

Making Imperial Citizens: Empire Day in Canada (帝国市民の育成：カナダにおける 帝国記念日)

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SUMMARY IN JAPANESE: 19世紀末から20世紀後半にかけてのカナダとイギリス帝国の関係はいかに変容したのか。従来、とくに政治外交史では、第1次大戦の戦争貢献がカナダの発言力を向上させ、ウェストミンスター憲章がカナダのイギリス帝国からの自立を画したと描かれるなど、「イギリス帝国圏からアメリカ合衆国圏へ」ないしは「アメリカ化＋多民族化の進行＝イギリス帝国離れ」と図式的に捉えられてきた。これに対し本稿は、少なくとも1950年代中葉までは、カナダ社会におけるイギリス帝国のプレゼンスは大きく、カナダの社会統合にとってイギリス帝国への帰属意識が重要な意味を持っていたことを示し、先の図式の修正を試みる。

具体的には、19世紀末にオンタリオ州で発案され1970年代初頭まで続いた帝国記念日(エンパイア・デー)を素材として論ずる。第1に、帝国記念日の発案から採択に至る過程を考察し、帝国記念日が、イギリス帝国との絆を維持した形でのカナダの社会統合の必要性を青少年に訴える祝典として企図された点を明らかにする。第2に、1899年の最初の帝国記念日祝典をオンタリオ、ケベック両州について分析する。ローカルな記憶である「ロイヤリストの伝統」の根強いオンタリオ州では盛大に祝われたのに対し、ケベック州では、イギリス系(プロテスタント)の祝いとして、フランス系は無関心を示した。第3に、オンタリオ州の帝国記念日を1970年代初頭まで考察する。同州の帝国記念日は、イギリス系、非イギリス系を問わず、イギリス的

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民主主義や制度、イギリス臣民の特権を説く装置として機能していた。また、多民族化が進行するカナダ社会と多民族・多宗教の統合体としてのイギリス帝国とがパラレルに描かれたように、カナダがイギリス系を頂点としたヒエラルキー的多民族社会の統合・維持を図るにはイギリス帝国への帰属意識が重要と考えられた。こうした言説は、1950年代中葉まで見られたが、以後、イギリス帝国の解体が加速するにつれ消滅していった。

On the 1st of March, 1899, the Education Department of Ontario decided to observe Empire Day. From then on it was celebrated in Ontario until the early 1970s. Most Canadians today do not know the name; some people may remember what they did in their schooldays, but they often mistake Victoria Day for Empire Day. Indeed, for most Canadians, the British Empire is a past which has totally disappeared from their collective memory. Or, if not, their imperial past is something to be criticized in that it connotes imperialism and colonialism. This may be to some extent the case with most Canadian historians, too. Very few of them have studied from the imperial context.¹

Canada's war-time efforts, the Chanak Crisis, the Halibut Treaty, and the Statute of Westminster marked watersheds in Anglo-Canadian relations, promoting Canadian autonomy. Even after the concept of Canadian Citizenship was coined in 1947, however, the sense of belonging to the British Empire/Commonwealth existed and never lost its relevance in terms of Canadian national unity and Canadian mission as imperial and world citizens. Overall, Canadians had long identified themselves as Canadians and hyphenated-Canadians, and at the same time British subjects legally and mentally.

French Canadians, to be sure, have criticized British imperial control. They often raged against imperial activities, say, in the South African War. Although there are some studies on the relationship between French Canada and the Empire in French Canadian historiography, most of them deal with anti-imperialist activities, such as those of Henri Bourassa. And almost no studies have been made on French Canadians' attitudes towards the Empire *in peacetime*, which tends to make us overlook the very fact that they remained within the Empire. It can be said that to some degree even they seemed to have enjoyed their imperial citizenship.²

On the other hand, recent British historiography has been trying to escape

from national history to include the Empire and beyond, although the white dominions have been treated less than the dependencies,³ striving to elucidate socio-cultural aspects in forging imperial mentalities through an imperial network. Most British historians tend, however, to assume that such a network was initiated by Britain. Empire Day, they suggest, functioned as one of the important vehicles to teach young people the benefits and privileges they enjoyed as British subjects. This “popular imperialism” holds for Canada’s Empire Day, but were there any other meanings unique to Canada where there had always been threats at home and abroad and national unity had been one of the major issues? Besides, most scholarship on Empire Day has centred on the Earl of Meath’s Empire Day Movement (EDM) that began in 1904, almost neglecting Canada’s peculiar situation where the idea of this school day was born and the day was, unlike in Britain, officially recognized from the beginning.⁴

This paper attempts to clarify what the British Empire was for Canadians by analyzing Empire Day in Canada, especially Ontario, and to evaluate its role in making Canadians imperial and world citizens as well as Canadian citizens. By so doing, it will shed light on the persistency of “Britishness” in Canadian society and Canadian multiple identities based upon it even well after the “Age of Imperialism.”⁵

Specifically, this paper consists of three parts. First, how was the idea of Empire Day born in Ontario? What was the aim of its originators? Second, how was Empire Day observed in Canada, and what was the people’s reaction to the day? Mainly focusing on Ontario and Quebec, research on newspaper coverage will show us Canadians’ different ways of looking at imperial presence in terms of region and ethnicity. Thirdly, was there any perception gap between Canada and Britain?

Origin of Empire Day

1. George W. Ross and Education in Ontario

The idea of Empire Day was originated by Clementine Fessenden, a leading member of the Wentworth Historical Society (WHS), and her idea was supported by George W. Ross, then Education Minister of Ontario, later Premier of Ontario, who took the initiative in establishing this day as a day of observance.⁶

Since its colonial period, Ontario had been separated by the French communi-

ties from the other British colonies, while it had been exposed to American threats.⁷ With a British majority,⁸ Ontario was a fortress of “Britishness” in North America. Also it was a guardian of imperialism as well as provincial rights: in the 1880s and 90s, the electorate supported the Liberals provincially, while they voted for the Conservatives federally. Oliver Mowat, whose premiership lasted over 24 years, struggled for provincial rights against the centralizing scheme of John A. Macdonald. But, on a federal level, the people favoured the Conservatives’ policies in so far as they did not deter provincial autonomy. In the 1891 federal election, they preferred protective tariffs to unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. Regardless of the latter’s popularity, they gave a favourable response to Macdonald’s rhetoric in his “manifesto of loyalty.” Under these circumstances in November 1883 Ross was appointed Education Minister.

In August 1884, in the presidential address at the annual meeting of the Ontario Teachers’ Association (later called Ontario Educational Association (OEA)), Ross insisted upon the importance of fostering patriotism among the younger generation. He strongly suggested curriculum reform, especially on history teaching, regarding it as the most important subject for teaching pupils to distinguish between good and evil and to respect their country.⁹ Under his leadership, “Canadianization” was strongly promoted.

When he became Education Minister, Canadian history had been almost neglected. The pupils in the fourth class were taught the principal facts of Canadian history orally, and only English history was taught from a textbook and tested in the high school entrance examination.¹⁰ This situation radically changed with the education reform of 1885, which made Canadian history compulsory in public schools. Both Canadian and English history was to be included in the programme for the third and fourth classes, and Canadian as well as English history was to be tested in the high school entrance exam. In the third class teachers were required to teach principal events in Canadian and English history without unnecessary details or unimportant dates so that the pupils might find history interesting and valuable. And the outlines of English and Canadian history were taught in the fourth class with particular attention to Canadian events subsequent to 1841 and the municipal institutions of Ontario and the federal form of the Dominion government.¹¹ In accordance with the curriculum reform, history textbooks were revised to include Canadian history. *The Public School History of England and Canada*¹² that was used as a textbook in the fourth class contains Canadian history (from colonization to the modern era) as well as English history (from

Caesar's expedition to the modern era). English history accounts for two-thirds of the textbook, but it would be untrue to say that more stress was still laid on English history than Canadian. Textbooks were used as teachers' manuals and teachers were instructed to be careful not to teach all the contents of textbooks.¹³ So, in practice, much more Canadian history was taught in the schools of Ontario. The proportion of Canadian history in the high school entrance examination gradually increased after its introduction in 1888 and the ratio of Canadian to English history was reversed in 1894.¹⁴

Ross's "Canadianization" policy in history teaching was not the neglect of English history. In 1893 he planned to revise the Education Department's regulations so that English history could be taught only orally and be removed from the high school entrance examination. This plan met with strong opposition from the Conservatives, and Ross withdrew it,¹⁵ fearing that this might become an election issue. His action, however, was not a "blow at the Mother-land,"¹⁶ but practical response to the demands of public school teachers. Some of them had appealed for the elimination of history from the entrance exam, arguing that history for examination was incompatible with history teaching for human civilization. They also complained that they had not enough time to teach Canadian and English history, demanding the abolishment of English history because of its redundancy for Canadian history. Others insisted that teaching history orally would be much more effective to arouse pupils' interest in history.¹⁷ Afterwards as the demand to abolish history from the high school entrance examination became stronger,¹⁸ in August 1904 the Education Department decided to remove history from the exam.¹⁹ So it is not fair to say that Ross's abortive plan of 1893 was a reflection of his disloyalty to the Empire.

On the contrary, he had a strong desire to help history teaching function as one of the important means of inculcating patriotism. In *School System of Ontario*, Ross enumerated three important topics wherein special attention should be paid to teaching Canadian history: how Canada is governed, its relations to the Empire, and the obligations which citizenship imposes upon every Canadian to advance its prosperity.²⁰ He envisaged Canadian developments within the Empire, and he expected teaching Canadian history would contribute to fostering a "dual loyalty" to both Canada and the Empire.

By the education reform of 1885, "Review and Recitation" was added to the fifth class, in which every Friday pupils were to review the week's lessons in the morning and recite poetry and listen to lectures in the afternoon. Those afternoon

hours were especially expected to be used for spiritual and moral cultivation.²¹ Ross himself published *Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises* for the use of teachers. It consisted of four parts. "Part One: A Talk with Teachers" exemplifies themes of familiar talks or essays on Victoria's birthday and Dominion Day. It also gives examples for pupils to perform a play: for instance, First Parliament of Upper Canada and Sir Issac Brock's address in it.²² It must be noted that he points out that Victoria's birthday furnishes an excellent opportunity to "foster a national spirit." And he suggests that for two or three weeks before the day, half an hour every afternoon should be spent for familiar conversations on the most important events of the Queen's reign, the extent of the Empire and Canada's imperial relation in order to teach imperial unity. On the afternoon preceding the Queen's birthday, he proposes, an entertainment might be given, to which the parents and friends of the pupils should be invited.²³ "Part Two: Canadian Patriotism" and "Part Three: Universal Patriotism" consist of a number of patriotic poems. The former is an anthology of Canadian poetry, in which Loyalists' contributions to imperial unity are praised.²⁴ And suggested programmes for the Arbor Day exercises are in "Part Four: Arbor Day." This day, also introduced by the 1885 education reform, was celebrated in rural schools on the first Friday of May. On this day, it suggests, teachers should teach pupils the extent of Canadian forests and their commercial value as well as the beauties of nature.²⁵ The success of Arbor Day set a precedent for Empire Day.²⁶

An attempt at "Canadianization" in education was also found outside Ontario. As the British North America Act (BNA Act) regulated most educational matters to be under the jurisdiction of provincial governments, each province developed its own education system. But some attempts were made for unification in education as early as October 1867, when members of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Lower Canada (later Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec) demanded an institution be established to supervise provincial educational associations. It was not until May 1889 that the association sounded out other educational institutions in and out of Quebec. With their affirmative replies, an arrangement committee was set up, the members of which included provincial superintendents, deputy ministers of education and presidents of educational associations, and university presidents such as George M. Grant of Queen's University. Ross was appointed president of the committee to discuss such an association's name, organization and constitution. In July 1892 the first general meeting of the Dominion Educational Association (DEA) was

held in Montreal, where Ross was chosen president. There the executive committee emphasized the importance of fostering a sense of belonging to Canada beyond provincial and sectional interests, and McGill University's President William Dawson made an impressive closing address, insisting that imperial loyalty be the basis of Canadian unity.²⁷

The DEA set up the Dominion History Committee, which proposed to publish a history textbook for the use of all the schools in Canada, and this was given approval.²⁸ A contest was held to produce the text, and W. H. P. Clement, an Ontario lawyer, later the Supreme Court Judge of British Columbia won the first prize. *History of the Dominion of Canada* was published in 1897, and was used in high school history classes in Ontario. Its leitmotif is Canadian development and unity through "dual loyalty."²⁹

As the DEA was a voluntary institution and anyone who paid the annual fees (a dollar) could become a member,³⁰ it had no right to control provincial education. Nevertheless, the association, comprising most of the prominent figures in educational circles throughout Canada, seems to have played an important role for national unity through education. The DEA's adoption of Empire Day, as will be seen, became an important step towards its realization.

2. Clementine Fessenden and the Loyalist Tradition

From the mid-19th century onward, interest in Canadian history, the Loyalist Tradition in particular, was aroused. From 1882 to 1896 no less than fifteen local historical societies were established. Since the United Empire Loyalist Centennial was held in 1884, Loyalist publications had proliferated until the end of the Great War.³¹ In 1886 the United Empire Loyalists Association was founded. Loyalists, who had been labeled as "losers" or "traitors" in the American Revolution were worshipped as pioneers in the wilderness, founders of Canadian liberal democratic society and defenders against the American rebels. Besides, the militia "myth" of the War of 1812 was invented to exaggerate the contributions of Loyalists and their descendants during the war.³²

The "invented" Loyalist Tradition had not been the monopoly of the descendants of the Loyalists. As Norman Knowles observes, it was created as a usable past by various people, not only the Loyalists' descendants but also "political propagandists, status-conscious professionals, reform-minded women, and Native peoples."³³ Historical societies were composed mainly of such non-Loyalist descendants.³⁴

The WHS was founded in 1889 with the aim of studies of history and genealogy, collection of historical documents, publication of historical literature, and worship of ancestors. The Wentworth area located between Lakes Erie and Ontario, had been a memorable historic stage, but its history, especially Loyalists', had been almost forgotten. The WHS realized the past should be shared so as to contribute to the development and stability of the northern half of North America.³⁵ Mrs. Fessenden, secretary of the society, made a speech entitled "The Development of a National Literature," in which she insisted upon the importance of fostering a sense of identity throughout Canadian society that was constructed on the development of British institutions and she suggested that a mother sing patriotic songs to her children and a father read them Loyalists' brave stories of self-sacrifice.³⁶ An excursion to the battlefields of the War of 1812, such as Stoney Creek, and a fund-raising campaign for constructing a war memorial were observed,³⁷ and similar activities were held by other historical societies in Ontario.³⁸ Fessenden regularly attended meetings of the Ontario Historical Society (OHS) as a representative of the WHS, and made efforts to spread the Loyalist Tradition among various people, with her husband Rev. E. J. Fessenden.³⁹

3. Fessenden and Ross

On 29 July 1897, Fessenden's letter appeared in Montreal *Star*, in which she insisted on the importance of inculcating the feelings of "One flag, one fleet, one throne" in young people as British subjects, suggesting the establishment of a League of the Union Jack, which would present the Union Jack to schools throughout Canada. She also proposed that teachers should use every opportunity to explain the history and significance of the flag to foster loyalty to the Empire.⁴⁰ The idea had come to her the year before when she had been touched by the WHS's condolence resolution on her husband's death, by which her grand-daughter was given honorary membership of the society.⁴¹ She had, in addition, intended to enlighten the people so that they might give up their blind enthusiasm aroused by the Queen's Diamond Jubilee when Prime Minister Laurier was knighted.⁴² She was gravely concerned about their ignorance of true patriotism, pointing out that foreign flags were hoisted near the U.S. border.⁴³

Her idea obtained an affirmative response. In August a number of letters supporting her idea appeared in the paper. A letter from "a U. E. Loyalist descendant" maintained that the Union Jack should be hoisted in all the school buildings throughout Canada and that teaching the glorious history that had un-

folded under the flag would strengthen imperial ties, eventually leading to imperial federation. Another letter, disappointed with the fact that the flags of the United States, a rebels' country, were hoisted near the border near Detroit, insisted on the importance of teaching the significance of the Union Jack.⁴⁴

With a fair wind behind her, Fessenden wrote to Ross, Laurier, and the Hamilton Board of Education (HBE). In reply Ross acknowledged her patriotism and supposed that a League of the Union Jack would enhance patriotic spirit among Canadians. Although he promised her that the Education Department would assist her idea, he informed her that for the time being the department could not get involved on the ground that there was no departmental regulation on patriotic activities. Then he suggested she ask school inspectors or councillors of the education board first.⁴⁵ As for Laurier, knowing that she was a sister of his old friend, N. Trenholme, he gave her his private support, but he declared that his federal government had no intention of interfering in educational matters.⁴⁶

It was the HBE that took up her idea officially. On 2 December 1897, she was allowed to attend its Internal Management Committee where she had the opportunity to propose observing a Patriotic Day and the establishment of the League of the Union Jack. The committee decided that her suggestion would be discussed at the next meeting to be held the following year.⁴⁷ On 7 January, she proposed the observance of a Patriotic Day.⁴⁸ Mr. S. T. Lazier, a member of the committee and former president of the OEA, supported her idea and made a motion that one afternoon in a year should be spent on patriotic activities. It was carried, and a sub-committee was set up for further deliberations.⁴⁹

In the meantime Fessenden had gotten in touch with Ross. She suggested he make 10 February—the same day that the Treaty of Paris was concluded in 1763—Flag Day.⁵⁰ Having found her suggestion worth considering, Ross informed her that his Department intended to deliberate on it if the HBE would lay down a definite scheme.⁵¹

On 13 January, as the sub-committee handed in to the Internal Management Committee a report that a Flag Day would be useful and possible, the committee decided to submit this plan to the Council of the Board,⁵² which passed a resolution that the afternoon of the last day before the summer vacation (30 June) would be set aside for patriotic exercises.⁵³

Ross welcomed this decision, but showed disapproval of the date, indicating that he preferred a day when all pupils would be in school. He then informed her that he would issue an official statement on the date after discussion with school

inspectors and some others.⁵⁴ Meanwhile she wrote to many newspapers and other educational institutions and historical societies to obtain public support. In the *Mail & Empire* of 29 January, for instance, she maintained that Canadians owed their success to their loyal and patriotic past and that they should celebrate a Patriotic or Flag Day in which they would sing patriotic songs in praise of the Loyalists' heroic acts, so that their children might realize the "Homeric age of Canada" the Loyalists had built. She also referred to the approval from the presidents of the OHS, WHS and Canadian Club as well as Ross, Laurier and the HBE, and she indicated that 29 March—the day on which, in 1867, the BNA Act was accredited by Queen Victoria—was the most popular choice.⁵⁵

This raised a heated debate again. At issue this time was on what date a Flag Day would be observed, not any longer whether it should be celebrated. An anonymous letter from Florida in the United States depicts the importance of selecting a day, referring to the requirements as follows. First, such a day must be observed throughout the Empire. Secondly, it must have relation with the Union Jack. Thirdly, it must be a school day. And the letter points out that none of the dates raised, 29 March, 24 May and 1 July, meet the requirements.⁵⁶ Because the date symbolizes the significance of the day, its selection had to be made carefully. So it seems reasonable to suppose that Ross tried to take the initiative to suppress a heated debate and to check arbitrary decisions by public opinion.

In the meantime, other institutions had been discussing a Flag Day. In February the Canadian Club in Hamilton decided to support her idea.⁵⁷ And in May the Dundas Board of Education passed a resolution that 29 July—the date when the British Parliament passed the BNA Act—should be Flag Day.⁵⁸ The London Board of Education (LBE), at about the same time, petitioned Ross for the celebration of a Flag Day throughout Ontario.⁵⁹ On 6 June, the WHS passed a resolution for the same petition as the LBE did.⁶⁰ Then in July, as representatives of the historical society, Fessenden and President George Mills attended the annual meeting of the OHS in which they made a motion to present the same petition as the WHS's and it was carried unanimously.⁶¹

As noted, Fessenden's idea had strong support, but there had been various opinions on the selection of the day. It was Ross who broke the deadlock. He finally took the initiative to decide a date and name so that such a day would be observed on the same day in the province, and if possible throughout Canada: "nationalization of time."

4 . Empire Day Adopted

In May 1898, Ross wrote to the superintendents of various provinces to ask their views about the scheme for Flag Day and the suitability of its date and title.⁶² Having received their favourable responses Ross sent his memorandum to Mr. A. H. MacKay, DEA vice-president and Nova Scotia superintendent, in order to win the support of the DEA, the annual meeting of which was supposed to be held in August.⁶³ As Ross, also its vice-president, could not attend the meeting owing to the opening of a new session in the Ontario legislature, he asked MacKay to read the memorandum on his behalf.⁶⁴

On the first day of the meeting, MacKay read the memorandum:

One of the questions which I intended to bring before the Association was the selection of some day during the school year to be specially devoted to the cultivation of loyalty and attachment to our country and to the institutions under which we live. . . . I am glad to be able to say that the answer [from the superintendents of the different provinces] to my enquiries evinced the most cordial approval of the proposal, and all that remains now is for the Association to fix the date for observing such a day and select a title.⁶⁵

In the memorandum Ross indicates the following titles suggested by the superintendents: “Flag Day,” “Britannia Day,” “Patriotic Day” and “Empire Day.” Then he states that the last one seems to be most acceptable. As for “Flag Day,” which was the title of a Patriotic Day in the United States,⁶⁶ he comments, “it is wanting in aptitude to our mode of thought and those notions of patriotism and loyalty which I think we should cultivate.”⁶⁷ He shows the reason why he strongly preferred “Empire Day” as follows:

1. “Empire Day” suggests that larger British sentiment which I think now prevails throughout the Empire, and to which Canada has for many years contributed not a little. . . . The greatest sentiment as well as the most stirring, which we can put into the minds and hearts of our children, in my opinion, is “*Civis Britannicus sum*”; and to give that sentiment its fullest force, we should broaden it so as to include the whole British Empire.
2. . . . Canada’s prosperity can with greater certainty be assured as a part of the British Empire, than in any other way. . . .⁶⁸

As to the time for the celebration of such a day, he requested that the school day immediately preceding 24 May be selected for the following reasons: this form of designating the day would overcome any difficulty that might arise when the Queen's birthday fell on Sunday or Monday; the birthday, just after the school day, is a day when all British subjects celebrate Victoria in a spirit of the deepest respect, for her pre-eminence as "mother, wife and Queen," and with profoundest loyalty to their country. After Victoria's demise, the recollection of her glorious reign would by reflection, "still quicken the pulse of the many hundreds of thousands of school children, as they remember the greatness of the Empire over which she reigned so long."⁶⁹ The climate around this day is usually favourable, either for indoor or outdoor exercises; the ratepayers are relatively less busy; and this day would disturb the school work less than at any other season of the year, because the annual examinations are a month or six weeks later.⁷⁰

This proposal was deliberated on by the Committee on Resolution, which decided to include it into the association's resolution as follows:

4. Resolved: That the Association recommends that the school-day immediately preceding May 24th, be set apart as "Empire Day," and that the Departments of Education in the provinces and territories be respectfully requested to arrange for such exercises in their respective schools as will tend to the increase of a sound patriotic feeling.⁷¹

This resolution having been adopted unanimously by the DEA, Ontario's Department of Education began deliberating over Empire Day. Then, on 1 May 1899, the Department officially decided on its observance, declaring "the Schoolday immediately preceding the 24th of May shall be devoted specially to the study of the history of Canada in its relation to the British Empire and to such other exercises as might tend to increase the interests of the pupils in the history of their own country and strengthen their attachment to the Empire to which they belong—such day to be known as 'Empire Day.'⁷² Although the DEA was a voluntary organization and its resolution had no right to check Departments of Education, its approval seems to have affected each province. As for Ross, he utilized this association to prompt his long-cherished desire for "Canadianization" and unity in Canadian education, and also to make the Empire Day celebrations non-partisan.

Educational matters being under the jurisdiction of the provincial government had led each province to develop its own education system, which hampered inter-provincial or nationwide educational collaboration. Empire Day was an experiment to improve such a situation.

First Empire Day⁷³

1. Province of Ontario

In the circular to the inspectors, Ross suggested programmes for the day, ordering that “[p]art of the forenoon might be occupied with a familiar talk by the teacher on the British Empire, its extent and resources, the relation of Canada to the Empire, the unity of the Empire and its advantages, the privileges which, as British subjects, we enjoy; the extent of Canada and its resources, readings from Canadian and British authors by the teacher, interesting historical incidents in connection with our own country.” Then he recommended “[t]he afternoon, commencing at 2:30 o’clock, might be occupied with patriotic recitations, songs, readings by the pupils and speeches by Trustees, clergymen and such other persons as may be available. The Trustees and public generally should be invited to be present at these exercises. During the day the British flag or Canadian ensign should be hoisted over the school building.”⁷⁴

Following this instruction, all the schools including separate schools observed the day. Each school elaborated its own programmes. Overall, the leitmotif of Empire Day in the schools was the celebration of Ontario’s contribution to the Empire, and Ontario’s local history described as the Loyalist tradition was eulogized. An example at the Gladstone Avenue School in Toronto is very symbolic. There, Laura Clark attended and told the schoolchildren about her grandmother, Laura Secord’s courageous deeds which Clark herself had been told about by her grandmother. Then, the pupils sang songs, such as *The Maple Leaf Forever* which this school’s principal Alexander Muir had himself written.⁷⁵

Outside Toronto, for example, in Whitby, pupils of all the schools and the public of the town gathered at a music hall, in which a girl dressed as Laura Secord sat on a throne on a platform, and the other girls who acted as the English, Irish, Scottish, and French respectively, offered reverently their gifts. The gifts of money collected by the pupils of public, model (attached to normal schools for training teachers), separate (publicly funded schools which includes religious

education for minorities, in this case Roman Catholics) and high schools in the town, were to be presented to the Women's Historical Society to set up a monument to commemorate Laura Secord.⁷⁶

In Ontario, generally speaking, the participants were instructed in the values and privileges they enjoyed as British subjects, and they were also instructed in the local history coloured by the Loyalist tradition. Some newspapers welcomed this event as an opportunity to show Canadian imperial contributions so as to clear up Britain's misunderstanding about Canada's unwillingness to contribute to the British Imperial Navy and its uncompromising attitude in the Alaskan Boundary dispute.⁷⁷

2. Province of Quebec

In Quebec, the situation was rather different. This province where public instruction was divided into Protestants and Catholics found Empire Day celebrations only in Protestant schools. In Montreal, Empire Day school concerts were held in the evening before Empire Day, which Governor-General Minto and other dignitaries attended. In comparison with Ontario's Empire Day, Quebec's was much more imperialistic—"Empire first"—in which the English Montrealers glorified the expansion of the Empire, justifying its conquest of New France so as to make the glorious imperial past part of the public memory of all Canadians. And they maintained further imperial contributions by Canadians.⁷⁸ Unlike in Ontario, the Loyalist tradition did not take root much in Quebec, and the English Canadians, surrounded by an overwhelming French Canadian majority, regarded this Empire Day as a suitable opportunity to show off their presence and pro-British sentiment.

What about the French Canadians' response? Quebec's French-language newspapers except *La Patrie* and *La Presse* dealt little or not at all with Empire Day, unlike the English press. Even these two papers showed their indifference to this day. *La Presse* which enjoyed the largest circulation in Canada in those days pointed out that Empire Day was *une nouvelle fête pour les écoliers protestants* and *une fête pour les Anglais*.⁷⁹

Among the newspapers examined, only *Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe* implicitly criticized Empire Day, by attacking a scheme of the establishment of a national bureau, which had been proposed by Ross and other members of the DEA. Empire Day was regarded as a step toward unification of education coloured with British imperialism to neglect vernacular culture.⁸⁰

In contrast with Empire Day, *La Presse* and *La Patrie* gave much more space to Victoria Day. *La Patrie*, for example, described Queen Victoria as a fine ruler of a heterogeneous Empire, saying that she spoke French, German, and Italian as well as English, read Latin, and to a considerable degree Greek too, and tried to understand “Hindustani” which was totally different from European languages, making efforts to maintain her Asian subjects’ loyalties. Since her accession to the throne, the prestige of the British monarchy had been extremely enhanced and she deserved to reign over diverse races with different beliefs, traditions, and laws. Also for the French Canadians, during her reign they had kept their belief, language and tradition under British institutions and democracy.⁸¹ As this indicates, French Canada welcomed her as a suitable ruler of a heterogeneous Empire as long as they could enjoy their rights, which also indicates, in terms of gender, that domesticity represented by the Queen—lady, mother, and wife—was extremely important to unite the diverse and heterogeneous Empire.

Almost all the French press gave much more priority to their local news, especially the festival of St. Jean Baptiste on 24 June. Every French newspaper referred to preparations by La Société St. Jean Baptiste, which would play an important role in enhancing their *patriotisme*. For them, St. Jean Baptiste is “*La Fête Nationale*,” embedded in their vernacular culture, and Empire Day was a threat to enforce imperial conditions upon them.⁸²

3. Britain and Canada

The Earl of Meath took a hint from Canada and the first Empire Day was celebrated in Britain in 1904. His Empire Day Movement, however, had been a private enterprise until 1916 when wartime conditions led to its official recognition.

Aside from Meath and his circles, the British people in general seemed to be indifferent to Canadian Empire Day. The *Times* reported on the Empire Day school concert held in Montreal and also carried Queen Victoria’s reply to the Empire Day telegram messages that had been sent from the children of Montreal and Halifax. The newspaper, however, mistook Empire Day for Victoria Day. Besides, this paper reported mostly on a message by Mr. Foster, an American consul, in which he praised British and American industrial and military developments (not a bit on Canadian content quoted in this paper!). As for Canada, what the *Times* correspondent paid much more attention to were the federal budget, a bill to establish training schools for lady colonists in the North-West, and a strike over the wages of the Grand Trunk Railway.⁸³

These facts indicate that there existed a perception gap between Canadians and the British. For the latter, Empire Day was not regarded as Canada's imperial contribution, against Canadian's expectations to clear up Britain's misunderstanding about Canada's attitudes in naval issues and the Alaskan Boundary dispute.

Changing of "Britishness" as Seen in Empire Day in Ontario

In Ontario Empire Day continued until 1956, and the next year the name was changed to "Commonwealth Day," and from 1964 "Commonwealth and Citizenship Day." The day continued to be observed until the early 1970s when the imperial tone totally disappeared from its observance. From 1903 until then, the Ontario Education Ministry had issued booklets for schools almost annually.⁸⁴

From the 1900s, the celebrations were becoming popular so as to make Empire Day a popular annual event equal to Dominion Day.⁸⁵ In Toronto, for example, Empire Day parades were held in the afternoon, in which school cadets and military bands marched down the streets, and girls decorated Empire-related monuments in the Queen's Park and elsewhere.⁸⁶ During and after the First World War, Ontario's imperial contributions were widely admired. In the 1910s, the Empire Day concert began at Massey Hall.

In the 1920s, sponsored by the Imperial Order of the Daughter of the Empire⁸⁷ and the League of Empire, essay contests, correspondence, and exchange programme of teachers and schoolchildren began in order to unite various parts of the British Empire. An Empire Day celebration was established as an annual event, but thereafter seemed to wane, partly due to the invasion of American popular culture among the younger generation.⁸⁸ The Education Department of Ontario asked trustees and teachers to re-recognize and emphasize the meaning of Empire Day, pointing out that the day was not a holiday, but an important day for understanding Canadians' imperial citizenship and imperial influence throughout the world.⁸⁹ From the late 1920s, pacifists and the United Farmers of Ontario opposed cadet training and the "glorification of war" in education,⁹⁰ which gradually led to reducing militaristic content in the observance. Further protests were made by communists, such as the Young Pioneers and the Young Comrades, claiming Empire Day as a capitalist celebration, against which the Education Ministry and the police took precautions.⁹¹ The Depression in the 1930s also

reduced the size of Empire Day celebrations.

During and after the interwar period, the discourse clearly changed, which was a reflection of Canadian autonomous status in the Empire/Commonwealth: Canada was no longer a colony but a sister nation. What is also noticeable was that Empire Day booklets emphasized the relevance of imperial presence in terms of Canadian national unity. The booklet of 1926, for example, points out that “Ontario is the Empire in miniature,”⁹² and the one of 1931 admires this racially, linguistically and religiously diverse Empire as a very unique entity in the world.⁹³

With another world war approaching, much more prominent was the current situation within and outside the Empire, such as imperial conferences, the League of Nations, royal visits, and Christmas messages from the throne. And when the Second World War broke out, school children’s wartime efforts, such as the Penny Bank, and the Canadian Junior Red Cross were widely reported.

After the war, the relevance of “Britishness” in Canadian unity did not immediately cease to exist. Empire Day booklets continued to describe Canadian wartime contributions which helped bring peace to the British Empire/Commonwealth, but much more depicted was the diversity of the Empire, consisting of peoples of different races, religions and beliefs. Although this kind of rhetoric was found in earlier periods, unity in the diversity of Canada and Ontario as well was much more emphasized, referring to, for example, Ontario’s Anti-Discrimination Act, and Canadian’s triple citizenship depicting a changing Canada, a changing Commonwealth, and a changing World.⁹⁴ As this indicates, the Education Ministry even more emphasized the fact that Canada was diversifying with the influx of non-British immigrants, and this meant that it became a microcosm of the Empire, which helped to make Canadians feel much more like the British and share “Britishness.” In addition, Empire Day booklets suggested to teachers how to observe the day in much more detail, carrying several model examples, such as drama and discussion, according to grade.

After the mid-1950s, Empire Day booklets became simple, referring to the British Empire/Commonwealth very briefly. The booklets from 1958 to 1960 did not mention it at all. Then between 1961 and 1964, member countries of the Commonwealth were featured.⁹⁵ From 1965 to 1968, Empire Day booklets solely dealt with Canadian citizenship, then the booklet of 1969 was the last one that referred to the Commonwealth. In 1970 and 1971, Empire Day booklets talked about Canadian citizenship and geography only.

As seen above, it can be said that after the mid-1950s imperial presence in

Canadian society gradually lost its relevance. Both external and internal events after the mid-1950s, such as the Suez Crisis (1956), the Canadian Centennial (1967), Quebec's Quiet Revolution, and the introduction of the "Point System" (1967) marked Canadian "independence" from imperial control and Canada's emergence as a multi-ethnic nation in which British Canadians were no longer a controlling majority.

In another way, at least as late as the mid-1950s, Empire Day played an important role in helping to make Canadians share "Britishness." The word "British" or "Briton" connotes "a White Anglo-Saxon concept of hegemony," but at the same time it implies "a belief that a new man, inspired by free institutions and the British way, was being forged from many nationalities."⁹⁶ It can be said that this duality of "Britishness" to conceal imperialist design enabled British Canadians to dominate in Canadian society for a long time. In Empire Day celebrations, the appeal to share "Britishness," or a sense of belonging to the British Empire, functioned to unite diverse Canadians.

Constitutionally and institutionally, to be sure, the British Empire had been a stepping-stone for Canadian autonomy, first within the Empire and later in the world order. In terms of Canadian national unity, imperial presence had also been extremely important. As these indicate, the fact that Canada was diversifying with increasing numbers of non-British immigrants meant that it became a microcosm of the Empire, which helped to make Canadians share "Britishness." In this regard, for Canadians the British Empire was an "imagined community" at least as late as the mid-1950s.

These arguments might be open to criticism in that they tend to ignore the fabric of local and ethnic history described as "limited identities" in Canadian society. Recent scholarship, however, has been paying attention to the multiplicity of identities. "Identities are not like hats,"⁹⁷ and Canadians identified themselves as Canadians and hyphenated-Canadians, and at the same time British as well. It might be said that a sense of being Canadian did not contradict a sense of being British at least until the mid-1950s when British Canadians still dominated Canadian society with the imperial discourse of "Britishness" mentioned above.

The British Empire itself had been a heterogeneous entity, and the rhetoric that Canada is a miniature of the British Empire—just as the British Empire consists of various races and religionists, Canada is a society in which all people of different racial and cultural backgrounds can coexist—carried weight in attracting new immigrants and helped to realize Canadian unity in diversity. But during the

mid-1950s, especially after the Suez Crisis, the status of the British Empire/Commonwealth declined decisively. Under these circumstances such rhetoric ceased to be of significance to Canadians, especially to an increasing number of non-British immigrants. The British Empire/Commonwealth was no longer an axis to unite former colonials.

Conclusion

To analyze Empire Day from various angles elucidates the relation between Canada and the British Empire from various points of view. First, the idea of Empire Day was born in Ontario, and the first celebration was held in 1899, with the aim of instilling schoolchildren with a “dual loyalty” to Canada and the Empire and to promote Canada’s national unity with its imperial ties. In Ontario, the celebration was mostly an extension of its vernacular Loyalist tradition, whereas in Quebec, it did not contribute to the creation of a single nationalism.

Secondly, we traced Empire Day in Ontario from 1899 to the early 1970s, the vicissitudes of which can be found reflected in Canada’s internal and external situations. Around the mid-1950s, with the decline of the British Empire, Empire Day lost its relevance and popularity. But at least as late as that date, Empire Day was expected to be a vehicle even for non-British immigrants to share “Britishness” so as to enjoy British democracy and institutions, and privileges as British subjects.⁹⁸ Empire Day functioned to make as many Canadians be more British or imperial citizens as possible, so the relevance of a sense of belonging to the Empire did persist for quite a long time.

Thirdly, Empire Day was one of the vehicles to unite the younger generation throughout the Empire, along with other educational movements such as the League of Empire. Most scholarship on British popular imperialism, however, as noted before, tends to assume that such vehicles were invented by Britain, neglecting Canada’s peculiar situation. But the idea of Empire Day was born and the day was officially recognized from its first observance. Canada’s imperial contribution, at least in this case, was ahead of the motherland, although, as the coverage of Empire Day by the *Times* shows [see Britain and Canada], this was not to be fully understood by its people.

Notes

- 1 For the historiography, see Doug Owram, "Canada and the Empire," in Robin W. Winks ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol.5, *Historiography* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999). Buckner insists on the relevance of the study from an imperial context. Phillip A. Buckner, "Whatever Happened to the British Empire?," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* N.S., 4 (1993).
- 2 They opposed imperial activities, but some of them didn't necessarily oppose it, not only joining the Zuave pontifical and Napoleon III's expedition to Mexico, but also taking part in the expedition to Khartoum to save Gordon. They also welcomed British supremacy in Cyprus and Asia Minor, sharing a "civilizing mission" with the British. Arthur I. Silver, "Quelques considérations sur les rapports du Canada français avec l'impérialisme britannique au XIX^e siècle," *Revue canadienne des Études africaines* 15, no.1 (1981). As Martin observes, "collaboration with the Imperial Power as a policy of accommodation rather than surrender." Ged Martin, "Canada from 1815," in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, vol.3, *The Nineteenth Century* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 534-35.
- 3 For example, the series of *Studies in British Imperialism* of Manchester University Press with John M. MacKenzie as general editor. See also A. G. Hopkins, "Back to the Future: From National History to Imperial History," *Past & Present* 164 (1999): 198-243; Carl Bridge & Kent Fedorowich, eds., *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity* (London: Frank Cass, 2003); Buckner, "Was There a 'British Empire'?: *The Oxford History of the British Empire* from a Canadian Perspective," *Acadiensis* 32, no.1 (2002).
- 4 Most studies have centred on Meath's EDM in Britain. And there is only one study on Ontario's Empire Day by Professor Stamp, in which he briefly illustrates Empire Day history. J. O. Springhall, "Lord Meath, Youth, and Empire," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, no.4 (1970); John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984); John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986); J. A. Mangan ed., "Benefits Bestowed?" (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988); J. A. Mangan ed., *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990); Keith Jeffrey, ed., "An Irish Empire?": *Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996); Alan Penn, *Targeting Schools: Drill, Militarism and Imperialism* (London: Woburn Press, 1999); Robert M. Stamp, "Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario: the Training of Young Imperialists," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 8, no.3 (1973). For Manitoba, see Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba, 1918-1945," *Manitoba History* 36 (1999). As for the origin of Empire Day, most studies rely on Meath's autobiography published in 1923 (after Mrs. Fessenden's death). In it he asserted that he had suggested an EDM as early as 1896 [Reginald, 12th Earl of Meath, *Memories of the Nineteenth Century* (London 1923) 337]. The *Times* (1 January 1897) carried his letter of 28 December 1896 proposing that Victoria's coronation day (20 June) should be a school holiday and that on this day pupils sing the national anthem and

- salute the Union Jack. He did not, however, mention at all in his autobiography what he had done by the time his letter requesting the introduction of Canada's Empire Day into all the parts of the Empire appeared in *Times* (25 April 1899). Furthermore, in both an article in the *United Empire* and an interview with *Times*, he replied that he himself was *not* the originator of Empire Day, admitting that he had got the idea from Canada [*United Empire* 5 (1914): 667-68; *Times* (24 May 1921)]. So, it is fair to say that he retracted his former words in his autobiography and that his proposal of 1896 had not directly been related to the EDM.
- 5 Besides diplomatic history, Anglo-Canadian relations have not been much studied. In intellectual history, Carl Berger describes the relationship between Canadian nationalism and imperialism in his seminal work, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Idea of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).
 - 6 It is quite hard to decide who was the founder of Empire Day. A dispute occurred with John Castell Hopkins' publication of *The Origin and History of Empire Day* (n.p., 1910), in which he stated that Ross was the founder. In response Fessenden published a booklet entitled *The Genesis of Empire Day: A Reply to Mr. J. Castell Hopkins* (n.p., 1910), citing various documents to justify her claim that she was the real founder. As will be seen, it is most reasonable to suppose that both efforts by Ross on an official level and Fessenden on a relatively popular one realized Empire Day.
 - 7 S. F. Wise, "The Ontario Political Culture: A Study in Complexities," in Graham White, ed., *The Government and Politics of Ontario* 4th ed., (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1990), 45.
 - 8 As of 1901, the ethnic origin of the Ontario population (total: 2,182,947) was as follows: British 79.35% (English 32.13%; Irish 28.6%; Scottish 18.3%; Others 0.32%); German 9.31%; French 7.27%; Dutch 1.07%. For the birthplace, Ontario 81.76% (a historic high); British Isles 10.99% (England 5.52%; Ireland 3.12%; Scotland 2.29%; Wales 0.04%); "foreign" born 3.52% (United States 2.02%). Charles W. Humphries, "*Honest Enough to Be Bold*": *The Life and Times of Sir James Pliny Whitney* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 103, 105-06; Randall White, *Ontario 1610-1985: A Political and Economic History* (Toronto: Dundurn, 1985), 157.
 - 9 George W. Ross, "President's Address," *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Ontario Teachers' Association*, 12-14 August 1884, 30-33.
 - 10 Edison J. Quick, "The Development of Geography and History Curricula in the Elementary Schools of Ontario 1846-1966," (Ed. D. thesis, University of Toronto unpublished 1967), 135.
 - 11 Ontario, Department of Education, *Report of the Minister of Education for the Year 1885 [RME 1885]*, xxxiii, 11, 13-14
 - 12 G. Mercy Adam & W. J. Robertson, *Public School History of England and Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1886).
 - 13 Ross, *The School System of Ontario: Its History and Distinctive Features* (New York: D. Appleton, 1896), 63; Adam & Robertson, v.
 - 14 Quick, 140-01.
 - 15 *RME 1894*, 63.
 - 16 Toronto *Empire*, 2 December 1893.
 - 17 For example, William Houston, "The Teaching of History," *Minutes of the Twenty-fourth Annual Convention of the Ontario Teachers' Association*, 12-14 August 1884, 38; S. G. Brown, "Entrance

Making Imperial Citizens: Empire Day in Canada

- Examinations,” *Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Ontario Educational Association*, 27-29 March 1894, 169-70; *Toronto Empire*, 2 December 1893; Quick, 138-39, 143-44. On 29 March 1894, the Public School section at the OEA annual meeting passed a resolution to remove English history from high school entrance examinations. *Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Convention of the Ontario Educational Association*, 27-29 March 1894, 169-70.
- 18 For example, E. W. Bruce, “Should the Entrance Examination be Abolished?” *Proceedings of the Forty-first Annual Convention of the Ontario Educational Association*, 1-3 April 1902, 303.
- 19 *RME* 1885, 88.
- 20 Ross, *The School System of Ontario*, 63.
- 21 *RME* 1885, 15.
- 22 Ross, *Patriotic Recitations and Arbor Day Exercises* (Toronto: Warwick & Rutter, 1893), 3-40.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 3-6.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 141-218.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 317-20; *RME* 1885, 68.
- 26 Every year he proudly reported on the success of Arbor Day in *RMEs*.
- 27 “History of the Dominion Educational Association,” DEA, *Minutes of Proceedings, with Addresses, Papers and Discussions, of the First Convention of the Association held at Montreal*, 5-8 July 1892, 3-8, 27-28, 37, 49-53, 151.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 33-34
- 29 W. H. P. Clement, *The History of the Dominion of Canada* (Toronto: W. Briggs 1897); Robert M. Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario 1876-1976* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 33-34.
- 30 *Minutes of Proceedings, with Addresses, Papers and Discussions, of the First Convention of the Association held at Montreal*, 5-8 July 1892, 22.
- 31 Berger, 78-108; Norman Knowles, *Inventing the Loyalists: The Ontario Loyalist Tradition and the Creation of Usable Pasts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), Chaps. 4 & 5.
- 32 The Centennial Committee, *The Centennial of the Settlement of Upper Canada by the United Empire Loyalists, 1784-1884: The Celebrations at Adolphustown, Toronto and Niagara* (Toronto: Rose, 1885), 21, 120. On the militia myth, George Sheppard, *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994). On the historical “heroization” of Laura Secord and efforts by women including Sarah Anne Curson, Beverly Boutillier & Allison Prentice, eds., *Creating Historical Memories: English-Canadian Women and the Works of History* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1997); Colin M. Coates & Cecilia Morgan, *Heroines and History: Representations of Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002).
- 33 Knowles, i, 150-56.
- 34 The majority of the OHS were not descendants of the Loyalists. Gerald Killan, *Preserving Ontario’s Heritage: A History of the Ontario Historical Society* (Ottawa: Love Printing Services, 1976), 32. Nor was Clementine Fessenden a Loyalist descendant. Born in Canada East in 1844, she married E. J. Fessenden, an Anglican rector. From 1880 they lived in Chippawa. In 1885, they moved to Ancaster and lived there until Rev. Fessenden’s death in 1886. The next year, she moved to Hamilton

- where she founded the IODE Hamilton chapter and participated in the League of Empire. *Dictionary of Hamilton Biography* 1 (Hamilton: Dictionary of Hamilton Biography, 1981), 199-200. Since the OHS adopted the idea of Empire Day, she had presided over the Flag and Commemoration Day Committee of the society until her death.
- 35 *Journal and Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 1 (1892): 5, 7.
- 36 C. Fessenden, "The Development of a National Literature" *Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 2 (1899): 74-75.
- 37 See, for example, *Journal and Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 1 (1892): 12-20, 192.
- 38 This is substantiated in *Paper and Records*, the annual transaction of the OHS (formerly Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario).
- 39 At a WHS meeting, he admired the Loyalists' efforts to maintain British ties and build the Canadian national spirit. He also delivered a paper before the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, in which he regarded the Loyalists as Canada's foundation stone. E. J. Fessenden, "The United Empire Loyalists of the Eighteenth Century as Imperial Federationists," *Journal and Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 1(1892): 85-105; E. J. Fessenden, *A Centenary Study, Upper Canada: A paper read before the Lundy's Lane Historical Society* (Welland: Tribune Print, 1892), 3.
- 40 *Montreal Star*, 29 July 1897.
- 41 W. Sandford Evans, "Empire Day: A Detailed History of Its Origin and Inception," *Canadian Magazine* 13, no.3 (1899): 275-79.
- 42 For example, *Montreal Star*, 22 June 1897.
- 43 *Montreal Star*, 29 July 1897.
- 44 *Montreal Star*, 21 August 1897.
- 45 Ross to Fessenden, 6 November 1897, *Fessenden Papers (FP)*, Archives of Ontario, MS 193 (15).
- 46 Laurier to Fessenden, 25 or 27? November 1897, *FP*.
- 47 Notes of Secretary of HBE, *FP*; *Hamilton Spectator*, 3 December 1897.
- 48 Notes of Secretary of HBE, *FP*; *Hamilton Spectator*, 7 January 1898. By January she had dropped the idea for the League of the Union Jack, probably because at the former meeting in December some members of the Internal Management Committee expressed the view that such a league might be unnecessary, while they supported a Patriotic Day [*Hamilton Spectator*, 3 December 1897].
- 49 Notes of Secretary of HBE, *FP*.
- 50 Around this time, she frequently used "a Flag Day," instead of "a Patriotic Day."
- 51 Ross to Fessenden, 23 December 1897, *FP*. At the meeting of the Internal Management Committee held in early January, Fessenden proposed 29 March as Flag Day, *Hamilton Spectator*, 7 January 1898.
- 52 Extracts of minutes of Internal Management Committee, HBE, *FP*; Mrs. J. J. Mason to Fessenden, 30 December 1897; 11 & 13 January 1898, *FP*.
- 53 Notes of Secretary of HBE, *FP*.
- 54 Ross to Fessenden, 4 April 1898, *FP*.
- 55 *Mail & Empire*, 29 January 1898.
- 56 *Mail & Empire*, 11 February 1898.

Making Imperial Citizens: Empire Day in Canada

- 57 Canadian Club, Hamilton to Fessenden, 12 February 1898, *FP*.
- 58 Secretary-Treasurer of Dundas Board of Education to Fessenden, n.d., *FP*.
- 59 R. M. McElherar of London Board of Education to Fessenden, 14 May 1898, *FP*.
- 60 *Transactions of the Wentworth Historical Society* 2 (1899): 148.
- 61 *Annual Reports of the Ontario Historical Society*, 1898, 10.
- 62 DEA, *Minutes of Proceedings, with Addresses and Papers of the Third Convention of the Association held at Halifax*, N.S., 2-5 August 1898, xxxvi.
- 63 Hopkins, 14.
- 64 *Minutes of Proceedings, with Addresses and Papers of the Third Convention of the Association held at Halifax*, N.S., 2-5 August 1898, xxxvi. The meeting was described in the following magazine as well. *Canada Educational Monthly*, 20 (1898): 241-46.
- 65 *Minutes of Proceedings, with Addresses and Papers of the Third Convention of the Association held at Halifax*, N.S., 2-5 August 1898, xxxvi.
- 66 On Flag Day in the United States, see Scot M. Guenter, *The American Flag, 1777-1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1990), 113, 127-32.
- 67 *Minutes of Proceedings, with Addresses and Papers of the Third Convention of the Association held at Halifax*, N.S., 2-5 August 1898, xxxvii.
- 68 *Ibid.*
- 69 *Ibid.*, xxxviii.
- 70 *Ibid.*, xxxvii-xxxviii.
- 71 *Ibid.*, xxi.
- 72 Ontario, Minute of the Department of Education, 1 March 1899.
- 73 The newspapers examined are as follows. ONTARIO: Bowmanville: *Canadian Statesman* (w); Hamilton: *Hamilton Spectator* (d); Ottawa: *Free Press* (d), *Ottawa Citizen* (d), *Ottawa Valley Journal* (sw); Sarnia: *Sarnia Observer* (w); Seaforth: *Huron Expositor* (w); Toronto: *Toronto News* (d), *Star* (d), *Telegram* (d), *Globe* (d), *Mail & Empire* (d), *Toronto World* (d); QUEBEC: Arthabaskaville: *L'Union des Cantons de l'Est* (w); Granby: *Granby Leader-Mail* (bw); Huntingdon: *Canadian Gleaner* (w); Montreal: *L'Événement* (d), *Gazette* (d), *La Minerve* (d), *Le Monde Canadien* (w), *Star* (d), *La Patrie* (d), *La Presse* (d); Rock Island (Stanstead): *Stanstead Journal* (w); Saint-Hyacinthe: *Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe* (sw); Saint-Jérôme: *Le Nord* (w); Sherbrooke: *Le Pionnier* (w), *Sherbrooke Daily Record* (d).
- 74 Ontario, Department of Education, Circular to Inspectors, (Circular 42), March 1899.
- 75 *Toronto Globe*, 24 May 1899.
- 76 *Toronto World*, 24 May 1899. The OHS set up a monuments and tablets committee to commemorate Secord, and appointed Mrs. J. H. Thompson (Mrs. E. J. Thompson?) as the person in charge. More than half of the participants donated more than one cent each. *Ottawa Valley Journal*, 26 May 1899.
- 77 *Mail & Empire*, 23 May 1899.
- 78 *Montreal Star*, 23 May 1899; *Montreal Gazette*, 24 May 1899.
- 79 *La Presse*, 23 mai 1899.
- 80 *Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe*, 30 mai 1899. On vernacular culture, see John E. Bodnar, *Remak-*

- ing America: *Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992). Bodnar describes vernacular culture in rivalry with official culture, but I think that there is no clear distinction between them and both are sometimes supportive of each other.
- 81 *La Patrie*, 24 mai 1899
- 82 For example, *Le Pionnier*, 12, 19 et 26 mai 1899; *Le Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe*, 16, 25 et 30 mai 1899; *Le Nord*, 25 mai 1899. The more than thirty-year-old problem of depopulation to New England was also featured.
- 83 *Times*, 23, 24 & 25 May 1899.
- 84 Research on this part is mostly based on the following sources: Ontario Department of Education files (Archives of Ontario); Ontario Department of Education, Empire Day booklets, 1903-1956 (Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) and Archives of Ontario); Toronto's *Globe and Mail & Empire*.
- 85 For example, national triumph at Confederation was regarded as the best example of imperial unity. *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation 1867-1927, Empire Day, 1927*.
- 86 In 1913, cadet drills became part of physical instruction.
- 87 The IODE played a leading role in making an imperial network, in collaboration with the Victoria League and the League of Empire. National Archives of Canada, MG 28 I17. Also see Nancy M. Sheehan, "The IODE and the schools and World War I" *History of Education Review* 13, no.1 (1984); "Philosophy, Pedagogy, and Practice: The IODE and the Schools in Canada, 1900-1945" *Historical Studies in Education* 2, no.2 (1990); Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: Imperial Order Daughter of the Empire* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2002).
- 88 Stamp, "Empire Day in the schools of Ontario," 41.
- 89 *Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario, 1922*, 1.
- 90 For example, Archives of Ontario, RG 3-6-0-390 (G.H. Ferguson, General Correspondence Records).
- 91 For example, Archives of Ontario, RG 2-P-3, Box 1929, File M-1.
- 92 *Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario, 1926*, 9.
- 93 *Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario, 1931*, 39.
- 94 *Empire Day in the Schools of Ontario, 1955*, 16.
- 95 Asia (1961), Africa (1962), Australia and New Zealand (1963), and Commonwealth countries overall (1964).
- 96 Robert F. Harney & Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Ltd., 1975), 194.
- 97 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (Princeton, N.J.: Yale University Press, 1992), 6. Also see Ramsay Cook, "Identities Are Not Like Hats," *CHR* 81, no.2 (2000).
- 98 *Manitoba Free Press* [22 May 1899] highly praised Empire Day, expecting it to be an opportunity to persuade immigrants to the North-West of the benefits of living in British America, exempted from the evil-doomed United States, and which would also be helpful in promoting immigrants from Europe.