne l'importance et l'influence de ces groupes et de ces femmes.

SOCIAL NETWORKS and the 1912 COMMEMORATION of the “BROCK CENTENARY”

by Peter W. Holdsworth

On 19 August 1912, the citizens of Brockville, Ontario gathered in the courthouse square to celebrate the life and times of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, the town’s namesake, and to witness the formal unveiling of a monument to his honour (Figure 1).¹ Underneath the Union Jack was a bust in uniform of Brock, who had died a century earlier leading a charge at the Battle of Queenston Heights. This bust’s podium, inscribed with the general’s name, BROCK, also read: “Erected By General Brock Chapter Daughters Of The Empire In Memory

Canada Who Fell October 13th, 1812, Fighting For King and Country.” Minister of Militia and Defence Sir Samuel Hughes unveiled the monument.

The mostly male platform included a number of dignitaries. Among these



Unveiling the monument to Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, 19 August 1912.

Of Maj. Gen. Sir Isaac Brock K.C.B. Provisional Lieutenant Governor of Upper

were Mayor Charles W. MacLean; the sculptor, Hamilton MacCarthy, of Ot-

¹ While located at the Brockville Museum Library and Archives, this version of the photograph is found at Doug Grant, “The General Isaac Brock Monument: Unveiled August 19, 1912,” *Brockville History: All About the History of Brockville*. Posted 14 June 2008, <<http://brockvillehistoryalbum.wordpress.com/2008/06/14/the-general-isaac-brock-monument/>> (accessed 12 April 2013).

Abstract

In 1912, the General Brock Chapter of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) unveiled a monument to General Sir Isaac Brock in Brockville, Ontario. This monument represented just part of the efforts of a network of mostly Anglo-Saxon women from the IODE, United Empire Loyalists of Ontario, and Ontario Historical Society to celebrate the centenary of the War of 1812 as the "Brock Centenary." The context of the rise of the "Brock Centenary" is investigated by applying social network theory to historical memory studies, re-interpreting historical evidence from 1898 to 1912. An analysis of membership lists both reaffirms some previous arguments around imperial and feminist ideals and also points to other promising avenues of inquiry regarding the importance and influence of the groups and women involved.

Résumé: *En 1912, l'Ordre impérial des filles de l'Empire (OIFE) a dévoilé un monument à la mémoire du général sir Isaac Brock à Brockville, en Ontario. Ce monument ne représentait qu'une part de l'effort d'un réseau de femmes, surtout anglo-saxonnes, de l'OIFE, du United Empire Loyalists de l'Ontario, et de la Société historique de l'Ontario à célébrer le centenaire de la Guerre de 1812 en tant que « Centenaire Brock. » Nous analyserons le contexte du « Centenaire Brock » en appliquant la théorie des réseaux sociaux aux études de mémoire collective, et en réinterprétant les faits historiques de 1898 à 1912. Une analyse des listes des membres réaffirme certains arguments sur les idéaux impérial et féministe, et indique de nouvelles pistes à explorer en ce qui concerne l'importance et l'influence de ces groupes et de ces femmes.*

tawa; civic and militia leaders; and the guest of honour, Sir Samuel Hughes.² Separated from the men by the mayor sat the local Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) chapter executive led by the regent (chapter president), Mrs. G. Crawford (Ida) McClean, along with Toronto's Mrs. Albert Gooderham (née Marietta Redford Duncanson), the national IODE president, and the sculptor's wife, Mrs. Hamilton MacCarthy.

Amongst others, Mayor MacLean, Minister Hughes, and Regent McClean gave speeches on the role of Brock in defending the Empire and his sacrifice, and the role of the women of Brockville and the IODE in the making of the monument. Both Mayor MacLean and Regent McClean emphasized that the intended audience for the monument was school children. Intentionally misquoting the motto of the IODE, Minister Hughes implored the gathered crowds to maintain the support for "One Flag, One Throne, One Empire, One Navy." Linked in his speech with the "German Peril," the minister's addition of "one navy" to the motto previously cited by Mayor MacLean was a veiled reference to the imperial naval race with the German Empire. He also acknowledged that the nation owed the IODE much for their work. Regent McClean thanked the men involved in the monument but emphasized the transfer of the monument's ownership from IODE to the "council of

² Despite sharing similar last names, the regent and the mayor appear to be unrelated. Any relationship between them is hard to confirm given spelling variations.

the town of Brockville,” reminding them of the effort “Daughters of the Empire have given in years of work for its erection.”³

Regent McClean’s speech shines a light into the intertwining roles of women and class in shaping public memory of the War of 1812 and of its heroes. Those behind the shaping of the centenary commemoration as a Brock centenary were part of an Ontario social network that allowed for communication between Brockville, the Niagara peninsula, Toronto, and Ottawa. Who were these women and how did their class-composition influence the spread of ideas? These are questions that a formal network methodology applied to the study of social and cultural heritage can help to address. Network methodology can suggest new avenues for exploration and understanding of this crucial period in the history of public commemoration.

This study emphasizes the need for “big-picture” analysis in memory studies and contributes to that effort by ex-

amining networks of commemoration. Localized history studies, such as those by Glenn Lockwood on Brockville or Elaine Young on the centenary work of the Lundy’s Lane History Society, are important in uncovering the details and local interpretations of the past, but tend to look at places and events in isolation.⁴ In a 1933 examination of the Queenston monument, Rose Kate Thorburn Symons looked beyond the particulars of the Brock commemorations at Queenston, but still focused on the site.⁵ Works by Gerald Killan and Cecilia Morgan on the key men and women involved in these groups, including the Ontario History Society (OHS), have widened the analysis by starting to show how feminism and imperialism were present in both urban and rural settings.⁶ This paper draws on that broader focus, examining the membership connections of a subset of women listed on national executive rolls of the IODE and select chapters, member societies and overall rolls for the OHS and United Empire Loyalist Association

³ Brockville Museum Library and Archives (BMLA), Courthouse Avenue/Square file, “Canadians and Many Prominent People Took Part. Occurred in the Presence of Hundreds of Citizens at One of the Island City’s Beauty Spots Yesterday,” *Brockville Recorder*, Friday, 23 August 1912 from the Tuesday daily, photocopied article. This account is used to set the scene in other details presented in the paragraph along with Doug Grant, “The General Isaac Brock Monument.”

⁴ Glenn J. Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville: Men and Women Making a Canadian Community on the United States Frontier, 1749-2007* (Brockville, Ontario: The City of Brockville Corporation, 2006) and Elaine Young, “The Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Lundy’s Lane and of One Hundred Years of Peace,” *Ontario History* 104:1 (Spring 2012), 3-20.

⁵ Rose Kate Thorburn Symons, “The Brock Monument and a Visitors’ Book, 1829 and 1930,” *Ontario Historical Society, Papers and Records* 29 (1933), 72-75.

⁶ Cecilia Morgan, “History, Nation, and Empire: Gender and Southern Ontario Historical Societies, 1890-1920s,” *Canadian Historical Review* 82:3 (September 2001), 491-528; Gerald Killan, *Preserving Ontario’s Heritage: A History of the Ontario Historical Society* (Ottawa: Love Printing Services Ltd., 1976); Cecilia Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts: History, Memory and Commemoration in Southern Ontario, 1860-1980* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

of Ontario (UELAO). Using social network analysis, this work links prominent women such as Lady Edgar, president of the National Council of Women of Canada, and many who are lesser-known in memory studies scholarship, such as Mrs. Mary Rose-Holden. It covers the period 1898 to 1912, and places the efforts of the women from Brockville in a context that links them to a wide range of women from across Ontario.

Brockville's 1912 IODE Executive

The IODE members who led the commemorative efforts in Brockville came from a mix of backgrounds. Glenn Lockwood paints a picture of how this early Loyalist settlement on the St. Lawrence came to host factories and railroads, and how the presence of the county courthouse in 1810 led to lawyers moving there.⁷ Members of the executive of the General Brock chapter of the IODE came from families of middle-to-upper-class merchants, lawyers and railway employees along with a few who were descended from the first non-native inhabitants of Elizabethtown, the Loyalist community established as a township in 1789 and re-named in honour of Brock soon after his death in 1812. The

founding myth suggested that the town acquired its name after the Lieutenant-General had suggested the General's name to settle a dispute between supporters of the long-residing Jones and Buell families over the naming rights.⁸

The town site developed around 1810 centred on the Buell family lands, housing the new courthouse, previously located in the village of Johnstown.⁹ In 1853, it welcomed its first railway, the Brockville and Ottawa, which was part of the Grand Trunk Railway route. Merchants and clerks arrived but only six citizens were identified as "gentlemen" in 1853.¹⁰ By 1879, iron, chemical and tannery factories were operating in Brockville, changing its character.¹¹

Of those representing the IODE chapter in the 1912 unveiling of the Brock Monument, there were many more from the middle and professional classes than from "gentleman" founding families who relied on land for wealth. Many on the executive were identified by their marital status and last name, and some only by their husband's name. The 1901 census lists the regent's husband, G. Crawford McClean, as a member of the Treasury, and the 1911 census lists the family of G. Crawford and Regent Ida McClean.¹² In 1857-58, George Crawford, J.P. M.P.P.,

⁷ Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville*.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 59-64, 77-87

⁹ *Ibid.*, 33, 63-71; Eva M. Richards, "The Jones of Brockville and the Family Compact," *Ontario History* 60:4 (December 1986), 169-84 examines the nature of colonial Brockville.

¹⁰ Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville*, 66-70, 128, 217-222, 225-228.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 250-51

¹² Ida G. McClean, Year: 1901; Census Place: Brockville (Town/Ville) Centre (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario; Page: 10; Family No: 115; and Ida G. McClean, Year: 1911; Census Place: Brockville, Brockville, Ontario; Page: 17; Family No: 205.

was the president of the Brockville and Ottawa Railway, and W.B. McClean was the Brockville and Ottawa Railway lawyer. The relationship between the McClean and Crawford families suggests that industrial, professional and business class wealth may have supported the regent's social power. Mr. G. Crawford McClean was a town councillor in 1910 and also a member in the Brockville Bicycling Club, which was associated with the professional class.¹³

The other members of the 1912 IODE chapter on the unveiling platform came mostly from the middle and upper-middle classes that held local commercial and political power. The first vice-regent,

Mrs. Giles, was on the staff of Brockville Collegiate Institute in 1911, and in 1901 an Edith Giles was listed as a teacher at the Institute and an unmarried boarder.¹⁴ The second vice-regent, Mrs. Page, may have been the wife of a middle-class/professional family according to the 1901 census.¹⁵ The third vice-regent, Mrs. A.T. Wilgress, shares the same last name with a 1910 town councillor,¹⁶ and the 1911 census records a Meta Carlson Wilgress married to a Brockville publisher, Arthur Wilgress.¹⁷ The secretary, Mrs. A.S. Copland, might have been Annie E. Copland, wife of James S. Copland from the 1911 Census.¹⁸ Mr. Copland was the owner of J.S. Copland Books and Stationery on the

¹³ Henry Vernon and Sons, *Vernon's Town of Brockville: Street, Alphabetical Business and Miscellaneous Directory*, (Hamilton: Henry Vernon & Sons, 1911), 145; Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville*, 333; Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville*, 601, 603. See also Doug Grant, "The Wheelmen of Brockville, Member of the First Brockville Cycling Club," *Brockville History Album*, <<https://brockvillehistoryalbum.wordpress.com/2009/02/28/the-wheelmen-of-brockville/>> (accessed 5 September 2015) and John A. McMentry, *Canada Cycle and Motor: The CCM Story: 1899-1983* (Bellville ON: Epic Press, 2011), 13 for how cycling and the professional class were linked.

¹⁴ Henry Vernon and Sons, *Vernon's Town of Brockville*, 18, 148 and Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville*, 219; Edith Giles, Year: 1901; Census Place: Brockville (Town/Ville) Centre (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario; Page: 1; Family No: 2.

¹⁵ Most likely she is Ellen Page, wife of William F. Page, listed as a railroad engineer in the 1901 census. Another possibility is Olivia C. Page, wife of lawyer, James A. Page in the same census. The 1911 city directory lists Mr. J.A. Page as a barrister with a courthouse address and as a trustee of the Leeds and Greenville Law Association. A Miss Page was listed as treasurer of the monument fund in 1912, but neither family lists a daughter in the 1901 and 1911 census records. Ellen Page, Year: 1901; Census Place: Brockville (Town/Ville) East/est (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario; Page: 17; Family No: 182. James A. Page, Year: 1901; Census Place: Brockville (Town/Ville) Centre (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario; Page: 1; Family No: 10; Henry Vernon and Sons, *Vernon's Town of Brockville*, 151; Henry Vernon and Sons, *Vernon's Town of Brockville*, 106. Olivia C. Page, Year: 1901; Census Place: Brockville (Town/Ville) Centre (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario; Page: 1; Family No: 10.

¹⁶ Henry Vernon and Sons, *Vernon's Town of Brockville*, 145.

¹⁷ Meta Carlson Wilgress, Year: 1911; Census Place: Brockville, Brockville, Ontario; Page: 7; Family No: 78. The newspaper report has a Nora Wilgress, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. A.T. Wilgress give Mrs. Nordheimer flowers, but Meta Carlson and Arthur Wilgress are listed in 1911 as having a daughter named Sarah Trollope. BMLA, Courthouse Avenue /Square file, "Canadians and Many Prominent People Took Part."

¹⁸ J.S. Copland, Year: 1911; Census Place: East Ward, Brockville, Ontario; Page: 10; Family No: 103;

commercial King Street.¹⁹ The only name that appears to be linked to the original landed, non-native families is Mrs. Kincaid. An Archibald Kincaid was involved in an 1811 conflict in the town with another early family, the Sherwoods.²⁰ While the Kincaid family had roots in the early days of the settlement, they too adapted as Brockville grew, and in the 1901 census, a Caroline A. Kincaid was listed as married to the merchant, Fordyce L. Kincaid.²¹

In Brockville, from the founding executive in 1902 and through to 1912, many of the women came from families linked to the legal and merchant professions.²² The IODE chapter often held meetings at the house of the regent.²³ By contrast, the national executive of the IODE in Toronto and Hamilton included many with Loyalist and Family Compact names with links to wealthy families recognized by the crown. Some of these families were experiencing financial decline and members of the older wealth families often married into newer wealth;

this was the case for Matilda Ridout, who married into the Edgar family.²⁴ Pickles has argued that the national meeting of the IODE was often held in grand urban hotels involving full social attire and so created a restrictive wealth and social limit to membership in the IODE.²⁵

The composition of the Brockville executive illustrates that, by the turn of the century, the IODE, closely associated with imperial ideals, was embraced not only by older families but also by merchant and new-wealth families. In smaller towns, the middle and upper-middle classes were rising in wealth and power and could compete for social power with older families. When women of the merchant and industrial class adopted the imperial nationalist ideals, they improved both their own and their husband's social status. They might not have had ties to the Loyalists of the American Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, but they could, through the efforts of organizations such as the IODE, appropri-

and Annie E. Copland, Year: 1911; Census Place: *East Ward, Brockville, Ontario*; Page: 10; Family No: 103. The discrepancy in Annie's middle initial and her husband's initial reflected in the IODE's records would suggest she used her husband's middle name and only used her first name in the records, not her maiden middle name.

¹⁹ Henry Vernon and Sons, *Vernon's Town of Brockville*, 62.

²⁰ Lockwood, *The History of Brockville*, 128.

²¹ Caroline A. Kincaid, Year: 1901; Census Place: *Brockville (Town/Ville) East/est (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario*; Page: 8; Family No: 84.

²² Mary Fisher, Year: 1901; Census Place: *Brockville (Town/Ville) East/est (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario*; Page: 11; Family No: 111; Mary G. and William J. (William J.) Wright, Year: 1901; Census Place: *Brockville (Town/Ville) East/est (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario*; Page: 4; Family No: 41.; Sarah J. Sherwood, Year: 1901; Census Place: *Brockville (Town/Ville) North/Nord (Ward/Quartier), Brockville (town/ville), Ontario*; Page: 1; Family No: 4.

²³ BMLA, BB4, secretary's minutes, General Brock Chapter of the IODE.

²⁴ Brenault, Erin "Ridout, Matilda (Edgar, Lady Edgar)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ridout_matilda_13E.html> (accessed 25 June 2015).

²⁵ LAC, IODE Fonds; Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2002), 24.

ate the social memory that led to power.

Social Class and Commemorative Networks

Changing social relations shaped turn-of-the-century commemorative networks in Ontario. In his seminal work, *The Sense of Power*, Carl Berger addressed the origins of imperial nationalism, claiming that Toronto could represent itself as the imperial centre of Canada by drawing on its Loyalist past. He defined imperial nationalism more directly as “Canadian Nationalism” and as “an awareness of nationality which rested upon a certain understanding of history, the national character, and the national mission,” in this case represented by the imperial past.²⁶ He argued that the use of the past for the goals of the present must also be considered, as old-wealth families that had inherited social status attempted to counter the rise of the industrial *nouveau riche*.²⁷ Gerald Killan initially referenced the ideas of Berger and his use of Richard Hoftstadter’s depictions of Progressive-era America class divisions in a Canadian context to suggest a central role for the Loyalist past in influencing a more British-Canadian nationalism. This was done as many tried to preserve and protect the Loyalist traditions, principles and family names through their actions in historical societies. However, Killan challenged Berger’s assumptions, noting

the lack of exclusivity in the historical societies, which included many professional members of society and women in the 1890s. This, he argued, was a way to preserve and protect the past both as a reaction to the changing society and as an effort to keep up social appearances. Only working-class members were absent.²⁸

Many of the women in these societies knew each other from family connections of husbands and fathers. They were participants in a class system that involved both old wealth and “new money.” The executive rolls of both patriotic and historical societies contain a mix of Loyalist and Family Compact names along with those of industrialists, merchants, and professionals. This suggests a general trend for the daughters of old wealth to marry members of the *nouveau riche* commercial class. In the old urban centres of Toronto and Niagara, the commercial class was made up of city lawyers and industrialists like Albert Gooderham, while in smaller towns, older wealth may have come from agricultural mills and newer wealth from industry and the railways. These women seemed to understand the importance of marriage and patronage; in public they often identified themselves by their husbands’ names, but amongst their families and themselves, they routinely drew on their maiden names and lineage.²⁹

²⁶ Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 9.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 29-35.

²⁸ Killan, *Preserving Ontario’s Heritage*, 4-7, 16-17, 30-34.

²⁹ For evidence of this see Tori Smith, “Boulton, Edith Sarah Louisa (Nordheimer),” *The Diction-*

Despite Brock's impression of Canada as of only secondary importance during the Napoleonic wars and his distrust of the colonial militia, his success at Detroit and his death at Queenston Heights in front of a combined force of regulars and militia made him a powerful symbol for the Canadian social elite.³⁰ Those pushing for Brock's commemoration did so to help tie Canada's future and identity to England and Empire making the General into the perfect symbol for some of the Loyalist and Anglo-Saxon elite and cementing his reputation as the man responsible for Upper Canada surviving the War of 1812.³¹ As Patricia Jasen noted, post-1815 Niagara tourism, which had been tied to the War of 1812 and the battlefield of Queenston Heights, had been used by the Tory elite to promote British imperial ideals to mostly middle and upper-class tourists, although these tourists may have come to Queenston hoping to experience the romanticism and views of nature.³² By the turn of the century, both the women's movement

and imperial nationalism helped to shape the historical and patriotic organizations that used Brock for their own ends, but the class support for these efforts had become more complex. Through an examination of documents and the minutes of meetings, this article explores the use of Brock by first-wave feminists and imperialists.

The "Brock Centenary" in Brockville and Beyond

The celebration of Brock by the General Brock Chapter of the IODE can be linked to early feminist ideas through efforts of the Brockville women. Led by Regent G. Crawford McClean, the chapter was demonstrating what women could accomplish, including their role in improving and celebrating the British Empire.³³ The pride that the chapter felt in the construction of the monument is shown in the minutes of the June 1912 meeting which, reporting on the forthcoming ceremony on 19 August 1912, noted "the culmination of years of per-

ary of Canadian Biography Online, <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.phpndtw1p?id_nbr=7226>, (accessed 18 September 2011); Erin Brenault, "Ridout, Matilda (Edgar, Lady Edgar)," *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?id_nbr=7018> (accessed 14 January 2012); "Dignam, Mary Ella," *Who's Who and Why: A Biographical Dictionary of Men and Women of Canada and Newfoundland*, Vol. 5, C.W. Parker editor (Vancouver: International Press, 1914), 280 and Peter Hanlon, "Beemer, Sara Galbraith (Calder)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7199>, (accessed 18 October 2014).

³⁰ George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 40-67.

³¹ He is called the "Saviour of Upper Canada" by Wes Turner, "Sir Isaac Brock," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/sir-isaac-brock>> (accessed 14 April 2013). For more on this perspective see C. P. Stacey, "Brock, Sir Isaac," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brock_isaac_5E.html> (accessed 30 August 2014).

³² Patricia Jasen, "Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier, 1790-1850," *Canadian Historical Review* 72:3 (1991), 297-98, 304-5, 316-17.

³³ Lockwood, *The Story of Brockville*, 373-5.

sisting effort was witnessed in unveiling of the Monument on Courthouse Square of General Sir Isaac Brock.”³⁴

The commemoration of the War of 1812 in the form of a “Brock Centenary” was promoted by the IODE through local chapters and at the provincial and national levels and, in doing so, they played a minor role in similar efforts by historical societies of the period. According to the long-serving IODE president Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer in 1901, the goal of the IODE was to, “promote in the Motherland and Colonies the study of the history of the Empire, and current Imperial questions; to celebrate patriotic anniversaries; to cherish the memory of brave and heroic deeds, and to care for the last resting places of our heroes and heroines.”³⁵ While “heroine” linked to the IODE’s membership, their commemorative focus in 1912 was the “hero,” General Sir Isaac Brock. This focus was not at odds with their feminist goals. Rather it indicated an alternative and more con-

servative path towards feminism, one that stood in contrast to that taken by the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. Cecilia Morgan notes that two female historians of the era—Lady Edgar and Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon—were both active in the women’s historical societies that commemorated Laura Secord. However, these same women also wrote about heroes: Mary Agnes about her ancestor, James Fitzgibbon, who had ties to the Laura Secord narrative, and Lady Edgar about General Brock.³⁶ By its motions and the advisory role of men in the organization, the IODE illustrated elements of the maternal feminist perspective described by Tarah Brookfield and others for organizations in Montreal, which were focused on suffrage and other issues.³⁷

The IODE’s efforts to tie itself to Brock began at least a decade before the centenary, reflecting the rise of imperial sentiment. Its annual reports and magazine *Echoes*, which served as a newslet-

³⁴ BMLA, BB4, secretary’s minutes, General Brock Chapter of the IODE, 7 January 1912, November 1916, June 1912. The BMLA has not only the meeting minutes and other documents on the General Brock Chapter, but also library clipping files on the IODE and courthouse square with a wide range of newspaper and other records.

³⁵ LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 1, 1901-1902, Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire, *Annual Report*, president’s address, 3.

³⁶ Cecilia Morgan, “History, Nation, and Empire,” 503. See Mary Agnes FitzGibbon, *A Veteran of 1812: The Life of James FitzGibbon* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1894); Lady Matilda Ridout Edgar, *General Brock* (Toronto: Morang & Co. Ltd., 1904).

³⁷ Tarah Brookfield, “Divided by the Ballot Box: The Montreal Council of Women and the 1917 Election,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 89:4 (2008), 473-501 and Elise Chenier, “Class, Gender, and the Social Standard: The Montreal Junior League, 1912-1939,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 90:4 (December 2009), 671-710. These articles focus on the later period of this study and beyond and add dynamics of anglo-francophone relations not fully discussed here, a dynamic that was less evident in the Ontario-based imperialist organizations that looked towards Brock. Starting in 1902-1903, the executive of the national IODE listed husbands, brothers, and other key men with key officials, with their full titles, instead of their wives and sisters in the advisory committees (Ladies Committees) or on the rolls of many general historical societies.

ter, indicate an initial focus on charity and support for the Boer War, but the naming of chapters and activities at a local level soon helped to create a focus on Brock. One of the first chapters was the General Brock Chapter in Brockville, which took an early lead in the commemoration efforts. Its 1902-1903 Annual Report announced a project to create “a suitable monument to the memory of the illustrious soldier, General Sir Isaac Brock, by and after whom their town was named.”³⁸ *Echoes* highlighted the patriotic monument’s completion in 1912 in two issues.³⁹

The General wasn’t just celebrated in Brockville, but was soon championed in areas of the Niagara Peninsula that were closely tied to his story. A new IODE chapter, named “Sir Isaac Brock,”⁴⁰ was established in Welland, a rapidly industrializing centre, indicating that old and new wealth were uniting around a common cause.⁴¹ By 1910, this chapter was led by Regent Cowper, the wife of a

lawyer, who had sons in the professional class according to the 1911 census. Her chapter’s executive was mostly from the same class but also included some who might have represented skilled labour.⁴² However, having a chapter in industrial Welland may also have reduced competition with the already strong historical society presence at Niagara-on-the-Lake. There, the Niagara Historical Society was led by Miss Janet Carnochan, who held three positions, including president, in 1910.⁴³

The IODE’s drive to commemorate Brock became stronger and more public when the active Chamberlain Chapter of Toronto, introduced by Regent Miss Constance Rudyard Boulton, brought forward a successful motion at the 1909 annual general meeting. This not only mentioned the chapter’s study of “Sir Isaac Brock,” but also called to the executive council’s attention the forthcoming one-hundredth anniversary of the general’s death. “In the opinion of the

³⁸ LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 1: *1901 Annual Report*, 171-72.

³⁹ LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 49, October 1912 and 50, December 1912.

⁴⁰ LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 2, 1905-1906 meeting minutes, 130.

⁴¹ Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts*, 117 and 112-71. Niagara-on-the-Lake turned to its landscape and history to draw on being an “ideal summer resort” in the 1890s, as the building of the Welland Canal had industry move away from the town towards Welland.

⁴² Maria and Thomas Cowper, Year: 1911; Census Place: 52 - *Welland, Welland, Ontario*; Page: 11; Family No: 109. Other possible families include, Hermetter German, Year: 1911; Census Place: 52 - *Welland, Welland, Ontario*; Page: 36; Family No: 402; Sarah Wells, Year: 1911; Census Place: 52 - *Welland, Welland, Ontario*; Page: 43; Family No: 462; Mary E. and Hugh Rose, Year: 1911; Census Place: 53 - *Welland, Welland, Ontario*; Page: 19; Family No: 223; *Jennie and Hugh A. Rose*, Year: 1911; Census Place: 53 - *Welland, Welland, Ontario*; Page: 18; Family No: 203; Mary H. and Fredrick Launt, Year: 1911; Census Place: 51 - *Welland, Welland, Ontario*; Page: 18; Family No: 200.

⁴³ Ontario Historical Society, *Annual Report of the Historical Society, 1910* (Toronto, Ontario Historical Society, 1910), 80-84. Miss Janet Carnochan was not only the president but also treasurer and curator of the Niagara Historical Society. For more see Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts*, 11-58. Morgan argues that Carnochan’s life and works show a strong connection to the local environment over the nation, and that she was key in lobbying for the Memorial Hall through the NHS and museum.

Chapter, such an important historical event should not be allowed to pass unnoticed. And the Chamberlain Chapter desires to assure the Executive Council of their hearty support in any arrangement they make for the celebration of the heroism of General Brock.”⁴⁴ The motion encouraged co-operation with all relevant organizations and levels of government.⁴⁵ With the adoption of this motion, the IODE national leaders framed the IODE’s efforts around the centenary of the War of 1812 as a “Brock Centenary.” That this motion came from a Toronto chapter showed not only an internalization of the heroism and usefulness of Brock to the women in framing the centenary, but also the efforts and power of Toronto in directing the organization.

With this adoption, the organization put its full support behind a Brock centenary. Under the “Patriotic Programmes for the Year” created for school teachers, the December 1910 issue of *Echoes* announced that the following October the program was to be centred on “Sir Isaac Brock.” It included a lesson plan that highlighted his role as the “hero of Up-

per Canada” and focused on the Battle of Queenston Heights, also noting his “association with the famous Indian chief, Tecumseh.” Among the suggested readings was Lady Edgar’s book, *General Brock*.⁴⁶ In October 1912, the efforts around the memory of Brock, particularly the work of the General Brock Chapter, dominated the issue’s front pages. The section of recent correspondence and accomplishments also included an account of the Brockville ceremony.⁴⁷ The account of the ceremony at Queenston illustrated co-operation with other organizations,⁴⁸ and included patriotic poems, highlighting the roles of Brock, the militia, and women in the war.⁴⁹ This focus did not disappear in subsequent issues of *Echoes*. In December, the General Brock Chapter gave an expanded account of the ceremony mentioning the activities around the statue,⁵⁰ and the June 1913 *Echoes* noted that a western chapter, possibly in Winnipeg, was organized on 7 October 1912, named “The Brock Centenary Chapter, I.O.D.E.”⁵¹ The year 1913 appeared to have marked the wrap-up of the IODE’s efforts to memorialize Brock as attention shifted towards Laura Secord.

⁴⁴ LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 3; 1907-1910 meeting minutes, 1909: 93 and 95.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 41, December 1910, “Patriotic Programmes of ‘Empire Builders,’” 20.

⁴⁷ LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 49, October 1912, 9.

⁴⁸ To see how many organizations were involved in the ceremony at Queenston Heights, which was led by the United Empire Loyalists of Ontario, see the commemorative pamphlet Alexander Fraser, *Brock Centenary, 1812-1912: Account of the Celebration at Queenston Heights, Ontario, on the 12th October 1912* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1913).

⁴⁹ LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 49, October 1912, 12.

⁵⁰ LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 50, December 1912, 9-10.

⁵¹ LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 52, June 1913, 56 and 42.

Social Network Analysis of the “Brock Centenary”

The interplay between class and the feminist movements that shaped the commemoration efforts is revealed by an examination of the leadership of a range of IODE chapters and other organizations. Often the same women were on the executives, suggesting interactions and the quick spreading of information, although such ties do not automatically suggest that sharing or even co-operation existed between or within organizations.⁵²

By linking many individuals and organizations, social network analysis (SNA) can point to unexplored narratives of the past. In its basic form, SNA indi-

cates how people are connected through “ties.” These ties can matter as much as or even more than the individuals themselves and help shape how a network functions. Different patterns of connectivity have important implications for individuals in particular social situations. Social network analysis has been popularized recently with the increasing digitization of textual data and the use of visual analytics across the digital humanities.⁵³ When used in an historical setting, the term “social network” has been used as an organizing principle for immigration studies by, for example, Darrell Meadows and Marsha Hamilton. Others such as John Walsh and Steven High have dealt with SNA as a central analytical tool in interpreting “community.” Other studies use it to look

⁵² From the minutes of IODE meetings alone, it is clear that there were feuds, many of them between Toronto-based IODE President Mrs. Samuel Nordheimer (né Edith Boulton) and Toronto IODE Regent Miss Constance Rudyard Boulton from the English Family Compact family, but also involving others. The IODE archival material has an entire folder which documents an internal dispute between the two women that was reported in the press, and the minutes indicate that Mrs. Nordheimer was also involved in a possibly passive-aggressive relationship with Toronto feminist and artist Mrs. Mary Williams Dignam U.E. See LAC, MG28 I 17, IODE Fonds, “Boulton’s Resolution-Changes to Constitution 1910-12,” Vol. 19, File 6 and LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 3, 1907-10 meeting minutes, 21. Evidence supporting ties not being automatic between some chapters and historical societies comes in a 1912 National IODE motion. LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 4, 1912 meeting minutes, 23. Evidence of co-operation supported by a motion can be seen in a 1912 motion from the UELAO to lobby the Federal government on a National War of 1812 Memorial brought to the same meeting in 1912, but did however indicate that the IODE passed a motion of cooperation using the language of morality. LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 4, 1912 meeting minutes, 23. Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts*, 14, 26-7, confirms that the NHS and Carnochan did not operate in isolation and notes reports and “exchanges” of artefacts with the likes of historical societies in Elgin and Lundy’s Lane and women’s historical societies of Ottawa and Toronto along with contacts outside the province just in one case.

⁵³ The network figures presented here are altered screen captures from the original *Gephi* visualizations. In the active digital platform, clicking on any one node highlights all the connections related to that one person or organization. The circle sizes refer to both overall membership size and influence due to shared members with other groups. Data and the *Gephi* transformation of it are available at https://figshare.com/authors/Peter_Holdsworth/402385. *Gephi* graphics use colours for links, and although the author was able to simplify the organizational relationships to make the three black and white figures included here, the social networks of specific women could not be effectively reduced to small black and white variants. For the relevant graphs and tables for those networks, see the figshare site.

at trading and professional networks as in Shawn Graham's and Giovanni Ruffini's article on Greco-Roman society, Carolyn Dougherty's examination of nineteenth-century engineering networks, and Sally Hermansen and Henry Yu's visualizations of Chinese immigrant families in Saskatchewan.⁵⁴

Here, the data are analyzed using the program Gephi.⁵⁵ The networks examined are just a small subset of what existed, even within organizations of predominately white Anglo-Saxon middle- to upper-class women in southern

Ontario.⁵⁶ These networks include the women in executive positions found in the front pages of the IODE's annual reports and newsletters and from select years in OHS and UELAO publications. Particular attention was paid to 1898 (the founding of the Ontario Historical Society), 1902 (the founding of the Brockville Chapter of the IODE) and 1910 (when the centenary of the War of 1812 was being planned and the OHS met at Brockville).⁵⁷ The decision to commemorate General Brock can be traced to as early as 1898, the year

⁵⁴ See R. Darrell Meadows, "Engineering Exile: Social Networks and the French Atlantic Community, 1789-1809," *French History Studies* 23:1 (Winter 2000), 67-102; Marsha L. Hamilton, *Social Networks in Early Massachusetts Atlantic Connections* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009); John C. Walsh and Steven High, "Re-thinking the Concept of Community," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 32:64 (1999), 255-73; Shawn Graham and Giovanni Ruffini, "Network Analysis and Greco-Roman Prosopography," in *Prosopography Approaches and Application: A Handbook*, edited by K.S.B. Keates-Rohan (Oxford, UK: Prosopographica et Genealogica, 2007), 326-36; Nuno Camarinhas, "The Crown's Judges – The Judicial Profession in Ancien Regime Portugal, 1700-9," in Keates-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography*, 541-54; Carolyn Dougherty, "George Stephenson and Nineteenth-Century Engineering Networks," in Keates-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography*, 545-65; Christophe Verbruggen, "Literary Strategy during Flanders' Golden Decades: Combining Social Network Analysis and Prosopography," in Keates-Rohan, ed., *Prosopography*, 579-601; Hermansen, Sally and Henry Yu, "The Irony of Discrimination: Mapping Historical Migration Using Chinese Head Tax Data," in Jennifer Bonnell and Marcel Fortin, eds., *Historical GIS Research in Canada* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2014), 225-37.

⁵⁵ For more on Gephi see Mathieu Bastian, Sebastien Heymann, and Mathieu Jacomy (2009), *Gephi: An Open Source Software for Exploring and Manipulating Networks* (International AAAI Conference on Weblogs and Social Media, 2009) <<https://gephi.org/publications/gephi-bastian-feb09.pdf>> (accessed 17 October 2014). Two important studies are by sociologists Nicholas Christakis and James Fowler and by physicist Albert-Laszlo Barabási. Nicholas A. Christakis and James H. Fowler, *Connected: The Surprising Power of Our Social Networks and How They Shape Our Lives – How Your Friends' Friends' Friends Affect Everything You Feel, Think, and Do* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 2009); Albert-Laszlo Barabási, *Linked: How Everything is Connected to Everything Else and What it Means* (Cambridge, MA: Plume, 2003).

⁵⁶ In total, this group represents 593 women and 63 organizations, a very strong sample from the province. This group represents a sizable proportion of the around one million women in Ontario at the time, which is representative to +/- 4.5%, 19 times out of 20. This suggests that interpretation of this network could give a representative picture of the wider society.

⁵⁷ This includes the IODE from 1901 to 1912, member societies of the Ontario Historical Society from 1898, 1902, and 1910 from their annual report, and the United Empire Loyalists of Ontario from 1897 to 1902, focusing on 1898, 1902 and 1910 for further snapshots into Ontario society. These select years were dictated by the digital availability of the annual reports or newsletters or archival record and collected in full in an Excel database. Although the IODE had an imperial mandate with chapters that

the Pioneer and Historical Association changed its name and reorganized as the OHS. The groups that would shape the centenary began to form around key ideals; they valued the Loyalist past and the sites of the war. These societies included women's historical societies that served the early feminist movement through their work on historical figures and battles. The network analysis for 1898 illustrates how these organizations were tightly linked with limited sub-groups, tying a core group of women together. Given their overlapping executive roles, a group of around fifteen women could spread information quickly. A number came from Family Compact and Loyalist families that had adapted to the changing economic times. For example, two had ties by marriage to the English-born and self-declared Loyalist William Kirby of the Niagara Peninsula—Mrs. Mary Servos and Mrs. John Ojjiatekha Brant-Sero (formerly Francis Baynes Kirby, née Pinder).⁵⁸ The Servos family had come to the Niagara Region when Butler's Rangers Captain Daniel Servos

U.E. re-settled.⁵⁹ Thus only a few well-connected women could spread information to the entire network of women. This was partially due to the importance of the OHS and Toronto, along with select ties to societies focused on commemorating the War of 1812 in the Niagara Peninsula, especially around Wentworth County and the town/village of Thorold.

Killan has noted the importance of the OHS in shaping Ontario's cultural scene. As this network analysis illustrates, female executives played an important role both in the OHS and in the women-only and mixed-gender societies.⁶⁰ Canon Henry Scadding, president of the York Pioneer and Historical Society, was behind a general organization of the early historical societies in 1896 to help preserve and extend their influence in a changing society. Scadding helped found the Pioneer and Historical Association of Ontario which became the OHS in 1898 under James Coyne. Scadding's intent was to create a "clearing house for the local historical

expanded outside Ontario, it was focused on Ontario and particularly Toronto. The metrics used by the SNA program *Gephi* order the nodes (women or organizations) by "betweenness" centrality, ranking them by number of connections or ties highest to lowest, and by community direction or modularity, grouping the nodes as suggested by the ties. Such networks can only be understood by placing them in context, since the *Gephi* program simply uses the data provided.

⁵⁸ Mary Servos's female relative Magdalena Servos married William Kirby himself. Mary Jane Edwards, "Kirby, William," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* online, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/kirby_william_13E.htm> (accessed 26 June 2015); S. Penny Pentrone, "Brant-Sero, John Ojjiatekha," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/brant_sero_john_ojjiatekha_14E.html> (accessed 26 June 2015); "Memorial Tiles: Capt. Daniel Servos," *St. Alban the Martyr: St Alban the Martyr UEL Memorial Church*, <<http://www.uelac.org/St-Alban/biographies/memorial-tiles-Servos-Daniel.php>> (accessed 26 June 2015).

⁵⁹ "Memorial Tiles: Capt. Daniel Servos." Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts*, 147-48 describes a case of Palatine Hill, the house of the Servos family and the refusal of the Niagara Parks Commission in 1931 to buy the property.

⁶⁰ Killan, *Preserving Ontario's Heritage*, 4.

society movement,”⁶¹ and even more broadly, according to Daniel Simeone, to use shared friendships and memberships to influence the legislature at Queen’s Park, projecting Ontario’s version of history onto others.⁶²

The OHS was at the centre of the network, with the UELAO playing a secondary role (Figure 2). When it came to women in executive roles, the OHS was so successful that it forced women executives from the UELAO aside, subsuming the Loyalist influence in the societies. The UELAO had direct ties to the OHS, but stronger intermediary ties through the feminist Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. For its part, the OHS drew from the Niagara Peninsula and other societies outside Toronto. These links to historical societies support arguments made by Morgan and Killan, who have discussed the ties of first-wave feminists to the Women’s Canadian Historical Society of Toronto. These women and their organizations focused on the (re)education of a working-class Canadian public that was thought to be under assault by immigration and other elements of modernity. Their work

illustrates the efforts made in Toronto and Wentworth County to disguise organizations that advanced the women’s movement, as historical societies. Much of what Killan and Morgan describe includes more progressive goals than just maternal feminism, which focused on extending maternal roles and rights outside the Victorian home but only to a point.⁶³ The network analysis here, strongly link-

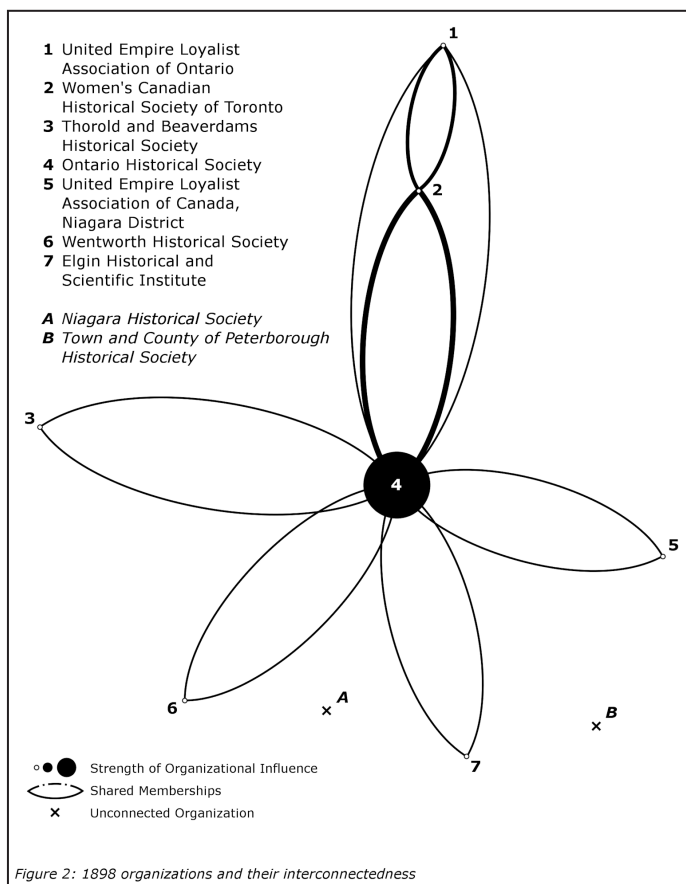


Figure 2: 1898 organizations and their interconnectedness

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 37-56.

⁶² Daniel Simeone, “In the Public Interest: Non-Profit Incorporation and the Meaning of History at the Ontario Historical Society circa-1900,” Paper given at the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association for 2015 in Ottawa, ON.

⁶³ Morgan, “History, Nation, and Empire”; Killan, *Preserving Ontario's Heritage*, 27-9.

ing the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto to the patriotic and historical societies, suggests that the women's movement had a more central role in the historical society movement, and was not just peripheral to or independent of it.

The 1898 organization network suggests that the role of the Loyalists in the movement has been overstated, although the social background of the women who tied the organizations together supports the importance of Loyalists.

An overview of the women who linked the organizations closely mimics that of organizational ties that could form a tight group that could influence the important commemorative activity. One of the most connected among the women was Matilda Ridout Edgar (Mrs. James D. Edgar), a Toronto woman from the Loyalist Ridout family, who was both a member of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto and on the executive in the OHS. Next was Mrs. Forsyth Grant, U. E. and Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto member. Two women with closer connections to the OHS were Mrs. Brant-Sero and Mrs. E. Farmer. With multiple ties between them, these women formed the core that kept the groups together, but others clustered around them and mimicked their organization. Scholars have noted the influence of Mrs. Edgar, but the other women have not been given much attention.⁶⁴ Mrs. Brant-Sero's importance is not all that surprising as her husband was

the Loyalist Mohawk descendant J.O. Brant-Sero, a Six Nations delegate to the OHS.⁶⁵ Given the importance of Loyalist heritage for Mrs. Edgar and Mrs. Grant, this adds the question of whether Loyalism should be measured through organizational presence or by Loyalist membership in other groups. The supporting role of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto underscores its importance to the historical society movement and the need to pay attention to the wives and sisters of key male commemorators. From this tight grouping of organizations and women in 1898, the patriotic and historical societies and women's movements had expanded and changed rapidly by 1902, at which time the IODE joined the network.

By 1902, the organizational network had expanded across historical societies, patriotic institutions, and the women's movement, reaching other settlements in southern Ontario, including Brockville. This network suggests the influence of the new ideas that characterized Ontario society at the turn of the century, as commemorative and social ties were in flux. The networks of women and organizations seem to have been weakened as more women joined from different groups and regions. It appears that pioneer Loyalism was losing out to imperial nationalism. English-born Canadians and the Tory elite supported Canada's involvement with the imperial policies of the day, including participation in

⁶⁴ Morgan, "History, Nation, and Empire." Matilda Ridout Edgar became Lady Edgar and in 1904 published *General Brock*.

⁶⁵ Killan, *Preserving Ontario's Heritage*.

the Boer War of 1899. Members of middle and upper-class families, such as the imperialist-Loyalist Septimus Denison, became aides-de-camp in the war, as the conflict became associated with Loyalist-infused national imperialism.⁶⁶ Some supporters, such as Nathanael Burwash, pointed to the War of 1812 and the Revolutionary War to back full Canadian involvement in the Boer War.⁶⁷ Amidst this shift, an active women's movement, particularly that of maternal feminism, played a central role.

Originating in Quebec in 1900, the IODE was established by 1901 in Toronto, reflecting the growth of imperial sentiment.⁶⁸ Begun as a war aid patriotic society in Montreal under Mrs. Margaret Smith Murray (née Polson), the IODE began looking more to the past. This led to its support for a celebration of the War of 1812 as the "Brock Centenary" as early as 1902 in Brockville, Toronto and Niagara.⁶⁹ Around 1907, the UELAO turned to the War of 1812 and General Brock, promoting a celebration in 1912 on Queenston Heights. In contrast to

Brockville, a focus on the militia dominated their programming, limiting the roles of both the women of the executives of the UELAO and national IODE and many OHS member societies in the ceremony.⁷⁰

An examination of the networks in 1902 (Figure 3) indicates fewer influential groups and women came from Toronto and more from Ottawa and Niagara. As the number of historical societies grew they became more isolated. The tight group of 1898 of organizations splintered into two bigger groups with many isolated organization. One group comprised mainly the imperial and feminist historical societies, some of which were part of the 1898 core, including the recently formed IODE, the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto and the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa. The Loyalist organizations, the historical societies in Wentworth and the OHS remained tied together in another grouping around Niagara and Wentworth County of Toronto, with the central connecting role with the Wom-

⁶⁶ Norman James Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 74, 94-5.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 94-5.

⁶⁸ Carmen Miller, *Canada's Little War: Fighting for the British Empire in Southern Africa, 1899-1902* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 2003), especially 94; Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity*; Berger, *The Sense of Power*.

⁶⁹ LAC, IODE Fonds, Vol. 11, File 1, 1901-2, *Annual Report*, president's address, 3; LAC, MG28 I 17, 114363, L-510-4-7, *Echoes*, 49, October 1912, 9 and 50, December 1912, 9-10. See also Margaret Gillett, "Polson Margaret Smith (Murray)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&cid_nbr=7850_9> (accessed 30 March 2013). She signed her name as "Margaret Paulson Murray."

⁷⁰ Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists*, 160-62 suggests that the reality of the Loyalist influence was declining even by the end of the War of 1812 despite efforts by Lord Dorchester to support the Loyalists' claims and the incorporation of figures and events of the War of 1812 into the Loyalist fold. See also Alexander Fraser, *Brock Centenary, 1812-1912: Account of the Celebration at Queenston Heights, Ontario, on the 12th October, 1912*, (Toronto, Briggs 1913).

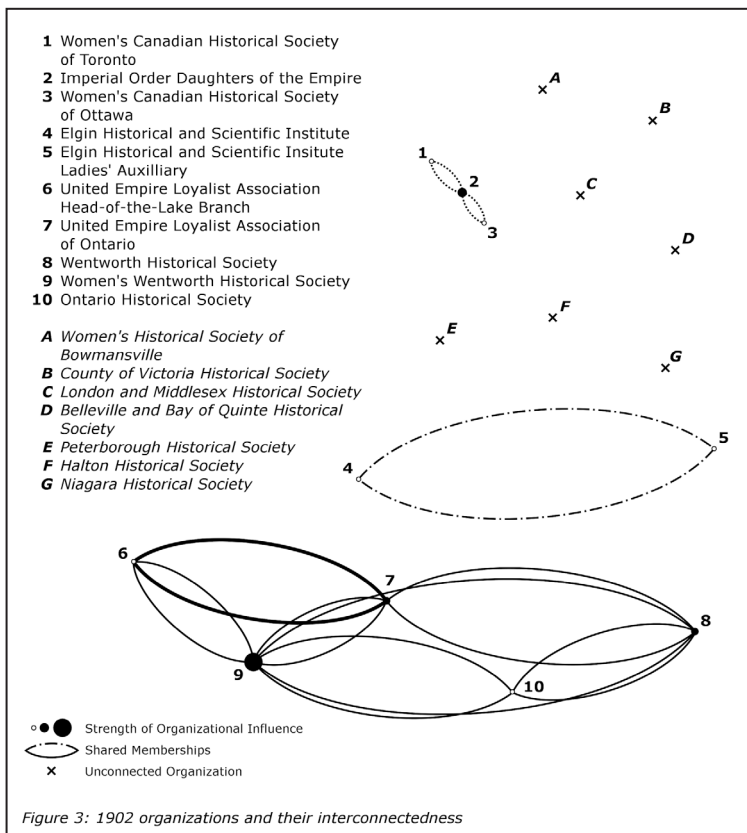


Figure 3: 1902 organizations and their interconnectedness

en's Wentworth Historical Society. This is in comparison to the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto serving a similar role in 1898. The rest of the groups were isolated. Not surprisingly, the Niagara Historical Society was isolated, even from societies of note such as the Wentworth Historical Society and the Women's Wentworth Historical Society, despite being located in Niagara-on-the-Lake, the first capital. One possible reason is that the Niagara Historical Society president, Miss Carnochan, while an imperialist, had a different interpretation of

British ideals than some of the mainly conservative imperial nationalist organizations.

The General Brock IODE Brockville Chapter was established in this time, and if the willingness of its predominantly professional and industrial middle-class members to look towards Ottawa for help in creating and unveiling its monument is anything to go by, it may well have attained some independence from the Toronto elite who dominated nationally.

A surprising finding is the influence in 1902 of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, which seems

to counterbalance the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto in the IODE grouping. This could indicate an increasing effort to solidify connections with Britain in the face of economic and social change. Canadian nationalism was increasingly tied to an imperial identity by people such as Colonel Denison, who linked his Loyalist agenda to the imperialist cause, and the IODE and even some historical societies began to look to the person most closely connected to the royal family.⁷¹ In Toronto, this would have been the province's Lieutenant-

⁷¹ Berger, *The Sense of Power*, 21.

Governor, but the ultimate patronage would be in Ottawa in the person of the Governor General. Executive lists show honorary leadership titles were given for the wives of vice-regal and federal figures; the vice-regal consort or Chatelaine of Rideau Hall, the Governor-General's wife, was well represented in both historical and patriotic societies. The IODE is the only group of those surveyed that granted honorary titles to the consorts of the Lieutenants-Governor in 1901.⁷²

As an organization dedicated to promoting Canadian history, the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa can be associated with the women's movement. However, its members were also the wives and sisters of the prime minister, ministers, and MPs, both anglophone and francophone, along with "polite society" women, and wives of industrial or lumber barons. Given this, they could be seen as holding some influence over national and even imperial policy. In this organization, Lady Laurier served in an honorary role. The elected executive included Mrs. Tho-

mas Ahearn, whose husband co-headed the Ottawa Electric Light Company and Ottawa Electric Railway. Mrs. H. Phinney represented old wealth and genteel rural society.⁷³ Ottawa, the city, mixed with Ottawa, the capital. Mrs. George E. Foster was married to the Conservative MP and cabinet minister, and Mrs. Augustine Parent Sulte's husband was the Conservative-leaning chief clerk of the Department of Militia and Defense, Benjamin Sulte.⁷⁴ Federal influence was also present with the husbands of Lady Ritchie and Lady Strong. Both of their husbands, Sir Samuel Strong and Sir William Ritchie, sat on the Supreme Court of Canada and both at one point served as chief justice.⁷⁵

These connections may well have competed with the reach of the OHS as Canada became involved in the Boer War. The OHS did not seem to have fully realized its imperial ties with the IODE and instead fostered a closer connection with the UELAO and the War of 1812. In many ways, the OHS as an organiza-

⁷² LAC, IODE Fonds.

⁷³ See Bruce S. Elliott, *The City Beyond: A History of Nepean, Birthplace of Canada's Capital, 1792-1990* (The City of Nepean: Nepean, 1991), 109-113, 176, 239. For more on the husband of Mrs. H. Phinney [as her name was spelled in the 1902 OHS report], the Honorable Hamnett Kirkes Pinhey and the role of the family in rural expanded city, see Elliott, *The City Beyond*, 116; Ontario Historical Society, *Annual Report of the Historical Society*, (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1903), 14

⁷⁴ For a biography of the Hon. George E. Foster see *The Canadian Parliament; Biographical Sketches and Photo-engravings of the Senators and Members of the House of Commons of Canada. Being the Tenth Parliament, Elected November 3, 1904* (Montreal Perrault Print Co., 1906), 179; H el ene Marcotte, "Sulte, Benjamin," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/sulte_benjamin_15E.html> (accessed 18 June 2014).

⁷⁵ See Gordon Bale and E. Bruce Mellett, "Ritchie, Sir William Johnston," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ritchie_william_johnston_12E.html> (accessed 24 July, 2014); Jamie Benidickson, "Strong, Sir Samuel Henry" *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/strong_samuel_henry_13E.html> (accessed 28 June 2014).

tion remained isolated within its own circle, with some of its member societies having an imperial focus.

This snapshot of 1902 may help us reinterpret the scholarship relating to influential women. The OHS's goal of 1898 to promote the past appears to have been met; the number of women involved in the social-commemorative network had more than tripled, likely indicating their increasing involvement in imperialistic patriotism.⁷⁶

As usual, influential women tied organizations together into a network. Listed by decreasing influence they were Countess Minto, Mrs. R. R. Waddell, Mrs. Mary Rose-Holden, Mrs. S. Carey, Miss Constance Rudyard Boulton and Miss Mowat. The first two tied the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa and Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto to the IODE and the UELAO to the Women's Wentworth Historical Society respectively. Mrs. Rose-Holden linked the Wentworth historical societies and OHS to

the UELAO. Mrs. S. Carey served a secondary role within the Loyalist associations to Mrs. Waddell. Miss Mowat and C. R. Boulton connected the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto to the IODE. Compared to 1898, these women came from a wider set of backgrounds and areas outside Toronto, with Miss Boulton representing Toronto. Mrs. Mary Rose-Holden whose father-in-law earlier served as mayor of Hamilton, was a historian of Brant, "the neutral nations," and Burlington Bay history.⁷⁷ Mrs. Waddell may have had ties to the cheese factory in Kenwood, Middlesex County, and Miss Mowat was likely part of the Mowat family of Kingston, associated with the patriarch and Scotsman John Mowat, a politician, justice of the peace and Queen's College administrator.⁷⁸

Countess Minto, the wife of Governor General Earl of Minto, linked together the women of the IODE, Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto and Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, indicating the

⁷⁶ In 1898, there were 51 women and by 1902, there were 188.

⁷⁷ See Carman Miller, "Elliot, Gilbert John Murray-Kynynmound, Viscount Melgund and 4th Earl of Minto," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/elliott_gilbert_john_murray_kynynmound_14E.html> (accessed 26 June 2015); Thomas Melville Bailey, *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography*, Vol. I: 1791–1875 (W.L. Griffin Ltd, 1981), 105. Holden, John Rose Mrs., "The Neutral Nations, the Eries," paper read before the Hamilton Scientific Association, 1900. <http://nla.gov.au/anbd.bib-an8212039> (accessed on 2016/08/01); Holden, "The Brant Family," Wentworth Historical Society, Hamilton, ON, 1904. (accessed on 2016/08/01); Holden, Mary Rose, "Burlington Bay, Beach and Heights, in History," Historical Leaflets No. 1, Hamilton, ON, William T. Lancefield, 1898. https://archive.org/details/cihm_06855 (accessed on 2016/08/01). Her work on Burlington Bay history is signed on page 21, Mary E. Rose Holden ("Ka-rih-wen-ha-wi", Beaver Clan, Onadagas of the Six Nations).

⁷⁸ Department of Agriculture, Dairy and Cold Storage Commissioner, *A List of the Cheese Factories, Creameries and Condensed Milk Plants in Canada*. (Government of Canada, 1911), 13, 21; Margaret Sharp Angus, "Mowat John," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mowat_john_8E.html>, (accessed 26 June 2015).

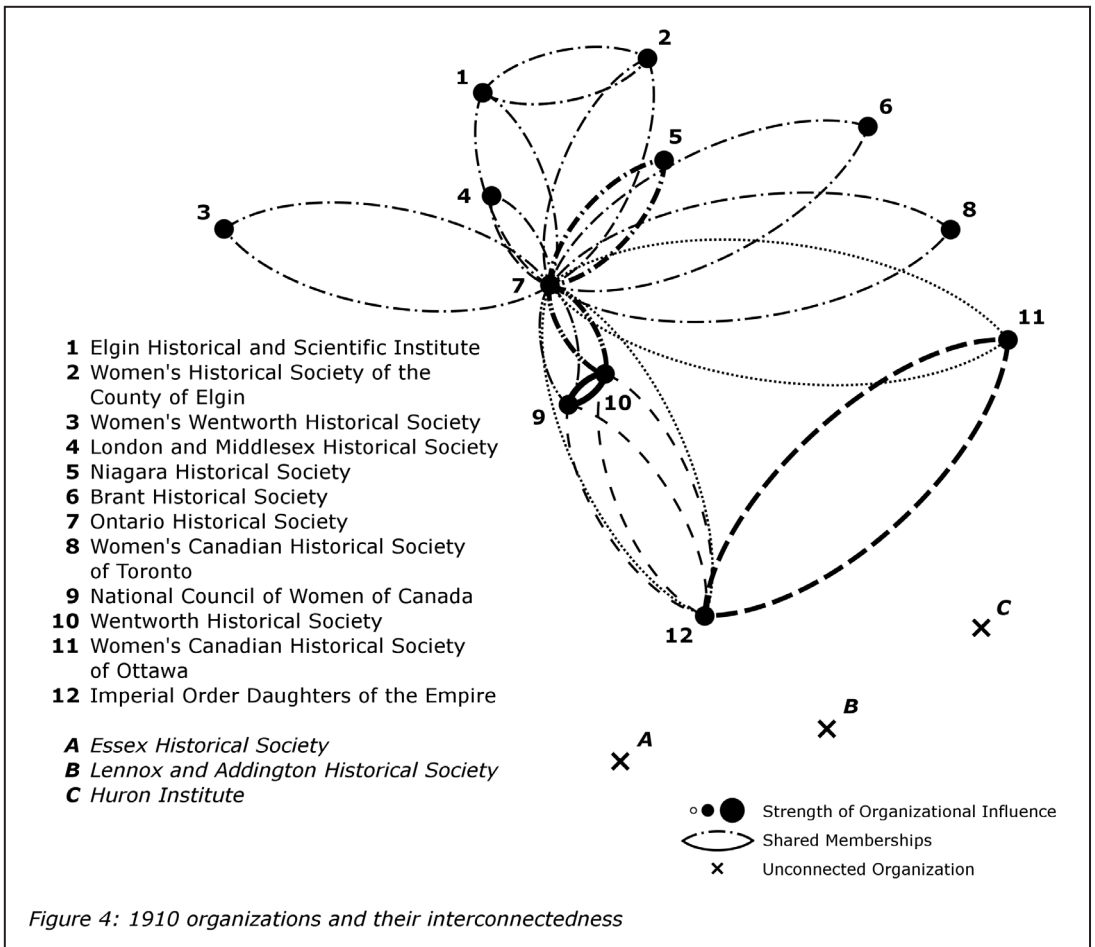


Figure 4: 1910 organizations and their interconnectedness

increasingly importance of the imperial connection. The Countess gained “influence” through honorary and patronage positions; such positions helped the organizations when they wanted direct ties to authority. These women formed a splintered network by mimicking the organizational structural network, showing how the organizations relied on the women to tie them together.

When the OHS met at Brockville in 1910, a large percentage of the women there were beginning to move towards a

targeted goal and forming the social ties to achieve it. Compared to 1902, the networks in 1910 represented a more stable society despite a larger number of women and organizations (Figure 4). There were six main women’s subgroups in the network in 1910 compared to four in 1898 and eleven in 1902. The reduction in the number of subgroups shows that the organizations were now better able to connect, even though the network now included 37,312 ties between the women compared to only 7,464 in 1902 and 760

in 1898.⁷⁹

The women's movement and historical societies appear to have become more integrated. This seems to have been particularly true for the OHS in the Niagara Peninsula, as the OHS membership shifted strongly away from Toronto and towards Wentworth and Niagara. In light of the historical context, this shift was likely due to the centenary of the War of 1812 and, in particular, the celebration of General Sir Isaac Brock. The networked society that was being shaped by ideas of feminism and imperial nationalism had found an event to which they could attach their view of the past. By 1910, the organizations seem to have institutionalized these ideas. Analysis of that year's data for the OHS and IODE (leaving out the UELAO due to a lack of digital access) indicates that the former slowly gained wide support from the area where the War of 1812 had been fought, shifting the focus of the society away from Toronto. By choosing Brockville as the site for its annual meeting in 1910, despite having no members societies there, the OHS gave the General Brock Chapter the power to influence and connect the IODE and the OHS and to shape the commemorations that both organizations supported.⁸⁰

As the network of organizations

stabilized in 1910, some women rose to influence. Isolated in 1902, the Niagara Historical Society, led by Miss Janet Carnochan, gained more influence than the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, perhaps in part due to Carnochan's placement on the OHS's new "Special Committee to Consider and Report as to Suitable Commemoration of the Canadian Historic Events of 1812-15." She served alongside Mrs. Simpson of Ottawa, reflecting the capital city's continued importance.⁸¹ The nomination of both women to the War of 1812 committee, along with judges, lawyers and academics, again demonstrates the growing prestige of some women. While the Niagara Historical Society gained importance, other societies that started as women's auxiliary committees, such as those in Wentworth and Elgin, also became influential and were integrated into the OHS.

Although the IODE appears to have been peripheral to the social network in some ways in 1910, it was solidly connected to the OHS through its tie to the Women's Canadian Historical society of Ottawa. Similarly, the network was also strengthened by the tie between the Wentworth Historical Society and the National Council of Women, an organization started under the influence of Lady Aberdeen that worked on multiple

⁷⁹ In 1898, there were 760 ties between 51 women and 14 ties between nine organizations. By 1902, there were 7,464 ties between 188 women and 20 ties between 17 organizations. By 1910 this grew to 37,312 ties between 270 women and 32 ties between 15 organizations.

⁸⁰ The perspective of the General Brock Chapter on the 1910 OHS meeting is hard to determine, as the archival records and meeting minutes for the lead-up to the meeting and during the meeting are missing. There was some pride in their role though, as it was prominently mentioned in the yearly report (BMLA).

⁸¹ Ontario Historical Society, *Annual Report of the Historical Society, 1910*, 5.

women's issues of the time, including activist first-wave goals, such as suffrage, along with maternal feminist moral goals. This connection suggests that the first-wave activist feminists of the middle-class women's movement were being integrated into the commemorative societies. This is not surprising given Morgan's argument that applying a gender divide to commemorative projects does a disservice to the role played by female historians, who were writing in similar historiographical and conceptual contexts as their male counterparts.⁸² The women of the Wentworth Historical Society Ladies' Committee had a direct representative on the National Council of Women. This indicates that the WHS had become more integrated with the women's movement after the Women's Wentworth Historical Society split off and opened the Stoney Creek Battlefield as a park in 1899. Stronger ties to the women's movement are not surprising as these historical societies were based in the area around Stoney Creek, an area that also founded the Women's Institute.⁸³ Despite its stature in the urban network of the province, Toronto was represented by just its president and the IODE, both serving a slightly more peripheral role. In all, the organizational network for 1910 suggests not only the importance of the IODE, but also the important role of imperial and women's movements in creat-

ing a tightly knit group of women representing local power in places like Ottawa and Wentworth County.

The growing importance of the IODE is highlighted in the tightly integrated network of women in 1910. The most influential woman was Mrs. R.G. Southerland of Wentworth and the National Council of Women, who was connected to Mrs. John Henry Wilson and Mrs. John (née Sarah) Calder. A grouping of women focused on the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa, which was tied to the IODE by Countess Grey, wife of the Governor General, and Mrs. E S. Gwynne. Both women were linked to otherwise separate groups of women within the organization. Tying the IODE to the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa was Mrs. Thomas Ahearn, who had the strongest ties to Mrs. E J. Thompson, who in turn had ties to Miss Janet Carnochan. These women belonged to both the women's movement and the historical societies. Mrs. R.G. Southerland, Countess Grey, and Mrs. Gwynne had three separate forms of ties within the IODE. The increasing number of women holding groups together from 1898 demonstrates how complex and varied the 1910 scene had become even while becoming more focused.

In contrast to the Loyalist and English families of Toronto that were so important in 1898, the 1910 network

⁸² Morgan, "History, Nation, and Empire," 492-94.

⁸³ Ontario Historical Society, *Annual Report of the Historical Society* (Toronto, William Briggs, 1899): 52-55; Morgan, "History, Nation, and Empire"; Linda McGuire Ambrose, *For Home and Country: The Centennial History of the Women's Institutes in Ontario* (Erin, Ontario: Boston Mills Press, 1996).

indicates the importance of the Niagara region and Ottawa over Toronto. The power and wealth of the key women often came from their family links to the professions and industry. Mrs. Thomas Ahearn, for example, was married to the Ottawa baron of transportation and electricity. The husband of Mrs. John Henry Wilson was a Loyalist descendant as well as a medical doctor in St. Thomas and eventually a Senator in Ottawa.⁸⁴ In contrast, Miss Janet Carnochan of Niagara-on-the-Lake was an historian and teacher who was the daughter of a cabinet maker and carpenter.⁸⁵ The few women who came from social power included the wife of the Governor General, Countess Grey, and Mrs. John Calder (née Sara Galbraith). The last named was descended from James Gage, a War of 1812 veteran of Stoney Creek whose house was on the battlefield. Mrs. John Calder's ability to support her causes came partially from the wealth of her clothier husband.⁸⁶

The importance of the imperial and women's movements as well as that of Ottawa and Wentworth County strongly suggests a need for greater work on organizations outside of Toronto. While an organizational picture suggests that the

IODE became more peripheral, the women suggest otherwise. The 1910 network indicates that the women's movement was able to tie together the patriotic and historical societies. By re-tracing the narrative provided by meeting minutes and newsletters from 1898 to 1910, social network analysis can serve both to support and to question historical interpretations. In contrast to the 1898 networks, which were dominated by Loyalist and historical societies and centered on upper-class and many Toronto women, the 1902 networks indicate the influence of feminism and imperial nationalism and the support of more small-town industrial middle- and upper-class women. In this shift, the Niagara historical society groups began to grow in influence while Toronto's historical societies became less influential in terms of the role of women. By 1910, other commemorative groups began to re-form ties broken following the rapid expansion that had begun in 1902. Their focus centered on the region that was central to the commemoration of the War of 1812 as well as feminist ideals, especially the area of Hamilton and Stoney Creek.

Cecilia Morgan has explored how these women used the past by identifying historical female figures, especially

⁸⁴ "Wilson Dr. John Henry," *A Cyclopædia of Canadian Biography: Being Chiefly Men of the Time: A Collection of Persons Distinguished in Professional and Political life: Leaders in the Commerce and Industry of Canada, and Successful Pioneers*, edited by George Maclean Rose (Toronto: Rose Publishing Co, 1886), 445.

⁸⁵ Cecilia Morgan, "Carnochan, Janet," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography online*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/carnochan_janet_15E.html (accessed 26 June 2015). For more on Carnochan also see Morgan, *Creating Colonial Pasts*.

⁸⁶ Peter Hanlon, "Beemer Sara Galbraith (Calder)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography online*, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/beemer_sara_galbraith_14E.html (accessed 26 June 2015).

Laura Secord. She also remarks on other interests of the first-wave feminists, including Lady Edgar's work on General Brock, but notes that few of Lady Edgar's colleagues followed in her path.⁸⁷ Approaching these groups from a class perspective and examining the work of patriotic and historical societies demonstrates that more conservative elements within maternal feminism used General Brock to advance their cause. Like Lady Edgar, these women were active both in societies that supported a more activist first-wave feminist agenda—one that focused on Laura Secord as a heroine—and in those that promoted a maternal feminist perspective. These women historians, including Mary Rose-Holden, also focused on the likes of Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant) to support their cause. This paper shows how Morgan's work can serve as a basis to examine a more complicated past and how SNA can both support and question current

historical interpretations.

In her speech on 19 August 1912, IODE Regent McClean spoke indirectly to the mayor stating, "I hereby present to you, as the representative of the Corporation of the Town of Brockville, this memorial of General Sir Isaac Brock, one of the Heroes of the War of 1812, who fell at Queenston Heights on October 13th of that year 'Fighting for King and Country,' and for whom our beautiful town derives its name."⁸⁸ The women of the platform party promoted a civic monument with local significance, rather than a military memorial, attaching themselves to the wider imperial project to gain prestige and looking towards Ottawa for influence and power. In doing so, they joined forces in their celebration of Brock with the women in Toronto and Wentworth County, relying on newer forms of wealth to maintain their prestige, and using elements of imperial nationalism and first-wave feminism to achieve their goals.

⁸⁷ Morgan, "History, Nation, and Empire." She mentioned Lady Edgar and Mary Agnes FitzGibbon as among the many female historians of the era. See FitzGibbon, *A Veteran of 1812*; Edgar, *General Brock*; Morgan, "History, Nation and Empire," 503.

⁸⁸ BMLA, Courthouse Avenue /Square file, "Canadians and Many Prominent People Took Part."