

not emerge until the 1950s. Since then many Tongans have been ordained, and a large number of Tongan Anglicans have served as priests and sisters in Fiji, New Zealand and elsewhere. The Anglican school in Nuku'alofa has made an important contribution to Tongan education for many years, and Tongan Anglicanism now plays a significant part in Polynesian life in Auckland and other centres of the Tongan diaspora.

Although written primarily for the Tongan Anglicans themselves, this history is by no means a narrowly focussed parish-pump chronicle. As the sub-title indicates, one of its major themes is the transition from foreign-led mission to indigenous church — a process that has been important in religious history throughout the Pacific Islands and among Maori Christians. The book does not exclude the minutiae of parochial development, but its little slice of island church life is well positioned within the wider context of Tongan political, social and religious history. Most of the historical content is by Allan Davidson, and Tongan authors have provided material on the more recent period. The book is based on careful research in mission, church and private archives, and productive use is made of oral evidence, especially that of the first Tongan Anglican priest, Fine Halapua.

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Female Imperialism and National Identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. By Katie Pickles. Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2002. 209 pp. Australian price: \$159.00. ISBN 0-719063-90-6.

AS A CONTRIBUTION to 'Studies in Imperialism', edited by John MacKenzie, Katie Pickles has written a detailed study of the Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire or the IODE of Canada, the largest women's patriotic organization in the British Empire. Looking at the IODE as simultaneously a maternalist, imperialist, and nationalistic organization, Pickles has produced an important and insightful analysis that should interest not only Canadian historians but New Zealand, United States and other scholars who wish to develop a comparative understanding of gender, imperialism and conservative ideology. Displaying a thorough knowledge of the theoretical literature and historiography, Pickles deftly investigates the work of the IODE from its origins in 1900 to the present, while placing it in a comparative context.

This exploration of the IODE's invention of 'Britishness' examines the way élite women in a settler society incorporated imperial attachments into their notions of national identity as Canadians. According to Pickles, the IODE helped to invent 'Anglo-Canada in response to what it perceived to be threats and resistance' to their efforts to 'produce a strong Canada and strong Canadian citizens in the image of an imagined Britain' (pp.5-6). Clearly influenced by Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities* and Eric Hobsbawm's and Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*, Pickles adds to a relatively neglected aspect of women's history by studying a group of conservative, élite women who could be compared with the Daughters of the American Revolution or the Eagle Forum in the American case, or the Victoria League in New Zealand. Avowedly maternalist, the IODE managed to insert the concerns of its members into what might otherwise have been defined as the largely male realm of international politics, patriotism, war and immigration.

According to Pickles, the IODE came into existence as an organization of élite Protestants whose devotion to the British Empire involved its members in efforts to attract British immigrants to Canada. Believers in the superiority of the 'Anglo-Celtic' race, they sought to promote the 'canadianization' of immigrants. Originally founded

during the Boer War, they endorsed conscription during the First World War in service to their vision of building a strong British Canada. Following the war, they continued with the project of assimilation, supporting immigration policies that would select British immigrants. In the name of promoting imperialism, nationalism and social purity, they encouraged female immigrants to become efficient housewives and mothers. A maternalist politics thus blended with imperialism and nationalist sentiments to seek to develop and perpetuate a British Canadian culture.

The IODE was particularly active in the classroom, where the promotion of loyalty to the British Empire blended with canadianization. Often enrolling teachers as members, the IODE worked on the creation and inculcation of an imperial curriculum that brought calendars, pictures and other symbols of national and imperial attachment into schools. Emphasizing the importance of 'patriotic educational propaganda', they sought to instil a 'sound Canadian citizenship' through a focus on the 'heroic deeds of men and women, whose sacrifices saved the Empire and its cherished institutions' (pp.111–12). Seeking to inculcate patriotism in future soldiers, they also encouraged young women to contribute to war work. After each war, the IODE played a central part in creating memorials to Canada's fallen heroes.

With the ebbing of the British Empire in the post-World War II period, the IODE underwent an ideological transformation. During the Cold War, the IODE's anti-Communism displayed an increasing influence from organizations in the United States, fostering a vision of Canadian citizenship increasingly independent of Britain or the Commonwealth. Denouncing the peace movement and supporting nuclear armament, the IODE initially insisted on the continuing need to encourage British immigration but also expressed a willingness to welcome Eastern European refugees from Communism into the Canadian nation. The IODE increased its activities in the Canadian northern territories, recognizing responsibilities to indigenous peoples and French Canadians in its broadened definition of the Canadian nation. Linguistically representing its abandonment of its old imperial ideas by detaching the initials in its name from their old referents to become 'just IODE', the organization placed new emphasis on charitable endeavours focused on children (p.1). As Canadians began to understand their nation as an independent member of the world community committed to human rights, the IODE displayed a greater commitment to an inclusive notion of nationhood.

As this brief description of Pickles' history of the IODE indicates, this organization and its history provide ample scope for comparative work through its close parallels with historical developments in New Zealand, Australia and the United States. Modifying the conclusions produced by narrowly nation-based historiography, work such as Pickles' impressive analysis should inspire other scholars to follow her admirable example of a combined focus on gender, imperialism, race and conservatism.

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