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Fraternalism In Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies And Cultural Hegemony

Christopher J. Anstead

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FRATERNALISM IN VICTORIAN ONTARIO: SECRET SOCIETIES AND CULTURAL HEGEMONY

by

Christopher J. Anstead

Department of History

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Graduate Studies
The University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario
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ABSTRACT

Between 1840 and 1901, Ontario witnessed a tremendous expansion of fraternal activity, as lodges became common features of urban society. This phenomenon derived from the link between secret societies and the viewpoint associated with the "Victorian middle class." Through an examination of provincial fraternal development, and a detailed consideration of lodges in two small towns, this thesis explores the connection between secret societies and hegemony in the particular setting of Victorian Ontario.

As the forces of industrialization and urbanization changed Ontario during the nineteenth century, the old hegemony of paternalism gave way to a new hegemony - the hegemony of respectability; as this happened, men from the "Victorian middle class" forged the lodge into an instrument for creating and managing cultural consent. In so doing they appropriated an existing cultural form sheathed with the legitimacy of tradition. Through the six decades under review, most lodges came to offer a package of obvious attractions - particularly masculine fellowship and financial security. These benefits allowed members to protect themselves and their families from, or take advantage of, changing structural conditions. Individuals also joined secret societies because membership confirmed their respectable status, while allowing them to contribute to a constant reformulation of notions of respectability.
and to spread particular definitions among a wider community. At the same time, fraternal orders contributed to the dominant hegemony's reification of gender.

At the local level, fraternal orders offered their members a chance to influence the social world of their village, town or city. In various ways, including their provision of public entertainment and their contributions to public symbols, lodges helped entwine the notion of community with a specific definition of respectability.

The ongoing process of adaptation of the fraternal framework resulted in several new types of orders, and three distinct phases of fraternal expansion in the province, dominated respectively by the Freemasons, the friendly societies, and the life insurance orders. By contrast, the failure of the temperance orders to join in this growth, and the rank-and-file rejection of middle-class ties by the Orange order, indicated some limits to the dominant worldview.
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ABBREVIATIONS
A.F.A.M.  Ancient Free and Accepted Masons
A.O.F.  Ancient Order of Foresters
A.O.U.W.  Ancient Order of United Workmen
B.A.O.G.T.  British American Order of Good Templars
C.M.B.A.  Catholic Mutual Benefit Association
C.O.C.F.  Canadian Order of Chosen Friends
C.O.F.  Canadian Order of Foresters
C.O.H.C.  Canadian Order of Home Circles
C.O.O.F.  Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity
Cth. F.  Catholic Order of Foresters
D.O.E.  Daughters and Maids of England Benevolent Society
D.O.K.  Daughters of the King
E.B.A.  Emerald Beneficial Association
I.B.C.  Industrial Brotherhood of Canada
I.F.A.  International Fraternal Alliance
I.O.F.  Independent Order of Foresters
I.O.G.T.  Independent Order of Good Templars
I.O.K.D.  International Order of King's Daughters
I.O.O.F.  Independent Order of Odd Fellows
K.O.L.  The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor
K.O.P.  Knights of Pythias
K.O.S.C.  Knights of St. Crispin
K.O.T.M.  Knights of the Maccabees of the World
K.O.S.F.  Knights of Sherwood Forest
L.C.B.A.  Ladies' Catholic Benefit Association
L.O.A.  Loyal Orange Association
L.O.L.  Loyal Orange Lodge
L.T.B.  Loyal True Blue Association
L.P.W.C.  Loyal Protestant Women of Canada
O.C.F.  Order of Chosen Friends
O.F.G.  Order of Fraternal Guardians
O.D.  Order of Druids
O.S.C.  Order of Scottish Clans
O.Y.B.  Orange Young Britons
P.O.I.  Patrons of Industry
P.M.  Patriarchs Militant
P.P.A.  Protestant Protective Association
R.A.  Royal Arcanum
R.A.M.  Royal Arch Masons
R.B.P.I.  Royal Black Preceptories of Ireland
R.T.O.T.  Royal Templars of Temperance
S.B.S.  Septennial Benevolent Society
S.O.C.  Sons of Canada
S.O.E.  Sons of England Benevolent Society
S.O.S.  Sons of Scotland Benevolent Society
S.O.T.  Sons of Temperance
U.T.A.  United Temperance Association
W.O.T.W.  Woodmen of the World
Y.M.P.B.A.  Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association
Chapter 1. Introduction

Between 1840 and 1900 fraternalism became an important feature in the cultural landscape of Ontario. When new social groupings sought legitimacy and power in the wake of startling economic change, the lodge stood as an existing cultural form vulnerable to appropriation. The emerging historical bloc best denoted the 'Victorian middle class' seized the fraternal form as an instrument to organize consent and extend the legitimacy of its worldview. This allowed fraternal orders to mediate the relationships between and among individuals, groups, community and society, as key notions such as respectability and gender were constructed and reconstructed. Through an examination of fraternal development at the provincial level, and a detailed consideration of local lodges in two small towns, this thesis examines the growth of these organizations in relation to the particular setting of Victorian Ontario.

During the last half of the nineteenth century, fraternal orders became a strikingly pervasive institution in urban Ontario, as elsewhere in North America. People in communities throughout the province joined local lodges, while halls built by Foresters, Masons, Odd Fellows or Orangemen often took a prominent place in local landscapes. The ten largest orders in Ontario reported almost 250,000 memberships at the end of the century, while both the Orange order and Patrons of Industry had claimed memberships of
over 100,000 at some time in the century. Local lodges
thrived in every Ontario village, town and city. Woodstock
and Ingersoll - the two towns studied here - hosted six-nine
and fifty-seven lodges, respectively, at some point
during the nineteenth century. A glance at any local
directory of the late nineteenth century reveals similar
numbers: London contained one hundred lodges in 1900;
Guelph could boast of twenty-two lodges active in 1886
alone; and the village of Norwich, with just over 1,000
inhabitants, hosted seven active lodges that same year.¹

The fraternal phenomenon attracted hundreds of
thousands of members, but its direct influence spread to a
much wider circle. Obviously the behavior of a fraternalist
affected his or her family, but it also impinged on the
lives of others. Lodges ran many forms of entertainment
which attracted members, friends and strangers alike. In
Woodstock and Ingersoll (and doubtless in many other places)
fraternal orders had a virtual monopoly on the organizing of
railway excursions. These trips, scheduled on a public
holiday, provided hundreds of people at a time with an
intense, day-long experience.

The degree of respect which the public granted these
orders might seem surprising. As one example, in June 1890,
Woodstock's Odd Fellows held a ceremony in which the lodge
members marched to the town's three cemeteries and decorated
the graves of former members. The town council organized a
half-holiday for the occasion and joined the procession.
Spectators crowded to see the parade which also included two bands, the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association, and sixteen lodges from other orders.²

The extensive nature of the fraternal phenomenon in the nineteenth-century English-speaking world has encouraged some scholarly attention. By far the greatest volume of historical work on fraternal orders consists of institutional or political histories of particular orders. Thus a student of Ontario secret societies can find histories of the Masons, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Orange order, and the Independent Order of Foresters, all written by active members of the respective society, and all having the approval of the order.³ Independent researchers have also dealt with similar themes, especially as regards the more unusual orders. Led by Hereward Senior, a number of historians have examined political and institutional aspects of the Orange order.⁴ Fraternal orders for farmers and workers have also attracted scholarly attention over the years.⁵

Taking the institutional approach a step further, some studies compare aspects of a number of fraternal orders. Though no Canadian work of this type has yet appeared, some British and American examples provide helpful models. In Britain, P.H.J.H. Gosden has investigated the history of friendly societies and paid particular attention to the relationship between these orders and the central government.⁶ In 1940 Noel Bist, a sociologist,
presented a detailed study of the cultural content of American fraternalism.\textsuperscript{7}

Two scholars have recently produced monographs which examine the ties between fraternalism and cultural change in nineteenth-century America. Mark Carnes has followed Gist's lead and studied the ritual of the major American orders. Carnes argues that this ritual's concern with masculine issues, especially the passage to manhood, provided the main attraction of fraternal orders in that period. Mary Ann Clawson's study of the fraternal phenomenon in the United States focuses on the intersection of gender and class. She describes lodges as socially constructed items which mitigated against class as a way to organize people, while proclaiming race and gender as suitable categories. At the same time, fraternal orders sought to reproduce the social relations of handicraft production while emphasizing the value of productive labour.\textsuperscript{8}

Other studies address the relationship between secret societies and larger social and economic forces. In Canada this interest has remained tied to the more unusual orders. Some recent work has concentrated on the social framework of the Orange order: Gregory Kealey and Scott See have provided interesting articles examining the order's connection to violence; C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth have studied the order from all angles in their book, \textit{The Sash Canada Wore}; and Donald Akenson has provided another lens with his unconventional study of Ogle Gowan.\textsuperscript{9} Though the
agrarian orders have attracted little attention lately, the
boom in labour history which got underway in the 1970s
resulted in a handful of studies of the workers' orders,
including an impressive study of the Knights of Labor by
Gregory Kealey and Bryan Palmer, published as *Dreaming
of What Might Be*.16

A few American scholars have taken a look at the less
striking orders; generally by examining the social aspects
of a particular order in a single community (usually a large
metropolitan centre). Roy Rosenzweig and Lynn Dumenil have
both examined Masonic lodges - the former in Boston and the
latter in Oakland - while Brian Greenberg has dealt with the
Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Albany.11 M.A.
Clawson has examined material from Knights of Pythias lodges
in Buffalo, and Belleville, Illinois.12 D.H. Doyle has
examined the social functions of a number of voluntary
organizations in a small Illinois town for the period 1825
to 1870; among the bodies he studies are several fraternal
lodges.13 All of these studies provide interesting
glimpses of the role of secret societies in the social world
of nineteenth-century America.

These more recent studies have resulted in disagreement
over the nature of the relationship between lodges and
social class. One group of authors - inspired, for the most
part, by the argument of E.P. Thompson - argues that
fraternal lodges functioned as institutions of working class
culture.14 These authors claim that secret societies
served as one part of a network of associations and relationships which characterized working class life. These ties then served to create a sense of solidarity in the working class culture. However, some of the authors admit to the presence of white collar members in these lodges, which seems to substantially undermine their arguments. Several historians have described fraternal orders as institutions of the middle class. In his examination of Boston's Freemasons, Roy Rosenzweig argues that almost all of the members came from within the lower middle class. Lynn Dumanil concludes that between seventy-five and eighty per cent of members in the Californian Masonic lodge she studied from 1860 to 1900 had white collar occupations. These conclusions are similar to those of a contemporary historian of American Odd Fellowship, who wrote in 1888 that the order consisted of the "...great middle industrial classes almost exclusively."

Historians have produced some interesting work on fraternal orders in the nineteenth century, but the historical study of lodges promises much more. Canadian historians have produced no examinations of the broad pattern of fraternal development in the country or in any province or region, nor have they produced studies of the more commonplace orders with a consideration of the social and economic contexts. The most impressive Canadian works remain studies of individual - and very unusual - orders.
Canadian studies of other orders have concentrated almost exclusively on political and institutional aspects of a single order, considered with little reference to other orders or broader economic and social trends. In Britain and the United States, researchers have delved more deeply into the story of fraternal orders, yet few studies link fraternal orders to broad patterns of cultural change. The basic question of why these orders achieved popularity in certain places and at certain times remains unanswered.

In a preliminary attempt to address some of these gaps, this thesis draws upon recent developments in Canadian and international scholarship. In particular, the development of finesse models of hegemony drawn from Gramsci's work, and the turn to new fields for theoretical inspiration - especially anthropology and literary criticism - provide ways of exploring nineteenth-century fraternalism.

Although historians have been aware of Gramsci's ideas for more than thirty years, only recently has a subtle reading of his ideas come to substitute for the crude domination models originally associated with Gramscian history. In part this related to the historical context of Gramsci's own work. Gramsci was a dedicated revolutionary, writing in the 1930s. His model of hegemony, and his attempts to use the model in interpreting Italian history tended to emphasize imposition from above. Yet the details of Gramsci's model allow for a much broader approach to an understanding of history.
According to Gramsci's theory of hegemony, all societies are marked by dominant and subordinate groups. The place of the dominant group is protected and defended by two instruments: coercive force, and the consent of the dominated. While coercion rests on the deployment of physical and economic power, in both naked and concealed ways, consent rests on other forms of power. It is in the field of culture where this struggle takes place. Cultural hegemony comprises the abilities to define public discourse, legislate legitimacy, and, in general, set society's norms. When achieved, such hegemony is pervasive and penetrates far beyond the level of conscious politics to that of everyday beliefs and values. A hegemonic worldview can define 'common sense' - it can comprise the whole body of day-to-day social practices, meanings and values.23

New hegemonies arise when an existing hegemony loses control of cultural terrain, often because social or economic change creates too much dissonance between rhetoric and reality. Previously subordinate or marginal groups have a chance to solidify their own worldview. The worldview of any particular group first originates from a reshaping of elements of spontaneous philosophy, that is, pre-existing language and popular culture.24 If a particular group can attract support from enough other groups or interests to form a 'historical bloc' which can then purport to speak for society as a whole, it can become hegemonic, generally through struggle or accommodation with a dominant group.
which is losing its power.25

The whole process by which historical blocs achieve cultural hegemony is one which stretches and bends their worldview. In seeking alliances and confronting or accommodating the previous dominant group, modifications in the original cultural ideology occur. Because hegemony also rests on some measure of consent, it must woo the subordinate. One mechanism of this process involves incorporating some aspects of subordinate culture into the cultural hegemony, which can even include cultural forms originally created or adapted to resist the dominant hegemony.26 This makes the dominant hegemony more attractive, while making resistance less likely. Those cultural forms thus co-opted may be shorn of their original meaning to a greater or less extent, but their presence in the mainstream worldview changes it too. In fact, the dynamics of hegemonic consensus necessarily open all the concepts and values of the cultural hegemony to dispute over definition.27 Thus struggles between dominant and dominated in most societies consist of struggle over ideological terrain within a shared framework of cultural patterns, where, as George Lipsitz points out: "Even in failure, social contestation changes the material and ideological balance of power in society."28

This is not to deny that members of the dominated groups may form their own distinct, counter hegemonic worldview at particular points in time; however, more often
their understanding of the world is penetrated by values from the dominant hegemony. While subordinate groups may consent to some aspects of hegemony, they may also harbour values and thoughts which conflict with those, as well as differing definitions of a common feature. Consent, thus, may rest on a "contradictory consciousness" which varies among individuals in subordinate groups, as well as from group to group.29

This theoretical pyramid should not conceal the essential humanism of Gramsci's thoughts. Though human action may be constrained by cultural boundaries, and though individual consciousness may be limited by language, culture and language are themselves purely the product of human agency. Human actors always have some notion and perception of their condition, and have some power to make choice.30

In many ways, what Gramsci has to say is not new. What Gramsci's writings do best, though, is to draw attention to two facets of hegemony: it is based partly on consent, and its power is found in culture.31 Conflict consists not so much of direct coercion as what Bryan Palmer calls "a process of arm-twisting" among groups.32 Jackson Lears has pointed to the way that Gramscian history can differ from that of earlier schools:

Unlike liberal notions of consensus Gramsci's vision acknowledges the social and economic constraints on the less powerful, then aims to see the ways that culture collaborates with those constraints.33
Gramsci’s emphasis on culture, conceived broadly, allows his model to benefit from the very innovative work being done on culture by members of the international community, many of whom do not consider themselves Gramscians. In the 1980s, several different groups of historians turned to a study of culture conceived broadly. These included the British-trained or British-inspired Marxists, as well as the newest generation of Annaliste historians in France. Of course, the idea of studying culture was not totally new, and had been introduced to North American historiography by the consensus historians of the Cold War era. What was new in the ‘’new cultural history,’’ was the explicit search for models in the literature of anthropology and, especially, literature theory. Three themes dominated the work done under this banner since the late 1970s: social construction, representation, and the use of tradition.

The focus on the social construction of culture draws upon the large body of work on women’s history. Historians of women have spent the last twenty years showing how gender is a collection of ‘’rights, powers, principles and personalities constructed in particular ways by particular cultures.’’ Historians such as Carroll Smith-Rosenberg in the United States, and Wendy Mitchinson, Joy Farr, and Helen Lenskyj in Canada, have shown the dominant role that particular groups of nineteenth-century men played in the construction of public definitions of womanhood, and
the ways in which women sought to intervene in this process of role definition.36

A natural consequence of the focus on women's history has been an examination of the construction of masculinity; however, since so much scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s dealt with less powerful groups in society, men have been comparatively neglected. A few historians have explored the role of sports and male institutions - including lodges - in the public definition of masculinity.37 Many of these studies lend credence to the recent cross-cultural investigation of anthropologist David Gilmore. Gilmore finds that masculinity differs from culture to culture, though several features are ubiquitous without being universal. Included in the latter category is the notion that manhood is an earned, not an inherent, status. Being a "'real man'" in most cultures involves productiveness and selfless generosity.38

Outside of the question of gender roles, historians have approached the issue of construction of much of what seems age-old, common-sense, normative or traditional. In particular, historians of education have applied this approach to their topic. As one writer has recently argued, the school curriculum is "'a supreme example of the invention of tradition,'" but such a tradition is not established as a given for all time; instead "'...it is a given which has to be defended, where the mystifications have to be constructed and reconstructed over time.'"39
A second body of literature following this trend in historical inquiry sees culture and language as inextricably intertwined. Rituals and actions of everyday life are interpreted as literary texts full of symbolism and opaque meaning. Following the inspiration of anthropologist Clifford Geertz, historians in this tradition see the issue of representation—how such things were meant to be seen—as crucial to understanding past society.\textsuperscript{40}

The use of tradition as a source of legitimacy at both the popular and ideological levels has been the third recurring theme in this sort of historical literature. Though this concern precedes some of the developments already discussed, the influence of Gramsci, anthropology and literature have added new weight to these factors. In a variety of settings, historians have shown how evolving hegemonic blocs, and groups constructing alternate worldviews, have justified their actions in terms of continuity and stability by referring to tradition and popular memory. In this process, the traditions themselves are reconstructed or even invented. These strategies are often quite effective, illustrating the force of social and mental inertia.\textsuperscript{41}

The turn to language and culture which became quite influential in Western history in the 1980s has been shaken by recent developments in literature studies known as "postmodernism." As proclaimed by its most extreme adherents, postmodernism seems to challenge traditional
historical understanding completely. By focussing on discourse itself, and rejecting the need to examine the historical context of a particular piece of writing, or the agency of the human author, postmodernism would render the writing of most historians irrelevant.42 With the exception of a few historians, often drawing inspiration from the work of Michel Foucault, history departments throughout Europe and North America have drawn the line at postmodernism.43

Yet while rejecting the grandiose and anti-historical claims of some postmodernists, historians have been willing to accept some of the insights which derive from a postmodernist understanding. In particular, the understanding that language, conceived broadly, can consist of multiple, even contradictory, meanings is accepted by many historians, who then assert against the postmodernists, that historical research can recapture much of the original intention of the speaker or writer through context. The idea too, that all people play multiple roles - some hidden or contradictory - throughout their lives is starting to inform a new generation of historical literature.44

The combination of a specifically Gramscian vocabulary with insights gained from other disciplines has produced some exciting work. An early landmark came with the publication of Eugene Genovese's magnificent study of slave society. Finding relevance in cultural anthropology, Roll, Jordan, Roll emphasizes the mixture of cultural
accommodation, resistance, and penetration which characterized this culture. Other researchers followed with their own studies of subordinate groups, especially workers and women.

The reintroduction of literary theory brought new focus on Gramsci's view of language as contested terrain in struggles for political and social power. James Epstein summarizes the main conclusions of this stream of writing:

...ideological struggle often goes on not between two sharply antithetical systems of political reasoning but rather within a 'shared' idiom or discourse; the struggle becomes that of appropriating shared forms of rhetoric and symbolism to a particular class position, of restructuring this shared language from a class perspective while maintaining an appeal to a presumed system of national political and cultural values that transcends class.

Probably the most interesting direction, though, comes from those who analyze other cultural artifacts with literary theory. Thus 'language' is not defined only as words; instead political symbols, religious anti-ritualism and festive celebrations have all been recently subject to an analysis based on this methodology. Even grocery store window displays have been held up as mechanisms which made 'particular visions of reality' credible.

This dissertation uses some of the methodological insights of the 'new cultural history' within the general theoretical framework of Gramsci's hegemony. In particular,
It argues that a study of fraternal orders provides an understanding of the process of hegemony in nineteenth-century Ontario. Chapter Two starts this analysis by providing a general overview of social and economic change in the province of Ontario, and in Woodstock and Ingersoll during the period of the study. A series of major economic and social transformations fueled the expansion of fraternal orders in Ontario. Industrialization and an increased division of labour changed the nature and organization of work, which resulted in profound social consequences. Production moved out of the household, and males followed, sparking a growing separation of the genders. Families became increasingly integrated into a capitalist exchange economy, while traditional subsistence activities became less common or practical. These changes contributed to a flux in the relations of cultural power; as new social groups struggled to define, assert and reformulate their worldviews in ways consistent with new conditions, social behavior and normative values became ideological battlegrounds. In particular, some groups used varying definitions of respectability to legitimate their own versions of the social order. Emerging as the dominant cultural group in this period was the "Victorian middle class" - a group which defined itself in terms of respectability and masculine power, and drew its support primarily from those who worked in non-manual or skilled
manual occupations. This group became dominant in Ontario by the 1870s, but faced serious challenges with the changes of the 1890s.

Chapter Three of this dissertation outlines the origins of the fraternal cultural form, and shows how it existed prior to the rise of the Victorian middle class. Before the 1840s, existing fraternal orders were somewhat disreputable bodies, with rules of conduct very different from those of Victorian lodges. The early Masonic, Orange and Odd Fellow lodges emphasized conviviality. Freemasonry long faced suspicions of revolutionary activity. The Odd Fellows and Foresters grew out of local friendly societies, created by workmen. Some friendly societies acted as trade unions and provided strike pay; all encouraged drinking and festivity. The British government suspected friendly societies of revolutionary activity and declared affiliated societies (such as the Odd Fellows and Foresters) illegal.\textsuperscript{51} The Orange order started as a disruptive sectarian movement. In the 1840s, Robert Baldwin's Reform government took measures to disband the order in Canada after the British government had outlawed it - in response an Orange mob, armed with clubs, chased Baldwin from a meeting during the 1844 election campaign.\textsuperscript{52} As established features, lodges stood open to appropriation by any social group; though they had emerged not from dominant culture, but from subordinate groups, they could be used by the emerging historical bloc.
Chapter Four starts the tale of the middle class connection to lodges by exploring one level of the appeal of fraternal orders. It deals with the surface attractions, which members cited when they spoke of their reasons for joining a lodge: the financial benefits and the camaraderie. In these obvious ways new social groups seized on this pre-existing cultural form to serve their interests as individuals and families. Lodges served both as offensive and defensive tools, looking both backwards and forwards. At this surface level, fraternal success derived from the ability of lodges to help people deal with the repercussions of economic changes within a context of cultural tradition. As institutions which built on the model of Freemasonry with its pre-industrial roots, and invented fictional pedigrees stretching to the ancient past, fraternal orders offered an illusion of changelessness while providing means of response to these fundamental transformations. At the same time lodges reproduced many of the attributes of an idealized version of pre-industrial community life, including the centrality of kinship ties and the importance of a sense of shared values. Lodge rituals and recreational activities provided shared experience which helped bond members together. Fraternal ceremonies emphasized the exclusion of outsiders and encouraged the fellowship of members. The whole terminology of fraternal life linked membership in a lodge to membership in a substitute family.
Fraternal benefits such as sick pay, funeral payments or life insurance provided a measure of security against disruptions in cash income, at a time when traditional safety nets - such as kinship ties and subsistence economic activities - had become strained. The efficiency and complexity of financial benefits increased over time. In the 1840s, friendly societies started operating in Canada West. These fraternal bodies offered their members sick pay, and covered the expenses of funerals. In the 1870s orders which concentrated on life insurance became popular in the province. By the end of the century almost every fraternal order offered life insurance, sick pay, funeral expenses, and old age or disability pensions to their members, either in a general plan open automatically to all members, or in optional packages. Members did not have to stay in one locality to receive these benefits. Instead, fraternal provisions for the portability of membership, which derived partly from the wandering nature of medieval masonry, suited the industrializing society of Victorian Ontario.

Since fraternal orders operated as networks of local subcommunities, they proved helpful to members who took advantage of new patterns of geographic mobility. In a new community, fraternal membership opened a door to an artificial, but meaningful, family. This brought with it not only moral support but also more tangible benefits such as employment opportunities or business patronage. It also
allowed a newcomer to demonstrate his or her respectable status.

Chapter Five excavates another level of the fraternal experience, which accounts again for some of the Victorian success of fraternal orders. At the level of cultural ideology, lodges helped to socialize individuals to the evolving hegemonic definitions of respectability and gender roles, while providing the same individuals with a chance to contribute to the construction of these cultural notions. Membership allowed individuals to claim respectable status, while reinforcing individual acceptance of these specific ideological values, and helping to spread the notion through the rest of the social class (since only a portion of any particular class joined) and, finally, contributing to the struggle to have a particular definition of respectability accepted by the larger society. While giving members an opportunity to participate in the construction of key concepts in the Victorian middle-class worldview, the socioeconomic composition of fraternal bodies served to strengthen the perceived tie between occupation and individual identification with this social group. An examination of local lodges in two small towns - Woodstock and Ingersoll - reveals that secret society membership overrepresented non-manual workers, gave skilled manual workers a representation roughly equal to their proportion of the general population, and included only a few of the unskilled.
Another crucial ingredient in the emerging cultural hegemony was the importance of gender. Lodge activity illuminates the process by which Victorian males defined themselves, and sought to impose definitions on females. In the most successful orders the membership was exclusively male. Segregated lodges suited a society in which the worlds of men and women had diverged; they provided an acceptable forum — unlike the tavern — for male fellowship. At the same time, some lodge rituals also helped reinforce the prevailing definitions of masculinity. A few lodges did include female members, but in general women occupied a marginal place in secret society networks. Some special auxiliary branches welcomed female relatives, but these contributed to the contemporary subordination of women, as auxiliary branches were subordinate to the men’s order, while individual female membership was predicated on the membership of a male relative. Those lodges which included women members functioned differently from the male lodges, and provided much less intense social and ritual activities to their members.

Chapter Six outlines the results of these factors in terms of provincial patterns of institutional growth and change. Fraternal leaders changed existing orders or created new ones to augment both surface and more subtle attractions, the varying emphasis on which determined the fate of most orders. This resulted in three distinct surges of fraternal expansion. At first the Freemasons enjoyed
great popularity, though without offering formal financial benefits. During the 1860s and 1870s friendly societies, which offered financial benefit packages including sick pay and funeral costs, replaced the Masons as the dominant force in fraternalism. Finally, the last two decades of the century saw the rise to prominence of a new type of secret society, which concentrated on providing life insurance coverage to its members. While each surge of adaptation introduced new orders, the older ones remained important. Masonry, friendly societies and insurance orders dominated the fraternal field at the end of the century, while this period also witnessed the introduction of orders which combined some financial attractions with appeals to a specific ethnic or religious identity. The success of the fraternal format inspired some interest groups to create fraternal institutions with a particular agenda, including orders for farmers or workers, and the Protestant Protective Association. These orders all failed.

Provincial patterns such as these arose from an accumulation of local patterns, which varied considerably over time and across the province; at times idiosyncratic or local factors caused social groups in a particular community to take a course of action counter to more widespread trends. For instance, while fraternal patterns in Woodstock and Ingersoll (as outlined in Chapter Seven) tended to follow provincial patterns, certain marked exceptions occurred. The mishandling of a single death claim in
Ingersoll had negative repercussions for all lodges offering life insurance in that town, and made Ingersoll an exception to provincial trends. On the other hand, the hard work of one man in Woodstock made certain insurance orders there much more successful. Differences in ethnic and religious profiles also affected the local success of lodges which drew on restricted segments of the population.

A comparison of the popularity of orders in the two towns, and in the province as a whole, produces interesting evidence. Ingersoll and Woodstock accepted lodges at different rates. From the 1860s on, lodges were more popular in Ingersoll, but the gap decreased through time. This decrease took place as the two towns became more similar in both economic and social terms. The earlier integration of Ingersoll into the provincial economy thus seems linked to the town's earlier acceptance of secret societies. While the two towns differed in the pattern of fraternal acceptance, a much greater degree of difference exists between local and provincial levels of popularity. This points to a fundamental aspect of fraternal success: these orders were urban phenomena, serving new urban social groups. Levels of popularity in an urban place thus rose much higher than in the provincial population as a whole, the majority of which still lived in the countryside.

Chapter Eight deals with two exceptions to the general patterns found in previous chapters. The Orange order proved too resilient and too rooted in more traditional
society to fall away to the middle class hegemony, while the
temperance orders were originally vehicles of the formation
of the social grouping known as the Victorian middle class,
but were abandoned as the process of forming alliances with
other social groups and making the respectable worldview
hegemonic, caused the insistence on absolute temperance to
become unworkable.

Local evidence sheds new light on these orders, which
present confusing stories when examined only at a provincial
level. In Woodstock and Ingersoll the histories of the
Orange order and the temperance orders are tales of repeated
failures at the local level. These patterns are disguised
in provincial data which often reflected inaccurate and
overblown claims of contemporary leaders. With an
understanding that the orders failed to expand in late
nineteenth-century urban areas, the reasons for the failures
become clear: these organizations did not offer non-manual
and skilled manual workers the mechanisms to respond to the
new social and economic conditions of Victorian Ontario.
Instead, these orders remained committed to a membership
including a large proportion of rural people, to whom the
concerns of those urban groups seemed irrelevant.

The ninth chapter looks at another level of attraction
and of understanding, by examining fraternal orders in terms
of the local community, particularly the small towns of
Woodstock and Ingersoll. In these two towns, local lodges
helped defend the traditional solidarity of small
communities in a world increasingly marked by social disruption and geographic mobility. As lodges helped to maintain the social integration of small towns, they offered their members a chance to influence a community-level cultural consensus. At the same time, lodge executive positions furnished a wide range of men - mainly from the non-manual and skilled manual occupational groups - with experience in community leadership. Thus, at the local level, there existed yet another fraternal attraction.53

The foregoing argument is predicated on the existence of something it refers to as the ’’Victorian middle class,’’ however, this use of the idea of class is quite different from that of conventional Marxist usage. The present study rejects both the idea that class is an objectively definable structure, or that it is the main operating agent in history. Class is a social construct, anchored by self-identification and buoyed by external recognition. Class is one way people can group themselves, but it does not guarantee an identity of interests, or even that a truce exists among the elements. Classes themselves - like other social groupings - are constantly evolving and changing, as are their worldviews.54 Class only exists when people are aware of it. That does not mean that classes can only exist when they are fully conscious of themselves and of the need for conflict with other classes. Instead, as Blumin has recently argued - inspired by the work of Anthony Giddens - awareness simply means a general sense of identity
within a social group with shared cultural experience.55 The worldview of a particular class can be penetrated by dominant cultural norms, giving rise to a "contradictory consciousness."56 By itself, class tells us little, but it can be a powerful channel for a particular worldview. When a small group can make a reasonable claim to speak for the class as a whole, it can quickly come to dominate that class' worldview.

Most Gramscian work concentrates on class as the main operating agent in history, thus remaining loyal to Gramsci's own Marxism; more recently, authors have noted that hegemony can be used to explain other relations of domination and subordination.57 Structures of class are not important in all societies, and even in those where they are, lines of power and subordination can also work through other categories including religion or ethnicity. Scholars looking at the lives of women have been quick to apply Gramscian models to the relations between the genders. They have shown how a society can be divided along both class and gender lines, in an interconnected way.58

This study examines the relationship of class and fraternal orders primarily through an analysis of membership statistics from Woodstock and Ingersoll lodges. Local case analysis provides an ideal setting for discussing questions of class; only a local study allows the researcher access to the various types of information which can describe individuals and their social world. Beyond that, the class
experience differed from place to place, and especially between places of different sizes. The class experience of a big city differed markedly from that of a small town. For many citizens of Ontario, the latter was more relevant than the former. After all, even in 1901, the 580,000 people who lived in small urban places in the province far outnumbered the 360,000 who lived in the four cities (Toronto, Ottawa, Hamilton and London) with populations over 25,000. Of course the rural population, at 1,250,000, dwarfed both urban figures.59

The method used in this study starts from the basic assumption that occupational titles - as listed in fraternal sources - indicate something about the possible social class of a person. In all the tables used in this thesis, occupational titles have been assigned to categories based on the type of work involved. The three categories used are: non-manual, skilled manual, and unskilled manual. The grouping together of people with artisanal titles can be misleading, since it can include both small employers and wage earners. Yet it is a limitation that cannot be avoided if job titles are to be used as evidence. Even the most sophisticated study of occupation and class in Canada - that carried out by G. Darroch and M. Ornstein - has had to acknowledge this fact. In fact, the scheme used here to divide occupation is identical to that used by Darroch and Ornstein.60
Translating these patterns of occupational groupings into conclusions about social class demands some sort of theory about the relationship of these two factors. In this study, class identification by an individual is seen as anchoring the construction of any class. To a large extent measurable factors—such as occupation—determine or constrain the nature of that identification. Other factors not susceptible to measurement, such as family background, social contacts or ideological influences, may also play a part in class identification. Thus two individuals with the same occupation and wealth, but in different social situations, might identify with—and thus join—two different classes. This results in the development of classes which contain divergent groups, rather than presenting seamless faces to the outside world.61

Because most of these subjective factors are invisible in historical documents, it is necessary to use objective measurements which serve as an indication of probable class identification. The occupational groupings identified therefore serve as rough proxies for social class, with the "middle class" taken to consist of all those with non-manual occupations, and some of those with skilled manual occupations, while the "working class" consists of the remainder of the latter group along with all those in unskilled manual jobs.62

While this sort of approach raises several methodological problems, the biggest controversy in the
literature surrounds the class nature of skilled manual workers. In essence, the question boils down to whether they belong to the middle class or the working class. Researchers who use the term "middle class" agree that it includes non-manual employees who work for wages. They also agree that the class includes those who have and employ capital, although they might disagree on the line where this meets an upper class. Skilled workers share many characteristics of those normally considered in the middle class. Many artisans owned their own workshops, and many of those who did not, did own their own tools. Thus their relationship to the means of production usually included both the use of small amounts of capital, and the sale of their own labour.63 The amount of income collected by skilled workers often compared favourably to the income of white collar employees, though a consideration of life course patterns in the late nineteenth century reveals that skilled workers with a relatively high income had generally reached the pinnacle of their career, while the low paid white collar sector consisted primarily of young men in entry level positions.64 A scheme sensitive to subjective and objective criteria thus can allow for the inclusion of some skilled workers in the middle class, based on their own self-identification. Of course, other skilled workers might have identified with the working class. In other words, the skilled manual group is an ambiguous group whose class identification changes over time and through
different places.

Though the present study takes this tack, other researchers have dealt with the role of skilled workers in very different ways. Many European historians treat petty proprietors and master artisans as a separate class, usually called the 'lower middle class.' Some historians accept the presence of skilled workers in the middle or lower middle class for most of the nineteenth century, but argue that a split occurred by the 1890s. Finally, many researchers argue that skilled workers were an important part of the working class.

This assertion that the people of nineteenth-century Ontario can be divided into two broad classes, with vague and ambiguous borders, can draw support from recent scholarship. Though not predating their model on a Gramscian foundation, R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar's recent book divided the people of Ontario into two similar classes.

In their study, the middle class consisted of:

...merchants and other proprietors, professionals, public officials, and clerks, along with substantial farmers and those artisans and craftsmen who had won some degree of prosperity from their work.

As for an upper class, some sort of elite - which saw itself as distinct from the bourgeoisie world - did exist in nineteenth-century Ontario. Yet its existence is hard to trace, and seems to have negligible influence in the smaller towns of the province. Because the practical considerations
of occupational title sorting make it almost impossible to discern the existence and membership of this group, it seems safer to accept it as a theoretical presence outside of community life. Thus, in the cases of Woodstock and Ingersoll, the defined middle class follows the example of Gidney and Millar. It:

...is really not 'middle' at all, but synonymous with such contemporary usages as the 'respectable classes' or the 'middle classes.' It includes in other words all of the better-off portions of Upper Canadian society.

While this dissertation attempts to rectify some of the shortcomings of the literature, it faces limitations in both spatial and temporal terms. The study deals only with the province of Ontario, and, in its detail, with just two towns: Woodstock and Ingersoll. These limits are only partly arbitrary; the study focusses on Ontario because that province was deeply touched by the processes of industrialization and urbanization in this period, and thus provides a suitable setting for the study of individuals dislocated by these processes. The decision to use case studies, particularly non-metropolitan ones, offers a number of advantages. Provincial patterns arise from local decisions so local studies allow an examination of the roots of such trends; a local focus allows the understanding of local variation and the interpretations of confused trends such as those involving the Orange and temperance lodges. Community studies also allow the researcher a powerful way
to deal with the question of class in relation to secret societies. Finally, the choice of two non-metropolitan communities provides a counter-balance to the existing literature's tendency to focus on large metropolitan cities. In Victorian Ontario, more people lived in small urban centres.

Of course, this focus on urban society brings another limit to this dissertation. A concentration on urban life means dealing with only a minority of Ontario's population, and being less aware of the crucial interplay between town and countryside that took such a large role in nineteenth-century life. The urban focus evolves from both practical and theoretical conclusions. On the practical side, the case studies have to be limited in some way. Theoretical support for this choice comes from the observation that fraternal orders, especially those that lie at the heart of this work, were essentially urban phenomena.

The chronological boundaries were chosen in a more arbitrary manner. The thesis starts at 1840 so that it can examine the first steps in the processes of industrialization and urbanization in the province, the initial appearance of the Victorian middle class worldview, and the introduction of all fraternal orders except the Freemasons and the Orange order. The ending point remains a choice of convenience. The study carries the story to the end of the century so that it can capture a wide sweep of fraternal success. Nothing, however, changed dramatically
in 1901.

This study attempts to include within its focus all fraternal orders which operated in Victorian Ontario. This inclusiveness is prompted both by the contemporary perception and reality of similarities at surface and deeper levels. Yet to produce conclusions about the nature and history of different orders, this study assigns most orders to one of a handful of broad categories. The following categories appear regularly in the chapters which follow: temperance orders; friendly societies; insurance orders; ethnic and religious orders; and occupational orders. Temperance orders include all those fraternal societies which made the fight against alcohol their primary purpose. Friendly societies concentrated on providing their members with certain financial benefits, the most important being sick pay and funeral payments. Insurance orders also emphasized benefits, but offered more comprehensive coverage, including life insurance. Ethnic and religious orders declared a particular ethnicity or religious identity as central to their image, and recruited only individuals with appropriate social characteristics. Occupational orders used occupational status as a criteria for membership. Some of these categories overlap; for instance, most ethnic and religious orders offered some benefits. A few orders fit in no category, but this does not denote a lack of importance. Such orders include the Freemasons, the Loyal Orange Association, and the Protestant Protective Association.
Discussions which follow treat each of these very interesting orders individually.

By 1840, Masons and Orangemen had introduced the cultural concept of fraternalism to Upper Canada; the changes which the province then experienced altered the whole thrust of fraternal history. Over the next sixty years, the Victorian middle class and other social groups introduced a variety of fraternal orders to the province. Lodges of all these orders shared certain cultural characteristics, though the balance between the different elements varied from order to order. Three interconnected aspects of the lodges attracted members: the lodges' respectable status; their role in forming social subcommunities, especially exclusively male ones; and their provisions of certain financial benefits. Lodges acted to mediate between individuals and society in the sphere of cultural construction. They gave their members a role in influencing the social identity of their local corporate community as well as provincial society. At the same time, they reinforced the growing hegemony of one particular worldview. The interplay of these functions and local factors affected the success and failure of each order and each lodge.

Due to specific economic and social changes, fraternal orders could serve this important cultural role in the Victorian era; changes in the twentieth century made lodges
increasingly marginal. Such things as the growth of the welfare state, the success of commercial life insurance, further alterations in the area of gender relations, and the introduction of mass leisure activities all helped turn the remnants of these orders into anachronisms. Today, popular culture describes fraternal orders as quaint and even comic organizations, yet their stories can still serve as sources of important historical information. The very fact of the contrast between their image today and their nineteenth-century popularity should be enough to alert our interest.
Notes to Chapter 1:


2. Sentinel Review. (Woodstock, Ontario) 7 June, 1890; Ingersoll Chronicle 12 June, 1890.


8. M.C. Carnes, Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America. (New Haven, 1989); Mary Ann Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender and


20. Some possible reasons for these gaps are enumerated in W. McLeod, "Freemasonry, as a Matter of Fact" in Canadian Historical Review. (1988) pp. 58 - 60.


25. Ibid., p. 571.


27. Lear's "Concept" p. 591.

28. Lipsitz, p. 150.

30. Lears, "'Concept'" pp. 571 - 573; Lenskj, p. 25. Anthony Giddens refers to this as the "'dialectic of control.'" See Anthony Giddens, A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism, (vol. 1), (Berkeley, 1981) p. 63.


33. Lears, "'Concept'" p. 572.


46. Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn.* (Cambridge, 1976); Smith-Rosenberg; Lensk]. See also Steven J. Ross "Struggles for the Screen: Workers, Radicals, and the Political Uses of Silent Film." *American Historical Review.* (1991). For a critique of this sort of writing, see Diggins, "Misuse of Gramsci".


50. Walden, p. 288.


54. Hall, "'Marxism and Culture'" p. 12.


57. Lears, "Concept" pp. 578 - 581.


60. The scheme used by Darroch and Ornstein actually consists of six categories: 'merchant'; 'professional'; 'other non-manual'; 'artisan'; 'labourer'; and 'farmer' - although in their early work, they included 'semi-skilled' and 'servant' categories, later merged with 'labourer.' For some purposes they also collapse the first three categories into a single 'non-manual' category. This then produces a scheme identical to the one used here, though in the present study, farmers are placed into the unclassified category. See A.G. Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective" Canadian Historical Review. (1980) p. 310; Darroch and Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Class, Transitions over a Decade: Ontario, 1861 - 1871" in D.J. Bercuson (ed.), Canadian Labour History: Selected Readings. (Toronto, 1987) pp. 10 - 25; Gordon Darroch, "Class in Nineteenth-Century Central Ontario: A Reassessment of the Crisis and Demise of Small Producers during Early Industrialization, 1861 - 1871" in Gregory S. Kealey (ed.), Class, Gender, and Region: Essays in Canadian Historical Sociology. (St. John's, 1988) pp. 53 - 56. See also Gerard Bouchard and Christian Pouyez, "Les Categories socio-professionnelles: une nouvelle grille de classement" Labour/Le Travail, (1985).

61. This approach can be seen in the work of R.Q. Gray and G. Crossick, and is explicit in the work of S. Wilentz. R.Q. Gray, "Religion, Culture and Social Class in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Edinburgh" in Geoffrey Crossick (ed.) The Lower Middle Class in Britain, 1870 - 1914 (New York, 1984) pp. 134 - 136; Geoffrey Crossick, "The Petite Bourgeoisie in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Urban and Liberal Case" in Crossick
and Haupt, (eds) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans*. pp. 86 - 87; Geoffrey Crossick and Heinz-Gerhard Haupt
"'Shopkeepers, Master Artisans and the Historian: The Petite Bourgeoisie in Comparative Focus'" in Crossick and Haupt
(eds) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans*, pp. 6 - 7; Wilentz, pp. 9 - 18.

62. For examples of other ways of defining class, see the work of W.P. Ward, who uses a subjective definition, and Bryan Palmer, who represents those who have taken this one step further. Palmer feels that class is inseparable from class struggle; classes arise only in the context of such struggle. W.P. Ward, "'Class and Race in the Social Structure of British Columbia, 1870 - 1939'" *B.C. Studies*, (1980) pp. 17 - 18; Palmer, *Culture in Conflict*, p. xvi.

63. Crossick and Haupt, "'Shopkeepers, Master Artisans and the Historian'" pp. 6 - 9; Gray, p. 134.


65. See Crossick (ed.) *The Lower Middle Class*, and Crossick and Haupt, (eds) *Shopkeepers and Master Artisans*.

66. See Gray, p. 140.

67. This is an assumption of many labour historians. See especially Palmer, *Culture in Conflict*, and Wilentz, pp. 10 - 11.

68. Gidney and Millar, p. 8.


70. Gidney and Millar, p. 9.

71. The best studies of this interplay in Ontario are Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*.; David P. Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West*, (Toronto, 1981). See also Darroch, "'Class'".
Chapter 2. The Backdrop: Structural Transformation and Middle-Class Hegemony at the Provincial and Local Levels

The nineteenth century witnessed the flowering of a very successful hegemonic culture in Ontario. The success of this worldview was tied directly to the success of a new social group - the "Victorian middle class" - which took the concept of respectability as its central ideological value. This hegemony sprouted before the coming of the railways, grew stronger as industrialization took off, burst into full flower during the 'seventies and 'eighties, then found itself weakening in the 'nineties before withering around the turn of the century.

A period of major economic and social transformations fueled the development of this cultural hegemony and the concomitant expansion of fraternal orders in Victorian Ontario - in just three generations the circumstances of people's lives changed immeasurably. During these six decades the twin processes of industrialization and urbanization resulted in a major alteration in the nature of the province's economy. Ontario's citizens became increasingly integrated into a fluctuating capitalist economy, meaning a loss of some traditional subsistence cushions. The economic changes had enormous consequences for the social world in Ontario. New economic patterns led to sharper gender distinctions in the workplace, and changed gender relations throughout the province. By the end of the
century, the ideology of separate spheres and the cult of domesticity had achieved widespread acceptance. The increasing specialization of occupational roles, and the growing importance of a continuing, full-time job, meant that occupational classes became an important feature of Ontario's society.

These great changes in the economy and society of Victorian Ontario had repercussions in every community within the province. The relationship worked the other way as well; in most cases, the major changes resulted from the accumulation of thousands of local changes. Despite these connections, an understanding of provincial patterns of change cannot suffice for an understanding of local transformations. Each community had its own history and its own particular circumstances, and each deserves to be understood as an individual case. This, of course, includes the two communities studied in this thesis - Ingersoll and Woodstock, both located in Oxford County, in Southwestern Ontario.

The towns of Ingersoll and Woodstock experienced quite different patterns of early development, though, as the century progressed, they became more similar. Ingersoll, the first founded, was a typical crossroads village, settled mainly by Americans, and serving as a centre for a small agricultural hinterland. Woodstock, on the other hand, started as a planned village, dominated by a group of transplanted British military officers, and having little to
do with the surrounding countryside or the provincial economy. In the 1850s the coming of the railways provided an important stimulus to the economic development of both communities. The railways linked each town firmly to the provincial exchange economy, and allowed local enterprises to produce for larger, non-local markets. Each town contributed to the provincial pattern of growing import substitution with new wooden and metal products industries, though Ingersoll maintained a sizable commitment to the processing of foodstuffs. As the two towns experienced similar economic transformations, the resulting social changes meant that the local cultures of Woodstock and Ingersoll became more and more similar; by the end of the century few differences existed between the social composition and cultural structures of the two towns.

The Victorian cultural hegemony of respectability did not emerge in a vacuum; before the rise of capitalist industrialism, urbanization and the explosion of the middle class, an older cultural pattern dominated. At this time, the hegemony of paternalism held sway, and the dominant social group comprised a relatively small body of males, interconnected through ties of marriage, kinship and patronage, with generally a British or Loyalist background, wealth derived from both land and mercantile interests, commissions in the magistry or militia, and, often, government positions.¹ Deference, order, loyalty,
stability and Britishness were key values in this cultural mix.² In this milieu, the most important institutions in terms of cultural power were political: specifically, the structures of local government. The J.P. system of government acted as both an instrument and arena of power. Its form was negotiated at a local level, so that it commanded the confidence of local elites as well as lesser members of society. At the same time it linked local hegemonies to the central, colonial, sites of cultural dominance.³

The hegemony of paternalism was an uneven one, where the dominant values often failed to penetrate. Counter hegemonies frequently erupted, often drawing upon narrowly political symbols and language. The result could be coercion, rather than consensus.⁴ This weakness was compounded in later years by struggles over language and meaning which arose within the ruling hegemonic group, as an assimilative definition of loyalty - associated with moderate Reformers in politics - replaced the older Tory exclusivity. At about the same time, the younger members of the dominant group found their wealth in new ways - in law and business careers - challenging the nature of the hegemonic fraction.⁵

One reason for the unavoidable openness of this early hegemony lay in the nature of pioneer settlement. Before the coming of the railways, Upper Canada was little more than a set of isolated island communities. By the start of
the 1840s, immigration, settlement, and agricultural production had brought about considerable economic development in Ontario. Farmers had generally chosen wheat as their main cash crop, which they sold on the domestic market, though colonial leaders sought to find it an advantage on the British markets. At the same time the possibility of a wheat staple had influenced the development of a transportation infrastructure in the colony. A number of important canals had been constructed in the colony, though the system as a whole remained inefficient without the completion of a number of projects in Lower Canada. At the same time, the technology of roadbuilding had improved, with Macadamizing and the introduction of cheap and reliable plank roads.

The 1840s saw what seemed to be the final victory of these lines of development. In that decade changes in British tariffs made Canadian wheat a fixture in that country. Most Upper Canadian farmers sought to provide this product. At the same time, the transportation network in the colony reached an apparent completion, with the opening of the last stages of a comprehensive St. Lawrence and Great Lake canal system. Despite these changes, inland communities in Ontario remained largely isolated from any sort of provincial or national trading network.

Two of the isolated communities of the colony were Woodstock and Ingersoll, located inland in the peninsula of Southwestern Ontario, in the area which became Oxford
County. Each founded under the aegis of loyalty, order and paternalism, in most ways they were quite different.

The town of Ingersoll owes its origins to the Ingersoll family; members of this family used their own capital to establish a village based on economic interactions with pioneer farmers. The first European inhabitants arrived in the late 1780s. The 1790s saw the arrival of more settlers, and the construction of the first road through the area. These developments resulted from the efforts of Thomas Ingersoll, who (along with some associates who never took an active hand in the scheme) acted as a settlement promoter in the 1790s. This early attempt at setting up a local settlement collapsed when Ingersoll failed to bring enough people in to settle his townships, which the government repossessed in 1797. By the time of the War of 1812, the Ingersoll settlement had diminished to a single log house. In 1818 the two sons of Thomas Ingersoll returned to their father’s former estate and undertook to revive the village. Using their own capital, the brothers established a general store, which provided goods for the surrounding homesteads, and set up three establishments which processed the products of the surrounding district—a grist mill, a distillery and an ashery.

The Ingersoll family which took the first leadership role in the village which eventually bore their name, represented a typical local leadership group for Upper Canada. The American-born Ingersolls were moderate Tories,
who believed in the importance of patron-led settlement. They made their money as merchants and entrepreneurs, as well as from landholding. When the younger Ingersolls returned to Oxford after the War of 1812, they quickly became local figures of some importance, with appointments to the magistracy and militia, and the status of local representatives of the oligarchy running London district.10

While the Ingersoll family had established a basic framework for a village, a more general pattern of regional growth allowed the new village to prosper and expand. The village grew rapidly in the 1820s, spurred by the settlement of adjacent agricultural areas. By 1828 the village could boast of twenty houses, a log hotel, a general store, a grist mill, two sawmills and several other establishments.11

While some of the patterns established before 1840 were to continue, the new decade saw two developments which changed the whole nature of Ingersoll's economy. Better roads provided a greater integration of the village into the provincial economy, yet they also allowed other towns, notably Woodstock and London, to compete within Ingersoll's hinterland. Compensating for some of its losses as an agricultural service centre to these other communities, the 1840s saw the start of industrial growth in Ingersoll. By 1846 the village had four mills of various types, while the decade also saw the first steam powered factory in
Ingersoll. At the same time a lumber and timber boom in the area made Ingersoll a major shipping centre. The village had almost 400 inhabitants, who could attend services at three Protestant churches or the Roman Catholic mission house, or get a drink at one of the village's two taverns. Ingersoll also had daily stage connections to Woodstock, London and Hamilton.12

Woodstock, the second community studied here, had origins similar to those of many other places in the province; a few American settlers arrived in the area by the end of the eighteenth century. At first these settlers made up part of the hinterland of Beachville, but during the ten years after the war of 1812, a small community formed, made up of legitimate settlers and squatters, with a tavern, a school and a Baptist church (the latter two institutions sharing the same building).13 In the early 1830s, the arrival of a group of British aristocrats and half-pay officers completely changed the economic and cultural nature of this fledgling community. Andrew Drew, a half-pay naval captain, arrived in Upper Canada in 1832 looking for land for himself and his partner, Henry Vansittart, a Vice-Admiral and a member of an influential and aristocratic family. Drew's arrival fit nicely into the plans of the government who wanted to use such immigrants to curtail local Reform sentiment. The planners offered Drew substantial economic rewards if he and his partner would join two other officers already settled in Blandford
Township, where they intended to start a village. With these men and their families settled there, Woodstock served as an attraction to similar types of immigrants, who welcomed the social company of this curious planned settlement.

The gentry presence in Woodstock led to unusual economic development. The officers and their friends brought comparatively large amounts of capital to the backwoods settlement. None of these men had to work for an income. Instead, they lived comfortably off old money, military pay or pensions, and free land grants. Within a few years of arrival, their society featured broad country estates and handsome houses filled with servants. They spent money freely on luxuries and entertainments such as balls and sleighing parties, to which they travelled in handsome carriages driven by liveried attendants. Admiral Vansittart, who lived just outside Woodstock proper, but remained a part of this circle, had paintings by the masters on his walls, and a staff of some thirty servants.

This ostentatious lifestyle meant that Woodstock’s elite furnished employment for a number of craftsmen as well as domestic servants. Thus Woodstock’s atypical economy functioned to a great extent outside the agricultural nexus. This trend in the village’s development increased when the elite lobbied for, and won, the choice of Woodstock as a district town in 1839 with the creation of the District of Brock.
Woodstock was distanced from the provincial economy in
another way; the main East/West road, which ran through
Ingersoll, did not pass through Woodstock. Woodstock sat on
the Governor's Road, but traffic preferred the old Detroit
foot path. In 1837 Anna Jameson decided to take the less-
travelled path to Woodstock from Brantford. She described
the nine-hour trip this way:

The roads were throughout so execrably
bad that no words can give you an idea
of them. We often sank into mud-holes
above the axle-tree; then over trunks of
trees laid across swamps, called here
corduroy roads, were my poor bones
dislocated. A wheel here and there, or
broken shaft lying by the wayside, told
of former wrecks and disasters... By the
time we arrived at the township of
Blandford, my hands were swelled and
blistered by continually grasping with
all my strength an iron bar in front of
my vehicle, to prevent myself from being
flung out, and my limbs ached
woefully.17

Woodstock did exhibit a few ties to its agricultural
environs. Like many other villages, Woodstock had a grist
mill and a general store operating by the mid-1830s. The
families headed by men who worked as artisans or labourers
for the gentry supplemented their income and decreased their
reliance on market forces by growing vegetables for their
own tables, or to trade to Indian hunters for venison, and
by brewing their own beer.18
The settlement of the gentry in Woodstock gave the community an unusual social situation as well as an unusual economy. Their British reference group might call themselves "middle class," referring to eighteenth century notions of such things, but these families did not fit the emerging North American definition of that term. The local people referred to them as "aristocrats," "gentry" or even "noblemen." Social institutions, especially St. Paul's Anglican church, solidified the group's cultural identity. Drew had started the church, and another former military officer inhabited its pulpit. The gentry introduced another, more unusual, social institution, in the mid-1830s when they established a cricket club. The economic costs and social assumptions of this pastime restricted it to this elite circle, while fences around the grounds prevented any intrusion by outsiders.

Other social and cultural institutions also started at this time, showing the dominating influence of the local gentry. A subscription library opened in 1835, while a new school house appeared by the end of the decade and a grammar school (the first in Western Ontario) opened in 1843 and moved into its own building in 1851. Members of the gentry also took active roles in local agricultural and religious societies of the 1830s and early 1840s.

The 1840s saw the start of a movement to link Woodstock more firmly to the provincial economy. Despite the unusual
nature of its economic development, by the mid-1840s villagers had established the elements of a more normal pioneer community. In 1846 Woodstock had two grist mills, a sawmill and a carding and fulling mill along with other establishments and workshops. The village also had some service elements including a bank agency. At this time Woodstock's population was just over 1,000.22

In the early 1840s Woodstock's inhabitants convinced the government to upgrade the main road to a plank road and connect it to Dundas street at Woodstock, before returning to its old path beyond Woodstock, running through Beachville and Ingersoll. With this improvement, Woodstock had good transportation links, including daily connections to London and Hamilton via stage coach.23 The situation did not last; by 1847 or so the condition of the Governor's Road portion had deteriorated so much that most East-West traffic returned to the old stage road. In the next few years the leaders of Woodstock sought to regain this traffic; they also linked the town to the new network of toll roads being constructed in the county.24

Into this pioneer world - a world of isolated villages and scattered farms, of fragmented and factionalized social groupings, a world dominated by a hegemony using both consensus and coercion - came a new social and cultural force. The worldview which would come to dominate Ontario
society started out as a minority position imported into the region before mid-century. It was linked to the growing power of a new social group, which called itself the "middle class."

Surprisingly, historians have paid little attention to the history of the middle class in Canada, at least outside of New France/Quebec; indeed, in trying to trace the social history of this group in the world literature, one soon becomes aware that it stands as a very poor cousin to the working class. Several important American studies of the middle class do have relevance to Ontario in the nineteenth century. For these historians the changes in attitudes and the economy during the half century after the end of the American Revolution created the groundwork for a new social system. American capitalists and master artisans, especially in New England, rearranged the social relations of production, imitating a process that had started decades, and even centuries, earlier in Europe. At the same time, they redefined the myths and symbols that marked their society. Moral reform, concerned with individual self-control, replaced old authoritarian and paternalist relations of master and servant which had ended when the workplace and the home were separated. The ideals of the new middle class solidified in a network of voluntary associations, many, but not all, directly concerned with moral reform.\textsuperscript{25}
The present state of historical research has not satisfactorily answered the question of when and how this middle class came into existence in Ontario. Although historians have studied the development of the pre-industrial elite in the province, they have rarely discussed the rise of this alternate body. By contrast, some work has appeared on the question of the creation of a working class, though recent work has concentrated on showing when it did not come into existence.26

The most virulent expression of the worldview associated with this new social group came in the first temperance campaigns. In the first half of the nineteenth century, middle class activists asserted their own definitions of respectability as a way to differentiate themselves from those above and below; their conception of respectability increasingly rejected alcohol consumption. In pioneer Upper Canada, tradition ensured that the consumption of liquor accompanied almost every occasion from weddings to working bees, or from militia musters to elections. For instance, in Woodstock of the 1830s, most of the artisans and working men did spend some of their money on alcohol, or brewed beer themselves. Some drank to excess on special occasions such as bees or dances.27 An assault on taverns meant an assault on a binding element of community life in mid-nineteenth-century Ontario. Besides providing a relaxing atmosphere for an evening of conviviality, taverns often served as sites for circuses and
travelling shows, for public meetings, and as polling places on election day. In Oxford, as throughout the rest of the colony, stagecoaches would stop at inns every fifteen miles or so. While the driver changed horses, the passengers would partake of the inn's refreshments. Taverns also rented rooms for groups, including early Masonic lodges, to use as meeting halls. According to one historian: "The innkeeper and his establishment may well be called the sine qua non of community life."28

As it turned out, the emerging historical bloc - in shorthand, the "Victorian middle class" -ec\{dropped the loud concern with total abstinence as a fundamental part of their worldview. While sobriety remained important, pledging total abstinence did not appeal to potential allies or consenting subordinates. The Victorian middle class had to consider these strategies as economic change transformed Ontario society in a way which was to its advantage, and presented it with an opportunity to seize cultural dominion.

The developments of the 1840s, which had seemed to mark the victory of particular lines of development, dominated the economy of Ontario only briefly. The repeal of the corn laws, which ended any advantage that American goods might find in using the Canadian system, and the dropping of American tariffs on goods shipped through their canals meant the Canadian canal system could not generate the expected increase in trade. In the 1850s, farmers in the colony
started to switch over to the production of other cereals, pork, and dairy products because changes in American tariff regulations, transportation costs, and the industrialization in eastern North America created strong, close markets for these goods. As the century continued, the industrialization and urbanization of the province created important local urban markets, supporting an increased concentration on this form of mixed farming.

A more fundamental realignment came with the arrival of the railways - the most important change in the transportation infrastructure of the nineteenth century. Between 1850 and 1880, Ontario constructed a comprehensive railway network, resulting in a tremendous improvement in communication and transportation. Many producers found themselves suddenly provided with fairly cheap and reliable year-round transportation facilities. Railways integrated the province into a single exchange economy, allowing manufacturers to produce for non-local markets and thus take advantage of economies of scale. At the same time, the railways themselves demanded heavy industry to manufacture iron rails and rolling stock. The spread of the railways also meant that the margin of cultivation expanded. Both settlement and urban growth shifted inland.

The last half of the nineteenth century saw the transformation of Ontario's economy into one based on import substitution through industrial production. In the 1840s
and 1850s some beginnings had been made, with some factories established, and steam-powered machines present in many areas, but the industrial manufacturing sector remained only a small part of the economy. Over the next twenty years, the stimulation of the American Civil War, and the bigger and protected markets which came with Confederation, allowed the expansion of the industrial sector in the province. During the 1880s and 1890s industry in the province went through a period of consolidation and rationalization, and took advantage of the new national policy which offered tariff protection and a cheap transportation link to a growing market in the Canadian West.30

The process of industrialization contributed to the urbanization of the province. Industries would only locate at towns on a rail line, while the largest factories developed at places where the lines met water routes, such as Toronto and Hamilton. As the industrial bases of these cities expanded, the cities became more attractive to people seeking employment. Thus the labour pools of the cities grew, while more services, such as financial institutions, appeared. This expansion of urban activities in turn attracted more industry, creating a self-perpetuating cycle.31 Smaller towns on the rail lines also took part in the process of industrialization. In some cases the location of raw materials might lead a town to become a centre of specialized industries; in other cases the
provision of services sparked growth.\textsuperscript{32}

The growing concentration of people in urban places meant growth for communities throughout the province. In 1871 the province had ten towns with populations over 5,000, including one – Toronto – with over 50,000. By 1901, twenty-nine communities in the province numbered over 5,000 inhabitants, while more than 200,000 people called Toronto home. In the south, factories sparked the growth of towns like St. Thomas, Berlin, and Sarnia, which had only two or three thousand people in 1871, but had become small cities with populations of eight to twelve thousand in 1901. In the north, resource development made important communities out of places that had numbered only a few hundred people, or less, thirty years earlier. By the turn of the century, over forty per cent of the province’s two million citizens lived in incorporated urban communities.\textsuperscript{33} Most of these communities differed greatly from the small towns and villages of mid-century, where everyone knew each other. Instead, population growth, greater geographic mobility, and the increasing importance of non-local connections reduced the solidarity and authority of previously isolated communities.\textsuperscript{34}

As Ontario underwent these dramatic changes, more and more people increased the level of their personal integration with the marketplace, or came to be dependent on a capitalist industrial economy for the first time. Family
income came from wages paid for the sale of an individual's physical or mental labour, or from a return on capital invested in mercantile or manufacturing enterprises in a variety of sizes. Economic fluctuations could have devastating consequences for families at all social levels. Those adversely affected by market changes had to turn to a variety of sources for some sort of income supplement, including subsistence agriculture, assistance from relatives, public and private philanthropy, and personal savings.

Both subsistence farming and kinship assistance had been present in pre-industrial Ontario. Even after mid-century, many families combined a small farm or garden plot with a husband's income from work in logging camps or as a labourer or artisan. Yet any ideal form of pure self-sufficiency had never existed in the province, and as the century progressed, even these supplemental options became less common. Kinship ties, on the other hand, remained viable throughout the century, though the increase in geographic mobility often made them less valuable. Networks of relatives frequently took on the burden of dealing with the hardships of industrial life. Relatives would care for one another during illness, raise orphans, and take care of those too old to earn an income.

Public and private philanthropy too had existed in Ontario during its earliest days. At a provincial level the
government encouraged an institutional approach to the problem of the poor. The provincial government did allow municipalities to grant direct outdoor relief, though they discouraged it. Despite this, outdoor relief became a widespread phenomenon in the province. Yet these efforts represented much less than a comprehensive social welfare system. They also included ideological components which rendered them unattractive; they distinguished between those deemed worthy for relief, and those not, and they adopted the rule of "less eligibility" so that conditions and income were made worse than those of the lowliest occupation.

In nineteenth-century Ontario, most individuals and families preferred to avoid the stigma of charity and relief, yet they did not want to burden their relatives unduly; this left the option of self-help through the accumulation of personal savings for times of trouble. At that time people could not simply open a personal savings account in a bank; most banks did not set up savings departments until the 1870s and 1880s. Before that happened, a competing form of savings appeared with the arrival of the first friendly societies in the colony.

Ontario's society changed in other ways; by the turn of the century, the province was no longer one of immigrants. According to the census of 1901, over eighty-five per cent of the people of Ontario had been born in
Canada. Another eleven per cent had travelled from the British Isles, adding to the British character of the province. Altogether, roughly eighty per cent of the people traced their origins to British territory, while some nine per cent had German roots, and seven per cent had French. In religious terms, the largest denomination in the province at the turn of the century was Methodism, the creed of thirty per cent of the population. Another twenty-two per cent followed the Presbyterian religion, while the numbers of Roman Catholics and Anglicans were fairly even at about seventeen to eighteen per cent of the population. Finally, some five per cent of the population were Baptists.⁴⁰

These changes at the provincial level had their counterparts in local patterns; in Ingersoll the 1850s and 1860s brought great transformations. The building of the Great Western Railway, which opened its line through the village in 1853, encouraged the diversification of economic growth in the village by hastening the reduction of Ingersoll's hinterland and, at the same time, opening distant markets to the village's products. Three new mills appeared in the five years following the opening of the railway, along with an agricultural implement factory, representing Ingersoll's contribution to the growing pattern of import substitution. The latter soon became the village's main industry.⁴¹

The railway construction teams denuded the area north
of the river in Ingersoll of trees. This site then became the centre of rapid development, and the geographic focus of the village moved north from the old crossroads. Also in the 1850s, the construction of a new gravel road connected Ingersoll to Thamesford, located to the northwest, which again increased the pull of Ingersoll's north end. By 1863, one third of the village population lived north of the river and the geographic split, accentuated by a wide floodplain, had led to a political split with 'northern' and 'southern' factions fighting for control of the village council.42

Despite some diversification, the processing of agricultural products continued to form a major part of Ingersoll's economy. After the local introduction of the factory system of cheese production in the mid-1860s, the town became the centre for cheese exports. The cheese industry received a boost when the American Civil War greatly increased the costs to American producers, giving Canadians a comparative advantage in an emerging British market. Ingersoll went heavily into the cheese industry and in 1866 local cheese makers produced a 'mammoth cheese' weighing over 7,000 pounds, which they sent on a promotional tour.43

The American war provided new markets which helped diversify the industrial base of the village. Three local industries - an ammunition manufacturer, a flour mill, and a
meat packer—started operations to supply the North in that conflict. By 1874 Ingersoll’s citizens could point out three factories which each employed over one hundred men, and three more employing between thirty and seventy men each. The town also boasted four large steam grist mills, and an oil refinery, and still served as a major shipping station for lumber from the southern parts of the county.⁴⁴

This was an exciting period for Ingersoll, which had only gained village status in 1851 with a population of less than 1,200. Ingersoll reached town status in 1864 and had a population over 4,000 in 1871. The town also supported services in the form of two banks and two weekly newspapers, and numbered eight churches among its institutions.⁴⁵

This phase in Ingersoll’s development ended with the depression that commenced in the mid-1870s. The depression hit the town particularly hard, especially as it brought the export cheese industry to a standstill. Meanwhile, the service sector suffered serious damage when a fire destroyed the town’s business section in May of 1872.⁴⁶ In the 1880s Woodstock and London continued to reduce Ingersoll’s hinterland, and the cheese industry declined; business slowed, and a lot of men lost their jobs. Ingersoll’s population stagnated; the town grew by less than 300 people in the 1870s. The town actually decreased in size in the 1880s, dropping to just under 4,200, and increased by less than 400 in the next ten years.⁴⁷
Town leaders tried to deal with this problem. To attract new economic life, they offered a standing bounty of $175 per man employed to any new industry.\(^4\) The attraction of the town's surplus labour force encouraged the arrival of a few new industries at the end of the 1880s. Three of these new industries, a machine parts company, a furniture company, and a meat packer, went on to become central players in the town's economy, representing a continued balance of food processing and import substitution. Transportation and communication links also improved during the period. Railway communications improved with the arrival of the Credit Valley Railway in 1878, ending the monopoly of the Great Western Railway. By 1882 three telegraph companies and the Bell telephone company had offices in the town.\(^4\)  

Woodstock too experienced wholesale economic change, starting in the early 1850s. Though heavy industry had arrived with the Woodstock Iron Works in 1842, it remained relatively unimportant for the rest of the decade; in the 1850s this foundry expanded, while another started up.\(^5\) The true turning point for the town came when the Great Western Railway connected Woodstock to Hamilton and London in 1853. The railway construction itself, the decision to make Woodstock the site of the regional rail yards, and the prospects for commercial and industrial development all combined to drive up prices, housing costs and wages.\(^5\)
The attraction of this transport link, and the construction of a number of gravel roads in the county over the next few years, soon resulted in the expected industrial activity. Several mills sprang up beside the railway in Woodstock; these included mills for flour, flax and oats, as well as a woolen mill. By the start of the 1860s the townspeople could also boast of a barrel factory, two tanneries, an oil refinery and a brewery.\textsuperscript{52}

At the same time a flock of new institutions, offering employment opportunities for the middle class, appeared in town, and provided services for the community and its rural hinterland. Insurance companies appointed several local agents, working on a part-time basis, in the 1850s.\textsuperscript{53} Another institution influenced by the middle class - the Oxford Permanent Building and Savings Society - formed in 1865 as a mortgage company, giving local people the capital to build.\textsuperscript{54}

Woodstock, which had a population of just over 2,000 living in 240 frame houses and forty-seven brick ones, became a town in 1851. The town hall, built the next year, also served as market, fire station, police station and court house. Over the decade, Woodstock’s population grew by almost 70 per cent, reaching 3,353 in 1861.\textsuperscript{55}

The 1870s witnessed the end of Ingersoll’s challenge to Woodstock for local dominance, partly because Woodstock forged new transportation links at this time. Woodstock’s leaders sought to improve the town’s market position by
offering bonuses to new railways. This policy led to links with the Lake Huron and Port Dover Railway in 1875 and with the Credit Valley Railway, at the end of the decade. 56 These new arrangements gave Woodstock two advantages over Ingersoll: a direct connection to Lake Erie, and rate competition with the Great Western.

At the same time, Woodstock's industrial development concentrated in the area of non-agricultural products. The railways provided routes to provincial, national and even international markets for the right sort of product; to manufacture such products, the people of Woodstock looked to the local forests for raw material. At the start of the 1870s, six factories producing wood products, such as barrels, organs, cabinets and carriages led Woodstock's industrial sector. The town was also home to a foundry and oil refinery, as well as a tobacco factory, three mills and a tannery. Within three years, one of the cabinet factories had expanded from a workforce of twenty men to one hundred, and a new sash and door factory was added to the list. 57

The great depression which hit Canada in 1874 had repercussions in Woodstock, but the town did not suffer in the way that most communities, including Ingersoll, did. The construction of two railways held the key to Woodstock's relative prosperity in this period. Both of these lines reached Woodstock during the mid-1870s and they gave a great boost to the building industry in town; they also improved the town's accessibility, making it more attractive to other
businesses and driving up real estate prices. At least three large manufacturing establishments opened in Woodstock at this time. The owner of one of these moved from Beachville, where he had operated a business since the 1850s, when Woodstock’s town council offered him a large grant to relocate his foundry.

As the 1880s opened, the people of Woodstock could boast of nine factories employing over twenty workers each, and combining for a workforce of over 560 people. Of these, the May and Company furniture factory dominated, accounting for 225 workers, while four other factories producing wood products employed over 140 workers. Other important industries included a foundry and a tannery, while a slew of smaller establishments filled out Woodstock’s industrial picture. New industries in this decade included a biscuit and confectionary factory, while the wood product sector expanded with the creation of a wagon factory in 1882, and the tremendous expansion of one of the organ factories.

The 1890s saw some consolidation of Woodstock’s industrial sector. Two major companies changed hands in the period, and a few others failed, especially in the hard times at the start of the decade. Yet industrial growth best characterized the decade. A raft of new industries moved into Woodstock, many of them buying up the factories abandoned by failed firms. By the turn of the century, Woodstock had over one hundred industrial establishments of
varying size. Factories producing wooden products still dominated the town's economy. The largest of these, the former Hay furniture factory, reorganized by new owners twice in the decade, employed 400 workers by itself. (This figure would have represented almost the whole of Woodstock's industrial workforce thirty years earlier.) Another furniture factory employed more than 125 men, while a wagon company employed 200, and the two organ manufacturers had a combined workforce of 320 people.62 The 1890s saw some growth in agricultural processing, though the new mills and tanneries that opened in the decade tended to replace ones that had recently closed down. A more exciting development in the decade took place in a new area of import substitution; five establishments producing metal products appeared in Woodstock in the decade, joining the small foundry already in town. Altogether, the ten largest manufacturing establishments in town accounted for almost 1,300 employees.63 When Woodstock became a city in 1901, it took the nickname "'The Industrial City.'"

Woodstock's population increased dramatically in the two decades after 1871, going just under 4,000 in 1871, to over 5,000 in 1881, and to 8,600 in 1891. The increase in the 1880s resulted partly from annexation, which accounted for 700 of the new residents, after which the town reached a plateau, only increasing by 200 people in the next ten years.64

In the 1880s and 1890s, Woodstock took several
important steps to establish a more modern infrastructure. In the 1880s the town set up its own water system; in the same decade the first electricity reached several businesses. A hospital with thirty beds opened in town in the 1890s.65 The town also benefited from improvements in transportation and communication; some of Bell’s first telephone experiments involved Woodstock in mid 1870s, and a telephone office appeared in town in 1878. By the 1890s the town’s financial sector included three banks, and two savings and loan companies, as well as twelve insurance agents. Town leaders also encouraged the growth of educational institutions. Woodstock set up its first board of education in 1851, with two common schools in town in the 1850s, plus a brick grammar school. By 1894 the town had six schools including a collegiate institute.66

The major changes which transformed Ontario’s economy and society also altered the competing cultural interpretations of the world. In this atmosphere of change, the new Victorian middle class, which had emerged in the 1830s and 1840s, had a chance to form alliances and claim to speak for all. To do this, the class-based worldview had to be constantly open to modification. Thus the definition of respectability — the central tenet of the ideology — changed through time.67

Part of the reason for the success of the middle class hegemony derived from the growing importance of occupation
as a way of identifying and defining individuals.

Industrialization and the associated division of labour created a much more specialized occupational pattern. An individual's identification with a specific full-time occupation became more permanent. At the same time, an increased dependence on the capitalist economy made regular employment very important in the lives of individuals and their families. As a result, people thought of themselves more and more in terms of their vocational role, and society became organized more and more in terms of occupational groupings, though the nature of these groupings underwent continual fluctuations.68

The broad pattern of occupational change in the Victorian period involved large increases in the proportion of non-manual and skilled manual workers in the province. While small farmers and artisan owners remained important categories in the picture, the relative number of white collar and skilled industrial employees burgeoned. During the nineteenth century, new sorts of white collar work came to be important occupational specialities. Clerical work in offices really only developed as a separate occupation in the Victorian era, but during the last three decades of the century, the proportion of clerical workers in the workforce mushroomed as offices became complex, and office work became fragmented. Meanwhile, retail businesses, unconnected to importers or producers, moved into a dominant position in
urban retail economies, bringing another surge of non-manual employment.69

The victory of respectability as a cultural value reflected the rise of the new middle class, linked to the growth of non-manual and skilled manual work described above. Although the precise definition of respectability changed through time, its essence proved durable: a respectable male individual had to be industrious, sober, religious, compassionate, morally upright, and responsible for his own welfare and that of his family. Respectability emphasized behavior and appearance over wealth, making it theoretically attainable by most members of society. Particular definitions of respectability performed a number of functions for the Victorian middle class. Thus the social group sought to define respectability in ways which brought order to a world shaken by new types of disruption arising from the very same economic processes which had made the middle class itself a powerful social force. The fight against alcohol intensified as factory owners sought to impose industrial discipline. During the 1880s and 1890s the attack on alcohol became part of a new, strong, nationwide movement for reform led by the middle class. This movement saw alcohol as one of the root causes of social evils associated with the new industrial world. Reformers blamed alcohol for all kinds of problems, from prostitution to child abuse, and even for poverty itself.
As new business practices developed, members of the middle class changed their definition of respectability in small ways to prevent its interference with new rules of the commercial game. For instance, the acceptability of real estate speculation and insurance both changed. Land speculation provided the chief source of profit for Hamilton's entrepreneurs at mid-century, yet according to Michael Bliss, the Canadian businessmen of the late nineteenth century considered real estate dealing as a form of immoral speculation.\textsuperscript{70} The image of life insurance changed in the opposite direction. Viewed as gambling on life and death in the early part of the century, after the 1840s it came to be seen as a moral means for a man to sacrifice himself to ensure his family's continued welfare after his death.\textsuperscript{71} As a third example, R.B. Bennett, a man known for his extreme honesty, made much of his fortune through what is today called "insider trading," but before the turn of the century was considered respectable, as long as other ethical conditions, such as not betraying a client, were met.\textsuperscript{72}

As the middle class achieved success, other groups also sought to manipulate the concept of respectability. The quest to achieve or define respectability encompassed not only factory owners, professionals and white collar workers, but farmers and manual workers as well. In particular, segments of the working class sought to define respectability in a way which included working class
culture, so that they could claim the privileges and powers associated with respectable status. As different groups battled over aspects of respectability, new definitions crystallized. For instance, the concern for sobriety took on different forms. To some it meant personal abstinence, to others it meant general prohibition. In the view of a third group, a respectable man could take responsibility for his own drinking habits; he could drink without becoming a drunkard.73

At the level of the individual, the quest for respectability was not so much an attempt to meet certain standards, as an effort to be seen to meet them. Individuals sought confirmation of their respectability from those groups in society which enjoyed unchallenged respectable status. Many people looked for such recognition as individuals, but others chose to use institutional methods of recognition. Some joined institutions which had earned a reputation as respectable bodies, and which screened their members on such grounds, while others sought to have organizations, to which they already belonged, recognized as such respectable bodies.74

Despite the forces involved, the campaign to establish a respectable society in Ontario took decades to achieve widespread success. In the 1850s, the population of Canada West still consumed an average three gallons per capita a year of whiskey alone, and this figure included men, women, and children.75 The respectable hegemony became
dominant in the 1860s and 1870s, but elements of rowdiness persisted through to the closing years of the century, though they became more and more local in flavour. Yet even Members of Parliament drank in the House of Commons and occasionally challenged one another to fistfights.76 Still the situation in Ontario closely resembled that in the United States, where, as Caroll Smith-Rosenberg tells us:

By the 1860s and 1870s, America's most revolutionary class had convinced itself and others that its values, its lifestyle, its institutional creations, represented simultaneously the epitome of progress and the oldest of America's traditions.77

Nor was this phenomenon restricted to North America; during those decades which corresponded to the reign of Queen Victoria, respectability became the overarching social norm throughout the English-speaking world.78 The exact definition of the nature of respectability, and the mechanisms that an individual could use to achieve respectability differed from group to group, but the overall outline of the idea remained similar.

The growth of the cultural hegemony of respectability, associated with the Victorian middle class (and thus specific occupational groupings), took place at the local level as well as the provincial. In both Woodstock and Ingersoll, the economic changes of the Victorian era produced major shifts in patterns of occupational pursuits. Table 2.1 provides an overview of these changes.
Table 2.1: Occupational Breakdown of Males over 14, Ingersoll,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Manual</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>45.8</td>
<td>612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Man.</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>371</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Woodstock,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Manual</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>313</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Man.</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>38.7</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>643</td>
<td></td>
<td>1046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bouchier, 'For the Love of the Game', pp. 91-2

The results of capitalist industrial development included the marked growth of the proportion of non-manual workers - especially low-level employees - in each town's social composition. Between 1851 and 1891 the number of non-manual workers in Ingersoll increased by more than five times, and in Woodstock by almost ten times; in 1891 such workers accounted for roughly twice as high a percentage of local male workers as they had in 1851. At the same time, the proportion of skilled manual workers grew slightly in each town, while the proportion of unskilled workers dropped markedly. In 1891, then, each town's male workforce exhibited a ratio of one quarter non-manual, one-half skilled manual, and one quarter unskilled manual.
The simplest local exhibition of the growing power of the middle class cultural hegemony of respectability can be found at the level of civic political leadership. The change in Ingersoll's civic leadership started at mid-century, when a new breed of men became community leaders. The village of Ingersoll became a legal entity in 1851 and thus gained an elected council. The first such council consisted entirely of merchants and artisans, without a single member of the Ingersoll family, though James Ingersoll still took a role in civic leadership and sat on the boards of two building societies and a road company in the county. Adam Oliver provides an example of this new group of middle class leaders. He led one faction of municipal politicians in the late 1850s and early 1860s, serving as reeve from 1859 to 1862, and then, in 1865 becoming first mayor of Ingersoll. Oliver did not spring from one of the old established families; instead he arrived at the village in 1850, as a carpenter. He then established a successful business as a contractor, lumber manufacturer, and dealer. Leading figures in the faction opposed to Oliver included a boot and shoe manufacturer, an agricultural implements manufacturer, a bank manager, and the owner-editor of the local newspaper. Neither side followed men of landed wealth, instead aggressive, business-oriented men played leadership roles.

Ingersoll's local leaders continued to come from the middle class for the rest of the century. In the 1880s, two
rival implement factory owners virtually monopolized the office of mayor, though three other individuals — a manufacturer, a fruit dealer, and the post master — did secure election to the office later in the decade.82

The town council was drawn from a wider spectrum of the middle class; for example, in 1887 it consisted of the post master, a grocer, two manufacturers, a hotel keeper, a baker, a miller, three skilled workingmen, a "'railway employee'" and two retired men.83

As in Ingersoll, a change in Woodstock's leadership accompanied the change in the town's economy. As the 1840s opened the Tory aristocrats dominated the village of Woodstock, and sought to use the results of Duncombe's revolt to extend this control to the rest of the county. Although a distinct minority in the electoral rolls of the county, the gentry did manage to have their candidate for M.P.A. returned for Oxford in two of the three elections in this period.84 Yet this political control was to prove shortlived.

The gentry's position in town and county declined in the late 1840s and early 1850s. One of the milestones on the decline of the gentry came with the "'graveyard affair'" of 1847. Reverend William Bettridge, the Anglican rector at St. Paul's church, belonged to the elite circle by virtue of his connections, and his active military service before taking vows. In 1847 Bettridge, well known for his intolerance, objected to a line on a woman's tombstone which
said "...she was all that a wife should be." Bettridge's description of this statement as inaccurate and unbelievable led the widower, William Wilson, to disinter and move the body. In response, Captain Phillip Graham, one of the first half-pay officers to settle, and one of the most extreme in his views, ordered the arrest of Wilson and two friends. Graham's subsequent denial of bond to the men raised this comic opera to the attention of a provincial audience.85

In the end, Graham's superiors dropped the charges against the men, and condemned his actions. The graveyard affair boosted the Reform cause in Woodstock and Oxford; it drove moderates away from the extreme Tories and into the Reform ranks. Yet its effects were more than just political; by bringing the system of government by magistry into local disrepute, the graveyard affair both served notice that the old hegemony of paternalism was crumbling, and contributed to that process.86

While death and out-migrations weakened the gentry group in Woodstock, the new middle class men of business started to amass fortunes as large as, or larger than, those of the old elite. The Baldwin Act, which brought responsible government to the local level, further undermined the power of the aristocrats. The first municipal election in Woodstock took place in 1851, and resulted in the election of five councillors, none of them members of the gentry's social and political circle.87
A new group, made up of middle class men, had started to challenge the older group for local leadership. The public careers of the men jailed in the graveyard affair symbolize the success of Woodstock's middle class Reformers. William Wilson was appointed magistrate in 1849. At the first municipal elections in Woodstock in 1851, the people elected Wilson as one of five councillors; he later served a term as mayor of the town. His two friends won similar offices in the period.88

In the late 1840s and early 1850s the coming of the railway age completed the process of change in Woodstock's leadership group. Most of the remaining gentry joined middle class businessmen to push for a railway from Woodstock to Lake Erie at Port Dover. Several members of the elite families made important contributions by lending their names, and their money, to the project.89 (Despite all this help, the company never achieved any success.)

The industrial development of Woodstock took place under the leadership of this new middle class elite, whose hegemonic value structure had solidified and become institutionalized by the 1870s. As a Toronto newspaper commented at the time, the leadership of the gentry had ended, while "...a race of thrifty, industrious money-getting men, with ideas more in unison with the place and time..." now ran the town's affairs.90
For the last part of the century, Woodstock's local leaders came from the middle class; local mayors made their livings as bank officers, lawyers, factory owners, merchants, or publishers, as did the local Member of Parliament. The council too tended to reflect the higher ranks of the middle class. For instance, the council elected in 1891 consisted of two professionals, six dealers or agents, three builders and contractors, two manufacturers, a harness maker, (who owned his own workshop) a retired farmer, and a 'gentleman at leisure.' Fifty local businessmen made another claim to community leadership in 1877 when they formed a Board of Trade. These men wanted to aid in the commercial and industrial development of the town. Within a few years, the Board of Trade commissioned advertisements in Toronto newspapers and American magazines to attract new industries.

As the dominant leadership group changed, Woodstock's social sphere also underwent some alterations. Middle class influence on the town's institutions appeared as early as the 1840s. Though the cricket club and constitutional society reflected aristocratic ideals in the decade, Woodstock also saw a mechanic's institute, a St. George's society, two Scottish social societies, and a volunteer fire company with a significant social element. The 1850s and 1860s saw the appearance of a local horticultural society, and the Oxford Literary Society; the latter body merged with the mechanics' institute in 1869. A voluntary
militia regiment, officered by the town's middle class, first appeared in 1863.95

As the old Tory elite declined, the associated social institutions found their dominance challenged. The census of 1851 found the Church of England with the single largest denomination in the town, amounting to thirty per cent of the population. Three Presbyterian groups accounted for another thirty per cent, while the Methodists numbered something over fifteen per cent, and the Baptists less than ten per cent.96 By the turn of the century, both the Anglicans and Presbyterians had fallen to only twenty per cent, each, of the town's population. While the Baptists had grown slightly, the Methodist congregation had undergone the greatest expansion, and could now claim over one-third of Woodstock's people as adherents.97 A symbol of this switch in influence from the ''Established'' (in Britain at least) Protestant churches to the ''Dissenting'' ones appeared in Woodstock in 1860 when the Canadian Literary Institute, a prestigious Baptist college, and forerunner to McMaster University, opened.98 The cricket club too had had its day. In 1858, the Canadian Cricketer's Guide commented:

It seems strange that cricket [in Woodstock] should be entirely abandoned to the more absorbing claims of railways and politics.99

At the end of the century, the town offered its inhabitants a variety of voluntary associations and social
activities. Townspeople could choose from twelve different churches. They could belong to the Oxford Literary Society, the Caledonian Society, the St. Andrew's club, the Y.M.C.A., the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association, the local branch of the Imperial Federation League or one of at least ten church-related groups. Another "respectable" cultural development took place when a new opera house opened in town in 1893; in 1897 it showed the first moving picture display in town.

Ingersoll too offered its inhabitants, especially the middle class ones, a wide range of voluntary associations. These included a St. George Society formed in 1858; a rifle company formed in 1861 because of the threat of war with the U.S.; several more militia companies formed at the time of the Fenian scare; at least two fire companies; a mechanics institute organized in 1866; a St. Andrew's club; a Ladies' Benevolent Association; the Y.M.C.A.; the Ingersoll Amateur Athletic Association; many church groups, including some for women or young people; and the "Owl Club" - an organization which performed for the public.

Of course, manual workers still formed the bulk of the workforce in each town, and middle class leaders did take some steps to improve the lot of these people, and thus secure their continued consent and complicity in existing relations of power. According to one of the men behind the project, Woodstock built a hospital because many young factory workers lived in unhealthy boarding houses, while
the poor water system led to yearly typhoid epidemics. In 1881 Woodstock’s largest employer created a paternalistic body – the Hay and Company Employees’ Mutual Benefit Society – to pay sickness and accident benefits. Three other large employers followed the example, one in 1895, and two in 1900.

Despite these efforts, the subordinated groups in each town did at times call for a change in the conditions of work, or existing structures of domination. Ingersoll workers took part in the shortlived campaign for the nine-hour day, forming an association in April, 1872, to push for that reform. Woodstock workers, too, were not merely content with existing arrangements. As the town became more dominated by factories, workers raised objections to the piecework system and subcontracting. On the whole, however, the local cultural dominance of the middle class proved remarkably successful at co-opting and accommodating those from "lower" social orders.

This process can be seen in an examination of the celebration of civic holidays in the two towns. Whereas in the period before Confederation, civic holidays tended to become contests between rowdy and respectable forms of parade and sports, by the 1890s rowdiness had been removed from formal celebrations through the co-option of some traditional elements and the suppression of others. Popular resistance remained, but rowdiness now took place in the spectator stands or at the beach – far from the physical
location of the corporate community.107

Another sign of understated resistance, taverns remained a popular institution in Woodstock; a directory from 1857-8 listed twenty-three saloons and inns in the town.108 The fondness of Woodstock's people for their taverns became vividly apparent in 1868. When two undercover "'whiskey detectives'" visited town to check for license violations, townspeople soon saw through their disguises. A crowd gathered, its mood ugly, and threatened the two men. Order did not return until the mayor called out the militia to disperse the mob.109

Religion, too, proved a divisive issue in some cases. The middle class showed little sympathy for the Salvation Army, with its strong working class roots. When this organization came to Ingersoll in 1883 it received a roasting in the press, the Ingersoll Chronicle calling them a "'bad lot.'"110

Other elements in the population were also subject to the dictates of hegemonic forces. In the 1850s a new social group entered Ingersoll's population, when several hundred escaped slaves arrived on the "'underground railway.'" Most of the Blacks left after the Civil War, though their church survived into the twentieth century.111 Those who remained were subject to a nasty surprise in 1878 when racial tension became apparent in Ingersoll. Following a melee in a hotel involving four Black barbers, some of whom allegedly used their razors, a White mob demolished the
barbershop. The mob then went to the houses of all the people of colour in Ingersoll and ordered the inhabitants to leave town.\textsuperscript{112}

In matters of ethnicity and demography, Ingersoll followed provincial trends. Statistics for the religious distribution in the town at the end of the century mirror provincial ones. By that time over three-quarters of the population had been born in Canada. About ninety per cent of the town's population traced their origins to the British isles, of whom half were English, a quarter Irish, and a quarter Scots. Yet neither birthplace, nor measures of origins take into account the American background of many of the older families in Ingersoll.\textsuperscript{113}

Most of Woodstock's population at the end of the century had been born in Canada, but their origins revealed a pattern influenced by the community's history. Fully one-half of the townspeople claimed English origins, and another quarter Scottish. Only thirteen per cent of the population listed an Irish origin, while the rest came from a variety of backgrounds.\textsuperscript{114} A very English tinge remained a part of Woodstock's local culture, even when it faded from cold demographic data.\textsuperscript{115} For, as Donald Akenson has said:

\begin{quote}
Ethnicity, of course, cannot be measured by dealing only with the immigrants and their offspring, for it is a perduring attribute, with characteristics that survive, muted and subtle but real, much longer than merely the generation that steps off the boat and their children.\textsuperscript{116}
\end{quote}
As with any cultural hegemony, values and ideology—often presented as "common sense"—structured power relations between and among individuals and groups; a particularly powerful set of ideals dealt with gender roles and relationships. The Victorian era saw the construction of new ideas about gender. The necessity for a change in the rhetoric of gender arose from the substantial changes in the economic side of gender roles. In pre-industrial Ontario, both men and women performed their work in the home or adjacent farmyards, workshops or stores. The family acted as the unit of production, and the worlds of men and women overlapped to a great degree. All these patterns changed over the course of the last six decades of the century.

As the economy of Victorian Ontario changed, the worlds of men and women became more and more distinct. In urban places most men started to work outside the household. Their jobs became specialized, full-time occupations. Women, on the other hand, remained working in the house. While men earned wages for their work, women did not. Even on the farm things changed. Men still worked at home, but the skilled jobs which women had undertaken, such as cheese or butter making, took place more and more in factories. The large group of women who worked in factories stand as a notable exception to this pattern, but most of those women only stayed in the paid workforce until they married. Even in the factory, these women tended to do
tasks seen as extensions of "traditional" feminine duties, under the supervision of males.

As these changes took place, the concept of "separate spheres" became an important strand in the middle class ideology. This concept, which spread from more industrialized areas such as Britain and New England, saw the world of men as a "public" one, and the world of women as "private." While men went out to earn a living in the public sphere, women — with their alleged overriding domestic and maternal orientation — remained largely ornamental in the private sphere. It was the duty of men to run public affairs, while women guarded morality and looked after the family.118 The combination of women's role as guardians of morality, and their assignment to the limits of the house, soon meant that the house itself became seen as the locus of morality. The expectation arose then that respectable men should spend their leisure time at home. Thus was born the cult of domesticity, a feature of late Victorian Ontario.

The histories of Ingersoll and Woodstock show two distinct patterns of economic development, yet the patterns started to converge by the end of the century. Ingersoll, founded by American settlers as a community primarily interested in serving the needs of its pioneer hinterland, remained committed to the processing of agricultural products through to the end of the century. Only gradually
did non-agricultural products become important in the town economy. Woodstock, on the other hand, originated as a community dominated by a transplanted Tory elite and with few economic ties to the surrounding homesteads or the provincial economy. After broader social change encouraged the emergence of a new breed of leaders, the town's industrial development concentrated on wooden, and in the 1890s, metal, products. Socially, the towns became more and more similar as the decades passed. At the end of the century the two communities had a similar social composition, and the inhabitants of each town could participate in a number of similar social institutions.

These local changes took place in a context of widespread economic and social transformation. During the period from 1840 to 1901, Ontario's economy changed from one based on agriculture, and particularly the production of wheat for export, into one in which the role of agriculture - now primarily mixed farming - was overshadowed by a burgeoning industrial sector which sought to replace imported manufactured goods with locally produced items. More and more people lived in urban places, where they were completely integrated into the capitalist economy. Their lives became less secure as they gave up the option of subsistence farming as a form of family income supplement. Economic changes led to the growth of non-manual and skilled manual work, and to a society organized increasingly along lines of class and gender.
All these changes allowed for and encouraged a shift in the dominant hegemony of the province. A cultural worldview associated with the 'Victorian middle class' became dominant after mid-century, and reached its peak of power in the 1870s and 1880s. This hegemony centred on the notion of respectability, and demanded the segregation of the genders. All of these factors influenced the patterns of fraternal development in Victorian Ontario.

The cultural hegemony which did so well in the Victorian era started to crumble and mutate at the end of the century. Old consents disappeared as corporate capitalism led to worker alienation and industrial strife. Gender roles, too, came under attack. During a period of turmoil, new cultural icons came to replace the old. Domestic feminism, scientific management, social reform, commodified leisure and a mix of imperialistic militarism and Canadian nationalism were elements in a new cultural consensus.

This did not denote a wholesale transfer of power; the social groups which had made up the Victorian middle class still held sway. Instead it was the internal site of hegemonic power which changed. While the Victorian middle class had forged alliances around values associated for a great part with the liberal professions, the new, twentieth-century middle class preached the ideology of business. The hegemony of respectability faded, as the hegemony of efficiency bloomed.
Notes to Chapter 2


3. Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario*, pp. 89 - 98; Armstrong, "'Oligarchy.'"


9. Shier, p. 7. Mills and distilleries were an important source of wealth for the 'prominent' of early Upper Canada; Johnson, Becoming Prominent. pp. 46 - 47.


14. Drew was allowed to acquire all the land to the north and east of the town plot as surveyed in 1829. As the land on the west and south was unsuitable, the town was expected to expand onto his land. See John Ireland, 'Andrew Drew and the Founding of Woodstock' Ontario History. (1968) pp. 229 - 237; Dawe, pp. 43 - 44.


17. A.B. Jameson, Winter Studies and Summer Rambles. (reprinted Toronto, 1943) p. 82.


21. Sawtell 'Woodstock'; Williams and Baker, pp. 16 - 17; Elliot, p. 93.

22. Smith, Canadian Gazetteer, p. 223; Dawe, p. 75.


29. McInnis, 'A Reconsideration.'


31. The best discussion of this process can be found in J. Spelt, Urban Development in South Central Ontario, (Ottawa, 1983).

32. Ibid, pp. 144 - 149.
33. Canada, Census of Canada, 1901. (v. 1) p. 22.

34. This is an important theme in both Wiebe and Pred. For Ontario, see Careless, "Some Aspects."


40. Census, 1901, v. 1, p. 144, pp. 312 - 313, pp. 416 - 417. For the details behind these figures, see Donald H. Akenson, "The Irish in Canada: Ontario, the Crucial Case" in Being Had: Historians, Evidence, and the Irish in North America. (Don Mills, 1985) as well as Darroch and Ornstein "Ethnicity and Class".


45. Shier, p. 35; Canada, Board of Registration and
Statistics, Census of the Canadas, 1851-52. (Quebec,
1853) p. xvii; Ingersoll Chronicle, 12 Aug. 1864. An
earlier attempt to achieve town status in 1860 was defeated
by the Legislative Council, Ingersoll Chronicle, May 4
and 11, 1860; Oxford and Norfolk Gazetteer and General


47. Palladium of Labor: (Hamilton), 19 Sept. 1885;
Emery, 'Adam Oliver' p. 36; Canada, Fifth Census of
Canada, 1911. (Ottawa, 1912) v. 1, p. 555.


49. Shier, pp. 39 - 41; Gazetteer, 1874, p. 62;
Lovell's Business and Professional Directory of the
Province of Ontario, (v. 2) (Montreal, 1882); Cropp, p.
45.

50. Williams and Baker,; County of Oxford Gazetteer
and General Business Directory for 1862-3. (Ingersoll,
1862) p. 204.

51. Williams and Baker, pp. 61 - 64; M.K.A. Spence,
"Woodstock as an Industrial Centre: A Study in Industrial
Development" (B.A., University of Toronto, 1966) p. 2.

52. Williams and Baker, p. 81; Gazetteer, 1862, p. 205.

53. The British-American (Woodstock) 24 Sept. 1852;
Shenston, pp. 217 - 218; D. Bonk, "Businessmen in the 1857
Woodstock Directory" (unpublished paper) Woodstock Public
Library.

54. Williams and Baker, p. 81.

55. Shenston; Williams and Baker, p. 36; Canada, Bureau of
Agriculture and Statistics, Census of the Canadas,
1860-61 (Ottawa, 1863) p. 66.

56. Gazetteer, 1874-5, p. 94; Cropp, p. 45; Williams and
Baker, p. 65.

Gazetteer, 1874-5, pp. 95 - 96.

58. "That Aristocratic Neighbourhood"; Report of the
president of Woodstock Board of Trade, 12 Feb. 1878, cited
in W.S. Lavall, 100 Years Young. (Woodstock, 1977) p.
7.


67. For a similar interpretation of Victorian America, see Smith-Rosenberg, especially p. 50, pp. 79 - 88, pp. 167 - 173.


Revolution: The Feminization of Clerical Work. (Toronto, 1987); Smith-Rosenberg, pp. 81 - 82.

70. Katz, 'The Entrepreneurial Class' pp. 12 - 13; Bliss, A Living Profit, pp. 22 - 23.


77. Smith-Rosenberg, pp. 167.

78. See Gilkeson, pp. 9 - 95; Gray, p. 149; Crossick, 'The Labour Aristocracy' pp. 309 - 310; Bliss, Living Profit, pp. 134 - 143.


81. Ibid., pp. 28 - 29.

82. The list of mayors was found in newspaper reports; the occupations were found in directories cited elsewhere.

83. Ingersoll Chronicle. 6 Jan. 1887.

84. Dawe, pp. 63 - 74.

85. Ibid., pp. 77 - 80.
86. Ibid., pp. 80 – 82; Shenston, pp. 95 – 97; Akenson, The Irish in Ontario, p. 102.

87. Shenston, p. 124.

88. Ibid., p. 88, p. 124, p. 215; Bonk; Dawe pp. 78 – 79.


90. 'That Aristocratic Neighbourhood'.

91. The names of mayors were obtained from newspaper accounts and linked to the censuses and directories listed elsewhere. The M.P. for North Oxford was James Sutherland from 1880 to the end of the century. He was a Woodstock man, listed as a banker, broker and express agent in the 1881 directory. North Oxford's seat in the legislative assembly at this time was held by the premier, Oliver Mowat, but he had no local connection.


104. Ontario, Legislative Assembly, "'Reports of the Inspector of Insurance'" Sessional Papers. 1895 - 1901; see May and Company Mutual Benefit Society, Constitution. (Woodstock, n.d.); a copy is located at the Woodstock Museum.

105. Ingersoll Chronicle. 11 April 1872.

106. Palladium of Labor. 26 June 1886; Sentinel Review. 1 Apr. 1881.


110. Ingersoll Chronicle. 31 June 1883.

111. S.J. Smith, "'Memo for Mr. Stutler'" Mss. in Smith Collection; D.G. Simpson "'Negroes in Ontario from Early Times to 1870'" (Ph.D., U.W.O., 1971) p. 793.

112. Ingersoll Chronicle. 4 July 1878.


115. See Bouchier, "'For the Love of the Game'" p. 89.


Chapter 3. "Fraternalism as a Cultural Form"

Though the tremendous growth of fraternalism in the nineteenth century resulted from the link between lodges and the group identified in the previous chapter as the "Victorian middle class," this connection was not a prerequisite for the existence of fraternal orders; fraternalism had become an established cultural form long before the rise of that particular social group. By the middle years of the nineteenth century, lodges had spread from origins in Britain to the whole English-speaking world. As a cultural form, the fraternal framework in Victorian Ontario lay open to appropriation or dispute. In fact fraternal orders sprang not from the dominant groups in British society, but from groups which a nineteenth century view would label as disreputable. The alleged revolutionary character of Freemasonry, the rowdiness of Orangeism, and the acknowledged working-class character of early friendly societies might suggest that if anything, these bodies were counter-hegemonic in their origins.

Nineteenth-century lodge fraternalism derived completely from a single source: Freemasonry. Most authorities on Freemasonry trace its roots back to London, England, in 1717, when four lodges bound together to form a Grand Lodge; while an important date in the spread of the fraternal idea, the true founding of modern Freemasonry lies a century further back in time. David Stevenson has recently shown how certain events in late sixteenth- and
seventeenth-century Scotland initiated the development of fraternalism as we now know it. In 1598 and 1599, William Schaw, the King's Master of Works, issued two sets of statutes intended to reorganise stonemasonry in the kingdom, while bringing it new stature and new meaning. Schaw used an old term - the 'lodge' - to define a new institution. He also created a completely new ritual, which included fragments of older, medieval themes. This ritual grew more elaborate during the next century, drawing symbols from Christianity and mystical sources, and reflecting the influence of Renaissance thought.²

Scottish Freemasonry went through a second wave of adaptations in the middle of the seventeenth century, when men who were not working stonemasons started joining in droves. According to Stevenson:

These 'non-operatives' sought when they joined lodges not to create entirely new social institutions but to satisfy their desires for sociability by joining - and soon adapting to their own uses - institutions which already existed.³

Later in the century, the Scottish system of Freemasonry moved into England, at first only in the north.

With the start of the eighteenth century, the creative and expansionary impulses in Freemasonry shifted dramatically to England, and especially London. English Freemasons formalised three degrees of membership (based on older Scottish traditions) between 1717 and 1723. The order spread rapidly through Britain, the colonies and Europe, and
reached North America in the 1730s. This growth soon led to schism. From 1751 to 1813 a second Grand Lodge existed in London when a group of lodges, calling themselves the 'Ancients' or the 'Athol Grand Lodge' left the established Grand Lodge of England because of disagreements over ritual and practices.4

As Freemasonry grew in popularity, its ritual and structure became more complex, while differences over the content of ritual and the establishment of higher degrees led to the formation of rival sets of rites. York Rite, or English, Masonry included the three basic degrees of Freemasonry – common to all the rival rites – and added only one superior degree, that of Knight Templar.5 The York Rite's main competitor, the Scottish Rite, had a misleading name. Masons in France created this system, and American Masons formalized it into thirty-three degrees in 1801. In Ontario, as in the rest of North America, a third set of degrees became more popular than either of these. American Rite Masonry took certain elements present in the English York Rite, and expanded them to create a new system. Royal Arch Masonry, part of the third degree in York Rite, made up four degrees in American Rite Masonry. The English Knight Templar degree became three degrees in American Rite, with a completely different ritual. Three other degrees earned in 'Councils of Royal and Select Masters' completed this system.6

Freemasonry first arrived in Canada with the fall of
Quebec, when several British regiments brought military lodges. In December, 1759, the military lodges gathered and formed a grand lodge for Quebec under the English Moderns; this grand lodge lasted thirty-three years before a grand lodge of Ancients replaced it in the early 1790s.7

Freemasonry reached Ontario in the late eighteenth century. In fact, the first meeting of the legislative assembly of Upper Canada took place in a Masonic hall built in Niagara, the home of two local lodges since the 1780s. By 1791, ten lodges operated in the province, holding warrants from, and loyalties to, various grand lodges. The Masons gained a provincial structure one year later, when the Athol Grand Lodge, in England, appointed William Jarvis Provincial Grand Master for the colony. In 1802, a schism over the right of the grand master to grant warrants resulted in the creation of a schismatic grand lodge, soon joined by six lodges, in Niagara. Ten lodges remained loyal to Jarvis. This factionalism resulted in chaos, with both grand lodges falling apart.8 A subsequent attempt at reorganization under the leadership of Simon McGillivray, an important force in the fur trade, had no long-term success.9

A few auxiliary bodies for Masons holding higher degrees also appeared in this period, but no lasting structure emerged. A separate chapter of Royal Arch Masons first appeared in the province in 1795, at Kingston. In 1817, a provincial grand chapter, with three subordinate
chapters, appeared, but it never took firm hold on this level of Masonry in the province. Lodges of the Knights Templars, the only superior degree recognized by English Rite Masonry, opened in Kingston in 1800 and again in 1823.10

After a brief burst of activity associated with McGillivray, Freemasonry in the colony went into decline. The provincial body ceased to function, while many local lodges went into dormancy. Much of the reason for this lies with what became known as "the Morgan affair." In 1826, a former Freemason named Morgan, living in New York state, announced his intention of writing an expose of the order. When Morgan subsequently disappeared, the public blamed the Masons. The finding of an unidentified decomposed body in the area a year later added to the flames of suspicion. Though Masonic officials claimed that Morgan had been paid off, and moved on, via the Niagara region of Upper Canada, the public preferred the darker explanations of murder, either in New York or Upper Canada. For the next fifteen years, the Freemasons of the United States and Canada operated under siege.11

The Loyal Orange Association, the second fraternal order to find a home in Upper Canada, traced its organizational history to Ireland in 1795. In that year three innkeepers, following a long Irish tradition, founded a secret society in the rural village of Loughgall to defend local Protestantism.12 The founders of the order, all
Freemasons, based their new society on elements of the Masonic order. The Orange order draws its name and tradition from the 1690 victory of William of Orange over James II at the Battle of the Boyne. The Orange calendar revolves around the celebration of the anniversary of the battle, on July 12th.

The Loyal Orange Association moved to England before the end of the eighteenth century. A grand lodge for England appeared in 1808, but the order had not yet achieved full acceptance. The British Parliament outlawed the Orange order in Britain from 1825 to 1828. In 1836 Parliament dissolved the order in Ireland, but it revived nine years later.  

The Loyal Orange Association first came to British North America in military lodges. Such lodges may have appeared in Halifax in 1799, and Montreal in 1800, but they quickly disappeared. Many other military lodges came with the British troops in the War of 1812, several of which became established in Upper Canada. With the boom in immigration following the Napoleonic wars, civilian lodges, mainly unofficial, unwarranted lodges, sprang up in rural communities in the colony. York first saw a parade on the 'Glorious Twelfth' in 1818.  

Until 1830 the Orange order in Upper Canada grew in an unofficial, undirected and haphazard manner. The arrival of Ogle Gowan in 1829 changed all that. Though an outcast in the eyes of Irish Orangeism, Gowan took it upon himself to
call a meeting for the first day of 1830, which established an autonomous grand lodge for all of British North America. Between 1830 and 1833, the new grand lodge warranted the creation of 103 lodges, including ninety-one in Ontario, with a combined strength of over 11,000.15

One other type of fraternal order joined the Masons and Orange order in pioneer Ontario; Oddfellowship, the first friendly society to appear in the colony, arose in the industrial north of England. Many English friendly societies appeared in the second half of the eighteenth century, meeting in taverns, and taking inspiration for their ceremonies from Freemasonry. They specialized in the provision of certain benefits, including sick pay and funeral costs, through a scheme of mutual protection. By the end of the eighteenth century several such local clubs had joined to form the United Order of Odd Fellows. This unstable organization produced schismatic groups of lodges in 1800, 1805, 1812 and 1813. The 1813 schism resulted in the creation of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity, which quickly became the dominant order of Odd Fellows.16 In 1819, the I.O.O.F. became established in the United States with a lodge in Baltimore (one earlier lodge had briefly existed in New York).17 In 1843 the American, or Baltimore Unity, I.O.O.F. broke away from the British order, after British officials chartered a lodge in the United States for men of colour, over the objections of White American Odd Fellows. The American branch spread to
Ontario in the 1840s. Meanwhile, Oddfellowship among men of colour in North America continued to operate within the British order, which later became known as the "Grand United Order of Odd Fellows."

Before 1840 fraternal orders reflected their origins and environment; they had not yet become completely respectable bodies. The Freemasons had a reputation as a revolutionary body; in Upper Canada this suspicion reached a climax after the Morgan affair. Like other orders of the time, Freemasonry allowed, and even encouraged, drinking at lodge functions. Lodges provided liquor at supper before meetings, and usually allowed one or two breaks for refreshment during lodge meetings. The cost of whiskey came from lodge funds.18

Like the Masons, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows did not have completely respectable origins - it started out as a workers' organization which met in taverns. Members considered conviviality as important as benefits, and sometimes this got out of hand; the first lodge of Odd Fellows in the United States found itself ousted from one tavern and refused quarters in another. Members had to pay a monthly fee towards refreshments, whether they attended the meeting or not.19

Odfellowship originated among the working class bodies of industrializing Britain. Some of the first local friendly societies welcomed all types of workers, while others restricted membership to workers from one trade and
sometimes used society funds for strike pay. These early friendly societies drew opposition from the government in Britain which suspected these bodies of revolutionary subversion; the fact that some trade unions attempted to evade prosecution under the Combination Act by masquerading as friendly societies contributed to government opposition. The new affiliated societies such as the Odd Fellows seemed especially dangerous because of their secrecy and widespread reach, and were therefore declared illegal under the Corresponding Societies Act.20

Orangeism, if anything, seemed even less respectable, though its original founders envisioned it as a legal and respectable alternative to clandestine and underground movements like the "peep o'day boys."21 Aside from its exceptional link to rowdiness and violence (discussed in Chapter Eight) the order showed a similarly casual approach to alcohol. For instance, in the 1840s Woodstock's L.O.L. no. 204 did not worry about drinking by its members. In fact, the lodge allowed alcoholic refreshments at its meetings, with the cost split among the members present. On special occasions, the lodge provided alcohol for toasts. The lodge had no objection to innkeepers joining, as one did in 1841.22 The following resolution from a Woodstock lodge in 1841 provides a typical example of lodge attitudes towards drinking:

Proposed and carried that a dinner be provided by Brother Love on Monday the Twelfth July, similar to that of last year, and that one shilling and three pence be taken from the funds of the
lodge for each person present, to defray the expense of drinking standard toasts.23

By mid-century then, fraternalism as a cultural form had taken root in the province. What did this form actually comprise? The remainder of this chapter provides a definition of the term ''fraternal order,'' and a description of a typical lodge meeting. This study defines a fraternal order as an organized voluntary association, consisting of a number of similar local bodies owing allegiance to a central governing body, which operates in an atmosphere characterized by secrecy and ritual, and aims to provide camaraderie as well as mechanisms for mutual assistance.24 This definition merits some explanation. Certain orders developed some aspects more fully than others, while such individual adaptations contributed to a general elaboration of the fraternal model through the Victorian era.

Nineteenth-century fraternal orders offered membership on a voluntary and part time basis. A candidate volunteering for membership had to pass a vote of current members of a local body; two or three adverse votes would normally suffice to bar admission. The typical voting method called for each member to secretly place a single ball in a box, with a white ball signifying a vote for acceptance, and a black ball denoting rejection. In addition, some orders required a candidate to pass a medical examination, and most placed formal restrictions on
membership based on ethnicity, religion, occupation, gender or age.

Most societies which offered financial benefits came to recognize two types of members. Beneficial members had a right to the benefits offered by the order, and paid the required fees. Social members could not receive benefits, and could not vote on financial aspects of lodge affairs. They could, however, participate in other lodge activities.

Fraternal orders consisted of local bodies and central governing bodies. The local bodies all answered to the general term "lodge," but the specific term used to refer to these local lodges varied from order to order and eventually included all the following terms: primary lodge, subordinate lodge, blue lodge, chapter, circle, council, division, temple, court, camp, tent, branch, association, grove, nest and section. All lodges in a single order shared certain characteristics and each operated under a similar formal constitution.

Unpaid elected officers ran lodges for terms ranging from three months to a year. The normal complement of officers included a president, past president, vice-president, treasurer and secretary, though the offices generally came with much more colourful names. In addition, ceremonial officers played important roles; lodges usually appointed an inner guard and an outer guard to prevent strangers from entering. Many lodges also had a chaplain and an organist.
Fraternal orders had a representative form of government, with local lodges electing delegates to higher bodies within the order. The central governing bodies - in this study generally referred to as 'grand lodges' - had almost as many different names as the local bodies. These governing bodies appeared at the provincial, national or international level, and in many cases intervening levels of authority existed. For instance, the Orange order after mid-century consisted of local lodges with higher lodges at the district, county, and provincial levels, all under the Grand Orange Lodge of British America. Grand lodges granted charters for local lodges, set policies, and introduced new constitutions. They also settled controversies by acting as a judicial body. Delegates to the grand lodge elected a slate of officers to run the order.

Many fraternal orders introduced auxiliary bodies during the Victorian era, usually for women or juveniles, and special branches for holders of senior degrees, often with a militaristic theme. These branches sometimes took the form of a complete fraternal order, with their own local bodies, governing bodies and unique rituals. However, they remained organizationally dependent on the main order, and admitted only members or relatives of members of the main order.

Fraternal orders operated within a framework of secrecy and ritual. They usually enforced secrecy with an oath,
expressed in the most lurid terms. The ritual for the first degree of Masonry warned the candidate that, should he reveal secrets of the order, his Masonic brothers would cut his throat, tear out his tongue, and bury him up to the neck at the low water mark on an ocean beach. Some orders - particularly the Roman Catholic ones which developed in the last third of the century - made secrecy an obligation, but did not enforce it with an oath. Because of the secret nature of the orders, a complicated system of signs and grips allowed the identification of strangers claiming membership, along with passwords which might change several times a year. Members faced heavy fines or more severe punishments for divulging passwords or signs of the order to outsiders or even to lapsed members.

The question of ritual fascinated both contemporaries and later commentators. The long and complex initiation rituals took over an hour to complete, yet lodges held them several times a year. Some lodges even had meetings on different nights simply to carry out initiation ceremonies for higher degrees. According to E.J. Hobsbawm, such ceremonies seek to establish "...a particularly solemn and magic atmosphere designed to impress the candidate with the seriousness of the step he is about to take...." Members of the orders deemed ritual important; they often gave their ritual credit when the order expanded, and sought to revise the ritual whenever new memberships declined. The
auxiliary orders which granted senior degrees seemed to exist primarily to provide additional ceremonies.29

The first fraternal orders based their rituals on the Bible and other ancient legends. Lodges of Forestry based their ritual on English legends, including the legend of Robin Hood. The Knights of Pythias, an American order, emphasized friendship in its ritual which consisted of three degrees. The practical nature of insurance orders did not prevent them from using ritual. The Independent Order of Foresters and the Canadian Order of Foresters based their ritual on the medieval Royal Foresters. The Knights of the Maccabees' ritual referred to their namesakes from the Old Testament. The Ancient Order of United Workmen offered three degrees in a ritual influenced by Freemasonry and based on tools. The Order of Chosen Friend ritual centered around the number seven, while ritual in the Order of Canadian Home Circles concerned the Golden Rule.30

In the first half of the nineteenth century, ritual differed not only from order to order, but from lodge to lodge. Until 1859, each Masonic lodge in Canada West used what it pleased from a variety of ritual schemes introduced from Great Britain. Even with the adoption of one consistent ritual, variation still occurred through mistake, since the details of the ritual were all transmitted orally. The Masons did not allow the publication of their ritual until 1887, and even then only the three senior officers of
each lodge could obtain copies.31

The decoration of lodge rooms produced a setting which reflected the contents of the ritual and emphasized the solemnity of the occasion. Ancient and mystical motifs covered the walls and ceiling. In Woodstock, the rooms used by the Masons after 1880 displayed carpets imported from England and frescoes designed by a professional brought from Chicago. The decoration celebrated an Egyptian theme. The ceiling featured a "...mass of color, produced by the harmonious blending and interlacing of lotus leaf, spray work and emblems,..." with the rising sun in the centre. Sphinxes, Egyptian figures representing various arts and pursuits, and hieroglyphics appeared throughout the artwork on ceiling and walls.32 The design of all lodge rooms had to allow for the practice of the current rites, which demanded the presence of certain decorations, often including a central altar with an open bible. Officials sat in draped chairs, under a canopy or an arch.33

Initiation ceremonies for the lowest degree in most orders exhibited a common Masonic origin. Following an oral examination, the candidate took an imaginary journey by circumnavigating the lodge room a number of times in the company of a guide. For part of the journey, the candidate wore a blindfold and, in some orders, had his hands bound behind him or a rope around his neck. Along the way the candidate would meet a number of obstacles and hostile
characters – often including a gang of 'robbers' who would shake or strike the candidate. Finally the candidate would find acceptance from a dominating figure, who would explain the lessons of his ordeal. Though the orders did not require purchase of a complete set of costumes for the various roles in initiation ceremonies, the costumes did serve to make the experience more interesting and emphasized the dramatic content. Those orders with mixed gender or all female memberships authorized a much less dramatic initiation ritual, which often lacked a plot altogether.

An initiation might begin or end with 'riding the goat.' As one newspaper editor commented, tongue in cheek:

> We all know that almost all these societies keep bloodthirsty and cantankerous goats which jump out of dark places and batter a man around like so many pile-drivers.

Actually, when making a candidate ride the goat, a couple of lodge members threw him, blindfolded, on a blanket supported by the rest of the members, who then tossed him in the air a few times. Unlike those elements of ritual which originated 'from above,' this informal accompaniment to initiation did not generally receive official sanction, though it remained very popular at the local level.

The dedication of a new room provided another occasion for ritual ceremonies. When Odd Fellows dedicated a new lodge room, they would place a bible and the lodge's charter
on an altar in the centre of the room. Three heralds would sprinkle water, toss flowers, and scatter wheat about the room. Then the hall would be dedicated to the dissemination of friendship, love and truth; to the cultivation of the principles of benevolence [and] charity, to the protection of the widow + the fatherless and the relief of...all worthy and distressed Brethren....

All lodges shared one sombre ritual activity: attendance at funerals. When a member of a lodge died, the whole lodge appeared at his funeral. If the order had two or more lodges in a town then every lodge would show up. If a man belonged to more than one order, then each would participate. Sometimes lodges attended the funeral of a member's wife. After a member's funeral, the lodge would be draped in mourning, and letters of condolence sent. The Woodmen of the World provided a headstone for members. This added an extra element of ceremony beyond the funeral of a member, as special ceremonies, including a procession, took place at the unveiling of a headstone, usually some weeks after the funeral.

Some lodges held special meetings, called "'lodges of instruction," in which officials demonstrated the rituals used in various ceremonies. Often members of neighboring lodges attended to learn the ritual, especially after a revision, and a banquet usually followed. Lodges
sometimes formed "degree teams," which travelled to other lodges to demonstrate the rituals.\textsuperscript{42}

Almost all lodges included a number of degrees of membership. Oddfellowship, for instance, consisted of five degrees available in subordinate lodges (as well as higher degrees in auxiliary branches). Members had to wait a month after joining before taking any degrees, but then could take up to three degrees at a single meeting.\textsuperscript{43}

When the candidate wished to advance, the existing members of that degree would vote, with two or three negative votes being enough to stop the advancement. If the candidate passed the vote, he or she would undergo initiation and introduction to "the mysteries of the degree." In some orders members could earn certain higher degrees in separate branches, while other orders granted higher degrees automatically to officers of district, provincial or national lodges.

The emphasis on ritual had a visible component in the habit of wearing regalia, not only to the lodge, but in public at parades and funerals. Regalia could include aprons, sashes, ribbons and "jewels" (pins and charms of silver or other metal, not gems). Regalia, like other ritual elements, also varied tremendously between orders, though it was almost always quite complex. For instance, the regalia of the head of a lodge of Royal Arch Masons consisted of: a scarlet robe trimmed with ermine; a white lambskin apron with a crimson and purple border, decorated
with appropriate symbols and trimmed with a gold fringe; a crimson and purple sash; the jewel of the order suspended on a crimson ribbon; and the jewel of his office (a crown in a triangle) on a crimson collar. Because of the cost, a lodge as a whole would purchase its regalia, rather than subjecting individuals to this expense. Lodge members wore regalia at funerals, though some orders provided for a simpler and more sombre set of regalia for these occasions. For example, Odd Fellows wore crepe rosettes with the central colour representing their degree, plus a sprig of evergreen and any jewels which they had earned.

The fraternal framework emphasized links to the past, thus allowing lodges to operate within a context of tradition. Lodges all built on the model of Freemasonry, which had originated in a pre-industrial setting. Most orders claimed fictional pedigrees stretching to the remote past; some went to great lengths to "prove" these claims. Ceremonial and symbolic aspects of fraternalism relied on images or stories from medieval or ancient history, or from the Bible. Even the names of orders could reflect this concern; the word "ancient" was one of the most common adjectives used. Operating within this (largely fictional) camouflage of tradition, lodges offered several interrelated ways of dealing with changing social and economic conditions. Fraternal orders thus illustrated Eric Hobsbawm's axiom: "...novelty is no less novel for being able to dress up easily as antiquity."
Fraternal orders generally stated their aims as the provision of camaraderie and mutual assistance. Lodge meetings emphasized fellowship, as did other social activities. All fraternal orders provided many forms of entertainment for their members. Fraternal recreation often took the form of banquets, either as hosts or guests. The founding of a new lodge usually included a dinner following the ceremony. Often lodges held dinners to celebrate the lodge's anniversary, or the installation of officers, or to welcome visiting officials or a visiting lodge. Other forms of recreation for members included lectures and trips to rallies, while a host of less formal events provided entertainment for lodge members. Social evenings, picnics, and garden parties, some open to invited "friends of the lodge," occurred frequently in some orders.

Lodges also emphasized that they provided mutual assistance to their members. This assistance could cover everything from the informal promises to watch out for fellow members' interests, to well-grounded insurance systems, which included life insurance, and benefits for illness, old age and disability. In times of grief, solidarity at a funeral also provided comfort.

A typical lodge meeting opened with a special ceremony, often consisting of questions and answers between the officers, as well as prayers. The business of the meeting would then commence, often with the proposal of candidates
for membership; following that, committees struck to examine candidates previously suggested would report. Other committees, such as those charged with visiting the sick, would also report. Following the routine business, members might discuss sponsoring a social event, or a visit to another lodge. Meetings usually ended with an educational lecture or some other form of entertainment, followed by the closing ceremony. Of course on evenings when the lodge admitted new candidates or raised members to a new degree, the associated rituals would make for a very interesting meeting.

By mid-century then, a cultural form called fraternalism existed in Ontario. Starting from a disreputable position, it would grow to inspire hundreds of orders and thousands of lodges in the province. Though these institutions themselves would develop in different directions as social groups sought different outcomes, their common appropriation of this cultural form would mean something. Fraternalism was not simply a neutral tool; its use implied some acceptance of certain associated traits: values such as mutualism, community or brotherhood; concepts such as the difference between initiates and outsiders; as well as meritocratic structures that tended to emphasize hierarchy as well as upward mobility. Fraternalism thus could constrain as well as enable, and would fall apart if these embedded values were exorcised too aggressively.
Notes to Chapter 3:

1. For a different view of fraternalism as a social form, see Clawson, Constructing Brotherhood, pp. 38 - 52.


5. Stevens, p. 25.

6. Ibid., p. 32.


17. Johnston, *Odd Fellowship*, p. 11. The received version of the history of American Oddfellowship can be found in Ross, *Odd-Fellowship* and H. Stillson, (ed.) *The Official History and Literature of Odd Fellowship* (Boston, 1897).

18. A.F.A.M. King Hiram, Ingersoll, *Minute Books*, King Hiram Lodge Collection, Ingersoll, (1803 - 1831); for example, see Oct. 12, 1824.


24. Three groups studied here, and which called themselves fraternal orders, are to some degree in violation of the previous definition. The Knights of Labor and Knights of St. Crispin were quasi-voluntary. The Protestant Protective Association's main purpose was political, not camaraderie or self help. These orders re treated as distinct from more

25. Gist, p. 95.

26. See for example, British Templars, *Constitution.* (n.p., 1871) p. 57

27. For an example of this, see Loyal Orange Lodge no. 93, Woodstock, *Royal Arch Purple Lodge Minute Book.* (1881 - 1911), L.O.L. no. 93, *Royal Blue Lodge Minute Book.* (1881 - 1943), and L.O.L. no. 93, *Purple Lodge Minute Book.* (1881 - 1916), all in Woodstock Orange Collection, RCDBW.


33. For a list of a typical lodge's furniture and decorations, see Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Samaritan Lodge, Ingersoll, *Minute Book.* 15 May 1872, in Samaritan Lodge Collection, Ingersoll.

34. Gist, pp. 97 - 121; Carnes, pp. 120 - 127.

35. Gist, p. 85.

36. *Ingersoll Chronicle.* 9 June 1892.


38. For example, in July 1885 A.O.F. and K.O.L. lodges from Ingersoll and Woodstock attended the same funeral. An Ingersoll Masonic funeral in January 1887 was attended by the I.O.O.F. See *Ingersoll Chronicle* 9 July 1885, 27 Jan. 1887.


46. E.J. Hobsbawm, "'Introduction: Inventing Traditions'" in Hobsbawm and Ranger.

47. Some historians do not realize that this applied to insurance orders. For example, Houston and Smyth say: 'The sole object of the Foresters' organization was insurance and their fraternality was employed merely as a sales device.' Houston and Smyth, *The Sash*, p. 133. Provisions for purely social membership in insurance lodges contradict this assertion.


Any attempt to excavate the multiple meanings of the fraternal explosion in Victorian Ontario must start at the surface level, by discussing the attractions which contemporaries, especially fraternal leaders, most frequently cited to explain this phenomenon. Two sorts of attractions—financial benefits and camaraderie—dominate this level of understanding. Financial benefits, whether formal or informal, defensive or offensive, provided an obvious and measurable fraternal attraction. Joining a lodge could represent a rational economic decision as part of a family income strategy in a time of increasing economic dependence on a capitalist economy. At its simplest level then, the decision to become a lodge member in the late nineteenth century might have meant little more than a decision to take out life insurance or health coverage today. At the same time, fraternal orders emphasized the attraction of camaraderie (usually termed 'fellowship,' implying a gender identity which is discussed in the following chapter). Lodges created subcommunities based on fellowship and fostered by shared social and ritual experiences as well as formal rules of exclusion. Membership provided a recruit with an entrance to a network of subcommunities that stretched through the province at least, often through the country or even the continent, and
in a few cases further. Moreover, each of these benefits could be found in an atmosphere of stability and tradition, emphasized by the use of both authentic and fictive ties to the pre-industrial past.

The major economic attraction of lodge membership consisted of financial benefit packages, first popularised by friendly societies. The normal package offered by Ontario's friendly societies throughout the Victorian period consisted of a weekly sick benefit, and a funeral payment, with the scale of benefits left to the individual lodge. Friendly societies started out by demanding the same payment by all members, young and old. By mid-century, however, many of the orders had converted to graduated payments based on age. Odd Fellow lodges, for example, provided relief for sick members and those disabled or too old to work, if they had no other means of support, as well as a funeral benefit. The local lodge made the decisions regarding the actual worth of the benefits. In the 1890s, typical I.O.O.F. lodges benefits included sick pay at four dollars per week; funeral benefit of fifty dollars; wife funeral benefit of twenty-five dollars; widow benefit of 150 dollars at death; and special relief of up to fifty dollars. The Ancient Order of Foresters offered high sick pay (six dollars a week in 1892) and funeral benefits (one hundred dollars for members, fifty dollars for wives). A sliding scale, graduated by age at initiation, determined
the fees for these benefits. In addition, the order promised to help find employment for members out of work, and offered some medical benefits and temporary relief for members in distress.³

A detailed examination of the records of a particular lodge - in this case I.O.O.F. Samaritan lodge in Ingersoll - reveals other aspects of this benefit package. For instance, some lodges of these friendly societies provided certain additional benefits, such as supplying nurses for sick members in cases warranting such care. In 1869 Ingersoll's Samaritan lodge appointed a lodge doctor to visit sick members (a practice which Woodstock Odd Fellows were not to adopt until 1893.)⁴ Even members who had left the area could receive these benefits. In 1869, Samaritan lodge forwarded twenty-five dollars to a California lodge for a destitute member of the Ingersoll lodge who had sought relief.⁵ The benefits paid by a local body like Samaritan lodge could add up to significant totals. In the first six months of 1880, Samaritan lodge paid out $324, while the amount for the first six months of 1898 totalled over $700.⁶

The provision of benefits by friendly societies took place under certain philosophical assumptions, including the central precept that benefits represented self-help, rather than charity. The preface to I.O.O.F. Samaritan Lodge's constitution reveals this philosophy most clearly. Members'
benefits came from funds they themselves have contributed to raise, and which, in times of need, they can honorably claim without the humiliation of suing for public or individual relief, from which the free-born mind recoils with disdain, until overwhelmed in insufferable want and misery.  

The idea of self-help meant that an individual (and given the gender ideology of the time that meant a man) had to take responsibility to ensure his own future welfare and that of his family.  

The concept of self-responsibility meant limits to the benefits in certain circumstances; lodges would refuse benefits if a member's actions adversely affected his welfare. The families of suicides usually did not receive funeral benefits, while joining the army or navy meant forfeiture of benefit rights. Lodges also refused benefits if a member received an injury as a result of his own folly. For instance, the Ingersoll A.O.F. lodge warned that it would withhold benefits for any accident resulting from intoxication, fighting (except in self-defence), racing, "acts of bravado," or illegal or immoral acts. The lodge also refused to cover venereal disease. 

To these regular benefits, friendly societies added special relief benefits, which individuals could not claim by right; instead lodges would only provide special relief
to individuals considered worthy of such help. One Ingersoll case illustrates the attitude of Odd Fellows regarding worthiness. In June 1873, lodge official reported that a member had found himself in distress and asked for relief. The lodge voted against granting the man any money from lodge funds, but did pass the hat and collect twenty dollars. Instead of giving this money to the individual, however, the lodge gave it to his employer, another Odd Fellow who had just hired him. The lodge asked the employer to keep this money safe for the distressed brother and see that it went to proper expenses. Obviously the lodge did not trust the member himself.  

Such organizational behavior emphasized the importance of individual responsibility in the fraternal ethos, despite the symbolic commitment to mutualism.

Ontario's fraternal benefit system changed significantly when orders concentrating on the provision of life insurance reached the province in the 1870s. The adoption of the fraternal form as a medium for carrying life insurance resulted from problems within the existing American commercial life insurance industry. Life insurance first appeared in the United States in the middle of the eighteenth century, but it did not gain any popular appeal until the 1840s. In that decade, the arrival of the mutual life insurance plan, in which policy holders, rather than stockholders, provided capital for the company, led to a
revolution in the field and a tremendous growth in popularity.\textsuperscript{11} This growth also reflected the changes in the economy of North America. In an industrial society, the death of a wage-earner produced a severe disruption in family income; life insurance provided an important safety net.

A change in cultural outlook was also involved; until the 1840s life insurance seemed immoral because it placed a monetary value on human life and because it seemed to involve gambling on life and death. In the 1840s though, people began to see life insurance in this new way, as a form of responsible self-help. Meanwhile, the stigma of gambling disappeared when insurance companies stopped allowing disinterested parties from insuring others. By mid-century life insurance had become a morally acceptable institution.\textsuperscript{12} Later, clothing life insurance in the garb of fraternal morality further heightened its acceptability.

After the American Civil War, commercial insurance companies faced widespread public mistrust. The practice of holding large amounts of funds in reserve upset many people who saw this practice, though actuarially necessary and demanded by legislation, as unnecessarily contributing to higher premiums. Other factors, such as the lack of surrender values on policies, the failure of policy dividends to meet promised levels, the excesses associated
with an era of high pressure sales, and a series of highly publicized scandals and company failures in the insurance industry, combined to make the late 1860s a time of crisis for commercial life insurance companies.13

The idea of using the fraternal framework as the basis for non-profit insurance companies may seem a logical development given the less comprehensive benefits already offered by friendly societies, but, these new orders offered benefits on a more business-like basis. In older societies, the local lodge decided who could join. In the new insurance orders, local lodges made the initial decisions on admission, but the supreme body had to accept a candidate before he or she could obtain any insurance benefits. Candidates for admission had to be in good health. Some orders only required a signed statement to this effect, or asked local members to make inquiries into this matter. By the 1880s though, most insurance orders required local lodges to appoint a doctor who would examine all candidates before they could join. Like the friendly societies, the insurance orders emphasized that their benefits allowed individuals to take responsibility for their own welfare and that of their family, even after he (or she in some cases) had died. As many insurance schemes came to include disability and old age pensions, joining an order meant facing and dealing with these sorts of possibilities.

The men who founded these new fraternal orders
initially thought that a simple plan could most efficiently handle life insurance. Thus fraternal life insurance started on the flat rate, post-mortem assessment plan, under which assessments replaced premiums, so that the order only collected money when needed (that is, on the death of a member). Everyone, regardless of age, paid the same amount at each assessment. The new fraternal bodies created no reserves, and served only as non-profit middlemen, collecting funds from the members and passing them on to beneficiaries.\(^{14}\)

Fraternal insurance orders reached Ontario in the 1870s, when the conditions in the province closely resembled those in the United States of the late 1860s. The depression of 1873 had resulted in a number of company failures. Meanwhile, agents of American firms had flooded the province, using high pressure tactics and making untrue claims. Several Canadian life insurance companies had grown up to fight off the American companies, and they received help when the federal government, which had started regulating the industry in 1868, insisted on a large deposit by foreign insurance firms operating in Canada. This led about half of the American firms to halt operations in Canada in the 1870s, creating more room for the various native companies which sprang up in that decade and the next. Both Canadian and American companies, however, offered very rigid policies, with severe penalties for late
Insurance companies operating in Canada did not yet offer industrial insurance either. Industrial insurance originated in Great Britain as a result of the great economic and social changes which industrialization wrought there. Several firms started selling small policies based on weekly payments collected at the doorstep, instead of the large quarterly payments which came with traditional policies. These new innovations attracted a large number of wage earners, who found a few pennies a week easier to produce than a single lump-sum premium. North American companies did not immediately copy the British example. When Canadian companies moved into this field in the late 1880s and 1890s, they faced the competition of an established fraternal insurance system.

The first group of insurance orders to reach the province operated on the simple, flat assessment plan, open to males only. Neither the Maccabees nor the Ancient Order of United Workmen offered benefits outside of life insurance. The A.O.U.W. had taken the original step of introducing the idea of fraternal life insurance on the assessment plan, but its system of insurance remained primitive; the order continued to use the flat assessment scheme until the end of the century. The A.O.U.W. offered sick pay in 1879, but it had disappeared by 1892; the order offered no funeral or other benefits.
Despite the tenacity of the A.O.U.W., the flat rate assessment plan soon proved quite flawed. As long as the membership of a lodge stayed young, death costs remained low, but as the membership aged, death costs grew. It then became impossible to recruit new, young members, while existing young members quit, confounding the inventors of the scheme who felt that the "fraternal bonds" would prevent members from quitting and thus depriving older members of their benefits. Without a constant stream of young recruits, flat rate assessment orders collapsed.20

In Ontario, the biggest shock connected to the problem of flat rate assessments took place with the collapse of the Knights of the Maccabees. This order compounded the problems of flat rate assessment by placing no age limit on members, and not asking for a medical exam.21 In 1880-81, the Maccabees underwent a fundamental re-organization to correct the mistakes which had made the order financially unsound. In particular, leaders of the order tightened admission requirements and tried to eliminate some of the "bad material" which had joined.22 However, this did not prevent the collapse of the order.

Spurred by the Maccabee collapse, leaders of other insurance orders moved to avoid the same fate, introducing new insurance schemes featuring graded assessments collected ante-mortem. Graded assessments meant basing the amount paid by individuals at an assessment on their age at
entrance to the order. Lower rates for younger people served as an inducement for them to join — an essential key to the maintenance of a large pooled risk. Although fraternal leaders claimed that the rates would cover the actual costs of operation, the rates had not resulted from scientific calculation, but rather from competition for young members. Thus the new graded assessments served only to postpone the problems of fraternal insurance orders; as orders and their members aged, the shortcomings of these systems became more and more apparent. Collection of assessments before deaths (ante-mortem) reflected a switch for greater efficiency. Fraternal insurers could pay claims more quickly with some funds already on hand, thus increasing the confidence of members and the public alike. In the interest of even greater efficiency some orders, after 1886, started collecting regular monthly assessments. This step actually represented an unconscious change in principle. Orders with monthly assessments no longer collected funds only as needed; some orders found themselves accumulating a surplus. This did not mean that fraternal orders had adopted commercial premium insurance. Only a few fraternal orders had reserves, which they did not base on actuarial principles, and all ignored actuarial tables of mortality. Moreover, the fraternal contract remained open; fraternal leaders could still call for extra assessments or change the rates or provisions of the contract.24
The Independent Foresters adopted this format in 1881, introducing the ante-mortem plan with assessments scaled by age at admission. At the same time, the I.O.F. started to offer three levels of life insurance, with a maximum benefit of $3,000, which increased to six levels, with a maximum of $5,000 by the end of the century. From 1881, the I.O.F. offered sick, funeral, old age and disability benefits, and free medical attendance.²⁵

After 1885 the Canadian Foresters offered life insurance on the monthly graded assessment plan. At first the C.O.F. provided only $1,000 policies, but beginning in 1890, the order offered a more flexible system, with four levels of insurance of up to $2,000. The order also provided sick pay, funeral benefits and special relief for distressed members.²⁶

The Chosen Friends, Royal Arcanum and Home Circles each brought a similar package of benefits to the province. Each offered an assessment insurance plan with contributions graded by age at initiation. Death benefits went up to $3000 in each order.²⁷ The Royal Arcanum did not offer sick pay, though local lodges did help sick members and covered their dues; local lodges could also provide disability benefits at their option.²⁸ After 1890, the C.O.C.F. offered an optional sick benefit plan, which could pay up to sixty dollars for one individual, as well as old age and disability benefits, chargeable against the member's death benefit. Local councils could provide funeral
benefits and special relief. The Home Circles offered automatic sick pay, as well as old age and disability benefits. The order did not offer funeral benefits and offered sick benefits only as an optional plan, for men only. The O.C.H.C. soon discovered the shortcomings of the allegedly more efficient, but still unscientific graded assessment plan; within a decade, the order found itself in serious financial trouble in the province. The same problem caused difficulties for the Royal Arcanum. In 1898 a severe restructuring of that order's rates led to two years of discord and a significant drop in membership.

The return of the Maccabbees and the introduction of the Woodmen of the World in the 1890s brought even more variety to the field of fraternal insurance in Ontario. When the K.O.I.M. returned to the province, it carried the full range of benefits, including funeral benefits, sick pay, old age and disability benefits, and insurance up to $3,000, all based on a monthly assessment. The Woodmen of the World concentrated on life insurance as their main benefit, along with the provision of grave markers.

In 1892 the fraternal insurance orders of Canada took an important step in the better government of their field. In that year they joined forces to create a supervisory body known as the Canadian Fraternal Association. This organization found its inspiration in the National Fraternal Congress, an American body established a few years earlier.

The success of friendly societies and insurance orders
led the Freemasons to take some steps in the direction of adding financial benefits. Several small unofficial organizations which provided insurance benefits for Masons sprang up as complements to the order. The Freemasons had always provided some informal benefits for members. For instance, in 1809 the Ingersoll Masonic lodge paid part of the medical fees for a sick member. In 1824, this lodge voted to take charge of a lame boy, the son of a member's widow, and provide him with clothes and schooling.

When the new ethnic and religious societies started to appear in the last quarter of the century, their founders had to decide whether to offer life insurance benefits, friendly society benefits, or none at all. The founders of the Sons of England built their order on a foundation of moral objection to receiving charity and a commitment to self-help. According to a history of the order released in 1891, these men wished to create a mechanism of mutual protection which would prevent the need for Englishmen to publicly seek charitable aid. In fact five of the eight founding members were unemployed at the time of the order's creation. In the early days of the S.O.E., it offered temporary loans to enable members to pay rent or buy fuel and goods during seasonal unemployment. By 1890, the S.O.E.'s benefits included funeral benefits for a member, his wife or his child, as well as disability payments and sick pay of $3.00 per week. The order supplemented these benefits with an optional insurance department, offering
certificates from $500 to $2,000 on a graded, post-mortem assessment plan.\textsuperscript{38} The S.O.E. juvenile branch and the Daughters of England each offered benefits as well.\textsuperscript{39} In addition, the S.O.E. required local lodges to look into the case of any member forced into financial difficulties by unusual circumstances.\textsuperscript{40}

The Sons of Scotland offered insurance as their main benefit, with $500 and $1,000 certificates by the 1890s, as well as sick and funeral benefits. Members could decide to join without taking the insurance benefit, but this made them only honorary members, who could not hold office or vote on financial questions.\textsuperscript{41}

Both the Catholic Foresters and the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association provided insurance coverage. The Foresters offered $1,000 certificates on the flat assessment plan until 1896 when they switched to graded assessments. The C.M.B.A. offered insurance in four levels up to $2,000 on the graded assessment plan. In addition, the Catholic Foresters paid a very high sick pay of $7.00 per week in 1892, as well as funeral benefits. The Ladies' Catholic Benevolent Association, the female auxiliary of the C.M.B.A., offered insurance on the flat assessment plan.\textsuperscript{42}

The Emerald Benevolent Association's benefits included sick pay of $4.00 per week, and insurance benefits at a low level, from $100 (increased to $190 in 1892) to $500. The
E.B.A. would also pay these benefits in cases of
disability.\textsuperscript{43}

Another type of order, the tontine orders, offered
certain accepted fraternal benefits and paid dividends to
members who survived a fixed term. The Order of Fraternal
Guardians, organized in 1888, offered a financial scheme
which provided surviving members with money every three and
a half years.\textsuperscript{44} The Septennial Benevolent Society
promised to pay sick benefits and disability benefits, as
well as $1,000 in cash at the end of seven years, a sum
equivalent to many orders' lowest level of life
insurance.\textsuperscript{45} The International Fraternal Alliance
promised to pay every member $700 at the end of seven years.

While many of the new orders chose to follow the
example of the older friendly societies, the success of
insurance orders caused the friendly societies themselves to
develop their own optional life insurance plans through
auxiliary organizations. The creation of the Odd Fellows
Relief Association in 1875 connected life insurance to that
order. At first this body operated as a local association
for the Kingston area, with some 800 members in 1876, but in
1890 the Provincial Grand Lodge sanctioned it as an official
auxiliary association. At that time, the association
offered three grades of life insurance, the largest
amounting to $2,000, with admission fees based on age. In
1900, 8,630 Ontario Odd Fellows held certificates in this
organization. Other orders also followed the trend. The Knights of Pythias added an optional insurance branch as early as 1877. By the 1890s, A.O.F. members could obtain up to 2,000 dollars of life insurance through an optional branch.

While many fraternal orders provided formal schemes of financial benefits for their members, local lodges also added other, informal, economic benefits. These provisions derived from the practices and expectations of fictive brotherhood. Both written and (more commonly) unwritten rules of fraternal behavior demanded that members help one another in their efforts to secure a living in a changing world. Members were expected to patronize the businesses owned by their brethren; those in the position to do so were expected to give preferential hiring treatment to their fellow lodge members. Finally, all members had an obligation to reduce the financial and emotional strains of illness through visits to sick members and donations to their families.

Such informal, unwritten benefits of lodge membership tied into the other central attraction of lodge membership, at least in the eyes of contemporary sympathetic commentators: the creation of a sense of "fellowship." The idea of camaraderie, especially male camaraderie, took a central position in the framework of all fraternal orders. In the view of these secret societies, all members were
brothers and the language of the lodge reflected this. Members did not call each other "Mister Smith" for example, but "Brother Smith." Indeed the term "fraternal" itself was central to these groups' self-definition. Of course, these artificial kinship relations also served to reinforce the identification of fraternal orders with pre-industrial tradition, while strengthening the underpinnings of both mutual aid and a shared social outlook.

Ritual and ceremony emphasized the value of fellowship and brotherhood. The climax of the dramatized initiation rite of the Knights of the Maccabees came when a Maccabee who had earned rewards for his valour, chose to pass the honours on to the candidate, illustrating "the beautiful lesson of friendship." 49 The conclusion of the initiation ceremony in the Royal Arcanum featured the singing of the "Welcome Ode:"

Welcome stranger! Royal Brother
We fraternally unite
Heart and hands with cordial greeting,
In our Council here to-night.
Welcome to our new-made brother
Who has asked us if we would
Add by mystic rites another,
To our Royal Brotherhood. 50

The various forms of recreation which every fraternal lodge provided for its members contributed to this sense of fellowship. This included meetings of the lodges themselves, which often ended with a musical program or a
lecture. Recreational activities provided members with a shared social experience denied outsiders; they thus contributed to the creation of an all-male subcommunity. An examination of the social functions of Woodstock and Ingersoll lodges reveals the range of such activities available to members.

Banquets and dinners provided one form of exclusionary activity for lodges in the two towns. The formation of Woodstock’s two lodges of Odd Fellows in 1848 and 1849 each featured a banquet following the opening of the lodge. Later in the century, the Freemasons, Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Ancient Order of Foresters, and Canadian Order of Foresters all held regular dinners in Woodstock and Ingersoll, some of them involving large numbers of guests. Most other lodges also offered banquets, though on a less regular basis. Speeches and musical entertainment usually followed the dinner, and would often last until the small hours of the morning, even though they took place on week nights. Scottish banquets put on by the Sons of Scotland and Order of Scottish Clans had a special flavour. At one O.S.C. supper, the menu included haggis and oat cakes, followed by Scottish songs, speeches and toasts. Ingersoll’s Catholic Mutual Benevolent Association and Emerald Benevolent Association held at least one St. Patrick’s dinner, while Guy Fawkes dinners became a tradition among
the shortlived Ingersoll Orange lodges.57

Visits to another lodge in the order provided another exclusionary recreational activity, and often led the hosts to bring out the dinnerware. The Masons, Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Independant Order of Odd Fellows, Maccabbees, Ancient Order of Foresters, and Sons of England each had lodges in both Woodstock and Ingersoll which regularly exchanged visits. In addition, members of these lodges, as well as both towns' lodges of the Independant Order of Foresters, took part in visits to other lodges in Oxford County. Woodstock lodges frequently visited Norwich or Innerkip, while Ingersoll lodges often made the trip to Thamesford, but other Oxford destinations also appeared on the schedule. The visits often included a church parade. Trips further afield occurred less frequently, but sometimes happened in the case of the dedication of a new building or some other special event; I.O.O.F. Brock lodge members made the trip to a London lodge in June 1849, before the railway provided easy transportation.58 The officers from the lodges often made additional trips to participate in the ceremonies at the formation of a new lodge. For a short while the Woodstock uniformed branch of the I.O.O.F. travelled more than any other lodge in town. This group attended parades, demonstrations and competitions in Galt, London, St. Thomas, Port Dover, Brantford and Buffalo, as well as the Woodstock fair, all in the summers of 1891 and 1892.59
A variety of other social activities were restricted to members of various lodges. The Masons heard several lectures for members only, each accompanied by refreshments or a dinner. The Orange lodges favoured regular trips for members to take part in out of town rallies, as did the A.O.F. and C.O.F. As a typical example, 200 Woodstock members and guests of the A.O.F. attended a demonstration in London in August, 1884. No other lodges attended rallies regularly, though the Woodstock I.O.F. did go to one in Guelph in July 1895. In July, 1871, about thirty Ingersoll Odd Fellows joined a special excursion from London to visit members in Cleveland for several days. The visit included a big procession, a banquet seating over 2,000 people, and a grand ball.

The local press noted many of the informal events put on by lodges for their members, including social evenings, picnics, and garden parties. In both Woodstock and Ingersoll, two friendly societies - the A.O.F. and the I.O.O.F. - led the field in this area, providing such events on a regular basis. On the other hand, the press reported little or no informal social activity on the part of several lodges. The lodges in this category came from a variety of orders, and included Woodstock’s Masons, as well as some insurance lodges, some friendly society lodges and some ethnic or religious lodges. It cannot then be said that any general type of order consistently provided significantly less social activities than any other type.
Two special auxiliaries added more exclusionary entertainment for members of Ingersoll's Masons and Woodstock's Odd Fellows. In August of 1888 a "fun" order came to Ingersoll, when fifteen or so Master Masons formed a 'nest of Owls,' led by a "Splendid Screecher." 64 Members of the I.O.O.F. in Woodstock formed a more sedate social club, "'The Oddfellows Club'" in 1899. It furnished a place to talk, play cards or read the newspapers and magazines provided. About forty men joined this enterprise on its first night. 65

Ritual concern with exclusion further emphasized the multidimensional communities created by lodge membership and fostered by restricted social functions. Special rituals accompanied the initiation of new members, the granting of degrees, the installation of officers and funeral services. These ceremonies warned that strangers should not be trusted. The text of these dramas often used the symbols of light and darkness to distinguish the enlightened state of the member, from that of the average person. Many initiation ceremonies started with the candidate blindfolded for the same symbolic reason. 66 The whole paraphernalia of secrecy - the oaths, grips and passwords - served to maintain this barrier between member and outsider.

Besides the obvious gender component, rules which prevented recruitment from certain groups also moulded the composition of these social communities. Formal restrictions on membership appeared in most lodge
constitutions. While those orders which had originated in Britain and spread directly to Canada—notably the Masons, the Loyal Orange Association, and the Ancient Order of Foresters—had no racial bar, those Canadian orders which sprang from American antecedents restricted membership to white adult males. A few of the latter societies did allow North American Indians to join; in fact, a member of the Mohawk tribe headed the Independent Order of Foresters.67

Some orders restricted membership even further, and sought members from a specific ethnic background. The Sons of England restricted their membership to men born in England or of English stock. The Sons of Scotland wanted to preserve Scottish culture in the New World, so leaders restricted its membership to men of Scottish descent, and featured Scottish history and traditions in their order's ritual.68

A few orders restricted membership by religion. Obviously the Loyal Orange Association and the Protestant Protective Association did so, but so did others. The Sons of England excluded Catholics, through a marvel of circular reasoning:

The founders of this society excluded Roman Catholics from membership because members were required to be Protestants.69

In addition, members had to have Protestant wives. Of course the religious orders also had similar restrictions.
Most other orders banned atheists and required a belief in a 'Supreme Being.' Even the allegedly non-denominational orders had a high degree of Christian content in their ceremonies and attended church parades at Protestant churches, both of which would encourage a purely Protestant membership.

Most orders had a minimum age requirement; some of them did, however, provide auxiliary bodies for younger enthusiasts. Again this helped the primary lodges; juvenile lodges could provide stability for secret societies by introducing youths to the fraternal framework. Like the primary lodges, juvenile lodges provided recreational diversions for their members, which included such activities as the playing of baseball challenge matches against other local teams, as well as the formation of drill squads for displays or competition at rallies.70

Thus through camaraderie, shared social and ritual experiences, and mechanisms of restriction, each local lodge created a subcommunity — most of them exclusively male — within the bounds of the geographic community. Membership in an order thus meant membership in an extended network of such subcommunities, a valuable bonus at a time when new occupational patterns and new transportation networks were making geographic mobility common. Members of fraternal orders had the right to visit any local lodge when they travelled, provided they could identify themselves as a bona fide member.71 The ritual passwords, which changed
constantly, functioned as one means of identification, but most lodges preferred more personal forms of recommendation by either a member of the lodge being visited, or a letter from an official of the visitor's home lodge. Many orders institutionalized a simpler system for this, and issued standard 'visiting cards' which identified a member in good standing. Any member could claim such a card, for holiday or business trips. They generally expired within a matter of months.\textsuperscript{72}

All orders allowed members to transfer from one lodge to another when they moved. To do this, the old lodge gave the individual a 'clearance card' stating that he or she had left as a paid up member in good standing.\textsuperscript{73} Some cards had a fixed time limit, generally of six months, others depended on the amount of dues paid in advance. During that time the member had to deposit the card in a new lodge. With the card deposited, the order would transfer the individual's membership from the old lodge to the new. At the new lodge, the member would retain any degrees or honours earned, and would continue paying dues or assessments at the same level, rather than the necessarily higher level of a new initiate. If the member failed to deposit the card within the time limit, he or she had to return to the old lodge, pay up another six months fees, and take out a new card.\textsuperscript{74} For a transient member, this documentation provided:
a portable certificate of the status and reputation he established in his former community and was a key which gave him access to a whole network of business and social contacts in what might otherwise be an entirely strange community.\textsuperscript{75}

A craftsman or clerk looking for work, or a storekeeper looking for customers, would find such an introduction invaluable.

Admissions by card to Woodstock and Ingersoll lodges occurred at a slow but steady rate. The Odd Fellow lodges, for instance, generally reported one or two such admissions each year in the last three decades of the century. Other lodges also witnessed this phenomenon; for instance, in 1890, the two Woodstock A.O.U.W. lodges welcomed six new members by card.\textsuperscript{76}

Lodges would sometimes receive letters from former members who had left years before, but now wished to rejoin the order. Usually these people had moved to a community which did not have a lodge, so they let their membership slide. In later years, if the person moved to another community (with a lodge) or a new lodge opened in the community, they would often want to rejoin the fraternity, and send for proof of their former membership and standing. In 1893, for instance, I.O.O.F. Samaritan lodge received an interesting letter from an officer of a lodge in Plattsburgh, New York. The letter concerned Charles Thomas, one of Samaritan's earliest members. According to Thomas, he had joined Samaritan lodge in the 1850s before moving to
Plattsburgh. He took his clearance card to the local lodge there, which then balloted and accepted his membership. However, officers of the lodge could not sign the forms to make his membership official until the next meeting. Unfortunately, before that happened, a fire destroyed the lodge rooms along with all the records of Thomas' acceptance, as well as his card from Ingersoll. The lodge disbanded and never resuscitated. When a new lodge opened in the early 1890s, Thomas wanted to join, and thus sought proof of at least his Ingersoll position.77

At an obvious level, fraternal orders achieved popularity through their ability to offer attractions suited to the conditions of industrializing Ontario. With their pre-industrial origins and fictive pedigrees stretching back to antiquity, fraternal orders symbolized stability and continuity, while simultaneously supplying their members with mechanisms for responding to the alterations in their social and economic lives. As time passed, these mechanisms were themselves refined to make them more attractive in the prevailing circumstances.

When Ontario's economy experienced the tremendous changes associated with industrialisation and urbanization, fraternal orders offered one way for families to cushion some of the shocks. Sick pay, funeral expenses, disability pensions and life insurance all provided some measure of income security in Victorian Ontario. As the century
progressed these benefits became more efficiently organized, and more comprehensive. Members could do more than just react to these economic changes; informal benefits, such as mutual business patronage, allowed them to actively and even aggressively seek to better their position in the developing capitalist climate.

Fraternal leaders also emphasized the role that camaraderie played. The creation of subcommunities could play a defensive psychological support role, but membership in an order also meant membership in an extended network of subcommunities, and fraternal rules provided for the portability of individual membership from lodge to lodge. Again, this aspect of fraternalism could serve both defensive and more forward-looking ends.

While these interrelated dimensions of the fraternal experience served to help members adjust to, and take advantage of, new circumstances, they also reinforced the link to tradition. Mutual aid, social camaraderie and ties of fictive kinship all made the fraternal order seem a functional replica of the small-scale, isolated communities of the pioneer, pre-industrial past. The same could also be said of shared cultural values, another feature of the fraternal world, discussed in the following chapter.
Notes to Chapter 4.


5. I.O.O.F. Samaritan, Minutes, 2 June 1869.


10. I.O.O.F. Samaritan, Minutes, 11 and 18 June, 1873.


22. *Historical Sketch*, pp. 19 - 20


37. King, p. 34.


40. King, p. 17; S.O.E., Constitution, 1890, p. 52.


48. See for example, Canadian Forester Sept. 1889, p. 6; Stevens, p. 171; Independent Order of Foresters, Court no. 798, Ingersoll, Minute Books, RCDBW, Jan. 23, 1895, p. 86, Jan. 13, 1897, p. 170; S.O.E., Constitution, (1890) p. 52.

49. Knights of the Maccabees, Revised Ritual of the Knights of the Maccabees of the World, (Port Huron, 1898) p. 44.


51. See Canadian Forester May 1892, p. 10; I.O.F. no. 798, Minutes.

52. Woodstock Monarch 18 Apr. 1848; British-American, 12 May 1849.

53. For instance, a Woodstock banquet for the S.O.E. Grand Lodge drew 300 people in 1895, and a Masonic banquet in 1899 was celebrated by 150 - 200 guests. Sentinel Review 15 March 1895, 10 Oct. 1899.

54. Local lodges known to have held occasional banquets include: the Sons of England; the Independent Order of Foresters; the Loyal Orange Association; the Ancient Order of United Workmen; the Woodmen of the World; the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association; the Royal Arcanum; the Sons of Scotland; the Order of Scottish Clans; and the Emerald Benevolent Association.
55. For instance, in 1883 the Ingersoll A.O.F. anniversary supper celebrations went to 2:00 a.m. on a Wednesday night; a similar affair held by Woodstock's Masons in 1895 lasted until 3:00 a.m. on a Wednesday morning. *Ingersoll Chronicle*, 6 Dec. 1893; *Sentinel Review*, 30 January 1895.


62. *Ingersoll Chronicle*, 20 July 1871.

63. General comments in the following paragraphs regarding the number of activities hosted by each lodge are based on a complete reading of the extant local newspapers from both towns for the nineteenth century.

64. *Ingersoll Chronicle*, 30 Aug. 1888. This lodge of the Order of Owls preceded the formation of the Order of Owls itself, if the standard reference works on the topic are correct. The encyclopedic works of both Stevens and Preuss declare that the "Independent International Order of Owls" was organized in St. Louis in 1890. This order had the same terminology, membership requirements, and purpose as the Ingersoll lodge, so there is no doubt some connection; however the actual nature of that connection is unknown. See Stevens, p. 97, A. Preuss, *A Dictionary of Secret and Other Societies*, (1924, reprinted Detroit, 1966) p. 182.


69. S.O.E. Constitution p. 5.


71. See for example, Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, The Book of Constitution, of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Canada, in the Province of Ontario. (Hamilton, 1897) p. 81.


73. See for example these constitutions: S.O.S. (1895) pp. 48 - 49; C.O.F. (1887) p. 18; Sons of Temperance, Pine Division, Constitution and By-Laws of Pine Division, No. 134, Sons of Temperance. (Kingston, 1856); I.O.O.F. Oxford, p. 3; Independent Order of Good Templars, Constitution of the Grand and Subordinate Temples of the Independent Order of Good Templars of Canada. (rev. ed.), (Picton, 1865) p. 21; Royal Black Knights of Ireland, Rules and Regulations to be Observed by all Chapters and Preceptorities Meeting in British America under the Authority of the Grand Black Chapter of Ireland. (Toronto, 1890) p. 13.

74. For a detailed explanation of this process, see Ancient Order of United Workmen, Constitution, Grand Lodge of Ontario. (n.p., 1889) pp. 49 - 52.

75. Doyle, p. 346.


Chapter 5. Secret Societies and the Construction of Public Culture

Nineteenth-century fraternal orders - particularly Masonry, friendly societies and insurance orders - offered more subtle attractions beyond financial benefits or social relations; they gave members an opportunity to participate in the construction and management of an emerging cultural consensus. As economic and social change twisted Ontario into a new shape, new social groups sought to establish a dominant worldview. The victors in the struggle were urban middle class males, and lodges were one tool that such people used in the struggle - a tool which both constrained and liberated members. The hallmarks of the emerging consensus - one achieved by cooption and acknowledgment of resistance as well as by imposition - were the division of gender and the adoption of a 'respectable' outlook. Lodge membership allowed members to contribute to the construction of these key values. At the same time the socioeconomic composition of fraternal bodies strengthened the perceived tie between occupation and identification with the Victorian middle class. Yet not all lodge members made this identification; the story of the Knights of Labor provides the clearest example of the ways in which men and women who identified with other social groups could appropriate, or be coopted by, the ideology tied to the fraternal movement.

At the level of popular culture, fraternal orders
contributed to the new definitions of gender roles, first by providing gender-segregated leisure activities reflecting and supporting the move to separate spheres. They emphasized and reinforced women's subordinate status in society by giving women subordinate roles in fraternal auxiliaries as well as by encouraging female dependence on male breadwinners in their benefit schemes. Finally, they contributed to the changing ways in which masculinity was defined and constructed in the Victorian era.

Lodges also helped define respectability at the popular level with both words and actions. This contested definition of respectability held meaning in the daily lives of members. Democratic mechanisms ensured that members could contribute to lodge bylaws and constitutions which outlined acceptable behavior. If the definitions still did not suit individuals, they could vote with their feet. Probably the most direct influence members had in defining respectability came with their role in accepting candidates and sitting in fraternal courts. Such policing behaviors serve to point out the restrictive side of the equation.

The construction of new gender roles in the Victorian period has attracted the attention of numerous researchers; for the most part their work has redressed an existing imbalance by focusing on women. Yet gender roles are inter-related; change in one means change in the other, especially since most societies insist that gender roles be
close to polar opposites. Only recently have
historians started examining the behavior of Victorian males
as males. Lodge activity reveals some of the ways in
which males defined themselves, and sought to define females
in nineteenth-century Ontario.

Most lodges - especially the successful ones - had
exclusively male memberships. This allowed lodges and lodge
members to contribute to the reaffirmation or redefinition
of masculinity - a concern which became more marked as the
cult of domesticity gained in influence. The middle class
ideal of domesticity insisted that men spend their evenings
at home where sensibilities defined as feminine dominated
the atmosphere. Many sought a temporary respite from this,
and craved the company of other men. A respectable man
could not go to the tavern, but since lodges claimed to be
moral institutions, a man might be excused for leaving his
home for a lodge meeting. Thus, on becoming a member of
most fraternal orders, a man was initiated into a
multidimensional community composed only of men.

Rituals and symbols which emphasized concepts of
masculinity reinforced this male camaraderie. In many
orders initiation rituals tested a candidate's courage (in
theory at least) with blindfolded journeys, attacks by
robbers, and the unofficial act of "riding the goat." Some rituals devised elaborate mechanisms for making a truer
test of an individual's courage. The initiatory ritual of
the Knights of the Maccabees illustrates a typical exercise
of this sort. The first few scenes of this drama presented the candidate with scenes of ancient warfare, including apparent violence. Members of the lodge then bound the candidate to a stake and thrust spears at him until he flinched, at which point they blindfolded him. Then came the moment of high drama. The leader of the troops ordered a guard to throw a spear at the blindfolded candidate. The guard then pretended to throw his spear by stamping his foot and grunting. Simultaneously, a member standing beside the candidate grazed his neck with a piece of metal, and a man behind him dropped a spear on the floor with a loud clatter. After the leader admonished the guard for his "miss," the participants repeated the process; this time they grazed the candidate's chest. Finally, an external distraction allowed another prisoner, a Maccabee, to free the candidate. No matter what his behavior during this experience, the candidate earned his membership; however, a speaker advised those who did not display true courage and resolution to reflect on their behavior in future.4

One historian has recently argued that fraternal initiation ceremonies served as rites of passage, which filled a psychological need for young men in a society increasingly marked by the father's absence from the home.5 According to M.C. Carnes, the increasing authority given women in the area of childrearing, and the feminization of elementary level schooling, brought conflicting pressures on male children. As he argues:
...the dilemma for boys in Victorian America was not simply that their fathers were absent and they were thereby deprived of psychological guides to their core masculinity, but that adult gender roles were invariant and narrowly defined and boys were taught chiefly the sensibilities and moral values associated with adult women.6

According to Carnes, young men faced an emotional crisis when they perceived the differences in adult gender roles. Initiation into a secret society, and the repeated participation in fraternal rituals helped them to make the transition to adult male roles.7 Many rituals did present the candidate with a symbolic father figure, and emphasized the importance of links between fathers and sons.8

Although the majority of secret societies encouraged the development of all-male communities, several orders allowed women to join auxiliary lodges. On a functional level, such lodges deflected feminine criticisms of the male lodges, and instead gave female relatives a stake in supporting the order concerned, while continuing the exclusion of women from most primary lodges. The establishment of adjunct lodges open to women served to reinforce contemporary gendered power relations, while rendering them more explicit. Only women related to male members of the primary order could join these auxiliaries. Thus female membership of the auxiliaries was predicated on
male membership of the primary order. When the I.O.O.F. first introduced the Rebekah degree, the order restricted it to Odd Fellows of a certain rank, and their wives. Later the order relaxed the requirement to include other female relatives.  

These lodges were organizationally dependent on the main order. Rebekah lodges first opened in Ontario in the 1860s, but the grand lodge did not allow the formation of a provincial executive body until 1891. Finally, women within these lodges could hold office, but only in a subordinate role. When the I.O.O.F. decided to allow Rebekah lodges, they decreed that a man had to take charge of each lodge. The power relations involved were not always hidden: no doubt the "...funny stump speech on 'women's rights...'" which one male lodge enjoyed contained a harsh mockery of women's ambitions, rather than a gentle critique of male attitudes.

Several orders did allow greater roles for women. Besides temperance lodges, two insurance orders welcomed women members - the Home Circles, and the Chosen Friends. In addition, one completely female order reached the province. The International Order of King's Daughters started out as a female order, though late in the century the order decided to allow men to join local lodges. The extent of male membership is unknown, however, the Woodstock and Ingersoll lodges at least, never admitted any males in this period.
The subordination of women did not go unchallenged; those opposed to the situation took one of two routes. Some women sought to reform fraternalism from within by seeking greater power in auxiliary lodges or membership in primary lodges.13 In some mixed-gender lodges women dominated the membership in terms of numbers, an important factor given the democratic flavour of lodge constitutions.14 In other cases the attack was external. Thus, in 1882, a female speaker told the Woodstock Primitive Methodist church that no man could join the Masons, the Odd Fellows, or even the Good Templars and remain a Christian. By raising the issue in religious terms, the speaker was drawing on a growing centre for female power. The church's minister, sympathetic to male fraternalism, quickly sought to negate the damage.15

The lodges and auxiliaries with mixed gender memberships, as well as the lodges for women only, each had their own social calendar, which differed markedly from those of the all-male primary lodges. Those lodges which included women tended to hold more informal activities, concentrating on garden parties or socials and rarely holding formal banquets. In Woodstock and Ingersoll, the auxiliary lodges held their own dinners, exchanged visits with each other, and celebrated their own anniversaries. These lodges also held socials and 'At Homes' and devised special entertainment for the juvenile lodges.16 The I.O.K.D., the only established female order, held activities
similar to those of the auxiliaries, such as socials, At Homes, quilting bees and garden parties.17

The two insurance orders which included women members differed in their approaches to such activities in the two towns. Ingersoll's O.C.H.C. lodge offered its members social events and a chance to visit other lodges. In the late 1890s, this lodge hosted garden parties, open to the friends of members. At one such function, over 250 people attended.18 In contrast to Ingersoll's lodge, the Woodstock lodge of the O.C.H.C. did not sponsor any social occasions noted in the local press during the 1880s, while the 1890s saw two parties or receptions, and one visit to Ingersoll.19 The Chosen Friends offered even less; the local press never recorded any social activities by the C.O.C.F. lodges in either Woodstock or Ingersoll.

The definition of gender roles was but one aspect of the process of cultural struggle associated with the emergence of the Victorian middle class; another key ingredient lay in the concept of respectability. During the Victorian era in Ontario, a broad definition of respectability came to be the central ideological value for many, if not the majority of the people. Lodges linked themselves to this notion early on in the period. As respectable institutions, lodges furnished a proof of respectability to all their members, while allowing them to contribute to an ongoing renegotiation of its definition.

Before they could do this, though, fraternal orders
the elves had to prove deserving of respectable status. During the 1840s the process of achieving such status commenced: the Freemasons and Odd Fellows started to react to the emerging cultural consensus, by emphasizing more respectable behavior. The secession of the American branch of Oddfellowship represented the first step in this change of moral attitudes. The new America order threatened to expel any member guilty of repeated unkindness. Each lodge meeting tried to teach a moral lesson, including lessons on the work ethic, religion, and sobriety. The new emphasis on morality meant that the Odd Fellows showed respect for the dominant religion, often by marking lodge anniversaries with a church parade.20

As fraternal orders made these changes, they endeavoured to bring them to public notice. Fraternal leaders wanted the public to perceive their associations as respectable bodies. The starting point for confirming the respectable nature of these orders was at the meeting itself. Leaders of the various orders emphasized that lodges should conduct their business in a solemn, respectable atmosphere. In the 1840s, the Odd Fellows banned smoking and any refreshments other than water at their meetings.21 Insurance orders too intended that each lodge should provide a respectable social milieu for its members. To maintain the proper decorum for a social meeting of both sexes, the rules of the local O.C.H.C. lodge provided penalties for members who came to meetings
intoxicated, who drank alcohol habitually, who used tobacco at a meeting, or who used "unbecoming language." 22

In 1870 the moral rectitude of Ontario Odd Fellows led them to ban the "Oriental Degree," an informal auxiliary body with a social function. According to the historian of the order a typical meeting of this auxiliary

...was practically a social function with a lot of horse-play, finishing up with refreshments limited only by the amount of the initiation fees. As conducted it was not a creditable affair...23

The solemn ceremonies and prayers which opened and closed each meeting emphasized the serious nature of lodge business. The various orders' constant concern with burying and honouring the dead added to the formality. Funeral rituals held a deep significance for members. Ingersoll's Masonic funeral practices led to a short-lived controversy in the spring of 1880 which revealed some of these feelings. A local minister complained that a Masonic funeral, led by a brass band, interrupted his Sunday church service. He called the fraternal service an "unseemly and ill advised parade." Letter writers quickly sprang to the defence of the lodge. After the minister published an even more inflammatory letter, correspondents asked if "...it is any greater sin to play sacred music on a brass band than to play the same on an organ?" and accused the pastor of "bungling" and "taking leave of his senses." 24 At that point the debate halted.
Woodstock's Masons also treated funeral rituals seriously. At a meeting of the Masonic Grand Lodge in 1859, the Grand Master commented on the dedication shown by Woodstock's Masons, who attended the local burial of a member from Northern Ontario, whom few knew personally, on New Year's Day. The Grand Master had visited the town on that day, and used this example to tell other lodges to do their funeral duty more willingly.25

Within this solemn atmosphere, fraternal orders emphasized the prevailing standards of middle-class morality. Lodge constitutions generally insisted that members be men or women of 'good moral character.'26 The first duty of a Freemason was: '...to be a good man and true, and strictly to obey the moral law.'27 Lodges tried to uphold the values of compassion, honesty, and personal virtue (which included adherance to the dominant rules of sexual morality). The mottoes of the various orders, which appeared as part of each order's crest, often summed up this approach. For instance, for mottoes the I.O.O.F. took 'Friendship, Love and Truth,' the Royal Arcanum took 'Mercy, Virtue and Charity,' and the I.O.G.I. took 'Faith, Hope and Charity.'28 Like many other orders, Oddfellowship claimed a special moral mission:

The principles of Oddfellowship are those of humanity and religion, its objects to promote the general good of mankind and spread abroad the light of morality and knowledge....29
Beyond these general statements of respectable platitudes, fraternal structures emphasized specific aspects of the notion of respectability. Friendly societies based their claim to respectable status on their concern for thrift and self-help. After all, friendly societies had originated as institutions mainly concerned with protecting individuals and families from the problems of the industrial capitalist economy. The new insurance orders supported the same values. When people in North America grew wary of commercial insurance companies, they turned to the fraternal form to create a competing insurance structure with a totally different business ideology.

Sobriety also appeared on the list of respectable attributes. Though other temperance organizations had already appeared in North America, and in Ontario, the Sons of Temperance introduced the campaign for total individual abstinence rather than concentrating on moderation in drinking, as earlier societies had. The S.O.T. pledge even extended to unfermented cider, while members who broke the pledge faced a trial and possible suspension or expulsion. Even the juvenile lodges concentrated on the pledge; ritual, songs and lessons all emphasized individual abstinence. For most members of these lodges, the question of drinking would not arise for several years, but organizers hoped that such preparation would guarantee a correct decision.30

While the insistence on sobriety appeared in its most blatant form in the abstinence or temperance societies, many
societies not committed to the dissemination of temperance propaganda enforced temperance within the lodge room and expected moderation in a member’s drinking habits. They threatened to expell members for repeated drunkenness, banned alcohol from the meeting rooms, and ensured that local lodges did not rent meeting rooms in inns or taverns. Banquets on special occasions usually allowed liquor to flow, but some lodges of Masons decided to remove liquor from their banquets in the 1890s.

In another form of respectable behavior, fraternal orders supported the activities of organized religion. Almost all local lodges attended church as a body on a regular basis, often on the occasion of a certain fraternal anniversary. Lodges only attended Christian churches, which meant, except for the specifically Roman Catholic orders, Protestant ones. Celebration of the two Christian St. Johns’ Days, in June and December, highlighted the Masonic year. The Woodstock Masonic service on St. John’s day in June 1884 filled the church, while many people listened at the door and ‘‘hundreds’’ were turned away. The I.O.O.F. attended church annually to celebrate the order’s founding, and sometimes lodge founding. Often the local lodge invited visitors to attend these parades. In 1892, seventy members of the A.O.F. from Woodstock and three hundred from London showed up for an anniversary church parade in Ingersoll, while a similar number of visitors showed up in 1893. The Sons of England supported
religious values by attending annual church parades, usually on the Sunday closest to St. Andrew's day, or the Queen's birthday.35 This arrangement allowed lodges to attend each other's parades. Lodges of many other orders also participated in church parades, some on an annual basis, and others more sporadically.

Ritual and ceremony provided another foundation of support for the dominant religion. Contemporary religion provided a basis for much of a lodge's ritual and membership required a belief in the existence of a supreme being. Most lodges numbered a chaplain among their officers and included prayers at their meetings. Masonic ritual contained biblical passages and prayers, and the order dedicated all its lodges to the two Christian Saint Johns.36 I.O.O.F.

Samaritan's constitution described the order as 'the handmaid of virtue and religion' so lodge bylaws listed prayers for the opening and closing of each meeting.37 The religious orders offered even greater support for the dominant religions. Each had a connection to a specific church in the local community, while their rituals contained a full measure of religious symbolism.

Self-improvement through education was another element in the ideology of respectability. Several local lodges made attempts to improve the status of education among their members, or the community in general. According to the constitution of Samaritan lodge 'Odd fellowship is not a
more beneficial society....It seeks to improve and elevate the character of man...." To help with this process, In July 1875, Samaritan lodge established a lodge library, with almost 400 books. Ingersoll's I.O.K.D. lodges also contributed to self-improvement by running Sunday schools and night schools aimed at the poorer children of the community. One lodge gave an award to the youngest girl to pass the collegiate entrance exam. This initiative raised the ire of several out-of-town newspapers which published editorials against it, claiming: "It would encourage children to overstudy and ruin their health..." and convince children to go to collegiate when too young.

The importance of compassion represented another element of respectable behavior; lodges showed their compassion by making contributions to charitable causes. These included both local causes - for instance, Ingersoll's I.O.O.F. lodges helped the poor in town in the winter of 1874-75 - and more distant causes, such as in September 1881 when one of those lodges donated money to a Michigan brother whose house had burned down. All the orders made some nod to charity, but the I.O.K.D. treated this most seriously. In fact, the I.O.K.D. saw its main concern as charitable work. Every year the lodges collected donations, including worn clothing which they repaired. In December
they dispersed these gifts to the 'deserving poor.' 42

Judgement had to temper this compassion. Many of these fraternal orders had originated on the basis of avoiding the need for members to receive charity, which appeared as a mark of disgrace to society at large. Lodges themselves did nothing to change this view. The provision of fraternal charity fit into the ideology of self-responsibility; charity only went to those who deserved it. In 1875, during the worst period of the depression, Samaritan lodge voted to distribute fifty dollars to the poor of the town. To do this, the lodge established a committee which then decided how to distribute the money, and ensured that it went only to the 'worthy distress.' 43 At subsequent lodge meetings, members brought individual cases to the committee's attention, and the committee then decided whether the case deserved relief. 43

The same sort of regard for the importance of compassion applied to the duty of visiting sick members. In making these visits, healthy members would become imbued with a spirit of self-sacrifice:

The calls to the bedside of the sick and dying awaken a spontaneous sympathy with the sufferings of others, and a readiness to give freely of one's time and thoughts to alleviate the sufferings of fellow beings. 44

To ensure their respectability, lodges had to ensure that only the right sort of people joined. Individuals who wished to join these lodges faced an investigation by a
committee on character, charged with ascertaining the
"...age, state of health, profession, habits and character
of the candidates referred to them...," followed by a vote
of the lodge.45 In the A.O.F., a lodge would reject a
candidate if he (or his wife if married) had "a bad
character," or led "an idle, dissolute life."46

Not everyone could live up to the standards of
respectability, even members who passed the screening could
later stumble in the eyes of the lodge. Those who did so
faced serious penalties for their moral lapses. The lodges
took an active role in judging and policing immoral
behavior, and placed their own penalties on members who
acted improperly, beyond those he law provided. Most lodge
bylaws provided suspension or expulsion for habitual
drunkenness or immorality, and fines if an officer became
intoxicated and neglected his duty.47 Ingersoll lodge
minutes provide some quick examples. In 1855 Ingersoll's
Masonic lodge suspended a member for failure to pay a debt
owed another member; he only won reinstatement after making
repayment. Ingersoll's lodge of the Srns of Temperance
suspended twelve members for violating the pledge during six
months of 1855. In the first year of operations for
Ingersoll's Odd Fellows, they expelled one member for
slander and two years later they expelled their Past Master
on a charge of forgery.48

The mandate to check for immorality meant overseeing
members' sexual behavior. As an example, Ingersoll's
Samaritan lodge of the I.O.O.F. expelled a member in 1869 for deserting his sick wife to run away with a young woman, then lying to other members to cover the scandal. The lodge expelled a member who had eloped with another man's wife in 1873, and another member in 1876 for having 'illicit intercourse' with a woman, a sister of a lodge member, who became pregnant. Another member met the same fate the next year for 'falsely passing himself of [sic] as a single man....' 49

As the foregoing paragraphs have revealed, respectability, a central aspect of the Victorian middle-class worldview, was itself composed of a number of distinct attitudes and values. As a central feature of cultural hegemony, the content of respectability had to remain open to debate. In lodges, this debate chiefly took the form of defining limits of acceptable behavior. In making these judgements, individual lodge members played a consensual role in the establishment of cultural power structures. Individuals also contributed to decisions about which aspect of the respectable package to emphasize. Again the decision could reflect the push and pull of the hegemonic process.

Along with all the other aspects of respectability, many fraternal orders added an emphasis on the essential dignity of physical labour. This emphasis derived partly from the Protestant work ethic, but more directly from the origins of these movements. Freemasonry developed out of a guild for skilled craftsmen. As the order developed in its
early years, it kept much of the symbolism derived from the
craft guild; one of the central myths of the order revolves
around Hiram, the biblical master builder. Later
movements to add more mysticism introduced new symbols based
on the tools and practices of working masons. The working-
class origins of friendly societies were even more
marked.51

By the time these bodies reached British North America,
they had moved a fair way from their origins. From the
start, Freemasonry allowed other members besides working
masons.52 The process accelerated from 1720 when the
Duke of Montagu became the Grand Master. By mid-century,
the Baltimore Unity I.O.O.F. had emerged as a self-
consciously middle class, moral institution. Despite these
changes, the imagery of labour still remained in Masonry and
the friendly societies. The new orders which appeared
borrowed heavily from the structures and ritual of these
older orders, resulting in the spread of these concepts.

Ingersoll’s James McIntyre reflected this imagery in a
poem he wrote for a banquet of King Hiram and St. John
Masonic lodges in 1884. In part, the poem read:

Craft of King Hiram and St. John,
They figurative work on stone,
King Hiram he is the old sire
and he was famous King of Tyre.

But great as King upon a throne
Is the good, kind, true St. John,
Cathedrals did craftsmen raise,
Fills all our minds now with amaze.
No modern chisel has the power
To trace such leaf, and bud, and flower,
But though our structures now are rude
Let us all make the mortar good.

And this injunction never spare,
To have the work both plumb and square,
And it must have no crack nor flaw,
So masters will lay down the law.53

This poem rests on the central symbolic theme in Masonry: the member's assumption of an artisanal identity. The creation of origin myths in Masonic auxiliary orders which tied Freemasonry to Medieval knights never undermined the ritual importance of Hiram and the working Masons.54

Lodges allowed their members to contribute to other aspects of the construction of Victorian middle-class culture; in particular they facilitated the recognition of a link between class and occupation. While this study does not consider class identification as determined by occupation, occupation certainly acted as both a constraint and positive influence. Contemporary observers were often quick to link occupation and class in a deterministic manner - the Victorian language of class was often a language of occupation. In lodges the perceived link between class and occupation (which gave a class view legitimacy through its claim to represent the majority) could be created and recreated. In part this phenomenon relied on the surface attractions of fraternal orders; the mechanisms of response offered by fraternal lodges reflected the needs and interests of their members, who came predominantly from specific economic groups.
A study of lodges in two small towns - Woodstock and Ingersoll - shows that most male fraternalists followed non-manual or skilled manual occupations. In general, the socioeconomic composition of lodge memberships overrepresented non-manual workers and left unskilled manual workers virtually excluded. The precise pattern of representation differed through time and among different lodges, though Masonic lodges did exhibit a more elite membership than that of friendly societies. While a large number of lodge members came from the non-manual section of the middle class, skilled manual workers also made up significant proportions of fraternal memberships. This pattern suggests the ambiguous role played by skilled manual workers who were in disputed areas of constructed class. Shared interests may have helped some identify with the middle class, and some fraternal features certainly pulled in that direction. On the other hand, the history of occupational orders, such as the Knights of Labor, shows how groups could seek to draw upon the concept of respectability to legitimate a distinctively working class movement.

The investigation into the occupational character of Woodstock and Ingersoll lodges relies on membership lists from those lodges. Only a few lodge membership lists from Woodstock or Ingersoll have survived to the present, most of which do not indicate members' occupations. Because these documents also tend to omit members' addresses, attempts to
link these names to those in manuscript censuses and directories produced occupational titles for only about one half of any given membership list. Source linkage performed on one such source—a list of the ten founding members of Woodstock's Masonic lodge in 1853—resulted in the discovery of the occupations of six of these men, including a physician, a lawyer, a bookkeeper, a police constable, a joiner and a shoemaker. Lists like this have little statistical significance, but this example does point out the range of occupations listed, including two skilled workers.

A few fraternal records do, however, indicate members' occupations at the time they joined the lodges. In particular, information on the occupations of members of four Ingersoll lodges—two from the Masonic order and two from the Independent Order of Odd Fellows—is available in surviving records. One such source consists of the minute books of I.O.O.F. Samaritan lodge in Ingersoll. For a period, starting during 1856 and ending in 1857, lodge minute books noted the occupation of new members. During this period, forty-four new members joined the lodge, and legible, non-rural occupational titles accompanied thirty-eight of the names. Another early set of figures can be found in the register of St. John's lodge of the Masons in Ingersoll. The book gives a complete run of information for period 1856 to 1975. For the period from 1869
on, the *Degree Book* of Ingersoll's other Masonic lodge, King Hiram lodge, can supplement the material in the Saint John's register. This source again runs into the twentieth century. For the last quarter of the nineteenth century, records from Ingersoll's two I.O.O.F. lodges add further information to this survey of lodge composition.

The preserved documents from Samaritan and Oxford lodges include a series of books which list new members' names and occupations, as well as their ages and places of residence. These entries provide the names of almost 700 new members, and almost 95 per cent of the entries include a legible occupational title. These sources allow for statistical comparisons of lodge membership with the adult male population of the community, comparisons of the membership composition of different types of orders, and comparisons of different lodges in the same order. All of these comparisons can be further refined by a consideration of change over time.

The following table presents a summary of the occupational titles found in these sources. In a few cases of incomplete, or only partly legible occupational title in the original source (for instance, 'furniture') census manuscripts or directories supplemented the information. In any case of direct contradiction between these supplementary sources and the fraternal source, the latter source prevailed. From 1871 on, the figures are compared to
census figures, representing the occupations of males over 14.60

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<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>1165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>King</th>
<th>Saint</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>IOOF</th>
<th>IOOF</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Adult</th>
<th>Males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1886-95</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sk. Man.</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unsk. M.</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>1365</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
- a. Samaritan lodge totals for 1856-7 only.
- b. King Hiram lodge totals for 1866-75 only.
- Source: Records of the respective lodges.
The use of these sources means certain interpretational constraints. Critics may object that a list of new members cannot give a picture of lodge membership at a single point in time; to present a profile of lodge membership in a specific year, a researcher would have to know how long individuals stayed in the lodge, and whether or not their occupation changed. On the other hand, a list of new members does provide valuable information on its own terms. A study of new members looks at men who made the active decision to join a lodge. Existing lodge members chose to welcome these men to the lodge, at their current socio-economic position. Moreover, since many young men would increase their social standing as they grew older, the study of joiners may overestimate the categories of lower-status occupations.

Conceivably, though, the occupational declarations of joiners may have been skewed in an opposite direction. If members of a lodge felt a need to emphasize their social prestige, new recruits may have felt institutional pressure to exaggerate the social standing of their means of livelihood. This would have led to self-reporting of different occupational titles than appeared in other sources. In order to check for this, an examination was made of those men from Ingersoll who joined A.F.A.M. lodge St. John's or either I.O.O.F. lodge in 1860-61, 1870-71, 1880-81 and 1890-91. The job titles given by these
individuals in the fraternal source were compared to those recorded in the relevant manuscript census. In all, ninety-nine men with legible occupational titles and Ingersoll addresses joined one of these three lodges in one of these specified years. Of these, ninety-one had occupational titles that could be coded into one of the three broad, non-rural occupational categories used above. Comparing this list of names with the census manuscripts revealed census entries including an occupation for fifty-three of these men. Of this linked group, forty-nine reported identical or synonymous job titles to both sources, one reported slightly different job titles (both of which were non-manual occupations), and three reported different job titles which the scheme ascribed to different occupational categories. In other word, fifty of the fifty-three would have been coded identically in constructing the preceding tables, no matter which source had been used.

In the other three cases, each man reported related occupational titles, but the status of the occupation reported in the fraternal source was higher. A marble cutter in the census became a marble dealer in the lodge records, a labourer became a blacksmith, and a blacksmith became a livery keeper. Two of these men thus claimed mercantile positions in fraternal records (but not in the census) while the third claimed manual skills. Of course, the difference in job titles does not prove that the
fraternal records were incorrect. The marble cutter/dealer, for instance, may have simply emphasized different aspects of his working life to the two sources.

A difference in only six percent of the occupations reported does not seem to indicate institutional pressure to exaggerate initiates' social standing. This should not be surprising, since fraternal records were supposed to be secret, and no outsider would ever see such falsified or exaggerated records. In fact, the broad categories used in the study would render small exaggerations meaningless. Only an exaggeration crossing the lines between unskilled manual and skilled manual, or between the latter and non-manual work would have any effect on the data. While checking fraternal evidence for compatibility with other existing local documents such as the census or directories does produce results lending confidence to the fraternal documents, the other sources also depended on self-reporting, making them equally susceptible to individual exaggeration not connected to lodge desires. Yet this can be seen in a positive light; after all, exaggeration reflects aspirations — whether real or ideal — and such aspirations certainly provide a clear guide to class identification.

A few other sources can supplement the figures presented in Table 5.1. The minutes of Ingersoll's I.O.F. lodge include an undated roll list from the early 1890s. It
lists the occupations of nineteen of the lodge’s twenty-four members, three of whom were farmers. Two lists of Woodstock members from the 1880s and 1890s add some information on other orders. Lists of the charter members of Woodstock’s Royal Arcanum lodge, and the members of the Sons of Scotland who joined between 1896 and 1900 do not provide occupations, but record linkage gave occupations for twelve of sixteen R.A. members, and twenty-five of fifty-eight S.O.S. members. Table 5.2 presents the results.

Table 5.2: Occupational Composition of Ingersoll and Woodstock lodge memberships, 1884 - 1900.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th></th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I.O.F.</td>
<td>Census</td>
<td>R.A.</td>
<td>S.O.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. 1891</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1896-00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Man.</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled M.</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled M.</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>1365</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An examination of tables 5.1 and 5.2 leads to several conclusions about the socioeconomic composition of lodge membership; the first, and most important conclusion is that lodge memberships consistently overrepresented non-manual workers and underrepresented unskilled manual workers. Every lodge considered in these tables had a significantly higher proportion of non-manual workers than census figures revealed for the adult male population of the town in question. At the same time the proportion of manual unskilled workers rarely reached ten per cent, and often
fell to zero, representing a great underrepresentation of this group. The third occupational group, that which consisted of skilled manual workers, made up a significant part of lodge membership without being consistently overrepresented. In some cases representation of this group was close to what census figures revealed for the population at large; in only one case (Ingersoll’s I.O.O.F. lodges in 1876-85) did it reach higher levels. On the other hand the Masonic lodges consistently underrepresented skilled manual workers.63

This leads to a second conclusion: despite the broad similarity noted above, the exact pattern of socioeconomic composition varied greatly. The composition of different lodges differed markedly from each other, even if they came from the same order. The comparison of membership compositions at different points in time of the same lodge also shows fluctuations. Thus the percentage of non-manual workers in a given lodge varied from a low of thirty-five per cent in I.O.O.F. Oxford to over ninety per cent in Woodstock’s lodge of the Royal Arcanum. The latter lodge reported no skilled manual workers, while almost sixty per cent of the members of I.O.O.F. Oxford in the 1876-85 period came from this group. Finally, no manual unskilled workers ever joined King Hiram Masonic lodge, while one I.O.O.F. lodge recruited almost a fifth of their new members from this group in the late 1880s and early 1890s.
One way to bring greater precision to an analysis of these patterns is to look at the different types of fraternal orders represented by these lodges. Such an analysis allows a third conclusion: the membership of Masonic lodges was more exclusive than that of Oddfellowship. No Masonic lodge in Ingersoll ever welcomed less than fifty per cent of its new members from the non-manual group; by contrast Odd Fellow lodges tended to have less than forty per cent of their new members come from this group. Skilled manual workers, who tended to be represented in Odd Fellow lodges at levels close to their proportion in the general population, found themselves underrepresented in Masonic lodges. While non-manual workers dominated the membership of Ingersoll’s Masonic lodges, skilled manual workers and non-manual workers made up roughly similar proportions of I.O.O.F. lodge membership. Neither group dominated in the latter case.

Fitting the other types of orders into this scheme presents difficulties, mainly due to a lack of meaningful statistics. The evidence in Table 5.2 shows one insurance order (the I.O.F.) exhibiting a composition similar to that of the Ingersoll Odd Fellows, while another insurance order (Woodstock’s Royal Arcanum) offers a strange mixture - based on a very small number of members. This lodge displayed an almost complete dominance of non-manual workers, combined with a representation of unskilled workers higher than most
other lodges. Finally, the Sons of Scotland lodge reflected a pattern similar to that of Ingersoll's Masons.

These concerns with the exact nature of specific lodge membership compositions must remain subordinate to the central conclusion illustrated by the statistics above: of the three occupational groupings used in this scheme, two played a significant role in lodge participation. Why did non-manual and skilled manual groups join lodges so frequently? As the previous chapter argued, members of fraternal orders adapted their associations in response to a changing pattern of economic and cultural development. Lodges came to offer three main sorts of attractions: financial benefits, male fellowship, and respectability. These attractions reflected the needs and interests of the social groups which provided members: the male, non-manual and skilled manual occupational groups. Financial benefits would have appealed to all individuals or families who had become dependent on a capitalist economy. Wage earners and profit takers alike realized the vulnerability of their economic positions. At the same time, the informal benefits, such as business patronage or employment opportunities, also suited members of the new urban classes. Yet the costs of lodge membership functioned as a constraint on membership. Unskilled workers, with a lower income level, found lodge fees an obstacle to joining.

The social and cultural attractions of lodge membership
also appealed particularly to members of the two social groups represented in lodge membership. The concern with differing definitions of respectability functioned as a central component of the ideological self-definifications of many non-manual and skilled manual workers. The changes in gender roles and relations which accompanied industrial capitalism also affected these groups more than unskilled workers and their families; women from the latter group remained much more likely to work outside the house, thus making any notion of separate spheres irrelevant. Finally, as Chapter Nine below argues, lodges also appealed to members of the non-manual and skilled manual groups as a way of influencing the public identity of their local communities.

These shared interests may have helped merge these two groups into a single class, though this is not certain; after all, shared objects of concern may equally have led to divisive disputes. Some aspects of fraternal orders certainly pushed the two groups in the direction of consensus, and may have contributed to the forging of a middle class which included skilled workers. Fraternal lodges did this not by rejecting all aspects of working class culture, but by taking elements of traditional working class culture, such as processions, festivals, and distinctive symbols, and shaping them into a form supportive of the middle class social order. Rowdy working class
processions became parades for state, church and queen. The echoes of working class values, and constant references to the "dignity of labour," could entice skilled manual workers into joining these organizations.

Some local lodges of the friendly societies worked hard to maintain their appeal to manual workers. In 1899 a hard railway strike raised sympathetic feelings for the strikers in the town of Woodstock. The I.O.O.F. stood at the forefront of this reaction, passing a supportive resolution, and making a small monetary donation to the strikers. Ingersoll’s A.O.F. lodge also took great pains to encourage working men to join, emphasizing the attraction of the benefits. The lodge had a good background to support the appeal, as it had started operations in the back of a barbershop.

An argument that fraternal orders served the Victorian middle class can draw support from the work of a few American researchers who have studied metropolitan centres. Lynn Dumenil’s study of Freemasons in the late nineteenth century concludes that "...masonry mirrored middle-class culture." Roy Rosenzweig argues that Boston’s Masonic lodges became a bulwark of the middle class world view. He adds:

Masons sought to present to the public an image of unblemished respectability - a central characteristic of the lower middle class.
The nineteenth-century fraternal world did not consist only of Freemasonry; researchers examining the early temperance orders and the I.O.O.F. have argued convincingly that those lodges had strong ties to the middle class as it developed.68

In fact, most historians who have investigated fraternal lodges in North America have concluded that membership did not represent a random sample of the wider community. Instead, membership varied along occupational lines. Almost all of these investigations have noted the virtual exclusion of unskilled manual workers from lodge membership.69 While fraternalism doubtless appealed to certain social groups, the literature has focused on large urban centres, including Boston, Buffalo, Worcester, Providence, Oakland and Toronto. In such places, fraternal orders often established multiple lodges, which served a differentiated membership. The discussion of small town lodges provides a balance to this concentration, and indicates that such places could not typically support lodges which excluded either skilled manual workers or non-manual workers. When an order could only establish a single lodge in a small town, it needed to incorporate members from both of these groups.

The statistics in Table 5.1 do help to illuminate the options open to orders with two lodges in a single community; in Ingersoll the presence of two lodges each of
Masons and Odd Fellows produced different patterns of membership composition. In local Masonry the pattern tended towards specialization. King Hiram lodge, the older of the two, was a lodge of very exclusive socioeconomic character. During the whole period under review, no unskilled manual worker ever joined, while non-manual workers made up eighty to ninety per cent of new members. By contrast, the composition of Saint John lodge fluctuated. The lodge did at times welcome unskilled workers as members, and non-manual workers did not have such a complete dominance over new memberships. The case of the two Odd Fellow lodges presents a very different appearance. Though lodge composition fluctuated through time, the fluctuations affected each lodge fairly evenly. The only difference was a significantly higher percentage of unskilled manual recruits to Oxford lodge in the last decade considered. In other words, the presence of more than one lodge of a given order in a community could lead to some differentiation of memberships; however, it did not necessarily do so.

This chapter has argued that lodge influence may have stimulated some skilled manual workers to identify with the middle class, but many other lodge members from this group remained firmly attached to the working class. This did not present a paradox; respectability could be used to support certain working class ideologies. An examination of the occupational orders created by and for workers reveals the
varying ways in which these groups sought class ends without jeopardizing any respectable status they managed to achieve. To some extent, each of these orders sought to break free and challenge the dominant culture; none however offered a complete alternate vision of the world. The presence of three such orders in the two towns studied here - the Knights of Saint Crispin, the Knights of Labor, and the Industrial Brotherhood of Canada - offers a chance to investigate this theme. These three fraternal organizations, and especially the K.O.L., illustrate the slippery nature of consent and imposition. The extent to which values associated with the Victorian middle class penetrated these groups, or to which these groups consciously adapted middle class values to their own needs, is still a matter of debate.70

For the most part, the K.O.S.C. acted as a body pursuing working class interests, and took little interest in the question of respectability. Like regular craft unions, the order accepted conflict between labour and capital, and believed in the strike as an important weapon on the side of labour. The order fought several strikes, both in the United States and Canada. Ontario lodges of the order marched in labour parades, and some took part in strikes or lockouts, though Ingersoll's lodge did not.

The main concerns of the K.O.S.C. however, operated against any larger class unity. The order came to
prominence at a time when the factory had started to replace artisanal forms of production. The order fought against the loss of skill involved in the use of machines run by unskilled men. Members sought to regain control of the conditions of work, as well as the status and prestige which they had lost. This meant that a successful K.O.S.C. campaign would leave the machine operators as victims. In Ingersoll, without a framework of similar organizations, the K.O.S.C. could only appear as a narrowly focussed body, irrelevant to the concerns of most of the town's workers.

The most recent interpretation of the Knights of Labor in Ontario describes the order as the first expression of a working class movement culture, seeking to create an alternative hegemony in the province. Though the ritual and ceremonies of the order reflected more traditional fraternal orders, the order did eliminate hierarchical degrees and expensive regalia, both of which contributed to an enforced inequality in older societies. The symbols and passwords all acknowledged the dignity of labour and the importance of work in social relations. The Knights of Labor sought to unite all workers, skilled and unskilled, male and female, Roman Catholic and Protestant, thus emphasizing class solidarity.

On at least two occasions, the Woodstock K.O.L translated its desire for class solidarity into actions. When a large local factory burned down, many employees lost
their own tools, while all of them lost their jobs. The
K.O.L. stepped in and arranged some assistance, in co-
operation with local churches.74 The action of the
Knights of Labor inspired the town council to set up a
committee to deal with the situation. In 1886, the order,
feeling that the co-operative principle could increase
worker solidarity, started a co-operative match factory in
Woodstock. The factory employed the most modern machinery,
and hired one of the best matchmakers in the country.
Within a few months the factory had a booming trade.
However, the factory could not maintain these early results
and in the end proved a failure.75

Lodges of the order did sometimes use strikes as a
method of confronting employers, and the peak of the order’s
popularity resulted from a series of victories in mass
strikes. Though neither Woodstock or Ingersoll lodges
fought strikes, Ingersoll’s lodge did show its support for
strikes as well as for the co-operative movement. In the
spring and summer of 1886, Toronto streetcar workers,
organized by the K.O.L., staged a protracted struggle with
their employer. This strike at times attracted a great
amount of public support. In May, the Knights in Toronto
changed tactics by starting their own co-operative bus line.
The following month, Ingersoll’s lodge of the Knights of
Labor purchased a bus, which they sent to Toronto, as a gift
to this co-operative venture.76

Other local evidence also supports the argument that Oxford K.O.L. lodges actively sought to establish a working class culture. In 1887, the Woodstock lodge called for the taxation of unimproved land held for speculation, and asked for a public works commissioner in town and a nine hour day on public jobs.77 At the same time, one Woodstock Knight - a former Tory supporter - wrote to John A. Macdonald warning him to pass the legislation demanded by the K.O.L. before they caused the government’s downfall.78

On the other hand, a number of elements militated against the order’s achievement of working class ends. Most leaders of the order spoke against the use of strikes, the order accepted dominant ideas of race and gender which militated against class solidarity, and sometimes found itself involved in disputes with other labour bodies.

Despite the popularity of strikes with some elements of the order’s membership, leaders of the Knights of Labor constantly claimed to oppose strikes as a means of settling disputes, favouring arbitration instead. Local lodge leaders agreed with these sentiments. A leader of the Woodstock lodge, speaking at the K.O.L. demonstration in Ingersoll said the K.O.L. did not cause strikes, instead ‘’...they were at all times trying to prevent them.’’79
The K.O.L. accepted prevailing cultural definitions which saw gender and race as appropriate categories for the organization of people, at the expense of working class solidarity. Although many K.O.L. lodges allowed women members, they did not truly accept an equality of the sexes, believing instead in the theory of separate spheres.80 In fact, none of the lodges in Woodstock or Ingersoll allowed female members. The order’s opposition to immigrant, particularly Chinese, labour demonstrated the acceptance of these categories even more clearly. In Woodstock, the local lodge passed a strongly-worded resolution condemning the government’s policy of assisting immigration, claiming that this led to foreign workers competing with Canadian workers, and undercutting them.81

The local lodges also got caught up in other divisive conflicts within the labour movement. Woodstock’s K.O.L. lodge called for a boycott on certain cigars in 1888; however, this did not indicate support for strikers against employers, rather it reflected an inter-class rivalry in which the K.O.L. fought the International Cigarmakers Union.82

Finally, the K.O.L. drew upon the concept of respectability as a way to legitimate its program. The Knights of Labor embraced the whole range of respectable values, and, like more traditional lodges, officially advocated individual responsibility and self-help, education, temperance and conventional morality. From the
start, Woodstock's lodge tried to provide respectable, educational entertainment. A lecture in early 1885 attracted "...an attentive and intelligent audience, chiefly made up of the skilled artizans and working men of the town." 83 The Woodstock Knights held several other lectures and debates over the next few years including a series of educational meetings in the winter of 1887-8. The Knights of Labor echoed other fraternal orders in declaring their willingness to expell members for moral failings. In Woodstock's local lodge, a disagreement over an appointment became a moral issue when one of the claimants accused the other of being a drinker. Lodge officers then asked this member to resign, though he denied the accusation. 84 This affair did not mark Woodstock's lodge as unusual, many K.O.L. lodges accepted the call for temperance in alcohol consumption, another respectable notion. The Knights of Labor also mirrored traditional lodges in their support for the dominant religion. The ritual and ceremonies of the K.O.L. contained a strong element of religious imagery. Local lodges copied the examples of other societies and attended church in a body to hear special sermons. 85 In 1890, the Woodstock lodge acknowledged the middle class social gospel movement when it sponsored a series of lectures on "Christian Socialism" by clergymen of the town. 86

The Industrial Brotherhood also represented a working class movement, which tried to attack the capitalist
economic system, without attacking the accompanying cultural values of Victorian Ontario. The Woodstock lodges of the 1.B.C. operated within the ideological framework enunciated in the order's platform, which consisted of eighteen planks and a preamble which stated that the order intended to "make worth, not wealth, the standard of greatness."87 This platform called on the government to eliminate private banks, refrain from issuing interest-bearing bonds or notes and outlaw land speculation. It also called for government ownership of all steamship lines, telegraphs, telephones and railways, and the provision of mandatory free education. Other planks dealt more directly with the concerns of labour. These items called for safety measures in industry, and demanded an end to certain practices, including the use of prison labor, the employment of children under fifteen and the importation of foreign labour under contract, as well as the end of government support for immigration.

The remaining planks continued with a radical critique of the capitalist industrial system. One item called for a graduated income tax, with published assessment rolls. Another plank said:

That all laws favoring the classes at the expense of the masses shall be rescinded or so amended as to dispense equal justice to all, and that the process of law shall be simplified...by the movement of measures dictated by common sense and the interests of the people.88
Further items called for mandatory voting at elections accompanied by the elimination of all campaigning and canvassing, and a waiting period of ninety days after the passage of any bill by a legislature or municipality during which electors could petition a plebiscite on the subject. The platform ended by saying the Industrial Brotherhood wished to supersede the wage system with a co-operative industrial system, reduce the number of hours worked, and ensure "the education of the agricultural, mechanical and industrial classes in the science of economic government in a strictly non-partisan and non-sectarian spirit." 89

This platform clearly stated the order's opposition to the capitalist system then prevalent in Ontario; however, it did not oppose the cultural values of the day. The platform made no statements on the issues of temperance, self-help or morality, and considered education important. Much of the order's critique of the new industrial order mirrored the arguments of some segments of the middle class reform movement. Thus the I.B.C. did not offer a complete culture of opposition, and in many ways sought to remain respectable. Like the other occupational lodges, the I.B.C. exhibited a "'contradictory consciousness,'" partly acquiescent in existing structures, and partly challenging them. 90

Participation in fraternalism allowed members to contribute to the construction of cultural hegemony, while being limited by it. Men could recreate their own
masculinity, and their power over women, in these male-dominated institutions.

Lodges which welcomed women were not structured to grant them the same advantages: with the exception of the I.O.K.O., all lodges which women could join also included male members; rules of such lodges tended to institutionalize male power; and the ritual and social experiences of these lodges tended to be less intense than in the all-male lodges.

The element of respectability served as a key cultural attraction of fraternal orders. Membership in a lodge allowed an individual to achieve recognition of his or her own respectable status, while participating in the ongoing negotiation of its meaning. Orders worked hard to maintain their own respectable status. The rules and ritual of lodges which emphasized various aspects of respectability served to protect the order's reputation and reinforce the values which their members had to possess before joining. Even a seemingly radical body such as the K.O.L. could operate within the framework of respectability if its leaders so chose.

Lodge participation also allowed the construction of a link between a particular worldview and particular kinds of jobs. Membership of fraternal lodges consisted mostly of non-manual workers and skilled manual workers. At the same time, these were not exclusive social institutions; unskilled workers also joined some lodges, and won
acceptance as legitimate members from those who voted on their admittance.
Notes to Chapter 5.

1. The literature in this area is far too extensive to summarise here. The best introductions can be found in Prentice, et al., and Smith-Rosenberg.

2. Gilmore, pp. 22 - 23.

3. See for example, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "'Davy Crockett as Trickster: Pornography, Liminality and Symbolic Inversion in Victorian America'" in Disorderly Conduct.; Carnes.

4. K.O.T.M. Revised Ritual, pp. 28 - 33. See also Gosden, Friendly Societies, pp. 132 - 133.

5. Carnes, pp. 104 - 116. A survey of anthropological literature, much of which supports Carnes, can be found in Gilmore, especially pp. 1 - 29.


10. Johnston, Odd Fellowship, pp. 298 - 301.


14. For example, Woodstock's Rebekah lodge contained more women than men up to 1900, though the ratio turned with the century. Ingersoll's Companions lodge started out with more women than men in 1891, and had three times as many women as men in 1899. I.O.O.F. Grand Lodge Journals, 1896 - 1901; Ingersoll Chronicle, 29 Jan. 1891; Ancient Order of Foresters, Companions of the Forest, Princess Louise Circle, Ingersoll, Account Book, Princess Louise Circle, A.O.F., Ingersoll, Collection, RCDBW.

15. Sentinel Review, 18 Aug. 1862. A theoretical context for this incident can be found in Smith-Rosenberg, "'The Cross and the Pedestal'" pp. 129 - 150.
16. For instance, the Woodstock Companions hosted a reception for other A.O.F. members and their wives in 1892, and entertained the members of the juvenile lodge in 1895. Sentinel Review. 18 Mar. 1892, 9 Apr. 1895.

17. For an example of each I.O.K.D. activity, see Sentinel Review. 8 Oct. 1894, 14 June 1895, 24 Feb. and 8 Mar. 1897, 15 Sept. 1898.

18. Sentinel Review. 6 Aug. 1897, see also Sentinel Review. 22 June 1899.


24. Ingersoll Chronicle. 29 Apr., 13 May and 20 May 1880.


32. Sentinel Review. 8 Feb. 1899.

33. Sentinel Review. 4 July 1884.

34. Sentinel Review. 10 Oct. 1892, 2 Oct. 1893.
35. For an example of each see Sentinel Review, 20 Apr. 1895, 24 May 1896.


39. Ingersoll Chronicle, 8 July 1875; I.O.O.F. Samaritan Minutes, Apr. 7 - 10, 1875, Jan. 12, 1876.


41. Ingersoll Chronicle, 15 Apr. 1875, 15 Sept. 1881.

42. Ingersoll Chronicle 11 June 1891; Sentinel Review, 26 May 1897; see for example Sentinel Review 10 Dec. 1896, 18 Dec. 1897.

43. I.O.O.F. Samaritan, Minutes, Feb 24 - May 15, 1875.


50. Stevens, pp. 17 - 22.

51. Gosden, Self-Help; Gosden, Friendly Societies.; Greenberg.
52. A.T. Freed, "'The Mother Grand Lodge'" in Sheppard, p. 5.


56. These names were collected by G.N. Emery from I.O.O.F. Samaritan, Minutes. I am grateful to Professor Emery for the loan of these notes and other valuable documents.

57. Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, Saint John's Lodge, Ingersoll, Register, Saint John's Lodge Collection, Masonic Temple, Ingersoll.

58. Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, King Hiram Lodge, Degree Book, King Hiram Lodge Collection, Masonic Temple, Ingersoll.


60. N.B. Bouchier recently compiled these figures from the manuscript census. See also "'For the Love of the Game'" pp. 90 - 91.

61. I.O.F. no. 798, Minutes. (no date).

62. The Royal Arcanum information can be found in Sentinel Review, 20 Jan. 1891, and the S.O.S. in Sons of Scotland, Provincial Roll List, located in the miscellaneous archival materials at the Sons of Scotland Head Office, Toronto. The linkages were made from the manuscript returns of 1881 and 1891 (compiled by N.B. Bouchier) and from the town directories listed in the bibliography.

63. In order to eliminate the possibility that the pattern of socioeconomic representation was simply a result of chance, the figures for lodge membership were compared to census populations using chi-squares, a test of statistical significance. The total Masonic and I.O.O.F. memberships of Ingersoll lodges were tested separately against census data, for each of the period for which a census breakdown is
available. The resulting chi-squares were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>1866-75</th>
<th>1876-85</th>
<th>1886-95</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masonic</td>
<td>133.56</td>
<td>72.02</td>
<td>94.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>35.53</td>
<td>24.26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because the method of comparison allows for two degrees of freedom, the resulting chi-squares are all considered significant at the .001 level. In other words, the possibility that these patterns resulted from random chance is less than one in a thousand in each case.

This test was not carried out on the lodges listed in Table 5.2 because the figures involved are so small. The chi-square test is unreliable in such cases; in particular it should not be used when expected values (in these cases, the number of members who would be expected to come from a particular socioeconomic group) are equal to five or less. For a full discussion of the chi-square test, see H.M. Blalock, *Social Statistics. (2nd. ed.*) (New York, 1972) pp. 275 – 287.

64. *Sentinel Review*, 17 June 1899.


66. Dumenil, pp. xii, pp. 72 – 73, and pp. 93 – 94.


68. On temperance orders, see Chapter Eight below; Greenberg, pp. 38 – 48.


70. See Lears, "'Concept', Pilk, "'The New Labor History'" and Lipsitz for some of this debate.


75. Palladium of Labour, 26 June - 13 Nov. 1886; Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming, pp. 367 - 368.

76. Kealey, Toronto Workers, pp. 199 - 212; Ingersoll Chronicle, 10 June 1886.


78. Cited in Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming, p. 216.

79. Ingersoll Chronicle, 7 July 1887.


82. Sentinel Review, 17 Apr. 1886.


84. Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming, pp. 174 - 175.

85. Palmer, Culture in Conflict, p. 172; for an example of a church parade, see Ingersoll Chronicle, 20 May 1886.

86. Sentinel Review, 15 Oct. 1890.

87. The London Advertiser, 4 July 1891; The London Free Press, 4 July 1891; Ingersoll Chronicle, 16 July 1891.

88. London Free Press, 4 July 1891.

89. London Free Press, 4 July 1891.

90. Lears discusses contradictory consciousness in "'Concept'" p. 570. He is challenged for being too rigid on this issue by Fink, "'The New Labor History'" pp. 125 - 126, as well as Lipsitz, p. 147.
Chapter 6. Expansion and Adaptation: The Fraternal Explosion in Ontario

The period 1840 to 1901 witnessed extensive capitalist economic development throughout Ontario, and the resultant emergence and coming to power of the historical bloc defined here as the 'Victorian middle class'; concomitantly, the period also saw an explosion of the fraternal presence in the province. Fraternalism, with its appeal to male urban non-manual and skilled manual workers, grew more and more powerful as this social group did. The pattern of fraternal growth did not entail simple geometric growth; as a cultural form embedded in the new hegemony, the fraternal framework was open to change and negotiation, despite its artificial links to tradition and visions of stability. Thus growth came in waves as new types of orders, each offering new attractions to non-manual and skilled manual workers, appeared. The clearest success stories featured first the Masons, then the friendly societies, and finally the insurance orders. Ethnic and religious orders also achieved some, though more limited, success, while the occupational orders tended to fade quickly after spectacular starts. Of course, within the various categories of orders, some met more success than others. This chapter examines the main groups of fraternal associations in that order, before turning to a comparative summary of provincial popularity. (The Orange order and temperance orders, which failed to
evidence clear patterns of growth, are dealt with in a later chapter.)

Freemasonry already existed in Upper Canada as the 1840s opened, but the order entered that decade in disarray. Despite a weak attempt to form a grand lodge in London in 1836, serious agitation for a revival of the Masonic order after the disaster of the Morgan affair did not start until 1842. After that, however, the Masons started to win a reputation as the most respectable of orders, which they combined with their emphasis on male fellowship to produce an attractive formula. In the mid 1840s a small independent grand lodge appeared in the Eastern part of the province, and an official Provincial Grand Lodge was set up by the English Grand Lodge. By 1852, the official grand lodge had thirty-four lodges under its control.

By this time many Masons wanted an autonomous Canadian grand lodge. In 1855, after the English Grand Lodge had ignored requests for independence, a group of lodges formed an independent grand lodge in British North America; the contingent from Canada West consisted of forty-one lodges. The old, official Provincial Grand Lodge objected to this invasion of its territory and tried to fight back. When leaders of the Provincial Grand Lodge failed to obtain much support from the English order, they declared their own independence in 1857. The logical union of the two grand lodges took place in 1858. The newly
united grand lodge controlled 113 lodges, one hundred in Canada West and only thirteen in Canada East.3

With this final schism out of the way, the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons in Canada increased steadily. In the mid-1870s the Grand Lodge of Canada relinquished control of its handful of lodges in Quebec and Manitoba to provincial Grand Lodges and became strictly an Ontario organization, with 303 lodges and 16,719 members in 1876. This body had no trouble fighting off a schismatic "Grand Lodge of Ontario" which appeared in London in 1876, but quickly died out.4 In its report for the year 1900, the Grand Lodge of Canada in the Province of Ontario noted 362 operating lodges with 25,922 paid-up members.5

In relation to Ontario's growing population, the Masonic order's growth had slowed by this time. The figures for 1881 revealed a membership rate of thirty-seven members per thousand adult males in the province. By the end of the century, that had only increased to forty-four per thousand.6 The explanation for this lies with the growth of new orders, offering more comprehensive benefits, in the last quarter of the century.

Other aspects of the organizational trappings of Masonry developed in this period. In 1857, Royal Arch Masons formed a Provincial Grand Chapter; within ten years the Grand Chapter reported twenty-three Ontario chapters with over 800 members.7 Two lodges of Knights Templars
opened in the colony before mid-century; one opened at Smith's Falls in 1843, and another at Hawkesbury in 1850. Preceptorites of the Knights Templar continued to appear after a brief period of dormancy from 1850 to 1854. The Templars founded a Grand Priory of Canada in 1868, which supervised seven local preceptorites in the province. Scottish Rite Masonry also made inroads into the province at this time. Three bodies of this system appeared in Hamilton and London in 1868.

These auxiliary Masonic bodies continued to do well in the last part of the century. In 1874 forty-nine chapters of Royal Arch Masonry operated in the province, with just over 2,000 members. This branch of Freemasonry grew slowly, compared to other fraternal developments in the fourth quarter of the century; by 1900 the number of Ontario chapters had only climbed to eighty-seven, with less than 6,000 members. Preceptorites of Masonic Knights Templar continued to open under the control of the Sovereign Great Priory of Canada; in 1900, twenty-three preceptorites, with 1,269 members, existed in Ontario. Scottish Rite bodies, which numbered four in 1874, arose in several towns and cities, so that in 1900 fifteen bodies operated in seven towns. One other order with connections to Freemasonry entered the province in this period. The Ancient Arabic Order of Nobles of the Mystic Shrine, (usually referred to as the 'Shriners') had no official
link to Freemasonry, but this social and benevolent society only allowed Masons of a certain rank to join. This order originated in the U.S. in 1871, and by 1900 had two Canadian temples, one in Toronto and one in Montreal. Thus in 1900, Ontario contained at least 488 lodges connected to Freemasonry, including 362 subordinate lodges, eighty-seven chapters of Royal Arch Masonry, twenty-three Templar preceptories, fifteen lodges and chapters of the Scottish Rite, and one Shriner temple.

Though an Odd Fellow lodge had appeared briefly in Halifax in 1815, the 1840s marked the beginning of permanent establishment of friendly societies in Canada. In 1843, the same year that it split from the British-based Manchester Unity, Baltimore Unity Oddfellowship reached Canada (at Montreal) where it became the major force in Oddfellowship. Oddfellowship of the Baltimore Unity arrived in Canada West in 1845 when Belleville became the site of the first lodge in the province. In 1846 a three-man commission toured the province, opening ten new lodges. Five more lodges joined the roll by the end of the decade.

In that pivotal year of 1846 Canadian Odd Fellows established a new Grand Lodge of British North America, with partial independence from the American Grand Lodge. The year 1847 saw the climax of this phase in Oddfellowship, with the new Grand Lodge controlling twenty-two lodges in
the United Province, fourteen of which operated in Canada West with a combined membership of over 1,000. In 1849 the order went so far as to create a Provincial Grand Lodge for Canada West. This did not work, though the Provincial Grand Lodge did manage to establish one lodge, located at Woodstock. Baltimore Unity Odd Fellows also established three local camps of the encampment branch, a separate body for holders of higher degrees in the order, in Canada West in 1846-7.

A few lodges of the Manchester Unity Odd Fellows and some other unofficial lodges also appeared in the colony during the 1840s. The first Manchester Unity lodges arrived in 1844, at Brantford and Kingston. At the time of the 1846 commission, at least one irregular lodge and one lodge of the Manchester Unity existed in Upper Canada.

The Canadian branch of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows found itself in serious trouble as the 1850s began. Many of the lodges opened in the late 1840s did not attract sufficient active members, so that by the end of 1852 only four lodges still functioned, two of them in Canada West—located at Brockville and St. Catherines. The Grand Lodge of British North America did not meet after 1851 and the American Grand Lodge ran the order in Canada from 1853.

Two factors contributed to the downfall of the order. First, the order suffered from actuarial weakness, while attempts to remedy it by increasing dues drove other members
away. Second, the Ontario branch of the order faced a lack of direction after the lodges in Montreal, the main seat of the order, collapsed during the commercial crisis of the late 1840s. Under the control of the U.S. Grand Lodge, Canada West became a district with a paper strength of five lodges, while Oddfellowship ceased to exist in Canada East.

Luckily for the I.O.O.F., at the same time that they entered such dire straits, a number of lodges of Manchester Unity Odd Fellows in Southwestern Ontario had become dissatisfied with the problems of distance from the hierarchies of the order in England. In 1854, nine lodges of the Manchester Unity switched their allegiance to the Baltimore Unity, and through consolidation, entered the ranks as seven new lodges of the I.O.O.F. In 1855 the Grand Lodge of Canada West appeared.

The I.O.O.F. grew steadily after this. The order expanded rapidly in the 1870s, starting the decade with thirty lodges and 2,302 members, and reaching 188 lodges and 12,168 members in 1880. After that it continued to increase steadily but slowly to the end of the century. The I.O.O.F. had 283 lodges with 24,476 members in 1900. In terms of relative growth in the province, the I.O.O.F. went from less than two members per thousand adult males in 1861, to twenty-seven per thousand in 1881 and almost forty-two per thousand in 1901. The rate of growth of the order in the
last two decades of the century was greater than that of the Masons, indicating a better adaptation to changing conditions.

At first, auxiliary bodies shared in this growth. The higher level encampment branch of Oddfellowship collapsed in Ontario in the early 1850s, but returned to Canada West in 1861, when the first new encampment opened at St. Catharines. By 1870 subordinate encampments also existed at Windsor, London, Brantford, Stratford and St. Mary's, so a new grand encampment, controlling a combined membership of 247 brethren, opened. The encampment branch had 3500 members in 1900.25

In the 1880s, a new development changed the encampment branch with the creation of the Patriarchs Militants, men of the patriarch degree who wore a special uniform (as did the Masonic Knight Templars) when they performed drill routines or marched in parades. In 1891 this degree peaked in the province with seventeen lodges and roughly 600 members. However, factional strife in the American order hurt the Patriarchs Militant in Ontario, so that none of the fifteen lodges active earlier in the year reported at the end of 1894, and only two reported in 1895. A brief surge of reorganization brought the number of lodges up to seven in 1896, where it remained until the end of the century.26

Although Oddfellowship emphasized the attraction of an exclusively male society, proposals for an auxiliary branch
of Oddfellowship, open to women, had been around since 1851, when American officials first adopted the Rebekah degree; however lodges of this degree did not receive official sanction until 1868. The Rebekah degree did not signal the welcoming of females into the arms of Oddfellowship. Only female relatives of male members of the appropriate degree could hold membership in a Rebekah lodge. The first Rebekah lodge in Ontario appeared in 1869, at London, then the hub of Oddfellowship in the province.27

The Rebekah lodges failed to find any real popularity until the late 1880s, when officials lifted some of the restrictions on the lodges, and added a new ritual. In 1891 the increasing popularity of this branch of Oddfellowship led to the creation of a Provincial Rebekah Convention to supervise the branch's eleven lodges and 986 members (542 women and 444 men). The Rebekah branch took off in that decade, reaching fifty-six lodges with 3,178 members by 1900.28

The branch of Oddfellowship associated with the Manchester Unity saw most of its impetus for growth siphoned away when the Baltimore Unity started to expand. In 1868 the order had only four active lodges, situated in Hamilton and Toronto.29 A reorganization and change of name to the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity, helped the order make some headway. At the turn of the century the C.O.O.F. still numbered less than 4,000 Ontario members.30
Several newer friendly societies spread through Ontario after 1870, including the Ancient Order of Foresters, and the Knights of Pythias. Lodges of Forestry had appeared in England as early as 1813, while the Ancient Order of Foresters first appeared in the 1830s, and in the 1860s successfully moved to the United States (though some earlier lodges had existed briefly). In 1874, American Forestry split into two camps when the Independent Order of Foresters appeared as a major secession from the British order. Later, in 1889, the American A.O.F. split from the parent order, when the British High Court (equivalent to a grand lodge) declared the American branch's racial bar illegal. The A.O.F. reached Ontario in 1871, when a court opened in Toronto. In 1899 the order had just over 10,000 members in 124 Ontario lodges. The A.O.F. also introduced an auxiliary body for men and women called the "Companions of the Forest." This body had fewer than 2,000 members in the 1890s. The Knights of Pythias, founded in the United States in 1864, expanded into Ontario in 1872. By the end of that first year they had eight lodges operating and had formed a provincial grand lodge. The K.O.P. peaked in the province in the mid 1890s with just under 1,800 members, declining to 1,233 members in the province in 1900, who met in roughly fifty lodges.

The next major innovation in the fraternal field came with the introduction of a new group of secret societies which concentrated on the provision of life insurance. Like
the friendly societies, insurance orders combined financial benefit schemes with the attractions of respectability and fellowship. Insurance orders quickly became the fastest growing type of order in the province, and a major force behind the overall fraternal expansion.

The first insurance order in Ontario developed out of a traditional friendly society, when three lodges of the Ancient Order of Foresters in Ontario changed allegiance to the Independent Order of Foresters. In 1878, the I.O.F. established a high court of Ontario, with control over twenty-nine subordinate lodges (most of them in the southwestern peninsula) and almost 800 members within a year. The I.O.F. offered life insurance from 1875, and in 1878 this almost destroyed the order. In that year the society's treasurer embezzled funds in his possession which sent shock waves through the order. In 1879, because of this crisis, the I.O.F. in Ontario divided over the question of independence from the American branch. Ten lodges, with only 196 members in good standing, stayed loyal to the I.O.F., while the rest formed a new order, the Canadian Order of Foresters.

By 1881 the I.O.F. had recovered somewhat, and had about 1,200 members in the province. In that year the Ontario members, fed up with the American branch for various reasons, seized on the fact that the American branch had decided to change its name to the United Order of Foresters to declare that the American branch had thus seceded from
the order. The Ontario High Court therefore declared itself
the supreme body of the Independent Order of
Foresters. 37

Under the Ontario leadership, the I.O.F. spread
throughout Canada and parts of the United States, and went
on to establish lodges in Great Britain, Europe and
throughout the British Empire. By 1893 it had 52,000
members world wide. In Ontario, the order could claim
36,000 members at the end of the century. 38

Meanwhile the Canadian Order of Foresters had increased
from its original membership of 390, though it could not
compete with the I.O.F. in terms of provincial or world wide
appeal. The order had over 300 active courts with 17,500
members in the province in 1893, and in 1900 it reported an
Ontario membership of 25,243. 39

The Independent Order of Foresters did not invent
fraternal life insurance, though they did bring it first to
Ontario; the oldest fraternal insurance order, and model for
most subsequent insurance orders, was the Ancient Order of
United Workmen, established in 1868, in the United States.
Though in its original form the A.O.U.W. operated as a
reform association which sought mutual ground between labour
and capital, within a few years of its founding the
membership had moved the order into the life insurance
field. 40 The A.O.U.W. came to Ontario in 1877 and in
February 1879 established a grand lodge for the
province. 41 In 1880 the provincial branch organized a
recruiting drive to obtain enough members to declare the province a separate jurisdiction for assessment purposes. The provincial membership went from 1,500 in February to 2,300 in May, thanks to a special program which saw entrance fees lowered and a special dispensation allowing an individual to receive all three degrees in one night.\textsuperscript{42} Provincial membership of the order reached 22,000 in 1890; by 1900 the Ontario A.O.U.W. had severed all its financial ties to the American order and the provincial membership had grown to almost 40,000.\textsuperscript{43} As the largest insurance order, and probably largest order of any kind in the province - despite Orange claims - the A.O.U.W. could claim almost seventy members per thousand adult males in 1901.

A group of Foresters who no longer trusted their order after the embezzlement of 1878 founded the Knights of the Maccabees in London, Ontario. These men, however, set assessments too low and allowed anyone, of any age, to join without medical examination. With this undiscriminating attitude, the order grew swiftly, reaching over 10,000 members in the United States and Canada in just two years. But then these practices caught up with the order, as many of the members who had joined in old age or sickness passed away. Quarrels over the advisability of changing the constitution led to a short secession of a number of Ontario lodges in 1880, but a reunion in 1881 resulted in some changes to the constitution. This change came too late, and the order collapsed everywhere, except in Michigan, where
leaders revamped it into a successful operation. The drive of these leaders succeeded in reestablishing the K.O.T.M. outside Michigan. The Ontario branch of the Maccabees reappeared in the early 1890s; by 1900, the revival had attracted 13,500 members, giving it a respectable ratio of twenty-six members per thousand adult males.

The Royal Arcanum, which first appeared in Boston in 1877, reached Ontario in the early 1880s. A Grand Council for Ontario appeared in 1885, when the order had thirty-six lodges and over 1,200 members in the province. Despite similar characteristics to more successful orders, this order grew slowly; it had less than 3,200 Ontario members in 1900.

Because the Royal Arcanum, like the other insurance orders, made no provision for women, either as members or in an auxiliary, several Boston members of that order created a new insurance order, the Order of Home Circles, in 1879, which offered full membership to both sexes, as either social or beneficial members. In 1884 the Canadian branch split from the parent order to create the Order of Canadian Home Circles. This society more than doubled its Ontario membership in the last decade of the century, reaching 12,431 in 1900.

The Order of Chosen Friends also appeared in 1879, in Indiana. This order admitted women as full members, and offered a non-insurance social membership. The Canadian
Order of Chosen Friends split from the parent order in 1887, after years of dissatisfaction with the American hierarchy. The order grew from 3,000 Ontario members in 1891 to 19,675 Ontario members in 1900.48

The Order of Woodmen of the World, the last major insurance order to reach Ontario, originated in Colorado in 1890. The Woodmen had reached Ontario by 1892, when fifteen local camps gathered to form a Provincial Head Camp. This order had some 3,000 members in the country at the start of the twentieth century, many of whom came from Ontario.49

One version of insurance society met less success in Ontario. Tontines, or dividing societies, paid money to members who survived, and thus seemed disreputable to many observers. A few tontine orders did reach the province, including the Order of Fraternal Guardians, the Septennial Benevolent Society, and the International Fraternal Alliance (renamed the Union Fraternal League in 1895).50 These orders all combined the trappings of the fraternal framework, and certain accepted fraternal benefits, with the tontine scheme.

Other fraternal orders, some inspired by the rise of the insurance orders, and others of a more traditional form, appeared in the province during the last three decades of the century, illustrating new attempts to adapt the fraternal form. Many of these orders aimed their appeal to men and women from certain social groups. Some recruited only those of a specific ethnicity; others used religion as
an organizing principle, while still others sought members from certain trades or occupations. While the ethnic and religious orders achieved some modest success, the occupational orders experienced very different patterns.

In December, 1874, eight Englishmen gathered in Toronto to form the first lodge of the Sons of England Benevolent Society. The order grew slowly in the first years, so that when the Grand Lodge commenced operations in 1876, it controlled only four lodges.51 In 1887 the order could boast thirteen Toronto lodges, with twenty more in the rest of the province, while at the turn of the century the order had over 10,000 members in Ontario.52 In relative terms, though, this represented a decrease in membership from 1891. During this period the order added an optional life insurance program, and created separate auxiliaries for women and for boys.53

At the time the Sons of England formed their grand lodge, the Sons of Scotland Benevolent Association came into existence, also in Toronto. This order offered life insurance, as well as a commitment to preserving Scottish culture and values, though the "'Highland traditions'" being defended by such groups were themselves recent inventions, for the most part dating from the eighteenth century.54 The S.O.S. opened a grand lodge in 1878, but ten years later, the order could only muster 286 members and nine functioning lodges. In the early 1890s the order - stimulated by a professional recruiting agent - went through
a boom period, reaching 121 active Ontario lodges in 1893. This unhealthy growth led to the creation of many weak lodges, which later caused serious problems. In response, the order tightened up the requirements in its constitution, demanding fifteen charter members to start a lodge, rather than seven as previously, and allowing two adverse votes to reject a candidate for admission, when previously it had required three. By 1900, the Sons of Scotland had achieved a more solid organization with some 6,000 Ontario members.

Roman Catholics could not join most fraternal orders because of papal edict; however, the wish of many Catholics to gain the advantages of fraternal membership led to the creation of three Roman Catholic orders which reached Ontario in the nineteenth century. These orders offered Catholics the attractions of camaraderie, respectability and benefits, without the necessity of taking an oath, which would have offended the church hierarchy. The first Roman Catholic insurance order - The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association - had its beginning at Niagara Falls, New York, in 1876. The C.M.B.A. reached Ontario in 1878, and in 1895 could claim over 6,000 Ontario members. The Catholic Order of Foresters appeared in Illinois in 1883 as a Catholic version of the various forester orders. By 1900, the Catholic Foresters had 5,675 Ontario members. The Knights of Columbus, organized in the U.S. in 1881, also offered life insurance, as well as an optional social
membership without insurance. Among the Catholic orders, the K. of C. offered the most complete set of fraternal ritual and trimmings. In 1897, the order reached Montreal, while Ontario had one lodge in Ottawa at the turn of the century.59

On the other side of the religious coin, the International Order of King's Daughters, an interdenominational Protestant religious fraternal society founded in New York in 1886, reached Ontario within three years of its origins. In 1899 it had a membership of 3,738 in Ontario's 131 local lodges.60

In the United States most fraternal orders had a racial bar, and a series of Black orders sprang up parallel to the White ones. Though some of these orders did reach Ontario, they remained small. In the United States, White Freemasonry refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Black lodges even though they could trace legal authority back to the English Grand Lodge of Moderns. In 1851 Black Freemasonry spilled over into Ontario; by 1856 at least three lodges had opened in the province and in that year a convention established a grand lodge for Canada in Chatham. This branch of the order spread slowly but steadily, so that in 1870 it numbered ten lodges.61 Black Freemasonry declined in the province from its peak in 1870. Black Oddfellowship also remained small; it could only claim 220 Ontario members at the end of the century.62
Two orders which recruited from those engaged in agriculture arrived in the province in the nineteenth century; the first of these, the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry (also known as the Grange) originated in 1867 in the United States. The order recruited both men and women, and offered an elaborate and impressive ritual, including seven degrees.63 In 1872 the Grange reached Quebec, and two years later it entered Ontario. In 1874 sixteen subordinate lodges operated in Canada, and at that time a separate Dominion Grange, which would control the order in the country, without being independent of the American order, appeared in London, Ontario.64

After this the order spread at an incredible speed, though without establishing firm roots. In 1879, the Grange hit its peak, with 766 active lodges, and 31,000 members in Canada, the majority of them in Ontario, which had 650 active lodges and some 26,000 members.65 This expansion had come too rapidly; many of these subordinate lodges collapsed shortly after their founding. The order declined quickly in the 1880s, and settled at about 200 lodges with 4,000 to 5,000 members. In the 1890s the order collapsed even further, leaving only eighty-four lodges in the country in 1894. By the time the order ended its existence in 1906, it had created 976 lodges, 821 of which appeared in Ontario.66

The Order of the Patrons of Industry, another secret society for men and women of agriculture, proved much more
militant than the Grange. It first appeared in Michigan in 1887, and in 1889 entered Ontario through Sarnia. In 1891, a provincial body appeared and quickly cut the tie with the United States. The order grew even more rapidly than the Grange had, and in 1893 it claimed 100,000 Ontario members in 2,000 local lodges. This claim, if true, would make the Patrons the largest fraternal order in the province; however, a more reasonable examination of the order by L.A. Wood argues that the membership peaked at 50,000 for Ontario and Quebec—still an impressive figure.67 The contemporary comments of the Ontario head of the Patrons support Woods estimate. He told a newspaper reporter in May 1894 that the order had 40,000 Ontario members in 1,200 lodges.68

Both the Grange and the Patrons of Industry undertook a number of co-operative economic ventures; however, the Patrons also moved into politics, a path the Grange consciously avoided. In the 1893 provincial election, fifty-six patron candidates ran, and achieved seventeen victories. In 1896, the order ran candidates in the federal election. When newspapers revealed that the order had practiced the abuses of partyism, such as "saw-offs," which it claimed to oppose, the resulting scandal, combined with allegations of ties to the Protestant Protective Association, meant only three patron candidates found seats. This defeat spelt the end of the order in Ontario. Though it tried to widen its appeal by eliminating secret
rituals and passwords, the Order of Patrons of Industry in Ontario ceased to function after 1899.69

The Knights of St. Crispin combined the fraternal form with the functions of a trade union; lodges of this order only admitted shoemakers. The order originated in 1867 in the United States, and entered Canada, at Montreal, in 1868. In 1869 the K.O.S.C. reached Ontario, establishing four lodges that year. Nine more lodges appeared in the province over the next two years.70 In 1872 the Ontario Grand Lodge of the Crispins declared independence from the floundering international order, which had encountered serious trouble due to unsuccessful strikes. Though the American branch of the order shrunk to only 'a handful' by 1874, the Ontario Grand Lodge added six new lodges in the next two years, so that by the end of 1874, seventeen lodges operated in the province. In the late 1870s the depression and the creation of a rival boot and shoe union led to the decay of the order in Ontario. The Grand Lodge disappeared after 1876, while only a few lodges lived on into the 1880s.71

The Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor, founded in Philadelphia in 1869, also combined the fraternal framework with the functions of a trade union. However, the K.O.L. did not restrict itself to one trade, instead it encouraged all workers, both skilled and unskilled, to join. Some local lodges consisted of workers from just one sort of trade, while others had a mixed
membership. Women could also join, both in mixed gender lodges and in some all-female lodges. At first the order operated in such complete secrecy that it had problems recruiting new members, but the formation of a national body in 1878 led to the abandonment of most of this secrecy.

This order had its greatest impact outside the U.S. in Ontario. Gregory Kealey and Bryan Palmer have studied this impact in some depth, and have traced the growth and development of the order in Ontario. The order first came to the province in 1875 when a lodge temporarily appeared in Hamilton, but the concern with secrecy soon caused the lodge to fail. The order returned to the province in 1882, and had thirty lodges in Ontario by the end of the year. Several trade assemblies of telegraphers accounted for over half of the provincial membership in 1882; however, after the failure of an international telegrapher strike in 1883, most of the telegrapher lodges dissappeared.

In 1885 the Ontario branch of the K.O.L. suddenly started to expand, with thirty new lodges opening that year, and ninety-nine new ones in 1886. Thus by the end of 1886, the province contained 160 functioning lodges, the highest number ever to appear. This growth reflected events occurring to the south, where a series of victories in mass strikes led to a huge expansion of the order, much to the anguish of the leadership who consistently opposed strikes.
After the peak of 1886, the K.O.L. declined, though expansion in newer areas offset some of the decline in more established areas. Though the order had fallen to sixty-four Ontario lodges by 1890, it still flourished in the Eastern part of the province, with a district assembly formed in Ottawa in 1892. At the turn of the century, the K.O.L. had only six active local lodges, and the order ceased to function after 1907.76

During the life of the K.O.L., at least 252 lodges appeared in Ontario. The order concentrated its activity in urban places, and set up a local lodge in every town in the province whose population exceeded 5,000 by 1891. The order did not leave clear membership figures, but Kealey and Palmer estimate that at least 21,000 people joined over the course of the order’s life.77 As for a year by year membership, the peak must have come in 1886, when the number of assemblies grew enormously.

A few of the orders already considered tried to use politics to increase their power and that of their members; one order, however, acted in a more blatantly political manner than any of these. In fact the Protestant Protective Association seemed more a political party using fraternal forms to claim a certain amount of attractiveness, rather than being a true fraternal order. Ontario’s P.P.A. drew inspiration from the American Protestant Association, an anti-Catholic secret society invented in 1850, and its offspring, the American
Protective Association, which appeared in 1887. Leaders of the Protestant Protective Association declared that they intended to drive Roman Catholics out of politics, while calling on members to boycott Catholic businesses, and refrain from hiring a Catholic when a Protestant would do. Despite this evidence, P.P.A. speakers claimed that they did not want to destroy the Roman Catholic church, they just wanted equality.

Ontario's P.P.A. first appeared in Windsor, Ontario, in 1891. The P.P.A. grew steadily in the Southwestern part of the province until 1893, when a member won a by-election for a provincial seat, while others won a number of municipal offices. The P.P.A. did influence the election of 1894, when it managed to appeal to members of the Patrons of Industry, and also infiltrated both old parties. The order claimed success in electing fourteen members, although only two of them had run as straight P.P.A. candidates. After this election, the order started to decay, a process hastened by internal dissension, and the resolution of the Manitoba Schools crisis. By 1897 only a remnant remained.

The story of fraternal orders in nineteenth-century Ontario would not be complete without hinting at the myriad of smaller organizations which reached the province by the end of the century, but which could not establish themselves with more than a small number of members. Some orders which attracted large memberships in the U.S. or
Britain failed to establish more than a token presence in Ontario, including the United Ancient Order of Druids, which reached Ontario in the late nineteenth century. Other societies to appear in the province included the Daughters of the King, an Anglican society, similar to the I.O.K.D., but which had much less impact on the province, and the Roman Catholic Union of the Knights of St. John, which had 400 members at the turn of the century. A Scottish ethnic body, formed in the United States in 1878 and called the Order of Scottish Clans, also reached Ontario, where it provided benefits similar to the Sons of Scotland, including life insurance. Three Irish orders, the Sons of Ireland, the Emerald Benevolent Association, and the Ancient Order of Hibernians had a combined Ontario membership of 1,367 in 1900. In an attempt to counter-balance these ethnic bodies, somebody came up with the idea of a new order to be called the Sons of Canada, which appeared in 1889 and lasted only a few years.

The Knights of St. John and Malta, an offshoot of Masonry, came to Toronto from the British isles in 1870. In 1873 a Canadian Grand Encampment with six lodges appeared, and in 1874 Canadian members introduced the order into the United States. At first this body only allowed members of the Orange order to join, but this restriction disappeared in the 1870s. Disagreement with the Scottish body over reforming ritual led to a declaration of
independence by the Grand Encampment of North America, previously the Grand Encampment of Canada, but the schism hurt the order. In 1900, this order claimed only 168 Ontario members.87

When the institutional careers of all the major orders are considered together - as they are in Tables 6.1 and 6.2 - they reveal a clear pattern of waves of fraternal expansion in the province. Each wave was spurred by new inventions which increased the attraction of the fraternal form at a time of key social and economic change. The period 1840 to 1901 opened with two fraternal orders - the Masons and the Orange order - existing in the colony. Each had originated in Britain, arrived in the early years of the colony's existence, and faced some measures of popular disapproval. The 1840s saw the introduction of two new types of orders: the friendly societies and the temperance orders. As the province underwent massive economic, social and cultural transformations, many people saw these existing institutions as mechanisms to help them cope with, or take advantage of, the new conditions. In particular, urban men from non-manual and skilled manual occupations joined and shaped these lodges. At first they joined the Freemasons, who offered respectability and male fellowship, but as the pace of industrialization increased, the friendly societies, with their self-help benefits, became more and more popular. The introduction of fraternal
orders offering life insurance brought an even more attractive adaptation to the fraternal form; by the end of the century insurance orders had become the most popular in the country. Of the fourteen orders which could claim over 5,000 members in 1901 (equal to roughly eight members per thousand adult males, or four per thousand adults), thirteen offered benefits as a key feature of membership, eleven offered an exclusively male society, and all offered a quick route to respectable status.

Table 6.1: Members per Thousand Adult Males, Ontario.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
<th>1881</th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masonic:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.F.A.M.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly Societies:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>20.9</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>66.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Orders:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.U.W.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.I.M.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.D.I.W.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>205.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic and Religious:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.E.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.D.S.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M.B.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cth. F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40.3</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Total:</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>33.4</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>231.2</td>
<td>369.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. A question mark indicates an active order for which no figures are available.
2. All totals represent memberships rather than members; the extent of overlapping memberships is not known.
3. No accurate figures exist for the Loyal Orange Association.
Sources: Annual proceedings of various grand lodges, Ontario Sessional Papers, published and manuscript census.

Table 6.2: Members per Thousand Adults (21 or older, Male and Female), Ontario.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1891</th>
<th>1901</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C.O.C.F.</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.C.H.C.</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.I.O.T.</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
1. All totals represent memberships rather than members; the extent of overlapping memberships has not been determined.
2. No accurate figures exist for the I.O.G.T. or the S.O.T.
Sources: As Table 6.1.

These waves of adaptation represented a few successful experiments in changing the fraternal form; other experiments achieved less success. The ethnic and religious orders did grow, but failed to achieve membership levels similar to those of the bigger orders, while the occupational orders reached stunning heights before experiencing steep declines, as did the P.P.A. Though the occupational orders and the P.P.A. failed to offer the attractions provided by successful orders, these notable failed orders differed from the mainstream ones in another way. They sought to change Ontario's society in a dramatic way and focussed their energy in this direction. The fraternal framework apparently did not suit those who
sought widespread counterhegemonic change. Those orders which prospered operated within the dominant hegemony. Fraternal members changed these societies to meet social and cultural norms, and the orders themselves then ensured the conformity of the members.
Notes to Chapter 6.


3. Herrington and Foley, pp. 77 - 79.

4. Ibid, pp. 106 - 139.


6. These figures are discussed in pages 237 - 239 below.


22. Ibid. p. 31; Emery, "'Source Survey.'" pp. 24 - 26.

23. Johnston, Odd Fellowship, pp. 41 - 48

24. Ibid. p. 57, pp. 268 - 269.


27. Johnston, Odd Fellowship, p. 72, and pp. 298 - 299.

28. Ibid., pp. 300 - 305.

29. Emery, "'Voluntary Association Records.'" p. 11.


31. Potter and Oliver, pp. 18 - 28; Stevens, pp. 221 - 229.


35. Oronhyatekha, p. 43 and pp. 131 - 137.

36. Potter and Oliver, pp. 46 - 48; Oronhyatekha, pp. 139 - 148.

37. Potter and Oliver, pp. 52 - 55; Oronhyatekha, pp. 228 - 236.


40. Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, pp. 139 - 143.


44. Stevens p. 140; Ferguson, pp. 143 - 144; *Historical Sketch*, pp. 18 - 22.


50. Preuss, p. 462.

51. King, pp. 9 - 42.


60. Ingersoll Chronicle 5 Sept. 1889, 11 June 1891; Sentinel Review, 26 May 1897, 27 May and 12 Oct. 1899. In his recent history of religion in Ontario, J.W. Grant describes the I.O.K.D. as a denominational group for Anglicans. He is confusing the I.O.K.D. with the Daughters of the King, a much less successful, Anglican-based order. J.W. Grant, A Profusion of Spurs, (Toronto, 1988) p. 171.


65. Wood, pp. 55 - 60.

66. Michell, pp. 172 - 175; Wood gives the figures of 1,023 and 864, for lodges formed in total and in Ontario, respectively, p. 69.


68. Sentinel Review, 7 May 1894.


70. Kealey, Toronto Workers, pp. 40 - 41.

71. Ibid., pp. 43 - 49; Leschohier, pp. 8 - 10.

73. The exact date when this secrecy was abandoned is unclear, Stevens says it happened in 1878, Palmer gives the date as 1881, while Ferguson says 'by 1883.' See Stevens, p. 392, Palmer, *Culture in Conflict*, p. 171, and Ferguson, p. 176.


80. Watt, ''Anti-Catholicism in Ontario Politics' pp. 61 - 65.


82. See Chapter Seven, below; Stevens, pp. 191 - 192; Gosden, *Friendly Societies*, p. 48.


84. *Sentinel Review*, 18 Oct. 1888, 20 June and 26 July 1890; Stevens, p. 278.


86. See *Sentinel Review*, 27 July 1889.

Chapter 7. Local Lodges in Woodstock and Ingersoll: Success and Variation

The explosion of fraternalism which both resulted from and contributed to the establishment of the Victorian middle class hegemony produced clear patterns at provincial levels; these patterns, however, accumulated from local decisions. It was at the local level where individuals founded lodges which then thrived or failed. The fraternal experience of most lodge members took place solely at the local level. Thus, an examination of lodges in Woodstock and Ingersoll reveals how the period of fraternal expansion manifested itself in particular communities; this level of analysis provided for contemporaries, and provides for historians, an alternate way of understanding fraternal activity.

An examination of local lodges does more than just reveal a microcosm of provincial trends. First of all, a survey of fraternal activity in these two small towns shows the completely urban character of the lodge phenomenon. The calculation of membership in terms of adult male population reveals the deep appeal of lodges in urban areas, understandable given their links to an urban social group. At the same time, the history of lodges in these two communities also offers evidence of considerable local variation from most broad trends. Since Woodstock and Ingersoll were by no means particularly unusual communities, this suggests that local variation was a normal feature of
fraternal patterns. Idiosyncratic factors caused social groups in small communities to embrace or reject particular orders in defiance of provincial patterns. Even the actions of specific individuals could have lasting effects on fraternal patterns. In some cases success at the local and provincial levels differed only in terms of specific orders, but not in terms of broad types. For instance, the success of the Ancient Order of Foresters and the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows in Ingersoll and Woodstock contrasted with provincial trends, but only reinforced the general success of the friendly society type of fraternal order. On the other hand, the insurance orders on the whole failed to achieve popularity in Ingersoll, despite the provincial success of this type of order.

This chapter considers these issues through two differing definitions of success: prolonged institutional survival, and membership popularity. The first route of analysis considers the institutional history of local lodges, and compares the success each lodge, each order, and each type of order met. At one end of the continuum of outcomes possible for lodges stood the most successful orders - Freemasonry and the friendly societies. After examining the story of lodges from these these orders, the chapter then looks at other local success stories, including the insurance orders in Woodstock, and some ethnic, religious or occupational order lodges. The chapter then
crosses the border into the territory of failure, detailing the fate of several lodges, organized in terms of the reasons for their failure. By far the most important aspect of this pattern was the presence of Ingersoll's insurance lodges in this category.

Though many lodges survived and achieved institutional success, they exhibited different levels of popularity, as measured by membership. Membership figures appear throughout the first section of the chapter, but the final section details the relative success of local lodges in terms of the proportion of local citizens they attracted over time. This provides the second route to analyzing fraternal success. Like the stories of institutional survival, membership popularity figures show the degree to which local lodges followed general trends or varied from them. These figures also point out the difference in overall fraternal popularity between the two towns, which decreased over time as the two communities became more similar, while reflecting the great difference between the levels of provincial and local, urban, popularity.

By any measure, the most successful lodges in the two towns were of two types: lodges of the Freemasons and the friendly societies (including the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, the Ancient Order of Foresters, and, to a lesser degree, the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows). Even before the period 1840 - 1900, one Masonic lodge had existed briefly in
Ingersoll. In 1803 several Freemasons who lived in the area formed a lodge under the auspices of the schismatic Niagara lodges. The lodge met regularly after that, though it did have to weather two periods of inactivity, one connected to the dispute between the Niagara and York factions in the order, and the other to the War of 1812. In the 1820s, the lodge, which had forty-four active members, took the name "King Hiram Lodge." The lodge remained active until May 1831, but about this time the Provincial Grand Lodge, partly due to the Morgan affair, became dormant. Except for a meeting in January 1835, King Hiram lodge did not meet again until 1852.

The 1850s represented a period of consolidation and development for the Freemasons of Canada West, and this pattern had its reflection in Ingersoll. King Hiram lodge resumed meeting in 1852. Three years later, officers of the lodge attended the convention to form a Grand Lodge of Canada. The members of King Hiram lodge, however, chose to stay out of the new Grand Lodge for the time being. In Spring of 1856 the Grand Lodge of Canada opened a second Masonic lodge in Ingersoll, called "St. Johns lodge," with a public installation of officers.

Both of the Masonic lodges in Ingersoll experienced unexpected problems in the mid-1860s. The Freemasons had started out the decade holding an annual ball in the winter, but had to suspend this endeavor between 1865 and 1869;
according to members, the two lodges had fallen 'into disrepute.' The lodges managed to recover by the end of the decade, and had a combined membership of almost 140 in 1871. They continued to meet regularly after this recovery, through to the end of the century, at which time they had over 150 members.5

In May, 1870, a chapter of Royal Arch Masons appeared in Ingersoll, but this lodge never became strong. The lodge failed to meet for two years following the destruction of the lodge rooms in the fire of 1872; at that time the lodge had twenty-four members. The lodge ran into more trouble in the 1880s; reports of district inspectors in 1884, 1885, and 1886 all noted the almost dormant state of the lodge, and a committee recommended its dissolution in 1886.6 In response, members revived the lodge later that year.

The Independent Order of Odd Fellows opened 'Samaritan Lodge' in Ingersoll in February, 1856, after a number of Odd Fellows holding memberships in nearby lodges decided to form their own lodge. They fitted up a hall, and the lodge opened, accompanied by the initiation of eight new members, and a supper, with toasts and speeches lasting until the small hours of a Thursday morning.7 Within a year, the lodge had grown to fifty-four members, though the number had fallen back to thirty-three by 1859.8

Like the Masons, Ingersoll's I.O.O.F. lodge also ran into difficulties in the 1860s. No social activities took
place between August 1861 and May 1865, while the number of members in good standing in the lodge hovered around a dozen. The lodge did meet sporadically through the period, and in August 1863 they carried a special resolution allowing the reinstatement of members in arrears under more lenient provisions than those previously demanded.9

The period of I.O.O.F. problems may reflect the impact of the American Civil War on the mother branch of the Order; the war certainly inspired controversy in Ingersoll's Samaritan lodge. In 1861, at the lodge anniversary supper, Reeve Adam Oliver proposed the health of Jefferson Davis. Most of the guests hissed and booed, while only one other man drank with him. Later a poem in the paper suggested that anyone who wanted to toast Davis should leave for the American South.10 This incident seems to confirm that Ingersoll's citizens as a whole identified with the northern United States, home of many of the town's first settlers, despite official British favour for the Confederacy.

After 1865, Samaritan lodge steadily gained ground. By 1871, it numbered over one hundred members, some of whom decided to establish a second lodge in town.11 The 1880s opened with Samaritan lodge voting to lower the cost for reinstating suspended members. They felt concern for two reasons:

...the hard times and the many secret societies that are ready to pick up our suspended brothers at a much less cost than it would cost them [to rejoin] according to our rules.12
Membership of the two lodges stayed fairly constant from 1875 to 1895, hovering at a combined total of about 260 members; however, while Samaritan lodge's membership in the late 1890s remained at over 160, the second Odd Fellow lodge declined. It fell from around one hundred members, where it had stood since 1875 to only forty-four members at the end of the century. According to a visiting official, 'only a faithful few' still took any active part in lodge affairs.13

The Ingersoll Odd Fellows soon sought to open lodges of the order's auxiliary branches. Samaritan lodge held special meetings in the Rebekah degree as early as 1858, and regularly from 1867 to 1872; however, in 1872 the lodge's application for a Rebekah charter failed.14 When the Ingersoll I.O.O.F. opened new rooms after losing theirs in the fire of 1872, they included a room set aside for the use of a local lodge of Patriarchs. In October, 1873 'Unity Encampment' opened in the town. The lodge proved a success, numbering about seventy members at the end of the century.15

Starting in 1878, the I.O.O.F. and Freemasons had to share Ingersoll with some new friendly societies. London officials of the Ancient Order of Foresters established the first of these, 'Courte Marquis of Lorne,' in October 1878.16 In June, 1882, Marquis of Lorne lodge had forty-two members in good standing; it ended the century with more
than 180 members. At that time, a district official called the lodge: "...one of the most flourishing Courts in my District, as they have scarcely a meeting without an initiation." Ingersoll's local newspaper encouraged membership in the A.O.F. on more than one occasion. On the other hand, the newspaper disliked Dr. Oronhyatekha, the central figure in the I.O.F., and often made him the subject of jokes or editorials against his single-handed command of this branch of Forestry.

In the first months of 1851 the Ingersoll A.O.F. started a lodge of "Companions of the Forest" with forty members, twenty-two women and eighteen men. The Companions continued active in the 1890s, though its membership dropped to twenty by 1899. In the next year, the lodge ran into real trouble; officers had to cancel meetings for two months and then asked permission to drop the initiation fee. Even this failed to give the lodge new life, and it only met nine times in 1901.

In early 1891 the Ingersoll A.O.F. started a juvenile branch, for boys aged ten to seventeen, with nineteen charter members. By January, 1893, the lodge had forty-five members, while two years later, it had sixty members. The juvenile court then entered a stage of decline, falling to twenty-four members at the end of the decade.

The Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity, arrived at the town next. Though numerically weak in the
province as a whole, this order held some appeal for the people of both Woodstock and Ingersoll. In June, 1888, an Ingersoll lodge of the C.O.O.F. started operations.22 Ingersoll’s C.O.O.F. lodge talked about opening a juvenile lodge in 1891, but had to wait until 1899 before they managed to form one.23

Woodstock also hosted a number of stable lodges of these orders. The first came in 1852, when Woodstock Freemasons, tired of travelling to Ingersoll or Brantford for their meetings, decided to open their own lodge, called "King Solomon Lodge." This lodge did not join the Grand Lodge of Canada, but stayed with the officially recognized Provincial Grand Lodge until the union of 1858. That same year, the lodge which then had fifty members, decided to form a second primary lodge in Woodstock.24 Like the Ingersoll Masons, Woodstock's Masonic lodges found it necessary to reduce their level of activity in the mid-1860s, though the lodges did continue to exist. After 1870, however, each lodge met regularly until 1900, establishing a solid level of membership, which grew from roughly a hundred in 1871 to over two hundred at the end of the century.25

The establishment of a grand lodge in 1857 had revitalized Royal Arch Masonry in the province; a chapter of this branch, which offered degrees higher than those of the primary lodge, appeared in Woodstock in 1860.26 This body stayed at or below forty members right through the
1860s, 1870s and 1880s. In the 1880s the chapter hovered near dormancy; it did not meet for two years in 1884-5 and when it did meet, it suspended one third of its members for non-payment of dues. In 1886 a district committee recommended removing its charter, which seemed to force it back into action.  

The 1840s saw the introduction of the first friendly society lodges to Woodstock. The first such lodge formed in Woodstock appeared in April, 1848, when the British-based Independent Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity, opened a lodge in the east end of town. In response, citizens in the west end of town petitioned the American I.O.O.F. for a lodge, which arrived in May of 1849. This new lodge started under the recently formed Grand Lodge of Toronto, the only lodge to do so. When the Toronto Grand Lodge collapsed, the Grand Lodge of British North America (which would soon collapse itself) did not know of the existence of Woodstock's lodge. Left in limbo, the lodge soon dissolved, with the members dividing up the funds. Despite a lack of any sort of provincial structure, Brock lodge of the Manchester Unity grew from ten charter members in 1848 to fifty members at the time of its first anniversary; however it too disappeared in the first years of the 1850s.

In January, 1872, members of the I.O.O.F. who had moved to Woodstock, and others interested in the order, met to consider founding another woodstock lodge. Within a few
months, they established "Olive Branch Lodge." This lodge reached one hundred members in 1875. In February 1889, a second primary I.O.O.F. lodge appeared in town. Ten years later, the combined membership of these two lodges stood at 243.31

In 1883 members of Woodstock's Olive Branch lodge, interested in earning higher degrees of the order, set up a lodge of the Patriarch branch in that town.32 The lodge stayed active continuously after its founding, through to the close of the century, and could claim about seventy members in the 1890s.33

Rebekah lodges became popular in Ontario in the early 1890s, leading to the establishment of a Provincial Rebekah Convention in 1891. Woodstock's Odd Fellows joined the trend in 1895 with the formation of "Rose" Rebekah lodge. Rose lodge had forty-eight members in 1896 and ended the century with seventy-six members (forty-one women and and thirty-five men).34

The Woodstock I.O.O.F. added another auxiliary body when they formed a drill association with forty members in February 1890. Later that year they converted the association into a canton of the Patriarchs Militant - the uniformed side degree of the order.35 The attendance of two other uniformed lodges from other towns made the first mustering of Woodstock's canton, in November, 1890, an
impressive sight. The lodge reported forty-six uniformed and honorary members. Many local I.O.O.F. members pushed themselves through the degrees to reach the canton.

The canton remained active until 1894, when an internecine struggle in the top ranks of the branch led to the destruction or suspension of activities by all Ontario cantons. Woodstock Canton was one of the last to collapse. Although several other cantons revived starting in 1896, an attempt to revive Woodstock Canton in 1899 did not succeed.

The Ancient Order of Foresters reached Woodstock in 1881 when twenty-one members founded "'Court Myrtle.'" Within a year, the lodge had over seventy members. The A.O.F. managed to establish the most impressive cluster of lodges in the town. A second primary lodge opened in the east end of the town in June 1889. At the end of the century, the two Woodstock A.O.F. lodges had a combined membership of 164. In 1890 the Woodstock A.O.F. opened a unit of the Knights of Sherwood Forest, a uniformed degree similar to the Odd Fellows' Patriarchs Militant. It started with twenty-one members, and had thirty-three two months later. This auxiliary lodge lasted five years before closing its doors. In early 1882, Woodstock's A.O.F. opened a lodge of juvenile foresters; however, except for an attempted revival in 1884, the juvenile lodge spent the rest
of the decade in dormancy. The lodge revived in 1890 and attracted forty-seven members by January 1891; by 1899, that figure had dropped back down to twenty-five.40 Woodstock's A.O.F. lodge opened a lodge of "Companions of the Forest", an auxiliary branch for women and men, in the Fall of 1890; with the revival of the juvenile lodge also taking place that year, this meant that five A.O.F. bodies operated in town by the end of 1890. The Woodstock Companions started out with thirty-three members of both sexes, and closed the century with forty-one members.41

The A.O.F. attained an unusual popularity in Oxford, compared to the rest of the province. When the order reformed territorial districts in 1882, Woodstock and Ingersoll made up one of the eight districts in the province; by comparison, one other district included Hamilton, Dundas, Brantford, Galt and Preston.42

Lodges of the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows and the Knights of Pythias completed the list of major friendly societies in Woodstock. Officers from the Ingersoll lodge opened "Loyal Oxford Lodge" of the C.O.O.F. in Woodstock in November, 1889. The lodge grew quickly, and flourished through the 1890s.43 The K.O.P. lodge opened in April 1895, after local interest in the order led provincial officials to send a degree team to start a lodge. The lodge started out with forty charter members, but by 1899, the number of active members had dropped to thirty-one.44
The long term stability of the Masonic and friendly society lodges furnishes proof of their popularity. The membership figures of these lodges changed only slowly. After the 1850s, only one of the fourteen primary lodges of the Masons or major friendly societies in the two towns ran into any difficulties with membership numbers, and even it never became completely dormant. Each of the other thirteen lodges led a vibrant existence.

Another sign of the popularity of these lodges came in the winter of 1890–91. In November, 1890, the Woodstock newspaper started a "most popular lodge" contest, in which readers could return ballots printed each day in the paper with their vote for a particular lodge. Anyone could vote as many times as they wanted, provided they bought extra papers, and several lodges set up campaigns to collect as many ballots as possible. In fact, some over-eager participants stole or mutilated newspapers to get extra ballots, leading the Sentinel Review to offer a reward for information against the offenders. The I.O.O.F.'s uniformed auxiliary won the contest, while the C.O.O.F. came a very close second.45

An examination of the success of other types of lodges reveals more clearly the importance of local variation which lay under broad provincial trends; the amount of success which certain orders achieved differed sharply in the two towns. For instance, insurance lodges generally proved a
success in Woodstock. (On the other hand, they failed in Ingersoll, and thus are dealt with later in this chapter.) Insurance orders first arrived at Woodstock in 1878. In August of that year, several officers of the Independent Order of Foresters founded "Court Beaconsfield."

In November 1879, Beaconsfield lodge left the I.O.F., becoming one of the original lodges to form the Canadian Order of Foresters. Two more insurance orders reached the town in 1879. A lodge of the Knights of the Maccabees started operations in January, part of the tremendous growth spurt this order experienced at that time, while a local lodge of the Ancient Order of United Workmen appeared in October. A Detroit organizer of the Royal Arcanum had less success in June, 1879; failing to form a lodge. The difficulties which the K.O.T.M. encountered after only a few years of operations led to the collapse of the Woodstock lodge in the Spring of 1880.

The 1880s saw the further expansion of fraternal insurance activity in Woodstock. In 1883 the Independent Order of Foresters became the first lodge in Woodstock to offer insurance on the graded assessment plan. In July of that year, the I.O.F. returned to Woodstock with a new lodge, called "Court Woodstock no. 69." In August 1887 I.O.F. no. 69 reached a stable membership in the thirty to thirty-five range, where it stayed until November of 1889, when a public meeting to attract recruits led to
thirteen new applications.50 Meanwhile, the Canadian Order of Foresters in Woodstock, dormant in the first few years of the 1880s, revived to such an extent that a second court of the C.O.F. opened in October 1886. This new court folded by September 1889.51

In contrast to the Foresters, Woodstock's Ancient Order of United Workmen lodge remained active throughout the 1880s. In April of 1880, the lodge joined a province-wide recruiting drive, aimed at enlisting enough members to become a separate jurisdiction. Thanks to this scheme, the lodge had almost fifty members in July of 1880.52 A second lodge of the A.O.U.W., 'Jubilee Lodge' appeared in the Spring of 1888.

During the 1880s, the ranks of the insurance orders in Woodstock increased by five lodges. Besides the new lodge of the I.O.F. and the second A.O.U.W. lodge, three new orders came to town in this decade. Sometime in 1882, 'Garnet Council' of the Order of Chosen Friends opened its doors.53 The local lodge did not become an immediate success; O.C.F. Garnet fell dormant from January 1883 to December 1888 after which it picked up steam. An organizer from Boston visited the town in the fall of 1884, and managed to establish a local lodge of the Royal Arcanum with sixteen charter members, while the Order of Canadian Home Circles reached Woodstock by October 1886.54

The growth of insurance orders in Woodstock continued
through the 1890s. After two years of inactivity, the Independent Foresters' lodge revived in 1890. The lodge almost immediately invited Dr. Oronhyatekha to give a public lecture in the town. Following this lecture, the lodge inducted twenty-one new members, bringing the membership to almost seventy.55 Eager members of the order tried to start a second lodge of I.O.F. in town, in 1895 and again in 1897, but apparently these new lodges did not become established. Lodge no. 69 continued strong, with 132 members at the end of the century.56

Like the I.O.F. lodge, C.O.F. Beaconsfield re-emerged on the scene in 1890 after two years of silence and inactivity. Beaconsfield lodge had about sixty members in January 1891, to whom it offered free doctor, nursing and funeral expenses.57 In fact, the lodge felt strong enough to allow the creation of a second Woodstock lodge in 1891. This second lodge never flourished, and in 1895 it amalgamated with Beaconsfield.58 A letter from a member of Beaconsfield lodge published in the order's paper in 1893 described Woodstock as "...the finest town in Canada, and the greatest society town in the world..." and added that "...our goat has plenty of work to do...".59

The United Workmen remained active in the 1890s. In 1890, Woodstock lodge reported 102 members, with similar figures reported for the next three years. Jubilee lodge had thirty-two members in 1890, and despite cancelling or
suspending the memberships of one third of their members in 1891, the lodge reached forty members by 1893.\textsuperscript{60}

Woodstock’s A.O.U.W. lodges seemed to fade from the public eye at the end of the century. In 1895, a local member had to defend the order with a letter in the paper after rumours circulated that the A.O.U.W. had run into serious trouble.\textsuperscript{61} The order was foundering locally in April 1897, when both lodges held a joint meeting and banquet for visiting officials of the order. At the time officials claimed that this visit had brought the order back to life in the town. About seventy-five members attended this meeting, of whom twenty had joined the previous week.\textsuperscript{62} The A.O.U.W. did appear in a parade two months later, but aside from the gathering of one lodge for a funeral in 1899, the order did not appear in public view or attract newspaper notice for the remainder of the century.\textsuperscript{63}

In the 1890s, Woodstock’s lodges of the Home Circles, Royal Arcanum and Chosen Friends continued their quiet existence. The O.C.H.C. lodge reported a membership of sixty in 1890. In January 1891, Brock Council of the Royal Arcanum reported about seventy members in good standing.\textsuperscript{64} The Order of Chosen Friends entered the 1890s represented by Garnet Council; however, the split by the Canadian section of this order resulted in the
dissolution of Garnet lodge and the creation of a new lodge of the Canadian Order of Chosen Friends, which had twenty-nine charter members in 1891.65

Two new insurance lodges opened in Woodstock in this decade. In November 1892, the re-organized Knights of the Maccabbees returned to Woodstock with a new lodge. Woodstock's K.O.T.M. lodge remained active to the end of the century. The Woodmen of the World established 'Maple Camp' in town by August 1891.66 After the lodge changed its affiliation from the American order to the new Canadian order in the summer of 1893, the Woodmen saw their lodge growing at an increasing pace. In February of 1899 the camp reported 175 members, while in October of that year, the figure had reached over 280 members. This quick growth no doubt reflected the aggressive recruiting tactics favoured by the order's founder, J.C. Root.67

The factors which lay behind the phenomenon of local variation sometimes resulted from the role of a single individual. Some of the credit for inducing the people of Woodstock to accept insurance orders probably belongs to one man: Warren Totten. Totten, the first Master Workman of Woodstock's A.O.U.W. lodge in 1879, quickly moved up the ladder of responsibility in the order, becoming head of the order in Ontario in September 1882, and head of the A.O.U.W. for all of Canada by February, 1885. He remained high in
the order for the rest of the century. Totten also joined the Royal Arcanum, and became the first Grand Regent for Ontario in 1886.68

Totten did not just concentrate on advancing his own career in these orders; he also concerned himself with the better government of fraternal insurance. In November, 1886, the A.O.U.W. appointed Totten as one of only four representatives from the whole order to attend a meeting to establish a National Fraternal Congress, which would supervise all fraternal insurance orders throughout North America.69 Totten became one of the Congress’ first officers and soon moved up to the position of first vice president. The N.F.C. concerned itself mainly with the rationalization and supervision of fraternal insurance; it took the lead in encouraging member societies to adopt actuarial tables and other ‘’commercial’’ methods.70 In 1891, Totten attended the formation of the Canadian Fraternal Association, the Canadian equivalent of the N.F.C., and won election to a position on the executive.71

Warren Totten had a position of some influence in Woodstock. He was a lawyer, had graduated from Upper Canada College, and held a number of civic offices over the years, including terms as mayor in 1882 and 1893 and as reeve in 1884. He served as an executive member on the boards of several local sports clubs, as well as the Woodstock Amateur
Athletic Association. In the 1870s, and in the 1890s he built and managed the town's opera house. Perhaps the example of this dynamic man, interested in the better regulation of fraternal insurance, influenced the men of Woodstock when they chose a specific fraternal insurance order. In any case, the two lodges in which he played a major role - the United Workmen and the Royal Arcanum - thrived locally in the 1880s, while others remained much less active.

The success of ethnic lodges also differed between the two towns, illustrating another source of local variety. Woodstock had a successful lodge of the Sons of England from March, 1883, when officials of the order set up "Bedford Lodge," with twenty-two members. At first the lodge led a shaky existence, which may have resulted from its definite Orange connection. Three of the original slate of officers in the lodge had held executive positions in the local Orange lodge the previous year. The S.O.E. lodge shared its first hall with the Orange lodge, and the two lodges held joint church parades, lectures and other activities. The 1887 Jubilee celebrations seemed to give Bedford lodge a new life; the lodge had forty-three members in April 1887. The S.O.E. continued active in Woodstock to the end of the century. During the 1897 Jubilee period it lowered its initiation fee, which again caused many new members to join.
For a period, the S.O.E. operated two auxiliary lodges in Woodstock, but met only partial success. In 1891 local members opened a lodge of the Daughters of England, called "Princess Alice Lodge," with sixteen members. The following year the lodge established a juvenile branch in town. Neither of these lodges managed to achieve any lasting success; the D.O.E. lodge in Woodstock only lasted until 1894, and the juvenile lodge only met sporadically through the rest of the decade.\textsuperscript{77}

The town also hosted a Scottish lodge which met some success. In 1892, a lodge of the Sons of Scotland opened its doors in Woodstock. Woodstock's S.O.S. led a precarious existence, sometimes failing to make returns to the grand lodge, and admitting no new members in 1896 or 1897. In 1899, a visit by the order's chief organizer revitalized the lodge to some degree; his visit led to an increase of twenty new members, bringing the lodge membership to thirty-four.\textsuperscript{78}

By contrast, Ingersoll did not see the establishment of a successful Sons of England lodge until the 1890s. Though small delegations from both St. Thomas and Woodstock came to Ingersoll in 1883 to investigate starting a lodge of the Sons of England, no lodge appeared until 1893. In that year, S.O.E. Lodge "Imperial" started with twenty-five members. Within a few months the lodge had over sixty members, and it remained at that level through to the end of
The differences in the two towns probably reflected differences in their ethnic and cultural composition. Ingersoll's roots stretched back to American immigrants, and a certain sentimental tie to the United States seems to have remained as a weak but constant influence on the town's cultural identity. By contrast Woodstock, settled originally under a government policy of encouraging English immigration and settlement, retained its identification with Britain. Half of Woodstock's townspeople claimed English origins at the end of the century, while a quarter claimed Scottish. In fact, one organizer of the Sons of Scotland even complained that Woodstock was "too Scotch," unconsciously revealing the defensive mentality that often lay behind the urge to form artificial social subcommunities through the mechanism of the lodge.

On the other hand, the overwhelming Protestant composition of each town encouraged the success of one order which tied itself closely to this religion. The International Order of King's Daughters was an interdenominational Protestant fraternal order, which recruited only women, the single successful order in either town do so. The order originated in 1886 and reached Ingersoll by September 1889. At that time the local lodge - called "Lend A Hand Circle" - had over fifty members. It consisted of six "'tens,'" each theoretically consisting of
ten members, and acting as a subcommittee with a particular function.81 By 1891 these tens had become "circles" in their own right, though some had become inactive. By 1894 the order had only two lodges in Ingersoll; but both "Mission," associated with the Methodist church, and "Welcome," associated with the Presbyterian church, remained quite active.82

The International Order of King's Daughters reached Woodstock by 1892; two years later, lodges of this order existed at New St. Paul's Anglican church, and the Congregational church. The lodge at the Congregational church remained active through to 1898, with at least fifty members. Meanwhile, a nondenominational lodge of Woodstock I.O.K.D. opened in 1895, but it did not meet after that year.83

One order achieved very marked, but very temporary, local success. In December 1882 "Pioneer Assembly" of the Knights of Labor sprang up in Ingersoll. The membership started at twenty men, but by 1884 the lodge reported over one hundred members. After a setback in 1885 which saw membership decrease dramatically, the lodge managed to regroup and exceed its previous total. By May of 1886, Ingersoll's K.O.L. membership had grown so large that local organizers decided to form not one but two more lodges; however, these other lodges never got off the ground, and the original lodge dissolved in 1888.84
A lodge of the Knights of Labor, called "Utility," appeared in Woodstock in April of 1884 with thirty members. This lodge welcomed workers of all occupations and trades. By February of 1885, the lodge held over 120 members. The following year, the lodge claimed four hundred members in March, and oversaw the creation of a second local lodge, given the designation "Concord." At their peak that year, the two lodges numbered five hundred members; however, the second lodge failed to establish itself and disappeared by the end of the year.

After 1886 the K.O.L. in Southwestern Ontario went into a full-scale decline. The Saint Thomas District Assembly, which included Oxford County lodges, peaked at 2,275 members in 1886 and fell to less than 300 in 1888, by which time Ingersoll's lodge had collapsed. It fell further, to only ninety-eight members in 1890. Some of these holdouts lived in Woodstock; Utility lodge, though subdued, remained active in December, 1890.

Three incidents from the glory days of the K.O.L. in Woodstock and Ingersoll illustrate not only the strength of the movement locally, but also the degree to which its moderate program won acceptance from the community and local leaders, including factory owners and municipal politicians. In 1886, Woodstock Knights of Labor hosted a large rally which featured a number of lodges of the order. The townspeople showed their support for the local lodge by
dressing the streets in bunting. Most merchants agreed to close their shops for the day. The procession in this demonstration contained almost one hundred wagons representing every branch of industry, and featuring every sort of worker carrying on their trade. In August 1887, the Woodstock K.O.L. arranged for a large railway excursion to Port Stanley. The lodge coordinated their activity with the employers at two local factories, many of whose employees had joined the order, so that their company-sponsored excursions took place on the same day. Thus 1,200 people made the trip to the beach. This cooperation with the factory owners produced a day of activity for the whole community; according to the Knights' newspaper, "...some of the first business and professional men of Woodstock were present." In 1887 the Ingersoll Knights took over the arrangements for all of the town's Dominion Day activities. This marked a break from the normal practice whereby a committee of town councillors and other men, mostly merchants and professionals, ran these activities. The day featured a rally of the order in town, again made quite welcome by the townspeople.

Faye Dudden, studying K.O.L. reception in a small town in New York state, argues that the order at first met acceptance from all members of the community. She cites the "universal acquaintanceship of a small town" as a factor contributing to this acceptance, long with traditions of
voluntarism and fraternalism. The same factors seem to have operated in Woodstock and Ingersoll. Local experience does not seem to match that described by Bryan Palmer. According to Palmer's description of K.D.L. rallies:

Whole segments of the dominant culture were challenged by such public displays of workers' unity, forced to adapt to the new realities of industrial-capitalist society polarized along class lines.

This chapter has noted the appearance of dozens of more or less successful lodges in these two communities, but limits of space have prevented it from documenting any more than the briefest outline of each. Before turning to an examination of the fraternal failures, it seems fair to spend a bit of time taking a more detailed look at one particular lodge. The story of the organizational life of the I.O.F.'s 'Court Ingersoll no. 798' illustrates how even those lodges which managed to survive still experienced significant problems over the years.

In April, 1891, lodge no. 798 appeared in Ingersoll. However, the lodge soon ran into trouble, having difficulty keeping its officers, and encountering a problem with the official standing of the court. Though the lodge had twenty-four members in June, by August it had shrunk to just eight men; after September, the lodge ceased meeting.

Two years after the original founding of the lodge, a
meeting took place to revive it. From then on the lodge led a constant existence, but it did not always seem secure. In 1896 the lodge found itself in serious financial difficulties. At a special meeting in April, lodge members asked for help from the high court (grand lodge), in particular they wanted the high court to write off the debt owed by the lodge. The debt to the high court actually represented the least of the lodge’s worries; the A.D.F. had started to demand back rent for the hall used by the I.O.F. lodge, while the lodge also owed money to three different doctors. The lodge had hired each of these doctors, one at a time, to provide free medical attention to members, at a per capita rate. The members had lately decided to change doctors for the second time, feeling that the contract’s cost was too high.94

The lodge managed to struggle on. The high court cancelled some of the debt owed it, the lodge changed to a new (presumably cheaper) hall, and requested members to pay three months dues in advance. Before lodge officers could return the organization to its feet, they found it necessary to cancel the annual Spring church parade. The year closed out on a more positive note. The lodge held the church parade in September, and members discussed forming a women’s lodge in the town, though a concert scheduled for October had to be cancelled.95

In 1897 bad luck continued to dog Court no. 798. In
May it became apparent that the treasurer had mishandled the funds, losing a fair portion of the lodge's money. Officers had to borrow funds to send to the high court, and threatened to take the former treasurer to court. At the same time the high court complained that the lodge had not sent enough funds in, a charge the lodge denied, while the lodge surgeon resigned, necessitating the hiring of a fourth doctor.96

In 1898 officers of the lodge initiated some significant changes in an attempt to battle this malaise. To attract new members, officers lowered some fees, while in order to reduce costs, the members in December 1898 decided to dispense with a free doctor altogether. Over the next three months the lodge started growing and members became confident enough to consider getting involved with running an excursion or holding concerts. By March of 1899 the lodge decided to once again contract with a doctor for free service, and raised a subscription to settle the debt with the former doctor. The lodge ended the century with a strong showing, numbering seventy-four members in September, 1900.97

On the reverse side of these success stories lie the many stories of local fraternal failure. Some of these cases followed provincial trends, while others moved in an opposite direction. Even failures which did reflect larger movements showed the influence of local factors. In the
case of the local Knights of Labor, they may have lost their framework of local support when they took action in the sphere of co-operative efforts. The K.O.L. match factory in Woodstock, and the sending of a bus from Ingersoll for the new co-operative bus line in Toronto may have alienated the support of local businessmen.98

Two other orders for workers reached the communities, but followed the provincial patterns in fading quickly from the picture. The Order of the Knights of Saint Crispin opened a lodge in Ingersoll in 1874.99 This fraternal order acted as an international craft union for shoemakers. The K.O.S.C. restricted its membership to currently employed boot or shoemakers who had worked two years at the trade, and did not hold the position of agent or foreman. Like other fraternal order, it provided funeral benefits, and had an elaborate ritual, including oaths and mandatory attendance at funerals. The great depression of the 1870s destroyed most of the K.O.S.C. lodges in Ontario, including the Ingersoll lodge.100

The Industrial Brotherhood of Canada, an offshoot of an American order, actually had its beginning in Woodstock. Sometime in the late spring of 1891 a group of workers gathered in Woodstock to establish a Canadian branch of the Industrial Brotherhood of America. The meeting appointed three committees to study the issues of ritual, platform and constitution. On Dominion Day the committees reported to a
convention in London, Ontario, which decided to change the name to the Industrial Brotherhood of Canada. The convention elected a woodstock man, W.J. McKay, head of the order.

The I.B.C. established "Equity Lodge" in Woodstock a few months after the founding convention. Equity lodge remained active through 1894, but it collapsed sometime before the autumn of 1895, when another lodge opened with forty-five members. This lodge remained active until at least September of 1897, but then disappeared from the town.

When the Protestant Protective Association reached the two towns, it followed a local pattern very similar to that in the province at large. The P.P.A. had a lodge in Woodstock as early as January, 1893. At that time the paper commented how "The iron-clad secrecy of the order prevented full and positive knowledge of the nature of the business transacted." In 1894, at the height of this order's popularity, Woodstock also hosted a lodge of the Loyal Protestant Women of Canada. That same year a lodge of the order opened in Ingersoll, along with a lodge of the auxiliary order. All of these lodges disappeared from the local scene following the disappointment of the 1894 election.

Local circumstances may have also hastened the decline of the P.P.A. lodges in the two towns. The visit of Margaret Shepherd, one of the P.P.A.'s travelling agents, to
Woodstock in 1893 led to a published expose, written by the local Roman Catholic priest, Father M.J. Brady. Shepherd called herself an ''ex-nun'' and peddled predictable horror stories.\textsuperscript{105} Brady revealed that Shepherd had never been a nun, though she had taken refuge in a Catholic institution as a repentant prostitute. Brady said these lectures had duped many Protestants in Woodstock and other area places, and pointed out that many respectable people from Woodstock attended them. Finally, he said that Catholics wished only for ''fair play and equal rights,'' and invited anyone interested in what really went on in his church to attend themselves, or talk to local Roman Catholics.\textsuperscript{106} The actual influence of the tract is of course impossible to prove, but it may have convinced some of its Protestant readers.

Other local lodges which failed belonged to orders, such as the Order of Druids, or the Sons of Canada, which made no impression on the provincial scene. The Sons of Canada formed a lodge in Ingersoll at the end of 1889. This lodge had to reorganize in May 1892; it then had over thirty members, but it soon went dormant.\textsuperscript{107} ''Excelsior Lodge,'' of the S.O.C. opened in Woodstock in October, 1889, with twenty-five members, but it did not last long. Finally, the Order of Druids established a lodge in Woodstock with sixteen charter members in March 1891, but it soon disappeared.\textsuperscript{108}
Tontine lodges failed both locally and on the provincial scene. Tontines, or dividing societies did not have the moral tone of the other societies; since they paid money to members who survived rather than those who died, tontines still resembled gambling. In 1892 the Ontario government refused the registration of one of these orders.¹⁰⁹

Three tontine orders reached Woodstock in the early 1890s. In October, 1890, a Woodstock lodge of the Order of Fraternal Guardians commenced operations with forty-three members. This lodge, the first lodge of the order in Canada, came about through the enthusiasm of Warren Totten, the Canadian organizer and founder. The executive of the order showed its faith in the community by purchasing $10,000 in Woodstock debentures.¹¹⁰ This act, along with Totten's role, combined to make the Woodstock lodge a vibrant body with fifty or sixty local members, and thus an exception to the broad trend of rejection throughout the province. The lodge remained active until the leaders of the order chose to go out of business while still solvent, in late 1892. They blamed "unjust hostility" to tontine societies for this decision. Local members had to wait until 1894 for a final settlement.¹¹¹ In the Autumn of 1890, two more tontine lodges, from the Septennial Benevolent Society and the International Fraternal Alliance, came to Woodstock, the latter starting with over fifty members.¹¹² Both disappeared in 1891.
Ingersoll also provided a home, briefly, for a lodge of a tontine order. Ingersoll’s lodge of the International Fraternal Alliance opened in December 1890 with twenty-five members.\textsuperscript{113} It did not last long.

One other local lodge owed its demise to provincial factors. The paid organizer who set up the Ingersoll S.O.S. lodge did a very poor job and left it to struggle, and fail, on its own. The organizer arrived in Ingersoll in December 1891. He managed to arrange the opening of a local lodge of the order in early 1892 with twenty members. The lodge failed to expand; it reported a disappointing membership of eighteen in 1893 and disappeared sometime in the following year.\textsuperscript{114} The S.O.S. had formed many unviable lodges during a period of sudden, unstable growth, and this number included the Ingersoll lodge. The Grand Lodge placed the blame squarely on their organizer, complaining that he would:

\begin{quote}
secure by any means a barely sufficient number of names to enable them to organize, hurry them into a Camp, draw his fee and leave the new-born Camp to get along as best it could, and that was, of course, very badly....\textsuperscript{115}
\end{quote}

Like the Order of Fraternal Guardians, another strong local lodge collapsed when provincial trends created fatal weakness at a higher level. The Order of Scottish Clans established a lively local lodge in Woodstock. In December 1887, a local movement to set up a society to preserve Scottish traditions and provide fraternal benefits led to
the creation of "Clan Sutherland", a local lodge of this order; within three months, the lodge had fifty-two members. In 1892 the Woodstock O.S.C. learned that the order's application for registration in Ontario had failed. The order needed 500 Ontario members to register, but only had seventy-eight members in the whole province. Except for a brief revival in 1894, this decision marked the end of the O.S.C. in Woodstock.

Another external factor - the failure of the Knights of the Maccabees - caused the greatest difference between local and provincial patterns. This event caused Woodstock's lodge of the order to disappear, but had little other impact; in Ingersoll, however, it had more far-reaching effects. The involvement of an Ingersoll death claim in the order's problems undermined faith in this type of order in the community, despite the success of such orders at a provincial level. This led to a number of failures of insurance lodges in the town in the 1880s, while even the 1890s saw a few insurance lodge failures.

Insurance orders commenced operations in Ingersoll in 1878. The first forester lodge arrived in July, when I.O.F. "Court Oxford" opened. In October 1878, the I.O.F. formed a second Ingersoll lodge, with twenty-eight charter members. However, due to the opposition of members from Oxford lodge, who did not want a second lodge in town, it lost its warrant and closed down shortly thereafter. Within a year
though, the I.O.F. left Ingersoll, as Oxford lodge joined other lodges in forming the Canadian Order of Foresters. Other early insurance orders in the town included the Knights of the Maccabees, who reached Ingersoll in 1878, and the Ancient Order of United Workmen, who arrived in 1881.\textsuperscript{119}

When the K.O.T.I.M. started to run into severe difficulties on an international level, the lodge in Ingersoll felt the repercussions. Ingersoll's lodge tried to weather the storm and sent a representative to the January 1881 reorganization meeting in Port Huron, Michigan. In February the Ingersoll Maccabees felt confident enough to rent a new hall. In the spring they ratified the new constitution, and voted to stand by the supreme body in its time of trouble.\textsuperscript{120}

The problems bedevilling the K.O.T.I.M. came home to Ingersoll in the summer of 1881. Because of the poor state of the order, it had postponed paying some insurance claims. As the number of unpaid claims grew, more and more members quit, and the calls for assessments became higher. One of these unpaid claims had resulted from the death of a member of the Ingersoll lodge. The order only paid this claim after the Ingersoll newspaper publicized the problem, and major metropolitan newspapers picked up the story. According to one member, this problem had caused membership in the local lodge, which had been one of the strongest in
the province, to decline to only 'a baker's dozen,' and bring the lodge to the brink of complete collapse. Adding to the confusion, the grand lodge collapsed at the same time. The Ingersoll Maccabees struggled on, but by August of 1882 regular meetings had ceased and the lodge had to reorganize. The newly reorganized lodge met sporadically for the next year, but then disappeared permanently.

The Maccabees' problem seems to have undermined faith in this new type of fraternal organization in Ingersoll. The fact that one of the unpaid claims originated in Ingersoll apparently made the people of the town suspicious of all insurance orders. No other insurance order made a strong showing in the town during the 1880s. Both the C.O.F. and the A.O.U.W. lodges went dormant in the 1880s, the last activity reported for each in the decade took place, respectively, in January 1881 and in January 1882. Even the switch to graded assessments could not overcome the reluctance of the townspeople to trust fraternal insurance. During the 1880s insurance orders tried to establish four new lodges in Ingersoll. Three of them, two I.O.F. lodges, and one from the Order of Chosen Friends, disappeared soon after their founding. The fourth, a lodge of the Royal Arcanum, managed to last almost two full years from its founding in April 1885 before disappearing forever.

The 1890s saw the end of the period of distrust for
insurance orders in Ingersoll, although they never became as vibrant as those in Woodstock. In an attempt to revive the Canadian Foresters in Ingersoll, a new lodge opened in February 1891 with twenty members. In response, members of the original "Court Oxford" revived their lodge and the two merged to form a single strong lodge within a few weeks. By the end of the decade, the lodge had a membership of fifty, but still called in an outside organizer to improve this figure. The Maccabbees quietly returned to Ingersoll with a new lodge in August 1890, which disappeared after 1897.125

Ingersoll's A.O.U.W. lodge remained nominally active in the early 1890s, with a stable membership of fifteen men; however, the visit of a district official in 1891 revealed the true state of this lodge. As he reported to the provincial grand body:

Dec. 21st, visited Oak Lodge, no. 120. I wrote the recorder that I would visit them on the above date, but on arrival was told that there would be no meeting, as they have held no meetings for several years. I called on some of the members at their homes or places of business and tried to infuse some [sic] life in them; some of them promised that they would try and do better in the future. They seem to have no interest in the order, and joined it for the insurance only.126

In 1894 the order sent an organizer to Ingersoll who soon succeeded in enrolling a number of new candidates.127
By the end of the century this lodge had become fully active once again.

Three other insurance orders appeared in Ingersoll in the 1890s. The Order of Canadian Home Circles arrived in 1893, the Canadian Order of Chosen Friends in 1894, and the Woodmen of the World in 1895. The lodge of the W.O.T.W. only lasted until 1897, while the others survived the century.128

The restricted field from which some lodges drew led to their failure at the local level. Roman Catholics made up only a small minority in each town, and Roman Catholic orders did not do well. The Catholic Mutual Benefit Association appeared in Ingersoll in March, 1883.129

The press continued to note occasional meetings through the 1880s, while the lodge became more vigorous in the 1890s. A lodge of the Ladies' Catholic Benefit Association, the female auxiliary of the C.M.B.A., opened in Ingersoll in June 1891. This was the third L.C.B.A. lodge established in the country; the organization had only existed fourteen months.130 The lodge did not prove successful and dropped out of sight almost immediately. In March, 1892, a lodge of Catholic Foresters appeared in Ingersoll with thirty members. It remained active through to the end of the century. The Emerald Benevolent Association, an order for Catholic Irishmen also established a lodge in Ingersoll. The lodge arrived sometime before April 1891; it only lasted
a few years in the town, disappearing after 1893.131

In Woodstock, these orders fared even worse. Father Molphy of Ingersoll, the Canadian head of the order, organized a branch of the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association in Woodstock in April, 1886. It met infrequently for the rest of the century and reported a "small membership" in January, 1891. Woodstock gained a lodge of the Catholic Foresters when "St. Mary's Court" opened in 1893, but it failed to establish itself and did not meet again in the century.132

The relative size of the Roman Catholic faith in the communities appears to have influenced these patterns.133 In Woodstock, where about six per cent of the population followed this faith, the Catholic Foresters failed, and the C.M.B.A. never became notably successful. In Ingersoll, where the proportion of Roman Catholics stood at twelve per cent, and the C.M.B.A. fared much better, the women's auxiliary still failed, as did the Emerald Benefit Association, which drew from the even more restricted field of Irish Catholics.

A similar situation may have affected the Daughters of the King in Woodstock - an Anglican order - although the pool of Anglicans in the town stood at twenty-one per cent of the population. In 1894, a local lodge of this order replaced the I.O.K.D. lodge at Woodstock's New St. Paul's Anglican church.134 The Woodstock lodge led a very
sporadic existence, only meeting in 1894 and in 1897.

Ethnic factors influenced the fate of one Ingersoll lodge. In May, 1877, the Independent Order of Good Templars organized a lodge for the Black people of Ingersoll, which had about eighteen charter members.\textsuperscript{135} The Canadian branch had recently seceded from the American parent order on the question of admitting Blacks, and would stay out until 1887.\textsuperscript{136} As for the Ingersoll lodge, it collapsed soon after its formation.

The preceding pages have examined the local institutional success or failure of various types of lodges; to allow a more explicit comparative examination of the strength and popularity of local lodges, Table 7.1 presents membership statistics for the majority of Woodstock and Ingersoll lodges. The table lists these figures in terms of members per thousand adult (age 21 or over) males to allow a comparative assessment of success over time. The inclusion of provincial statistics allows a comparison with broader trends. Examining these figures shows how lodges at a local level tended to follow provincial trends, but with some variation. The figures also reveal a disparity in the scale of popularity between provincial statistics and those for the two towns, as well as a regular but decreasing disparity in overall fraternal popularity between the two communities. These last two points are directly tied to the nature of fraternal attractions.
Table 7.1: Members per 1,000 Adult Males.

### 1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>73.4</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>59.0</td>
<td>97.3</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 1871

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>121.4</td>
<td>141.8</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>157.2</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>121.4</td>
<td>299.0</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### 1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>125.6</td>
<td>134.8</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly Societies:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>94.5</td>
<td>238.8</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.F.</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>41.6</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.P.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>106.3</td>
<td>280.4</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Orders:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.U.W.</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.I.M.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>268.8</td>
<td>415.2</td>
<td>74.3</td>
</tr>
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</table>

### 1891

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masons</td>
<td>87.5</td>
<td>120.3</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friendly Societies:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>268.4</td>
<td>32.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.F.</td>
<td>83.9</td>
<td>71.6</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.O.F.</td>
<td>48.0</td>
<td>95.5</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.P.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotal</strong></td>
<td>214.0</td>
<td>435.5</td>
<td>53.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Orders:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.U.W.</td>
<td>63.3</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.F.</td>
<td><em>26.9</em></td>
<td><em>19.1</em></td>
<td>22.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.F.</td>
<td>32.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A.</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.T.M.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.O.T.W.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>153.9</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic and Religious:</th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.O.E.</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.O.S.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M.B.A.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cth. F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>40.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                 | 468.9 | 612.1 | 231.2 |

1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masons</th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th>Provincial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friendly Societies:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.O.F.</td>
<td>109.0</td>
<td>101.5</td>
<td>41.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.O.F.</td>
<td>69.3</td>
<td>144.6</td>
<td>16.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.O.F.</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.F.</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>233.6</td>
<td>326.1</td>
<td>66.9</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Insurance Orders:</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.O.U.W.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>69.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.O.F.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>45.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.O.F.</td>
<td>55.8</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>59.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.A.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K.O.T.M.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.O.T.W.</td>
<td>118.3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>174.1</td>
<td>99.6</td>
<td>205.3</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic and Religious:</th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S.O.E.</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.O.S.</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.M.B.A.</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cth. F.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtotal</td>
<td>42.3</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>53.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total                 | 556.5 | 599.2 | 369.9 |

Notes:
* Only one of two lodges reporting.
A question mark indicates an order active at the provincial or local level, for which membership
figures are unavailable. A dash (-) means no local lodge of a given order existed.
Sources: Annual Proceedings of gran. lodges, Reports of the Inspector of Insurance,
Sentinel Review, Ingersoll Chronicle, manuscript and published census, fraternal
newspapers.

Some caveats must be kept in mind when interpreting this table. First of all, while the number of memberships for any particular order indicates a similar number of individuals, the totals for each type and the overall totals represent memberships, but not necessarily individuals; the degree of overlap between different orders (caused by individuals joining more than one lodge) has not been ascertained. A second caution concerns the comparison of these figures with the urban populations. A later chapter of this study argues that the majority of lodge members came from within the corporate limits of the two towns used as the source of census data, though at worst, some ten to fifteen per cent of a given lodge's members might have come from outside.137

This table does not mention certain lodges. The table excludes auxiliary lodges whose members had to belong to primary lodges in order to reduce overlapping; this includes those which had a mixed gender membership but whose male members had to come from the primary lodge. The two insurance orders with mixed gender membership and the I.O.K.D. could not appear on a table based on adult male
populations, while a lack of local membership statistics would make a separate table of little use. Occupational orders and the P.P.A. are also missing because their volatile histories make any statistics based on ten-year intervals meaningless. Finally, the Orange order and temperance orders do not appear on the chart, primarily because they left few reliable membership statistics.

The membership figures illustrate a number of fraternal trends at the local level. The early popularity of the Freemasons is obvious; in Woodstock Freemasonry reached its peak in 1881, while in Ingersoll the peak passed in 1871, but in both towns Masonic lodges remained among the most popular at the end of the century. The friendly societies had a slower start than the Masons. In Woodstock the friendly societies only really approached the Masons in popularity in 1881, while in Ingersoll the 1871 figures reveal the I.O.O.F. alone passing the Masons. The total number of friendly society memberships expanded with the arrival of the A.O.F. and C.O.O.F., so that at the end of the century friendly societies as a whole controlled the greatest number of known memberships in the two towns. The figures for local insurance lodges are less complete, but the ones available do indicate the growing popularity of this form of order in Woodstock during the last quarter of the century. On the other hand, Ingersoll's relative rejection of these orders also appears in the table. Finally, the ethnic orders have left few precise figures,
but what is available indicates that this type of body did not approach the other types listed on the chart in terms of popularity.

While this table shows that, except for Ingersoll's insurance lodges, local fraternal patterns tended to follow provincial trends, it also points to the great degree of local variation within these tendencies. For instance, while Masons remained more popular provincially than the Odd Fellows throughout the period, by 1871 the position was reversed in Ingersoll, and, by 1901, in Woodstock. Friendly societies in general proved much more popular in Ingersoll than in Woodstock. In fact, with the important exception of insurance orders, all types of lodges achieved greater success in Ingersoll than Woodstock. A comparison of the total known memberships per 1,000 adult males in each community shows how this difference decreased over time. For every ten members per thousand Ingersoll lodges attracted, Woodstock lodges attracted only four in 1871, six in 1881, eight in 1891 and nine in 1901.

The growing similarity in rates of fraternal participation mirrored other growing similarities in the economies and societies of the two towns. While the two communities had different origins - Ingersoll as an American-dominated market village and Woodstock as an English, Tory, administrative centre - by the end of the century they displayed very similar local cultures. Each town greeted
"Canada's century" with native-born middle class men dominating local social functions and managing economic enterprises tied into industrial production for non-local markets. Ingersoll's earlier integration into the provincial economy no doubt influenced the earlier popularity of secret societies there.

Probably the most startling aspect of Table 7.1 is the great difference between the local popularity figures of many lodges, and their respective provincial statistics. The figures for Masons, friendly societies, and for some of Woodstock's insurance lodges are several times higher than provincial levels. The primary reason for this reflects the fact that these orders were largely urban phenomena. Nineteenth-century fraternal popularity reflected inextricable ties to a class-based hegemonic culture. The new social groups which patronised fraternal lodges tended to live in towns and cities. It was in such urban places where social and economic change occurred earliest and most rapidly. Factories located at urban centres, sparking cycles of development which saw other industries and services spring up nearby. This chart points out just how popular lodges were in urban areas, making provincial statistics which ignore the difference in popularity between rural and urban areas problematic.

In some cases Woodstock and Ingersoll residents showed even more interest in lodges than Ontario's urban population
in general. Even with provincial popularity figures modified to show memberships per 1,000 urban adult males, many figures for Woodstock and Ingersoll remain much higher than provincial results. In other words, the Masons and friendly societies in both towns tended to be much more popular than provincial averages based on urban populations would predict. The insurance orders and ethnic orders though, were more closely linked to provincial levels.

As Woodstock and Ingersoll experienced the transformations associated with the coming of industrial capitalism and the rise and development of a new hegemonic culture, that part of their social world which consisted of fraternal lodges also changed; in many ways local patterns exemplified provincial level trends, yet significant local variation did occur. Measured in terms of both institutional longevity and numbers of members, the earliest successful order was the Freemasons, followed soon by the Odd Fellows, and then other friendly societies. Later lodges of insurance orders proved a success in Woodstock more than in Ingersoll, while at the end of the century ethnic and religious orders achieved more limited popularity. Other secret societies had less success achieving stability and acceptance in this period.

The success or failure of many of these local lodges resulted from factors intrinsic to the orders as a whole and reflected wider trends. The most successful lodges were
those which emphasized Victorian respectability, male fellowship, and, increasingly, financial benefits, all wrapped in a cloak of invented tradition. The successful lodges remained inward-directed, focusing on reinforcing their member's values and ensuring their survival in a harsh economic world. In contrast, most of the orders which failed spent some or all of their energy on conspicuously challenging the nature of society.

On the other hand, local factors did play a role in the success and failure of some lodges. One lodge of a certain order might fail in Woodstock while a second lodge of the same order thrived in Ingersoll. The difficulties of a Maccabee claim and the work of Warren Totten influenced the acceptance of insurance lodges in the two towns. Different ethnic and religious profiles shaped the fate of lodges which recruited from these groups. No doubt similar variations occurred in communities throughout Ontario, and local variation thus must be seen as an important part of the overall fraternal picture.

While institutional histories can describe the ways in which local fraternal lodges followed provincial trends or exhibited variations, the study of popularity, through figures for membership in terms of the adult male population, provides additional statistical evidence. This evidence also shows how a difference in fraternal popularity between the towns of Woodstock and Ingersoll became less
pronounced as the two communities grew more similar. At the same time, these figures illustrate the urban nature of fraternal popularity, adding one more link to the chain of evidence which ties the nineteenth-century success of fraternal orders to a specific hegemonic social group.
Notes to Chapter 7:


2. A.F.A.M. King Hiram, Minutes, 1815-22. The number of active members represents the number who attended at least one meeting in 1822. A.F.A.M. King Hiram, Minutes, January - December, 1822.


5. Ingersoll Chronicle, 9 Apr. 1868. In 1868, another presentation mentioned "...the dark days of Masonry in this vicinity." Ingersoll Chronicle, 19 Mar. 1868; Ancient Free and Accepted Masons, Proceedings of the Grand Lodge of Ancient Free and Accepted Masons of Canada in the Province of Ontario, (1871 - 1902).


7. Ingersoll Chronicle, 8 Feb. 1856.


10. Ingersoll Chronicle, 3 May and 17 May 1861.


22. *Ingersoll Chronicle*, 14 June 1888, 24 July 1890.


27. *R.A.M. Proceedings*, (1867-87); the Woodstock lodge of the R.A.M. was apparently inactive in these years: 1863-6, 1876-8, 1884-5, 1888, 1898.


Journals. (1875 - 1899); Sentinel Review. 2 Feb. 1889.

32. Ingersoll Chronicle, 20 Sept. 1883.

33. Sentinel Review. 1 May 1888, 27 Nov. 1890.


35. Sentinel Review. 5 and 12 Feb. 1890, 20 Sept. 1890.

36. Sentinel Review. 26 Nov. 1890.


41. Sentinel Review, 13 Sept. 1890, 15 Nov. 1890; A.O.F. Proceedings. (1899) pp. 90 - 95. By June 1891, the figure was up to fifty members, Sentinel Review, 20 June 1891.

42. Ingersoll Chronicle, 31 Aug. 1882.


45. The final standings were:

1. I.O.O.F. Canton 12,543
2. C.O.O.F. 11,027
3. R.T.O.T. 7,880
4. C.O.F. Beaconsfield 6,731
5. A.O.F. Myrtle 3,610
6. C.M.B.A. 3,494
7. L.I.B. 1,393
8. I.O.G.T. 1,081
9. R.A. 780

Eighteen other lodges each received less than 500 votes. All the I.O.O.F. bodies supported the canton, instead of entering themselves; the Masons also stayed out of contest.

46. Weekly Review. 6 Sept. and 4 Oct. 1878; Ingersoll Chronicle. 5 Sept. 1878; Oronhyatekha, pp. 615 - 616; The Weekly Review, incorrectly says it is an A.O.F. lodge; Sentinel Review. 20 Jan. 1891. A year earlier, Beaconsfield had decided firmly against leaving the American order. Ingersoll Chronicle. 7 Nov. 1878.


48. Sentinel Review. 23 Apr. 1880.

49. Sentinel Review. 13 July 1883. Oronhyatekha claims that the formation of a lodge took place in Woodstock in 1881; no other source supports this. See Oronhyatekha, p. 235.


52. Sentinel Review. 23 Apr. 1880; Sentinel Review. 2 July 1880.

53. Sentinel Review. 4 Apr. 1891; also see Sentinel Review. 26 Jan. 1883.


55. Sentinel Review. 30 Jan. 1890; 26 Feb. 1890. The lodge stayed at that level for at least the next three years. Independent Forester. Apr. 1890 - Aug. 1892.

56. Sentinel Review. 6 June 1895; 15 June 1897; Independent Forester. 15 Sept. 1900, p. 90.

57. Sentinel Review. 20 Jan. 1891.

58. Canadian Forester. May 1891; Sentinel Review. 5 Nov. 1895.


61. Sentinel Review, 9 Sept. 1895.


63. Sentinel Review, 19 June 1897. Two ads in the newspaper in 1899 showed that the lodge was still alive and, apparently, meeting twice a month. Sentinel Review, 5 June 1899 and 6 Dec. 1899.


68. Ingersoll Chronicle, 20 May 1886.

69. Sentinel Review, 12 Nov. 1886.


73. Sentinel Review, 23 Mar. 1883.


75. Sentinel Review, 10 July 1885, 7 March 1889, 18 March 1887.


79. Ingersoll Chronicle, 3 May 1883; Sentinel Review, 11 May 1883, 17 and 20 April 1893, 10 June 1893.

81. Ingersoll Chronicle, 5 Sept. 1889, 22 May 1890, 11 June 1891.

82. Ingersoll Chronicle, 26 Feb. and 11 June 1891. A third lodge, ''Inasmuch Circle'' was active in 1892; see Ingersoll Chronicle, 10 Nov. 1892.


86. Palladium of Labour., 20 Mar. 1886; Garlock, p. 565; Kealey and Palmer, Dreaming, p. 64.


89. Sentinel Review, 7 Aug. 1885; Palladium of Labour. 8 Aug. 1885.

90. Ingersoll Chronicle, 7 July 1887.


95. I.O.F. no. 798, Minutes, April 30 to Oct. 28, 1896.
96. I.O.F. no. 798, Minutes, May - Sept. 1897. Ingersoll's I.O.F. lodge was not the only one which had to weather a public scandal. In 1897, Woodstock's I.O.F. lodge found itself in a similar situation. It was even more embarrassing when the accused embezzler died in the middle of the controversy. Sentinel Review, 26 Feb. 1897. Earlier, in 1894, Woodstock's A.O.U.W. faced similar rumours, which turned out to be untrue. Sentinel Review, 12 and 13 Dec. 1894.


98. Dudden cites similar reasons for the decline of the K.O.L. in Homer; see pp. 315 - 321.


105. M.J. Brady, A Fraud Unmasked, (Woodstock, 1893); see also Watt, "Anti-Catholic Nativism" p. 50.


118. Ingersoll Chronicle, 1 Aug. 1878, 10 Oct. 1878; Oronhyatekha p. 623.

119. Ingersoll Chronicle, 12 Sept. 1878; 21 July 1881, 28 July 1881.


121. Ingersoll Chronicle, 28 July 1881; Historical Sketch, p. 22.

122. See Ingersoll Chronicle, 5 July 1883.

123. Ingersoll Chronicle, 6 Jan. 1881, 19 Jan. 1882; C.O.F. Oxford was reported active in Sept. 1889; Canadian Forester.


129. C.M.B.A. Statement.


133. All figures used in these two paragraphs come from: Canada, Census of Canada, 1890-91, (v. 1) (Ottawa, 1893) pp. 276 - 277.


135. Ingersoll Chronicle, 17 May 1877.

136. Stevens, p. 405; Spence, Prohibition, p. 51. The possibility that a "coloured" Odd Fellow lodge existed in Woodstock is suggested by a vague comment in the Sentinel Review, 28 Mar. 1899.

137. See Chapter 9, below.
Chapter 8. The Loyal Orange Association and the Temperance Orders

The preceding two chapters have dealt with provincial and local patterns of fraternal development and success, without really coming to grips with two important types of orders: the Orange order and its associated auxiliaries; and the various temperance orders. These societies have been omitted because they did not fit the general scheme of fraternal development outlined above. Both of these types of orders were present in pre-industrial Ontario; unlike other orders, however, they did not link up with the new hegemonic forces. Instead they maintained a traditional focus on rural membership, and chose not to offer the new attractions of the urban-centred middle-class fraternal orders.

While the stories of the two types of orders seem at first similar, the patterns arose from different causes. In the case of the Orange order, the distance from middle-class hegemony derived not from lack of foresight or weakness, but from the strength of the order in pioneer Upper Canada. By contrast, the temperance orders were early vehicles of middle-class respectability, which had to be abandoned during the process of constructing a wide consensus. Yet, in both cases the results of these factors were patterns of repeated urban failure. This common thread is disguised at a provincial level by the aggregation of urban and rural
figures, rapid turnovers of members and lodges, inflated membership claims which included former as well as active members, and by the late nineteenth-century popularity of the anti-alcohol cause. An examination of local events, however, brings these patterns into stark relief. In Ingersoll and Woodstock, these orders were almost constantly founding new lodges or reviving defunct ones. Yet these lodges failed or fell into dormancy just as frequently.

An examination of the province-wide history of the Loyal Orange Association between 1840 and 1900 produces a somewhat murky picture. C.J. Houston and W.J. Smyth, who have studied the expansion of the Orange order in Ontario in detail, find that the creation of new lodges usually reflected the expansion of the settlement frontier. In other words, new lodges appeared in areas of recent settlement, not in older urban centres. Attempts to change the pattern in the 1840s through recruiting and organizing drives in other areas did not work; the order still spread through the movement of individual Orangemen.¹ Houston and Smyth disagree with some historians who say that crises of religious strife always raised membership. Instead, they argue that membership fluctuations reflected the general economic situation. Volatility marked membership patterns; former members could easily rejoin, or active members temporarily leave the order. Membership of rural and urban
lodges differed markedly. While rural lodges usually averaged twenty to forty members, urban lodges often reached much larger figures.²

The 1850s saw the greatest expansion of the Orange order in Ontario. One Orange politician claimed over 60,000 members in 1850, and over 100,000 in 1860 for both Canadas. Despite the acceptance of figures of this magnitude by some historians, Houston and Smyth have recently challenged these estimates, arguing that they encompass more than just active members. They conclude that the Loyal Orange Association in Ontario never exceeded 40,000 active, paid-up members in the century.³

In 1859, the Orange order in the Province of Canada reorganized itself into three Grand Lodges, under the control of a supreme body, the Grand Lodge of British North America. Combined, these three grand lodges controlled over 1,000 lodges in Canada West.⁴ Toronto, the bastion of Orangeism, had some 1100 - 1200 members in the 1850s and 1860s, which Gregory Kealey says represented about fifteen per cent of the adult non-Catholic males of the city.⁵

The Orange order in Ontario, which had developed so quickly in the first half of the century, did not grow numerically in the period from 1870 to 1900 when the hegemony of the respectable Victorian middle class was at its most powerful. During this time some 500 new lodges started up, but because of older lodges collapsing, or new
ones failing to survive, the order numbered only thirty more lodges in 1900 than it had in 1870. In 1900 the Orange Grand Lodge of British North America claimed 65,000 Ontario members in just under a thousand lodges, but Houston and Smyth feel that 38,000 is a more reasonable claim for membership at the end of the century. While the membership figures are unreliable, the lack of absolute growth indicates a sharp decline in the relative number of members in the province. The Orange order did not share in Ontario’s fraternal explosion.

The Orange order also sponsored several related bodies in this period. The Royal Black Knights of Ireland, a separate branch of Orangeism whose lodges only admitted Orangemen holding the fifth degree, originated as a branch of the Knights of Malta, which became part of the Masonic templar degree. In Ireland, however, the Black Knights did not join with the Masons; instead, they amalgamated with the Orange Association around 1800. In 1871 this branch of the order created a provincial framework with the founding of the Grand Black Chapter of Ontario West. In 1888 Ontario had fifty-three active lodges of the Royal Black Knights.

The Orange order also sponsored auxiliaries for youths and women. The Loyal True Blues, an auxiliary branch of the Orange order admitting women, opened in 1881. In 1900 this branch of the order had just over 3,000 Ontario
members. The Orange youth auxiliary — the Orange Young Britons — led an independent existence from 1869 until 1874, but then came under the control of the Orange Grand Lodge. In 1881, most of the lodges in this branch accepted a change in name to the Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association; while in 1894 the name became the United Protestant Benevolent Association. At this time the branch had less than 500 Ontario members.

The story of Orange lodges in Woodstock and Ingersoll adds some clarity to this cloudy picture. A clear pattern emerged in Woodstock as early as the first years of the 1840s. In May 1840 a new Orange lodge opened up to replace the dormant L.O.L. no. 93 which had operated for a period in the 1830s. By the end of the year, twenty-nine members had joined L.O.L. no. 204. After 1840 initiations to the lodge slowed significantly. By 1842 the membership had lost interest in the order, with only eight to ten men showing up for regular meetings. Minutes for one meeting held that year reveal in detail the problems this early lodge faced in keeping organized. The committee appointed to examine the finances of the lodge reported as follows:

1st. That the dues of the lodge (if punctually paid) are sufficient to defray all expenses. 
2ndly. That the dues of the lodge neither are, nor ever have been punctually paid.
The Committee suggested:

that measures be taken for a punctual attendance of the Brothers of the Lodge...[and] that in future the Standing Committee of the Lodge meet on the Second Monday following the monthly assembly of the Brethren, for the purpose of receiving excuses from the absentees; and in the event of no excuses, or no allowable excuses, being made, they be fined in accordance with the regulations of the society. 12

Lodge no. 204 struggled through 1843 with slightly higher attendance, but no records exist after a meeting in July, 1844. 13

Four years later, in February, 1848, members of the now defunct Lodge no. 204 and some other Orangemen revived Lodge no. 93. This lodge thrived for some time, and in 1851 applied for a new warrant to start a second lodge. Both lodges stayed strong for a few more years, with no. 93 having twenty-eight members in April 1853. However, lodge no. 93 again fell into dormancy after August 1854, while the other lodge disappeared altogether. 14

An attempt to establish another Woodstock lodge in 1858 proved unsuccessful, so members revived Lodge no. 93 again in 1861. It could not sustain itself and collapsed once more in 1863. It returned to activity once again in 1865, though the meetings continued small, with only seven or eight being the normal attendance. Long gaps in the meetings of the lodge took place in the early 1870s, until
meetings ended completely after January, 1872. 15 L.O.L. no. 93 came back to life for the fourth time in 1878, a time of fraternal expansion in Woodstock. The lodge remained active until 1894, with a brief interruption in 1888. 16

In 1897 local Orangemen had to revive the lodge once more, so that it could greet the Provincial Grand Lodge which would soon meet in Woodstock. This failed to appease some other Orangemen; one of the speeches at the meeting of the grand lodge attacked Woodstock and Oxford for not having enough members, with only about seventy members in the county and only twelve members in Woodstock. 17 This time the lodge managed to stay afloat for only 18 months, before collapsing, to revive (for at least the sixth time) in December 1900. 18

Three auxiliary Orange bodies also appeared in Woodstock, but none managed to last. A lodge of Orange Young Britons opened in Woodstock in August 1882 with eleven members. 19 It met sporadically until 1885. In 1886 a lodge of the Royal Black Knights first appeared, but it lay dormant until its revival in 1890, which lasted until 1892. In the same year that the Black Knight lodge reappeared, a Loyal True Blue lodge opened. This lodge started out in January 1890 with ten members; within a year it had sixty-five members. 20 The L.T.B. lodge remained sporadically active until 1895.

Ingersoll acquired its first Orange lodge in 1855,
while a second lodge joined the first in 1860. The Ingersoll Orange lodges remained strong until the summer of 1862, but then disappeared. The next Orange lodge to appear in the town, L.D.L. no. 743, Pride of Oxford, did not start operations until 1894, at which time it had some thirty members.21 Pride of Oxford lodge stayed active to the end of the century. This does not mean, however, that Ingersoll remained free of Orangeism from 1862 to 1894. Instead, a lodge of the Orange Young Britons, formed in 1878, lasted until 1887.22

Certain elements intrinsic to the Loyal Orange Association affected its growth throughout British North America. In the first place, the Orange order originated in an atmosphere of sectarian strife; the colony's newspapers frequently attacked the order for bringing the Irish quarrel to Upper Canada, and the government attempted to suppress it in the 1840s. Secondly, the order always had trouble claiming respectability, because of its association with sectarianism and rowdiness.

Like those of the other fraternal orders, the rituals and ceremonies of the Orange order contained elements supporting the dominant religion.23 The religious content also included a very active commitment to Protestantism. The central myth of the order dealt with the victory of William of Orange at the battle of the Boyne. According to Orangemen, this event marked the complete
victory of Protestantism and constitutional monarchy in Britain; members' oaths obligated them to celebrate this anniversary. Thus the order focussed on religion as a category for the organization of people. It constantly stated that only Protestants could join the order.24 The charge for Royal Black Knights, the inner order of the Orange order, insisted that they "...maintain the Protestant religion and Constitution of 1688 against all foes, foreign and domestic."25

This duty extended to members' private lives. A member of the Orange order faced expulsion for marrying a Catholic woman unless he could furnish proof of her conversion. The Royal Black Knights forbade any member from standing as godfather to a Roman Catholic child, or allowing a Roman Catholic as a godparent for his own child. Furthermore, a man with a Roman Catholic parent could not join the Black Knights.26

The order had a well-deserved reputation for rowdiness connected to its sectarian philosophy. Serious riots broke out involving Orangemen in Perth and Kingston in the 1820s, the former resulting in one death. Altogether, authorities had to call out troops seven times between 1824 and 1846 to deal with riots involving Orangemen in Upper Canada.27

The situation in Upper Canada paled beside that of New Brunswick, where a series of riots disturbed St. John in the 1840s. These riots, involving Orangemen and Roman
Catholics, became progressively more violent, resulting in deaths in the melees, and subsequent vengeance murders. The troubles culminated on July 12th, 1849, when over a thousand combatants, most armed with muskets or swords, fought a pitched battle that resulted in at least twelve deaths.28

The rowdy reputation of the order continued throughout the century. The authorities called out the military six times in the 1870s to deal with riots involving the Orange order.29 Gregory Kealey, in a careful study of the order in Toronto, notes twenty-two clashes between Orangemen and Irish Catholics in the city from 1867 to 1892. Kealey, however, argues that such confrontations did not trigger violence; instead they served to define territory in a ritualistic manner. Donald Akenson has also argued for a more peaceful interpretation of ritual anti-Catholicism, pointing out that his rural case study shows Orange anger focussed on a distant, symbolic Papacy, rather than local Roman Catholics.30

Early Orange lodges showed little interest in the growing concern with middle class definitions of morality, especially when the question of alcohol arose. The Orange order originally had no objection to liquor or those who sold it; at the start of the order's existence, lodges often met in taverns, and frequently the tavern keeper served as the head of the lodge.31

In Woodstock, the Orange dismissal of emerging middle
class values derived from particular circumstances. Strong links tied the Orange lodges which existed from 1833 to 1854 to the Tory families which dominated the town for most of these very same years. The tightest personal connection of the aristocracy and the Orange order came with Philip Graham. Graham served as the first Master of L.O.L. no. 204 and as county master for the order.32 Graham, one of the original half-pay officers who reached Woodstock in 1833, took a keen interest in politics and society. In 1833, he took part in forming a "United Services Club for Upper Canada."33 According to a visitor, the club sought to "...give a loyal tone to the politics of the Upper Province, make the British Government an authority more respected, and induce many half-pay officers now in England to emigrate."33 During the troubles of 1837, Graham helped rally the loyal militia of Woodstock and North Oxford against the rebels, before accompanying Andrew Drew on his raid against the Caroline. In the 1840s Graham played a key political role in the fight against local reformers.34

The Tory connection extended beyond Graham. Colonel A.W. Light and his son also joined lodge no. 204, as did Graham's own son. George Whitehead, one of the leading figures in early Woodstock Orange circles, ran as a Tory candidate in 1836.35 Finally, Peter de Blaquiere, another important player in the local family compact, was a personal friend of Ogle Gowan, and sought to have Gowan's cousin Anne placed as a governess in his household.36
The Tory connection in Woodstock did not mean local Orange membership only encompassed gentleman half-pay officers. Instead, people from various occupations filled the ranks of the early Orange lodges. For instance, the fifteen men initiated in lodge no. 204 from December 1841 to July 1843 included four 'gentlemen' as well as a peace officer, an innkeeper, a druggist, a brewer, a shoemaker, a carpenter, and five farmers.37

Woodstock's Orange lodges continued their Tory politics right through to the 1850s. In 1849, L.O.L. no. 93 formed a 'committee of vigilance' to keep an eye on the county during the state of affairs resulting from the raging debate over the rebellion losses bill.38 In 1851, L.O.L. no. 93 voted to support J.G. Vansittart, the candidate of the high Tory faction, in the election.39

These sort of Tory/Orange ties reflected the situation in the colony at large. Orangemen flocked to the loyalist banner during the unrest of 1837; this loud display of loyalty garnered the order a new degree of acceptance under the hegemony of paternalism.40 Of course, in making allies, the order also made enemies. In 1842, Baldwin's Reform ministry passed two bills intended to outlaw Orange processions and ban the order altogether. Though the latter bill was disallowed, that banning processions did become law. In the election campaign of 1844, a mob of Orangemen, enraged by these actions, chased Baldwin from a meeting. After two years, however, the return of a Tory ministry
meant that Orangemen ignored the law and continued their parades.41

The various Orange lodges which tried to establish themselves in Woodstock and Ingersoll after the mid-1850s no longer had a Tory elite to serve. Instead they often tried to emphasize the sort of moral values already embraced by other fraternal societies. The new Orange morality became apparent in actions taken by the local Orange lodges after mid-century. For instance, in 1867 L.O.L. no. 93 decided to withhold benefits from a distressed brother on the grounds that he drank to excess. At first the lodge voted to spend five dollars on clothing for this individual, but overturned the vote at the next meeting when the members decided that the brother was a ''very disappated [sic] man'' and ''...this lodge thinks that by voting out money to such a character it would be indirectly supporting dissipation.''' At the same meeting the minutes noted that two members of the order, but not the local lodge, had acted in a disorderly manner at the last parade on July 12th, and members voted that they would no longer look upon these men as ''respectable Orangemen.'''42

This was more than a merely local phenomenon, in the 1850s moderate middle class provincial leaders of the Orange order tried to make it a more respectable body. These Orange leaders found the order's violent and unruly image an embarrassment, and tried to control it.43 This campaign targeted alcohol first. Early in the decade the order
experimented by establishing temperance lodges. In 1854 Ogle Gowan spoke out against drinking, while at the close of the decade the grand lodge banned lodges from meeting in taverns or hotels. Although an attempt to add a vow of temperance to the initiation ceremony failed at this time, by 1872 the constitution of the order did forbid intoxicating liquor at or before meetings.  

Leaders of the Orange order expanded their quest for greater acceptability by attempting to eliminate the order’s rowdy reputation. By the mid 1870s, any tacit approval for riotous behavior by Orange lodges had disappeared. In 1875, in Toronto, the bastion of the order, an Orange mayor called out a militia full of Orangemen, to protect Catholics threatened by an Orange crowd. In another move towards respectability, the Orange Young Britons organization, an independent branch, whose lodges, according to Kealey, ‘...closely resembled modern street gangs...’ found itself placed under the control of the grand lodge. The order also concerned itself with other moral questions, and would suspend or expel members for blasphemy, wife desertion or failure to pay a debt owed to a brother. The Royal Black Knights barred membership to men born out of wedlock unless they received special permission of the Grand Chapter of the order.

Beginning with Ogle Gowan, leaders of the Orange order in British North America acted to attacks on its rowdy reputation by emphasizing the fraternal and benevolent
aspects of the order. Though the order did not include formal benefits, it declared fraternal assistance a duty in times of need; various rituals of the order emphasized this duty. The grand lodge left actual decisions on benefits up to local lodges; some of which established benefit schemes formalised in by-laws, while most relied on informal approaches. As an example, in 1867 L.O.L. no. 93 in Woodstock voted to devote one-quarter of lodge proceeds to a fund for the relief of sick and distressed brothers. Despite this, lodge rules did not lay out formal benefits; instead, lodge members voted benefits for individuals. Later that year, the lodge voted to institute a new policy of paying a regular sick benefit of $1.50 a week, but one year later the lodge voted to abolish the sick benefit.

As the century progressed the Loyal Orange Association continued to leave decisions on benefits up to local lodges, which tended to offer more and more, usually consisting of sick pay and funeral costs. Starting in 1881, Ontario Orangemen could obtain life insurance coverage through an auxiliary body. This new branch never became popular with the rank and file; only a fraction of the provincial membership joined. Besides the formal benefits, the Orange order offered the same informal connections of patronage and employment as other fraternal orders.

While urban and respectable leaders of the Orange order
sought to make it follow the lead of other societies which now supported the cultural dominance of the Victorian middle class, ordinary Orangemen preferred the traditional aura of Orangeism. The order was so firmly grounded in the day-to-day culture of its members that leaders could not effect the wholesale change they sought. In addition, the order's concern with religion as a standard for grouping people remained an obvious continuing difference between it and other fraternal bodies.

This difference became especially noticeable on the occasions when local lodges celebrated the ascendancy of Protestantism. At first Orange celebrations in Oxford remained rather low-key; in the 1840s Woodstock's L.O.L. no. 204 met to celebrate the "'Glorious Twelfth'" with a dinner rather than a procession.51 In the 1850s and 1860s, local lodges started making trips to neighbouring communities to attend processions. Woodstock's Orange lodge attended the 12th of July celebrations in Ingersoll in 1857; in 1865, Ingersoll Orangemen went to Beachville on the 12th.52 For Woodstock and Ingersoll Orangemen in the last three decades of the century, the celebration of the "'Glorious Twelfth'" usually meant a trip to another town in Southwestern Ontario, where a giant demonstration would take place. Orange Young Britons and Loyal True Blues also went on such trips. In this period, members of Woodstock and Ingersoll Orange lodges attended July 12th celebrations in
these places: Brantford, Port Dover, Sarnia, St. Thomas, London, Tilsonburg, Hamilton and Culloden.

The continuing concern for sectarian issues meant that local lodges involved themselves when religion became a political issue. Woodstock's L.O.L. no. 93 passed a strongly worded resolutions regarding the 'papal aggression' in 1850. A later generation of lodge members supported a similar resolution concerning the Jesuit Estates Act in 1889.53

In Oxford County, the continuing strength of traditional interpretations of Orangeism meant it became more and more a rural association. When the local cultural hegemony of respectability became firmly entrenched in the county's urban communities, Orangeism had to retreat to the countryside. There people were not so interested in financial benefits, ties of fictive brotherhood or middle-class definitions of proper behavior. This pattern became clear in the years following the arrival of the railways and the start of industrial development in the two towns. In 1862, the Orange order had seven operat 1 lodges in Oxford, five of them outside Woodstock and Ingersoll. Four years later the order claimed fifteen working lodges in the county, of which Woodstock and Ingersoll hosted only one each.54

An additional factor had relevance in Oxford county, where the Orange order carried not only the burden of a
disreputable reputation, but also got caught up in local politics. The Orange order's link to the Tory elite which dominated the town before mid-century proved a liability later. When local and provincial Orange leaders tried to adapt their order to fit the emerging middle class cultural pattern, the earlier associations in a Woodstock now dominated by a Reform-minded middle class, made this impossible. The feelings surrounding the rebellion ran deep for more than a decade, and coloured the public perception of Woodstock's Orange lodges. This proved true in July 1848, when officers and members of L.O.L. no. 93 went to Norwich (a few miles south of Woodstock) to form a new lodge. Norwich had been the centre of rebel activity in the area in 1837, and the Orangemen met a poor reaction on this trip. A hostile crowd of some fifty people gathered outside the building which housed the meeting. Some members of the crowd entered the building but were ejected. As the Orangemen left they faced insults, but escaped violence.55

Later, when the Tory element disappeared from Woodstock, local Orange lodges found themselves in trouble. The collapse of the local Orange lodges in 1854 coincided with the collapse of the local Tory elite. This group of men, having found their ranks reduced through death and migration, joined with the reformers in mid-decade to form a new, unified power elite.
The combination of old Tory ties and continued emphasis on religious differences meant that the Orange order could not meet the satisfaction of the new dominant groups in Woodstock and Ingersoll. Instead the order found resistance and criticism, often transmitted through the community newspaper's editorial or letters column. In July of 1859, Ingersoll lodge no. 505 paraded through the town led by Reverend George Kennedy. A letter to the paper saying that a clergyman should not lead such a society led to a spirited controversy with critics calling for the abolition of the order.56 The creation, late in the 1870s, of an Ingersoll lodge of Orange Young Britons also aroused opposition. The Ingersoll Chronicle ran an editorial which concludes:

If loyal Orangeism ever had a function or a duty to perform in Great Britain or America, its time has gone by; it exists now only as a fungus or an excrescence, whose only function is to instil poison and to breed rebellion.57

In Woodstock, the Sentinel Review also opposed the Orange order. The newspaper used the issue of Orange incorporation to embarrass local Tories in the early 1880s, and printed long excerpts from Edward Blake's speech against incorporation.58

While the early strength of the Orange order made it unlikely to adapt to a new cultural force, temperance orders
started out as self-consciously middle class organizations, and played an important role in the formation of this social grouping by mid-century. However, despite the subsequent success of the Victorian middle class, temperance orders failed to establish long-lasting, stable lodges in Woodstock or Ingersoll. Like the Orange order, the temperance orders experienced great organizational instability, but for quite different reasons, arising from the nature of alliance-building in the nineteenth century.

At first, temperance orders seemed destined to thrive in Victorian Ontario. The 1840s saw the arrival of the first American temperance orders in Canada West. These orders used the fraternal framework to take a moral stand against drunkenness and the sale of liquor - an important strand in the early definition of Victorian respectability. Yet these societies did not manage to establish steady patterns of long-term growth. The first temperance lodge in Canada West, a local division of the Sons of Temperance (an American order formed in 1842) appeared in Brockville in 1848. In 1849 the S.D.T. established a Grand Division for Canada West, which controlled six subordinate lodges, all in the eastern section of Canada West. By 1852 the order had 385 lodges in the colony, but after that the number of lodges fell slowly, so that in 1864 the order numbered 280 lodges in Canada West. Despite a declining membership, the Sons of Temperance could still muster over 10,000 Ontario
members in 1892.59 The order included a juvenile branch, the Cadets of Temperance. Although the order originated as an exclusively male organization, from 1854 women could visit the lodges, and in 1866 they received the right to take full membership.

The S.O.T.'s decline in the 1850s was partly due to the creation of the Independent Order of Good Templars.60 At the start of the 1850s, several American members of the Cadets of Temperance formed what would become the best-known temperance secret society: the I.O.G.T. Originally known as the Knights of Jericho, and intended for older boys, the I.O.G.T. soon allowed adult men and women to become members. The order spread quickly, in 1855 forming a Grand Lodge of North America.61

The Independent Order of Good Templars had a difficult time in Canada West. As the Knights of Jericho, the order reached the province in the early 1850s.62 A grand lodge of the I.O.G.T. for the united province opened in 1854. It suffered a schism in 1858, when some expelled officials of the order established a rival body known as the British American Order of Good Templars, using much of the ceremony and ritual of the older order. When this order simplified its name to 'British Templars' in 1866, it had 40,000 members in Canada, Britain, Australia and the United States. Despite this, the I.O.G.T. went on to become the most important temperance order in the province, boasting 18,000 members in 1867.63
The Independent Order of Good Templars experienced more problems later in the century, as the international order split over the question of admitting people of colour; the Canadian, British and Australian branches left the order from 1876 to 1887. This may have contributed to the Ontario decline in the order, which had some 10,000 members in the province in 1890, down from 37,500 in 1876. A split between factions of the order in the province in 1887-8 added to the problem. Meanwhile, the British Templars had joined with three groups operating in Great Britain to form the United Temperance Association in 1876.64

In the late 1870s a new temperance order reached the province in the form of the Royal Templars of Temperance, which had first appeared in 1870, in Buffalo, New York. It allowed members from both sexes, and, after 1877, emphasized its successful insurance scheme. The Royal Templars reached Canada in 1878, setting up a lodge in Toronto that same year. In 1884 the Templars in Canada joined with the United Temperance Association to form the Royal Templars of Canada and Newfoundland, with independence from the American body. In 1891, this order claimed 16,000 Ontario members, which fell to 7,159 by 1900.65

Fraternal temperance lodges first appeared in Woodstock in the 1850s and 1860s. Woodstock's lodge of the Sons of Temperance had set up operations by 1852 and lasted two or three more years before disappearing.66 Woodstock had two I.O.G.T. lodges sporadically active in the 1860s.67
The I.O.G.T. lodges had disappeared from Woodstock by the 1870s but "Star Temple" of the British American Order of Good Templars replaced them; in May, 1871, this lodge had almost 100 members in town. The B.A.O.G.T. lodge stayed active up until 1872; it then entered a less active phase before falling dormant after 1876. Meanwhile another lodge of the I.O.G.T. started up in Woodstock in March, 1875 with twenty members, but failed before the end of 1876.

Despite the fervour over prohibition, Woodstock lodges of the temperance movement still failed to find a stable existence after 1880. Star lodge of the British American Order of Good Templars, opened again in April of 1879. In an apparent attempt to appeal to the new stream of reformers, the order changed its name to the United Temperance Association. Later in the year, Star lodge had about fifty members. In November, 1880, the I.O.G.T. opened another lodge in Woodstock, marking the fourth attempt by the order to set up a stable lodge in the town. In April, 1881, the lodge had ninety-seven members, but it dropped to less than seventy by October. The Sons of Temperance also tried to take advantage of the new spirit of reform and returned to Woodstock with a new lodge which opened in 1881 but disappeared after only a few months. Ironically, it had taken the name "Perseverence Lodge." Another lodge of the I.O.G.T., called "Hope of Woodstock" appeared in August, 1885, the same year the
existing lodge ceased meeting. Hope lodge lasted into the 
1890s, though it had periods of inaction in 1888 and 1893.
In 1894 the lodge suffered an undignified ending when the 
bailiff seized its goods and effects to pay off the debts 
owed by the lodge. (Unfortunately the bailiff’s sale only 
raised twenty-two dollars, against a debt of three hundred 
dollars.) Hope lodge also sponsored a short-lived juvenile 
lodge, which had about fifty members in May of 1890.73

The Royal Templars of Temperance first opened a lodge 
in Woodstock in October of 1884; it lasted less than a year. 
In the first half of 1888 a new lodge of the R.T.O.I., 
"Oxford Council no. 261" appeared in town.74 At first 
townspeople showed little interest in this new lodge, but in 
the fall of 1889 the order sent an organizer to Oxford who 
managed to raise the county membership from about one 
hundred to over a thousand in just a couple of months. The 
Woodstock lodge benefitted from this activity, and had over 
one hundred members by the end of 1890.75 The lodge 
managed to last until 1895 before falling dormant. An 
attempt to establish a third lodge in 1897 failed after a 
few months, so in 1899, a few members revived lodge no. 261 
and again sought the help of an outside organizer. This 
official spent three days canvassing for members, resulting 
in fourteen new members for the lodge.76

When lodges of the temperance orders joined the 
fraternal scene in Ingersoll, they revealed a similar 
pattern of extreme instability, with lodges lasting for very
short periods, during which their membership figures proved extremely volatile. Ingersoll's S.O.T. lodge had arrived by 1854; the next year, this lodge numbered 103 members, forty-four of whom had joined at one single meeting. At this successful point in its career, the Ingersoll S.O.T. opened a lodge of Cadets of Temperance.77 Almost immediately after this, however, both lodge collapsed, and remained inoperative for several years. An Ingersoll lodge of the I.O.G.T. opened in 1856 and, with an interruption in 1857, stayed active into the 1860s.78

The pattern of instability continued in the 1860s and 1870s. The Cadets of Temperance had revived by 1863, when they gave a reception to raise money for new regalia. About 400 - 500 showed up for the show, providing the required funds. Ingersoll's lodge of the Sons of Temperance revived within a year of this, and held weekly meetings. However, sometime after March 1865, the lodge fell again into disarray until members resuscitated it in November of 1866. The Cadets had also dissipated. In January, 1867, the S.O.T. lodge claimed to be in a prosperous condition, yet it disappeared from the newspaper records after this. In October, 1878, the Sons of Temperance made one final, unsuccessful attempt to form another lodge in Ingersoll.79 Ingersoll's lodge of the I.O.G.T. remained active to 1864, before collapsing in 1865. A lodge of the British American Order of Good Templars appeared in Ingersoll in March, 1865, but then immediately
disappeared.\textsuperscript{80} In May, 1870, I.O.G.T. lodge "'Northern Light'" appeared in Ingersoll, with twenty-five charter members. The lodge joined eleven other new ones opened in Oxford County during a burst of activity. Northern Light lodge quickly sunk into dormancy, but re-opened after a public lecture sponsored by the order, in February, 1873. The lodge remained open until 1877.\textsuperscript{81}

In September 1883, a new I.O.G.T. lodge, "'Beacon Lodge'" came to the town; members of this lodge took an active part in the campaign for the Scott act, but the lodge collapsed shortly after winning this goal. A fourth I.O.G.T. lodge opened in Ingersoll in May 1890, but did not last past 1891.\textsuperscript{82}

The Royal Templars of Temperance had more success in Ingersoll. In June of 1885 "'United Empire Council'" of the R.T.O.T. appeared; it had twenty-one members, and forty other people had already applied to join. The lodge remained active through to the end of the century. Ingersoll's R.T.O.T. lodge also supported a juvenile lodge of Cadet Templars which only received public notice in the year 1892.\textsuperscript{83}

This pattern of instability seems puzzling, given that the early temperance associations had strong interconnections with the new middle class in the United States, and brought these links to Ontario. Historians looking at the ante-bellum temperance movement in the United States,
have noted that it became more and more a self-consciously middle class movement. The campaign started as an attempt at paternalist reform by mainly small scale employers. The temperance movement contributed to a separation of the worlds of work and leisure and thus a separation of the social worlds of worker and master.84 In Canada West, as elsewhere, temperance literature assumed that the working people drank too much, and targeted this group, while occasionally referring to the bad habits of society’s elite; the literature did not, however, attack the middle class.85

A study by J.M. Clemens of the temperance movement in Canada West concludes that:

> it is evident that temperance reform drew its advocates from the lower middle class artisans, middle class businessmen and professionals, and the clergy of the Protestant evangelical churches.86

Unfortunately a lack of systematic evidence mars this conclusion. Clemens uses only four lists of officers from temperance societies, drawn from across the colony, as proof of this assertion. Moreover, he exceeds common sense when he claims:

> the temperance cause attracted to its bosom only those men of talent, possessing qualities of sincerity, sobriety, peacefulness, who had acquitted themselves well in the professional field or in other respectable vocations....87
Although the temperance orders started out with respectable connections, they failed to thrive in urban Ontario; several general factors contributed to this failure. Temperance orders did not offer the same attractions as other fraternal orders. The orders often concentrated on short range goals, whose achievement could mean the end of interest in the lodge. Finally, differences in respectable opinion on the alcohol issue (both between pietist and liturgists, and between advocates of temperance and supporters of prohibition) also hurt the temperance lodges.

As the Victorian middle class sought cultural hegemony, it had to forge alliances with and make allowances for other social factions. This process meant that important ideological values had to be opened to contestation. One such value was that of temperance. Not all respectable, sober people supported temperance lodges; many felt that such work should be left to the church. On one hand stood the pietist, concerned with good behavior on earth. Pietists had no interest in church ritual or denominational boundaries, but wanted to save individuals, using any available tools. Thus they tended to support temperance societies. Liturgists, on the other hand, stressed the positive side of the old denominations. To liturgists, only the church could save souls, and voluntary temperance associations only interfered in the church’s role.88 Since liturgical elements controlled the Anglican church and
played an important role in the Presbyterian and Baptist
denominations, this reduced the field that temperance lodges
could draw from in nineteenth-century Woodstock and
Ingersoll.

Even those committed to the pietist approach disagreed
after mid-century on the means of achieving it. The new
campaigns for reform which became important in the province
after 1880, and the ideology of the social gospel, which
informed and legitimated these campaigns, all emphasized
saving society as a whole.89 The fraternal temperance
societies reflected older, evangelical styles of concern,
which considered individuals responsible for their own
problems, and felt that lodges should seek voluntary reform
on a person-by-person basis. While the fraternal orders
maintained their concern with individual temperance,
achieved through the pledge, the broader movement wanted to
save society through prohibition. The main institutional
focus of the movement was not the I.O.O.F. or S.O.T., but
instead two newer organizations - the Dominion Alliance and
the Women's Christian Temperance Union.90

As the ideological heart of the middle class worldview
became disassociated from temperance orders, the societies
moved to try to ensure their survival. All the temperance
orders eventually allowed women in primary lodges, thus
potentially doubling their pool of recruits, but eliminating
their attraction as an all-male institution. Although the
Sons of Temperance initially did not allow women members,
after 1854 local lodges could choose to allow female visitors, who could not vote. In 1868, the Ontario branch of the order decided to allow local lodges to institute female membership. However, the male membership of the lodge had to vote in favour of this step by a two-thirds majority. The local lodges still had the option of allowing female visitors, but not members.\textsuperscript{91} The Independent Order of Good Templars admitted women members from the start of its organization. The local lodge, however, had to have a male leader, though a woman could act as second in charge.\textsuperscript{92} The British Templars, like the I.O.G.T., allowed men and women members, as did the Royal Templars of Temperance.\textsuperscript{93}

The mixed gender membership influenced the sort of recreational activities temperance lodges offered. In Woodstock and Ingeroll, this meant temperance orders concentrated on socials, "'At Homes,'" picnics and visits—making their social calendars resemble those of auxiliary bodies of mainstream orders. They did not hold the formal banquets which so dominated the social world of most exclusively male lodges.\textsuperscript{94}

While leaders of the Orange order eventually chose to follow, at least in part, the examples of friendly societies and insurance orders when it came to financial benefits, most temperance leaders chose a different path. With the exception of the R.T.O.T., none of the orders adopted benefits for their members. The Sons of Temperance started
out with a fairly typical fraternal structure; under pressure from evangelical allies, however, the leaders of the order decided to trim much of the fraternal atmosphere from their lodges, simplifying the ritual, dropping much of the secrecy, and reducing the emphasis on benefits. Most grand lodges voted to abolish benefits after 1849. In Ontario, the grand lodge allowed local lodges to offer benefits if they wished. For instance, the lodge in Vienna offered sick pay of one dollar a week as well as a fifteen dollar funeral benefit and ten dollar wife funeral benefit in 1855. The I.O.G.T. did not offer any benefits or insurance, though the order expected its members to sit up with the sick. Thus the lodges had to resort to informal means of supplying funds for members who needed help, such as holding benefit concerts. Like the I.O.G.T., the B.A.O.G.T. did not offer benefits.

When some temperance workers realized the attraction of other benefit-based orders, they responded by introducing life insurance through the creation of a new order, the Royal Templars of Temperance, which started out as a benefit order open to men and women, and offered life insurance on an assessment plan after 1877. When the B.A.O.G.T. decided to add benefits, they ended up amalgamating with the R.I.O.T. in 1884. In Oxford, local members sought to popularize this aspect of the order; a Royal Templar speaker challenged an Ingersoll official of the Canadian Order of Odd Fellow to a debate over his statements that temperance
societies did not give benefits that other lodges did.\textsuperscript{100}

Another problem came when the achievement of short-term goals resulted in the collapse of local lodges. The Canada Temperance Act, or "Scott Act" allowed for local option voting on the issue of prohibition. A simple majority for the "dry vote" meant local prohibition until a subsequent referendum overturned the decision. In Oxford, supporters of the Scott Act won local prohibition in March 1884; almost immediately two temperance lodges in Woodstock disappeared, as did Ingersoll's I.O.G.T. lodge.\textsuperscript{101}

More temperance lodges did soon spring up to replace those that folded. These new lodges had a role to play, because the victory in winning local prohibition turned out to amount to less than it had seemed to promise. One visitor to Woodstock in 1885 noted that, though Oxford had passed the Scott Act, "...so far as Woodstock is concerned the act is a dead letter...." The commentator described how intoxicated men could easily obtain alcohol at the town's hotels.\textsuperscript{102} Attempts to repeal the local application of the Scott act and replace it with a new licensing act, failed in 1887, but succeeded in 1889.\textsuperscript{103}

Finally, one outstanding characteristic no doubt influenced the decisions made by leaders of these orders: to a much greater degree than other orders, temperance societies sought to attract a rural membership. In Oxford County, most fraternal orders opened lodges only in
Woodstock and Ingersoll, with perhaps one more - generally in a small urban community such as Tillsonburg or Thamesford. By contrast (and like the Orange order), temperance orders made it a practice to open lodges in several rural areas throughout the county, often at tiny villages or hamlets. Even a brief examination of local sources reveals the tendency of these orders to establish rural lodges. For instance, in 1862, when Woodstock hosted two temperance lodges and Ingersoll one, other places in Oxford accounted for twenty-one temperance lodges. In 1870 the Good Templars opened twelve new lodges in Oxford, only one of which was in Ingersoll, and none in Woodstock. Twenty years later the Royal Templars operated eighteen lodges in Oxford, sixteen of them outside the two towns.

The stories of Orange and Temperance societies illustrate some of the limits of cultural hegemony in Victorian Ontario. The Orange order achieved such formidable strength by mid-century that later leaders were never able to move it away from its rooted traditions. The order's members chose not to capitulate to middle class norms so respectable society rejected it. Temperance orders, on the other hand, served the emerging hegemonic fraction of the middle class well in its early struggles. As the middle class sought alliance and consensus, though, the extreme position represented by the orders became less and less important. Both types of orders, rejected by - and
in the case of Orangeism, rejecting the urban middle class hegemony, turned to the countryside for support.

The fate of Orangeism in urban Oxford helps clarify provincial patterns, but only to a degree. The other side of the coin must also be remembered: in many places Orange lodges achieved sustained popularity. Those scholars who have devoted a large amount of work to the question of Orange growth can cite a number of reasons for this. Aside from the attractions - both social and financial - common to other fraternal bodies, Orange lodges in some areas served as useful immigrant aid societies in the early years, as well as fora for political discussion or platforms for the public presentation of legitimate political feelings.\textsuperscript{107} In the case of Woodstock and Ingersoll, however, certain local factors favoured the elimination of any Orange presence by the rising urban Victorian middle class.

While making rural membership important did not necessarily doom a secret society to failure, it did mean that the order had to follow a different path from most of the orders discussed in previous chapters. The main attractions of urban lodges - financial security, male fellowship in the face of changing gender relations, and a middle class sort of respectability - were simply less relevant in a rural setting. Lodge provisions for easing geographic mobility probably seemed of less use to people who considered themselves tied firmly to the land. Finally, a rural lodge had no need to replicate pioneer society for
people who did not live in the impersonal world of the industrialized town or city. Lodges which aimed to attract rural members might easily ignore new innovations and adaptations in the areas of financial benefits, gender segregation or middle class definitions of respectability, in favour of other, (as yet unexplored) attractions; but while this might bring in the rural population, it made lodges of the temperance and Orange orders much less relevant to the experiences of urban non-manual and manual skilled workers. The causes themselves – Protestant supremacy and abstinence – might have served to keep such lodges active in some urban areas, but in Woodstock and Ingersoll, and doubtless many other small urban places, the causes did not suffice. The result was cloudy patterns at the provincial level, and repeated failure at the local – urban – level.
Notes to Chapter 8.


2. Ibid. p. 24, pp. 88 - 89.

3. Ibid. p. 85; Senior, Orangeism. p. 47; Houston and Smyth 'The Orange Order' p. 261.


11. L.O.L. no. 204, Woodstock, Lodge Minute Book, 1840 - 1844. Woodstock Orange Collection, 4 May - 7 Dec, 1840. Only twenty-two more men joined from January 1841 to July 1844, when the lodge closed down. L.O.L. 204, Minutes, Jan 4 1841 - July 1844.

12. L.O.L. no. 204 Minutes.

13. L.O.L. no. 204 Minutes, Jan. 9 1843 - July 1, 1844.

15. L.O.L. no. 93 Minutes, 13 Sept. 61 - 13 Jan 1872; Saunders, "Directory."

16. Ingersoll Chronicle, 20 Nov. 1878; Saunders "Directory"; see Orange Degree Lodges, Minute Books, as well as newspaper reports.

17. Sentinel Review, 4 Mar. 1897. The order was also going through a period of internecine trouble at the national level. See R.J. Miller, "Orangeism in Ontario West, 1896 - 1917" (M.A., U.W.O., 1975) pp. 27 - 37; Senior, Orangeism, pp. 87 - 90.


22. Ingersoll Chronicle, 12 Sept. 1878. By 1881 the order had changed its name to Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association. The lodge kept its old name and number - King William no. 188 - for some months, but by November of 1883, the local lodge had become "Anchor Lodge no. 10".

23. Houston and Smyth, The Sash, p. 6, p. 121; for example, see L.O.L. no. 204, Minutes, 18 May 1840.

24. For example see Loyal Orange Association, Constitution and Laws of the Loyal Orange Institution of British America, (Belleville, 1872) p. 4.


28. See, "'The Orange Order and Social Violence'" pp. 81 - 88.


32. L.O.L. no. 204 Minutes, 4 May 1840; Waring, pp. 5 - 6.

33. Korsman and Benson, p. 23.


35. L.O.L. no. 204 Minutes,; Dawe, p. 52.


38. L.O.L. no. 93, Minutes, 4 May 1849; see also British-American, 14 July 1849.

39. L.O.L. no. 93 Minutes, 10 Nov. 1851; on J.G. Vansittart, see Dawe, pp. 80 - 90.


42. L.O.L. no. 93 Minutes, July 12 and Aug 7, 1867.


45. Kealey, Toronto Workers, pp. 117 - 120.


48. Loyal Orange Lodge no. 93, Woodstock, Minute Books, Woodstock Orange Collection, 2 Jan. 1867, 7 July 1868, 3 June 1869; For instance, in February 1868, the lodge voted to give a member eight dollars sick benefit. L.O.L. no. 93 Minutes., 5 Feb. 1868.

49. Houston and Smyth, The Sash, pp. 128 - 133. There is no mention of benefits in the 1872 constitution; see Loyal Orange Association, Constitution. (1872).


51. L.O.L. 204, Minutes, 18 May 1840; Woodstock Monarch, 15 July 1845, 14 July 1846.

52. Ingersoll Chronicle, 17 July 1857, July 1865.

53. L.O.L. no. 93, Minutes, 9 Dec. 1850; Ingersoll Chronicle, 18 Apr. 1889.


55. Woodstock Monarch, 18 July 1848.


57. Ingersoll Chronicle, 17 July 1879.

58. Sentinel Review, 13 Apr. 1883, 4 Apr. 1884.

59. Spence, Prohibition, p. 47; S.F. Cary, Historical Sketch of the Order of the Sons of Temperance. (Halifax, 1884) pp. 5 - 6; Sons of Temperance, Proceedings of the Semi-Annual Session, (1855); The Ingersoll Chronicle, 1 July 1864; Emery, 'Voluntary Association Records,' p. 15.

60. Stevens, pp. 409 - 410; Cary, pp. 6 - 15.

61. Stevens, pp. 403 - 404.

62. See Knights of Jericho, Alpha Lodge, Constitution, By-Laws and Rules of Order of Alpha Lodge, No. 1, Knights of Jericho, Canada West. (Brockville, 1853).

63. J.W. Crane, Review of 'The Origin and Cause of the British-American Order of Good Templars.' (Halifax, 1867) pp. 6 - 14; Spence, Prohibition, p. 53.


66. See British American, 7 May 1852; S.O.T. Proceedings, (1855) p. 9.


68. Weekly Review, 12 May 1871.

69. The advertisement for weekly meetings stopped running in the Fall of 1876.


72. Ingersoll Chronicle, 19 May 1881; Sentinel Review, Aug. 1881.

73. Sentinel Review, 3 May 1890, 30 June and 9 July 1894.


78. Ingersoll Chronicle, 11 July 1856.


80. In November 1866 the Ingersoll Chronicle remarked that there had been no temperance organization in town for some months. Ingersoll Chronicle, 24 Mar. 1865, 29 Nov. 1866.
81. Ingersoll Chronicle, 19 May and 3 Nov. 1870, 30 Jan. and 20 Feb. 1873. In June 1878, at the meeting of the I.O.O.F. district lodge, no reports or representatives came from Ingersoll's lodge no. 138, so presumably it had collapsed by then.

82. Sentinel Review, 17 May 1890.

83. In 1894, a special edition of Ingersoll Chronicle, claimed that two councils of the R.I.O.F. existed in town; Ingersoll Chronicle, 9 June 1892.


85. Clemens, pp. 143 - 145.

86. Ibid., p. 147.

87. Ibid., p. 147.


93. British Templars, Constitution, p. 36; Sentinel Review, 17 May 1895.


95. Blocker, p. 51.

96. Cary, p. 11.

97. Sons of Temperance, National Division of North America, Constitution, Laws and Rules of Order for the Government of Subordinate Divisions, (n.p., 1888) p. 10; Sons of
Temperance, Pine Division, Vienna, Constitution and By-Laws of Pine Division, No. 134, Sons of Temperance, (Kingston, 1856).


99. Stevens, p. 408; Spence, Prohibition, pp. 53 - 54.


102. Palladium of Labor, 8 Aug. 1885.

103. Sentinel Review, 1 Oct. 1887, 10 May 1889; Ingersoll Chronicle, 16 May 1889.


105. Ingersoll Chronicle, 3 Nov. 1870.

106. Sentinel Review, 8 Nov. 1890.

Chapter 9. Community Identity and Leadership: Fraternal Orders and Urban Social Integration

A study of the role of fraternal orders in Woodstock and Ingersoll reveals another level of attraction and action that these bodies offered to their members in such small towns: lodges helped to defend the traditional strength of small communities in the face of social disruption, geographic mobility, and the loss of local authority in an economy and society increasingly organized along non-local lines. Like other aspects of fraternalism, this apparently backward-looking aspect of lodge activity also included a hidden recipe for change. In helping to maintain the social integration of small towns, lodges gave their white collar and artisan members a chance to influence the cultural identity of the community. While membership in a fraternal order reinforced an individual's acceptance of a particular form of respectability, lodges also helped their members to spread evolving notions of respectable behavior among the wider society of their local corporate community.

In Woodstock and Ingersoll, lodges provided a range of community entertainments and social functions, and contributed to the creation of community symbols. Thus fraternal orders joined other types of institutions in local complexes which helped legitimate a broad-based respectable hegemony over local affairs. Fraternal orders contributed to the cultural integration of these small urban communities in other ways: through the integration of new arrivals; and
by furnishing community leadership opportunities to a wide range of men, most, but not all, of whom came from the non-manual and skilled manual occupational groups.

While lodges did many of these things throughout their period of existence, it was in the last third of the century when these aspects of fraternalism started to have a wide impact on the community. Public entertainments became increasingly common as the two communities passed through the last three decades of the century, though some slowing became obvious as that milestone approached. Fraternal sponsorship of railway excursions commenced in 1876 but soon became a key part of summertime leisure. The transmutation of fraternal symbols into public ones only came with the late 1880s and into the 1890s. This chronology describes a pattern similar to that of the larger middle-class hegemony. As a cultural form which both shaped and was shaped by that hegemony, fraternalism's influence rose and fell in tandem with it.

Fraternal orders made one important contribution to consensual community integration by providing social functions which brought together the people of the town involved. The following table provides a summary of these public events, broken down by community sponsoring body, and, broadly, by type of event, for the period from 1870 to 1899. The choice of this period reflects the available information; the best source for such public events are community newspapers. Although complete runs of Ingersoll's
local paper are available for the period 1854-99, comparable sources for Woodstock start only in 1870.¹

Table 9.1: Public Events Sponsored by Local Lodges 1870 - 1899.

**Woodstock**

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<td>55</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>38</td>
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**Ingersoll**

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<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
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<td>Occupational</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<td>12</td>
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<td>217⁵</td>
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Notes:
a: The Woodstock figures include dual sponsorship of one concert and one excursion.
b: The Ingersoll figures include dual sponsorship of four excursions.

The numbers of fraternally sponsored entertainments changed considerably over time. Table 9.2 reveals a breakdown of newspaper reports of such events for five-year
periods beginning in 1855 for Ingersoll and in 1870 for Woodstock. The table shows that fraternal entertainments increased considerably in the 1880s and then dramatically in the early 1890s, before falling back in the later 1890s. Thus by the end of the century the peak had passed in each town. Yet fraternal entertainments did not disappear after the peak; in Woodstock they returned to the level of the 1880s, while in Ingersoll they did not fall even that far.

Table 9.2: Public Events Sponsored by Fraternal Orders.

<table>
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<th>Period</th>
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<td>75</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-99</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total 172 234

* No Woodstock paper extant for this period.

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Public concerts made up the largest category of public social events offered by local lodges. These concerts usually took place at public halls for a small fee; they featured local amateurs or travelling professionals presenting a variety of musical pieces and dramatic readings. Though the performers generally had no connection to the fraternal order involved, local lodge officials
usually opened or closed the entertainment with a speech. In addition to formal concerts, fraternal orders also offered two other forms of staged public entertainment. Well-known people connected to fraternal orders occasionally delivered local lectures. In addition lodges sometimes held "open meetings" in which the public could view some of the rituals of the lodges, followed by a program of musical and literary pieces provided by lodge members.²

In Ingersoll six orders provided at least ten concerts, lectures or open meetings between 1870 and 1899, with the Independent Order of Odd Fellows providing more concerts than any other order. The order regularly invited the public to attend its annual concerts on the anniversary of the order's arrival in North America. From 1868 to 1893 the order held concerts almost every year in Ingersoll. The form of these anniversary shows differed from year to year; in 1888 the order sponsored a touring production of the "Mikado."³ These events usually attracted full houses. At one concert 600 people attended, even though the hall only accommodated 400.⁴

Ingersoll's Ancient Order of Foresters gave only two concerts in the 1880s, but then swung into action with fifteen in the 1890s, some sponsored by the adjunct branches. In November 1891, the A.O.F. band sponsored three concerts by a touring company, which presented a different show each night. The band followed this by sponsoring two more professional concerts in December.⁵
All temperance orders found concerts a useful way to spread their message. Temperance lectures for Ingersoll's public started in the 1850s. The local lodge of the Sons of Temperance organized a lecture gathering in December, while the Cadets of Temperance held a concert the next year. Ingersoll's Independant Order of Good Templars lodge celebrated its fifth anniversary in 1861 with a public soirée; they also held five lectures or public meetings from 1859 to 1864. The Royal Templars of Temperance and I.O.G.T. lodges of Ingersoll together supplied thirty-six concerts and lectures from 1870 to 1899. The R.I.O.T. held only one event in the 1880s, but ran twenty-two public concerts and lectures from 1891 to 1897. This figure includes five shows put on in one week by a gospel temperance group, featuring speeches, music, and 'magic lantern' displays.

The only other orders in Ingersoll to offer a substantial number of concerts were the International Order of King's Daughters, and the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows. Starting in September 1889, Ingersoll's I.O.K.D. held fourteen concerts and entertainments before the end of the century. The events included one unusual one, a free children's show. The C.O.D.F. held seven concerts in the 1890s, along with a lecture and two open meetings.

The table above reveals the low number of concerts and public events hosted by other lodges in Ingersoll. The Masons, for instance, only offered three events after 1870,
but each made quite a stir. In May, 1886, the Ingersoll Masons held a "conversazione." Five hundred people showed up for the concert, followed by dancing and dinner which went to the early hours. A similar entertainment took place in February, 1888, while a concert in 1896 also met with great success. The Ingersoll Sons of England, another infrequent host, introduced a new innovation with a gramophone concert in 1897.

As for Woodstock, the local press noted 115 lectures, concerts, and open meetings held in the town between January 1870 and December 1899. The I.O.G.T. sponsored the most concerts over this period, with twenty-two noted in the press, though the I.O.O.F. ran a close second with twenty. In addition, in April, 1891, the I.O.O.F. canton of Patriarchs Militant opened their drill hall as a theatre, thus providing a stage for the community to enjoy. According to the local paper, one I.O.G.T. entertainment caused quite a stir:

The red light used in the closing dialogue alarmed the fire brigade and they rushed up the street with the hose reel.... Although the members of the I.O.G.T. fully appreciate the blessings of cold water they had no use for it on this occasion.

Lodge members took these events seriously, and competed with other lodges for prestige. The I.O.O.F. in Woodstock took great pains to make their first concert the best concert of the season, obtaining professional singers from
Toronto and Hamilton. They reached their goal, attracting the largest crowd that had yet attended any concert in the town. The Woodstock R.I.O.T. featured five popular Toronto artists in one of their concerts, which they advertised as "the literary and musical event of the Easter season." Regarding their November 1894 concert, members of the Ingersoll I.O.F. lodge instructed their secretary to tell the manager of one concert company "...that he is is too late and that we are playing in Higher Style." 

Railway excursions represented the most intense public activity sponsored by fraternal lodges. Excursions provided people in the community an experience which took up a whole day and offered a much greater change from the daily round. These public excursions usually travelled to tourist attractions; Niagara Falls and Lake Erie beaches drew the most attention, while Toronto and Sarnia also attracted excursionists. All of these excursions took place on a public holiday, either the Queen's birthday in May, Dominion Day in July, or on the civic holiday, held in August.

A typical trip to the beach - usually Port Stanley or Port Dover - started early in the morning. The train arrived at the lakeside between nine and ten in the morning. Then followed a day of games and sporting contests, usually limited to races in a number of categories, sometimes including a "fat men's race" for men weighing over 200
pounds. Other attractions might have included a baby show, while organizers often provided a game of lacrosse or baseball for the excursionists to watch. The day usually ended with a dance in the evening, with music provided by a local band which had accompanied the excursionists. They generally returned home no earlier than 10 p.m., and often much later. From the mid 1880s to the end of the century, the fares for these excursions stayed fairly constant, at about 75 cents for an adult fare to Port Stanley; $1.25 for Niagara Falls and $1.75 for Toronto. In both towns the A.O.F., C.O.F., I.O.O.F. and Masons offered the majority of the excursions, running thirty-eight of Ingersoll’s forty-four fraternal excursions, and thirty-two of Woodstock’s thirty-seven fraternal excursions. Ingersoll featured an unusual concentration of excursion activity; in several years one order arranged three excursions on the same day, usually one to a beach, one to Niagara Falls and one to Toronto.

Local lodges organized some excursions in conjunction with lodges from other towns; Masons from Norwich actually ran the first fraternal excursion from Woodstock. That excursion went to Port Dover, on the newly opened Lake Huron and Port Dover Railway, in June 1876. At other times excursions run by lodges from elsewhere stopped to pick up local citizens; while not organized by local lodges, they did offer people a chance to travel. On one occasion,
the local C.O.F. turned the experience around and played host to an excursion group visiting from Owen Sound. 22

Not all excursions fit the typical pattern. Woodstock’s Masons and both communities’ Oddfellows joined other lodges from the area in running excursions to Philadelphia for the American centennial in September 1876. The latter group thus became the first to provide an excursion from Ingersoll. Woodstock Masons later held an excursion to Toronto by rail with trips by boat and electric train ending up at Niagara Falls. 23

The numbers attending these excursions show how important these events were to the community. Press reports indicate that attendance at these events never fell below 200 and frequently attained figures in the neighbourhood of 600 or 700 people. The Woodstock Knights of Labor sponsored the biggest excursion of the 1880s, which went to Port Stanley in August, 1885. The lodge made arrangements to combine its excursion with those of employees from two large local factories. Altogether some 1200 people joined the outing. The largest reported crowd — 1500 people — took part in an A.O.F. trip from Woodstock to Port Dover in the summer of 1894. 24

The holiday excursions served the developing cultural hegemony in a roundabout way. In Woodstock and Ingersoll, holiday celebrations in the first half of the nineteenth century had been characterized by a mixture of earnest
respectability on the part of middle class organizers, andowdy or silly fun on the part of a large portion of the
"lower orders." As the Victorian middle class worldview
came to dominate, sporting and parading events which
encouraged silliness or rowdiness were surpressed or
incorporated, in attenuated form, into respectable
celebrations. Yet rowdiness could not be completely
eliminated. It moved to the stands at sports games, and to
the beach - a distant place where group behavior would not
be associated with the image of the corporate community.
Thus excursion behavior illustrated a compromise between
elements of hegemony and resistance.\textsuperscript{25}

Besides concerts and public excursions, fraternal
members provided other social events which appealed to the
community as a whole and helped in the process of creating a
consensual hegemony of cultural values; these occasionally
included formal balls. Fraternal balls did not take place
regularly in Woodstock. In 1855, Woodstock Masons held a
ball and supper for about 300 people.\textsuperscript{26} In the 1890s,
the A.O.F. started to provide public balls in Woodstock.
The order held balls and suppers in 1890 and 1891, in each
case over 200 people attended, while the uniformed side
branch held balls on Christmas Eve in 1891 to poor
attendance, and more successfully in November of 1894.
Woodstock's Daughters of England also held one ball, in
1892.\textsuperscript{27}
Ingersoll's fraternal lodges held balls more frequently than their brethren in Woodstock. The Masons held at least five balls in the 1860s, at which members appeared 'clothed according to rank.' About 200 people attended one of the balls, some coming from as far as Toronto. Other Ingersoll Masonic balls took place in 1873 and 1874, the latter in conjunction with the opening of the new lodge rooms. The Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association - the 'respectable' successor to the Orange Young Britons - held several balls in the winter of 1881-82, and one in October 1885, while in December 1883, Ingersoll's K.O.L. lodge ran a supper and ball on New Year's eve. Ingersoll's A.O.F. held balls in October, 1891, and December, 1898.

Lodges in Woodstock and Ingersoll also provided regular public entertainment with rallies (usually called 'demonstrations') involving many visiting lodges in a day of parades, speeches and games. Demonstrations by all orders followed a similar pattern. They started with a parade of lodges of the order, including both local and visiting lodges from all over Southwestern Ontario. The procession ended at a park, where fraternal leaders and local officials gave speeches. After the speeches, the procession broke up and a programme of athletic contests took place in the park. Usually visitors could attend a concert in the evening before going home.
Demonstrations provide another example of the process by which cultural hegemony took an element of popular culture and incorporated it, with new meanings, in respectable culture. At first glance these demonstrations recall an older British tradition. The activities undertaken by early friendly societies included annual or semi-annual feast days; sometimes these feasts became a local holiday and included a procession, a fair and games. Yet, in Upper Canada, the order most associated with demonstrations was the Loyal Orange Association. Every Orangeman took an oath obligating him to celebrate the 12th of July — the anniversary of William of Orange’s victory at the Boyne. Indeed, in 1857, Orangemen celebrated the Twelfth at Ingersoll, with lodges from all over the county joining a parade to the park for a sermon and speeches. About 3,000 people showed up to watch, and hear speeches. In 1861 and 1862 Orangemen from throughout the county again celebrated the Twelfth at Ingersoll.

In the last two decades of the century, large Orange demonstrations held in a few locations scattered throughout the province became the normal method of celebrating this anniversary. For instance in July 1888, eighteen places hosted rallies, each of which featured from eight to seventy-seven lodges, while many other small places welcomed one to three lodges. In 1883, the Orange order chose Woodstock to be the site of one of these massive July 12th
demonstrations. In the procession marched thirty-five bands, fifty-six Orange lodges and six other Orange bodies. Speeches at Victoria park, filled with booths and food vendors, concluded the day which attracted several thousand out-of-town visitors. According to the newspaper, a few arguments broke out in the evening, but in general "...the order preserved was excellent....". On July 12th in 1892, Woodstock again hosted an Orange rally. This time the procession consisted of at least 1,000 people in twenty-two lodges and several bands.34

Other Orange bodies celebrated the August anniversary of another event from Ireland's sectarian past, the relief of 'Derry. Ingersoll's Orange Young Britons held a rally in August, 1880, which brought some 4,000 visitors and 800 members to the town. In 1884 the Y.M.P.B.A. duplicated the events of 1880 with another demonstration in Ingersoll, which attracted ten lodges of the order. Woodstock's branch of the Loyal True Blues held a similar demonstration in town in 1891. This affair took place on a smaller scale, with only 300 visiting members.35

By the date of the later Orange rallies in Woodstock and Ingersoll, their content and ritual had changed appreciably; more dramatic, however, was the fact that other orders, symbols of mainstream respectability, had adopted the rally as a cultural form. During the late nineteenth century, the two towns saw demonstrations by friendly
societies, temperance orders, insurance orders, ethnic orders and occupational orders. The Ancient Order of Foresters held rallies in Woodstock in 1881 and 1891, and in Ingersoll in 1894 and in 1899. The procession for the 1894 demonstration in Ingersoll, described as the largest yet held in town, took 45 minutes to pass a single point. Six thousand to eight thousand visitors attended, many taking advantage of special rail rates from Hamilton.

In 1894 the I.O.O.F. Canton became the first Woodstock lodge to schedule a rally on the new holiday of Labour Day, arranging a program of games in conjunction with the W.A.A.A. Representing the temperance orders, the R.I.O.T. held a demonstration in Woodstock in 1891. Four hundred and fifty people travelled from Hamilton, and others came from other places, though not as many as organizers had expected, because the Grand Trunk Railroad could not supply enough cars for all the lodges and visitors who wished to come.

With one exception, these demonstrations achieved some measure of success; in 1894, however, the Woodstock Sons of England found that no guarantee existed. In that year the S.O.E. decided to hold a rally on Dominion Day, which failed miserably. According to local newspaper reports, "...the crowd at the grounds in the afternoon was conspicuous only by its absence." The paper complained about all aspects of the demonstration, describing even the lacrosse game as
"boring" and "uninspiring." The paper blamed the failure on the lack of advertising and conflicts of scheduling with other S.O.E. rallies which meant only one other lodge showed up.40

Besides concerts, excursions, balls and demonstrations, several lodges provided other miscellaneous forms of public entertainments, which aided in the social and cultural integration of the towns. In 1855 Ingersoll saw a "temperance jubilee" run by the Sons of Temperance, and their Cadets. It included a parade, a lecture, tea and amusements.41 In 1896 the A.O.F. in town staged a smaller version of the demonstration. In Woodstock, the two A.O.F. lodges combined with the Companions of the Forest and the juvenile lodge to hold a joint public installation of officers in 1895. This big display also featured a visit by a district official and the Sweaburg lodge.42 The same year, Ingersoll's I.O.O.F. lodges also provided a similar joint public installation ceremony. The K.O.S.F. provided some public entertainment in the summer of 1894, when they decided to hold their practice drilling outside so the public could watch.43

The public perception of these and other uniformed fraternalist might have differed from his own, as a contemporary article described:

...he always gives a public exhibition of templar tactics, which consist in a series of semi-military evolutions of great intricacy and total lack of purpose. To the small boy he is an
object of mingled amazement and mirth, and the public, which regards him as sort of hybrid between the militia soldier and the circus performer, fails to comprehend why he exists and fatigues himself in the tiresome and expensive demonstration. 44

While fraternal orders kept certain elements of the ritual framework secret, they often publicly flaunted their possession of "arcane mysteries," and sometimes teased the public with partial revelations. For example, one Woodstock I.O.O.F. lodge sponsored a dramatized initiation ceremony at the town hall. 45 In 1892, Ingersoll's I.O.O.F. "comedy company" presented a local public entertainment which featured a skit titled "Initiation of a Candidate, or Secret Work Exposed." 46

Two of the more obvious examples of the dissemination of middle class male hegemonic values were presented by Woodstock's lodge of Patriarchs Militant, and Ingersoll's A.O.F. band in the form of "businessmen's jubilees." These consisted of pageants in which each of the leading companies of the town sponsored a young woman. The women appeared on stage in an appropriate costume and presented a song or recitation relating to the sponsoring firm. They then performed a grand review before the "Queen of Trade." 47

The election of local members to posts as provincial leaders of important fraternal societies sometimes led to
celebrations open to the public. In 1899, Woodstock Odd Fellows celebrated the election of a local member to the post of Grand Master with a big meeting at the town hall, which 300 to 400 people attended. The banquet which followed went to 4:30 a.m. When Ingersoll's mayor won election as High Chief Ranger of the A.O.F. he returned from the convention to a parade, speeches and fireworks.48

Sometimes fraternal orders sponsored community sports, providing another avenue for the achievement of ideological consensus. In both towns the Sons of England tried to encourage an interest in cricket; Ingersoll's S.O.E. lodge played a challenge match against a 'picked eleven' from town. Woodstock's K.O.L. lodge supplied a cup, for which local football teams competed in the summer of 1886.49

In the summer of 1888, Clan Sutherland of the O.S.C. assisted the Woodstock Caledonian society in arranging the annual Caledonian games. That same year the lodge sent a tug-of-war team to the Caledonian games in Buffalo. The team, which won the silver cup, became famous as Zorra's 'Men of Might.'50

Besides contributing to cultural integration through entertainment and social events, lodges also allowed members of the Victorian middle class to provide or influence community symbols. The Independent Order of Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of Foresters in Ingersoll made a solid contribution to public identity through the provision of two
bands which became town institutions. The I.O.O.F. band started operations in 1886, and began regular outdoor concerts in the summer of 1887. It remained active through to the end of the century. The A.O.F. band formed in 1891. In the middle of the decade the band "...dwindled away...due to a lack of leadership..." but members reorganized it in 1897.51 The town council paid the A.O.F. and I.O.O.F. bands to hold public outdoor concerts on alternate weeks.52 These bands also marched in civic parades, and hired out to provide music at the social events of other lodges and associations in Ingersoll and neighbouring communities. Ingersoll's people showed a good deal of pride in these bands. The Ingersoll Chronicle's "Souvenir Edition" of 1894 listed the bands among the town's attractions, claiming: "With two such first class organizations within its borders, Ingersoll may well claim to be a musical centre."53

In the winters, each band sponsored concerts to raise money. These public concerts usually featured several local amateur acts beside the band itself; though sometimes the bands presented wholly professional shows. The bands also offered members some recreational activities, such as social evenings or trips to band competitions and parades throughout Southwestern Ontario.54

Temperance and Orange lodges made several attempts to establish bands, none of which lasted for long. A brass
band run by the Sons of Temperance did appear in Ingersoll in the 1850s, but quickly fell out of sight. Forty years later an Orange brass band met a similar fate.\textsuperscript{55} In Woodstock, fraternal orders sponsored three short-lived bands: an Orange band in the late 1850s, a Royal Templars brass band, active in the early 1890s, and an Orange fife and drum band, active in the middle of that decade.\textsuperscript{56} The short life of these bands no doubt reflected the rapid turnover in Orange and temperance lodge existence. Bands which did not receive the active support of the dominant social group for one reason or another could not compete with either the mainstream lodge bands in Ingersoll, or the local militia band which dominated Woodstock's musical landscape.

Through the organization of civic parades (as distinct from the parades held at demonstrations which represented specific orders), fraternal orders allowed their members to participate in the formation of community symbols. The fraternal habits of participating in and organizing civic parades started early. Both Woodstock lodges of Odd Fellows planned to participate in the parade on the Queen's birthday in 1849, though bad weather cancelled the celebrations.\textsuperscript{57}

Later in the century, the occasion of Queen Victoria's Jubilee in 1897 saw a great deal of fraternal participation. At this time, royalty and imperialism were becoming much
more important to the dominant - though weakening - worldview; like individuals throughout the country, lodge members threw themselves into a fever of preparation. Woodstock's Sons of England lodge celebrated the jubilee with a church parade, involving the militia and five fraternal lodges, and a larger parade on the day of the jubilee. Female cyclists led the main parade, which also included the militia, school children, the Y.M.C.A., and civic bodies as well as groups representing nine fraternal orders. When the parade reached the park, local officials gave speeches and the militia fired a feu de joie. A spectacular fireworks display capped off the day. In Ingersoll, the S.O.E. met the A.O.F., I.O.O.F. and other lodges to make arrangements to celebrate the jubilee. The Ingersoll parade included veterans of 1866, the I.A.A.A., the Caledonian society, lodges from twelve different fraternal orders, and the two fraternal bands. The S.O.E. also ran a church parade for the jubilee, which featured lodges of seven orders, plus a few other associations. In parades such as these, organizers determined the order of march by lot, to prevent any squabbling over positions of honour.

Sometimes the events organized by lodge members became community symbols, allowing them a greater role in the process of cultural integration. For instance, Ingersoll's
S.O.S. lodge held Scottish games on May 24th, in 1892 and 1893. The games started with a parade, including almost a dozen different lodges from the town. After the procession and games, the day ended with a Scottish concert.

Ingersoll’s Knights of Labour organized a trades procession in August, 1883. In it, a series of floats presented allegorical images of the mutuality of capital and labour, presenting a particular view of the community, derived from a working class reinterpretation of some elements taken from the dominant worldview.61

The Odd Fellows’ decoration day provides a striking example of community acceptance of a strictly fraternal event. On Dominion Day, 1885, Woodstock’s Odd Fellows introduced this ceremony which included a procession to three different cemeteries, and the decoration of graves of Odd Fellows, (much in the manner of contemporary decorations of veterans’ graves on Remembrance day). The local newspaper noted: "'Olive Branch lodge has added another claim to the respect and support of our citizens by the introduction of this touching and beautiful custom.'"62

In the next few years, the ceremony became more ornate, with the hiring of the militia band to accompany the procession. In 1887 the lodge tried to secure a public half-holiday for the event, but failed.63 The lodge continued holding the event on public holidays for the next few years.
In 1890, the decoration service finally became the sort of community event planners had tried to arrange in 1887. For the 1890 decoration day, the town council did grant a half-holiday. Many other lodges and societies joined in the procession which spread out over more than a mile. Besides the I.O.O.F., the procession included the Woodstock Amateur Athletic Association, two bands, and the town council, as well as lodges of these orders: Ancient Order of Foresters (two lodges); Canadian Order of Foresters; United Workmen (two lodges); Order of Scottish Clans; Home Circle; Royal Arcanum; Independent Order of Foresters; Good Templars; Royal Templars of Temperance; the Chosen Friends; Sons of Canada; Sons of England; True Blues; and the Canadian Order of Odd Fellows. 64 This ceremony proclaimed the fallen Odd Fellows as some sort of community heroes, whose lives, and particularly their connection to the friendly society, should be celebrated by one and all. Their rise to heroic status proved shortlived; after 1890, decoration day never again took on such public overtones in Woodstock. The I.O.O.F. alone marched in processions, which took place in the evenings. The public did watch, but did not join in as they had in 1890. 65

In June of 1886, Ingersoll Oddfellows introduced the decoration day service to their town. The town council granted a half holiday for the first running of the event. The council allowed further half holidays in 1890, 1891 and 1893, and two hour 'quarter holidays' in 1892 and
In those years when council did not grant a holiday, the lodges paraded on public holidays, or on weekday evenings. Although Ingersoll's I.O.O.F. arranged for more holidays to mark the occasion, the event never took on the public tone it had in Woodstock. Ingersoll's C.O.O.F. alone joined the I.O.O.F. in joint decoration day ceremonies in 1891, 1892, and 1895.

In February 1889, three Woodstock town councillors died in a train wreck; fraternal orders played a role in the community reaction to the tragedy. Two of the three were Masons, one of whom also belonged to the I.O.O.F. and A.O.U.W. These three orders helped organize and participated in the funeral for the three men. This funeral — the most imposing ever seen in the town — served as an important symbol of community solidarity in a time of grief.

Fraternal lodges made a third contribution to community integration by reinforcing a spatial and residential definition of the social community. From mid-century at least, the lodges attracted members almost exclusively from within the two towns, showing that the boundaries of the social and cultural community aligned with the geographic and corporate definition of each town. For instance, in the case of Ingersoll's I.O.F. lodge, its twenty-eight members listed on the roll for 1891 to 1893 all lived in Ingersoll. Of the 409 members who joined Ingersoll's Samaritan lodge of the I.O.O.F. between 1872 and 1900, over
eighty-five per cent came from Ingersoll itself. Almost half of the remainder came from the adjacent townships (West Oxford and North Oxford), while the rest came from more distant points. A breakdown of these figures by decade appears in Table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Residence of New Members, Samaritan Lodge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1872-80</th>
<th>1881-90</th>
<th>1891-00</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ingersoll</td>
<td>83.9%</td>
<td>87.6%</td>
<td>92.0%</td>
<td>86.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adj. townships</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: IOOF Samaritan, Question Books.

Fraternal rules regarding the founding of new lodges as well as an individual's choice of lodge to attend, may have affected these patterns to a degree. In most cases, a group of interested people precipitated the formation of a new lodge. These groups usually consisted of some people who held lodge memberships from previous places of residence, and some who did not have memberships but wanted to join the order, with perhaps a few people who lived in the community but had memberships in nearby lodges. To apply for a charter though, all had to have memberships, and thus those people without would head to a nearby lodge to obtain one. These new members would play only a brief role in this nearby lodge, but they would inflate the recorded number of outsiders. Some of the more distant members listed in Samaritan lodge's figures joined for such reasons. For instance, only two Woodstock men ever joined Samaritan
lodge; the two who did went on to become charter members of Woodstock's I.O.O.F. lodge within a matter of weeks.\textsuperscript{71} On the other hand, fraternal rules might have restricted the presence of outsiders. Some orders included clauses in their constitutions which insisted that members join the nearest lodge to their place of residence.\textsuperscript{72}

Even in the case of the senior degree branches, which operated significantly fewer lodges, so that each might be expected to attract recruits from a wider area, members tended to come from the local town. In the case of I.O.O.F. Unity Encampment (in Ingersoll) 193 men joined in the period 1873 to 1899. On two occasions groups of men from another town joined simultaneously and then left to form their own lodge. If the seventeen men involved on these two occasions are dropped from the figures, as well as the four men whose residence is not given in the source, the remaining 172 men break down as follows; 155 of them came from Ingersoll, representing over ninety per cent of the members.\textsuperscript{73}

Lodges made a fourth contribution to the social integration of these communities by providing community leadership roles to a wide range of respectable people, most of whom came from the non-manual and skilled manual occupations. A large proportion of local fraternal members assumed executive positions in their lodges. Fraternal lodges in Woodstock and Ingersoll showed no pattern of long term executive dominance by individuals. In Woodstock's Oxford lodge of Masons, for instance, twenty-nine men took
the position of "worthy master" from 1857 to 1900. Only six of the men served for two years, three for three years, and one for four years; the rest served a single term of one year. The other Woodstock Masonic lodge listed thirty-two worthy masters from 1852 to 1900, with four serving for two years, three for three years, and one each for four and five years. From both lodges, only two of those who served three terms did so consecutively, and none of those who served for more terms did so consecutively. No nineteenth-century worthy masters in either lodge served multiple terms after 1887.74

The rules of one local I.O.O.F. lodge show how a rapid turnover in fraternal officeholding came about. This particular lodge had five elected officers plus several appointed ones. To serve as "noble grand" - the head of the lodge - the member had to first serve as "vice grand." To serve as vice grand, the member had to have at least one term of experience as an elected officer, or two terms as an appointed one. After serving as noble grand, vice grand, or secretary, a member could not run for re-election to the position for two terms.75 Similar rules applied to other lodges.

A study of lodge officers from Woodstock and Ingersoll as reported in the local newspapers from 1880 to 1891 reveals the widespread nature of local officeholding.76 For this period, at least 679 men in Woodstock and 413 men in Ingersoll held local lodge executive positions.77 When
one considers that Woodstock had 1,354 male adults in 1881, and 2,229 in 1891, it seems obvious that a fair proportion of the men held fraternal office. The case is similar for Ingersoll, with 1,009 adult males in 1881, and 1,047 in 1891. Because of the important cultural role these lodges came to play in the local community, these fraternal executives must be considered leaders of the community.

These executives did not tend to lead lodges in more than one order. Table 9.4 shows that close to eighty percent of the known fraternal officeholders in each town held an executive position in only one order. On the other hand, only five per cent of the individuals held executive positions in three or more orders over the course of the twelve years studied. This latter figure included thirty-four men in Woodstock and eighteen men in Ingersoll. Of these only twelve men in Woodstock and four in Ingersoll held offices in four or more lodges of different orders.

Table 9.4: Fraternal Office Holding, 1880 - 1891.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Orders in which Office Held</th>
<th>Woodstock</th>
<th></th>
<th>Ingersoll</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>535</td>
<td>78.6</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>83.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>679</td>
<td></td>
<td>413</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sentinel Review, Ingersoll Chronicle.
Of course, one could argue that these few individuals who held multiple offices might represent small, atypical elites who really ran the two towns, as opposed to a broad dominant social group resting on cultural consensus. Yet tracing the participation of these men in community affairs does not support this assertion. Of the thirty-four Woodstock men who held offices in three or more orders between 1880 and 1891, only six served as town councillors. Of these, three sat for a single term, while two others sat for multiple terms, one of them as mayor for two terms. The sixth individual served as mayor for one year and then became the local M.P., staying in that position through to the end of the century. Ingersoll revealed a similar pattern; of the eighteen men who held multiple fraternal offices, three served a single term on council, and three more played a more active role, sitting for multiple terms.79 Men from outside this group of multiple office holders filled the bulk of elected municipal offices in the two towns.

A closer examination of the Woodstock multiple office holders (those who held office in three or more orders) makes it even harder to accept the possibility of such an interlocking directorate. None of these men served on the executive of the Horticultural Society or as president of the Agricultural Society, though these were the most prestigious voluntary societies in town. Only one served as an executive on the Board of Trade, in the position of
secretary. Moreover, an analysis of the fraternal officeholding of these men reveals that most of them did not hold offices simultaneously. Before 1888 none of them held positions in three or more lodges at the same time. After that point five men did hold such simultaneous offices, though each did it for only a single year. Three of these men practiced medicine, which made them special cases, since the constitutions of most lodges offering benefits demanded a doctor on the executive. Beyond that, each of these five men spent at least one year holding no offices at all.

Instead of contributing to the establishment of a small, interlocking power elite; fraternal officeholding gave a wide spectrum of men from certain social classes a background in organizational and administrative duties, and experience in community leadership. Table 9.5, below, presents a breakdown of the occupations of known male executives of Woodstock lodges for the period 1880 to 1891. The table reveals that the occupations of the officers generally reflected the broad patterns of lodge membership composition identified in Chapter Five. Thus non-manual workers were overrepresented, though they did not hold a dominating majority of executive positions. Unskilled manual workers were quite underrepresented. This pattern reflected and reinforced the cultural dominance of non-manual and skilled manual groups in these small urban communities.
Table 9.5: Occupational Breakdown of Male Lodge Executives: Woodstock, 1880 -1891.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Census 1881</th>
<th>Census 1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Execs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Manual</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>26.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Manual</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>48.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Manual</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>25.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n=</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>1718</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Sentinel Review, Ingersoll Chronicle, town directories.

Fraternal membership and officeholding helped prepare many men from non-manual and skilled manual occupational groups for other positions of local leadership; some took advantage of it. In February, 1856, the Ingersoll Chronicle remarked that the reeve and ex-reeve of the town belonged to the Masonic brotherhood, as did three of five council members that year, and four of five the previous year. Some years later, the Sentinel Review made a note of the fraternal affiliations of Ingersoll's town council. Nine of fourteen councillors at the time had membership in two or more fraternal orders, while only three had no fraternal affiliations at all.82

At first glance, the role of fraternal orders in community integration might seem unclear. By providing exclusionary entertainment and by emphasizing ritual passages and shared experiences, they created distinct subcommunities. Yet at the same time, lodges helped
Integrate communities in the face of serious challenges to the power of local authority. The defence of the traditional corporate and social community took place arm in arm with the quest for a new hegemony over local culture. These organizations presented respectable values in community entertainment, they gave their members a role in devising community symbols, and they allowed respectable community leadership without creating an atypical power elite.

Through the last third of the nineteenth century, many local residents came to accept the role fraternal orders played in the community. As an Ingersoll newspaper commented in 1894:

A town’s social nature may well be judged by the number and standing of its fraternal and beneficial societies, and in this respect Ingersoll occupies a very high place.83

No doubt the citizens of Woodstock - and many other small towns - shared these feelings.
Notes to Chapter 9.

1. The major sources for this, and all other tables in the chapter were these newspapers: the Ingersoll Chronicle, Woodstock Review, and Sentinel Review. Some supplementary material came from primary fraternal sources listed in the bibliography. The Ingersoll paper includes references to twenty-one fraternally sponsored public entertainment events in the period 1854-69. They break down in terms of Table 9.1, as follows: Masons, five "other" (balls); friendly societies, four concerts; Orange order, one concert, three "others" (demonstrations); temperance orders, five concerts, three "others" (small demonstrations).

2. Fraternal orders were not the only organizations to sponsor concerts and lectures. For example, in Ingersoll six other concerts were held in November, 1892, half of them sponsored by churches.

3. Ingersoll Chronicle. 19 Apr. 1888.

4. Ingersoll Chronicle. 6 Dec. 1883.

5. Ingersoll Chronicle. 12 Nov., 3 and 17 Dec. 1891.


7. Ingersoll Chronicle. 23 - 26 Apr 1894.

8. Ingersoll Chronicle. 3 Dec. 1891.


10. Sentinel Review. 9 Nov. 1897.

11. Sentinel Review. 23 June 1891.


14. Sentinel Review. 2 Apr. 1892.

15. I.O.F. no. 798, Minutes, December 6 1894, p. 77.

16. For example, see Sentinel Review. 8 Aug. 1884.

17. Ingersoll Chronicle, 29 July 1886; Sentinel Review. 16 June and 27 July 1894; Ingersoll Chronicle. 31 July 1890.
18. Other groups occasionally held public excursions. In the 1860s Ingersoll town council twice made arrangements for a civic holiday railway excursion to Hamilton and Niagara Falls. Ingersoll Chronicle, 7 Sept. 1866, 12 Sept. 1867. Usually, however, non-fraternal excursions were restricted to specific groups, such as Sunday school children or employees of a certain firm. See Sentinel Review, 14 Aug. 1894.

19. For example see Ingersoll Chronicle, 5 Aug. 1886.


21. For instance, an I.O.O.F. excursion from St. Thomas to Toronto in 1891 picked up groups in Woodstock and Ingersoll. Ingersoll Chronicle, 13 Aug. 1891.


23. Weekly Review, 8 and 15 Sept. 1876; Sentinel Review, 14 and 21 June 1895.


25. This argument is central to Anstead and Bouchier, "'Greeded Pigs.'" See also Bouchier, "'For the Love of the Game'" pp. 113 - 227.


32. Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate, 19 July and 26 July, 1888.

33. Sentinel Review, 13 and 20 July 1883.

34. Sentinel Review, 11 - 13 July 1892.


44. *Canadian Craftsman and Masonic Record*. 15 Dec. 1880.


46. *Ingersoll Chronicle*. 26 June 1890, 31 Mar. 1892.


54. For example, see *Sentinel Review*. 13 Dec. 1898.

55. *Ingersoll Chronicle*. 11 July 1856; *Sentinel Review*. 7 June 1895.

56. In July 1892, the Templar band became the local militia unit's band.
57. British-American, 26 May 1849; In 1852, the I.O.O.F. and S.O.T. did celebrate the Queens birthday, British-American, 7 May 1852.


59. Sentinel Review, 26 Feb., 22 May and 16 - 21 June 1897; a copy of the "Souvenir Programme" from this event is located at the Woodstock Museum.

60. Sentinel Review, 21 June 1897.

61. Ingersoll Chronicle, 16 August 1883, 21 Apr. and 19 May 1892; Sentinel Review, 20 and 25 May 1893.

62. Sentinel Review, 3 July 1885.

63. Sentinel Review, 10 and 22 July 1887.

64. Sentinel Review, 7 June 1890; Ingersoll Chronicle, 12 June 1890.


67. For example see Ingersoll Chronicle, 7 July 1887; Ingersoll Chronicle, 28 June 1888.

68. Ingersoll Chronicle, 2 July 1891, 21 July 1892; Sentinel Review, 24 Aug. 1895.


70. The membership list appears in I.O.F. no. 798, Minutes, (no date).

71. I.O.O.F. Samaritan, Question Book.; Sentinel Review, 1 May 1888; See Ingersoll Chronicle, 20 Sept. 1883, for an account of a similar incident.

72. See for example, A.F.A.M., Constitution, p. 75.
73. I.O.O.F., Unity Encampment, Ingersoll, Membership Register. Samaritan Lodge Collection.


76. The analysis in the following five paragraphs deals exclusively with male officeholders; however, some female officeholders were also identified during the process of collecting data. For instance, in Woodstock at least forty-five women held executive positions in lodges between 1880 and 1891. While the importance of this experience is not to be denied, and is in fact investigated in Chapter Five, the decision to ignore women officeholders in this statistical analysis arises from two factors. First, the identification of women with a particular occupational group is much more problematic since most women did not provide an occupational title to census takers. Deriving a woman's status from that of the male household head adds a further dimension of analytical distance from the past. Secondly, as I argued in Chapter Five, the experience of women in fraternal lodges was qualitatively different from that of men, and took place only in a few lodges which varied from the fraternal norm. It thus deserves a separate analysis altogether.

77. The numbers may in fact be larger, since the methods used to determine the numbers aimed to produce a minimum. The figures were determined in the following manner. The newspapers of both towns were examined for the period January 1, 1880 to January 30, 1891; names listed for male officers of any lodge from either town were collected and placed in lists for the appropriate town. These two lists of names were then reduced to the fewest possible individuals. The guiding principle was: if it was possible that two names might refer to a single individual, this was assumed to be the case. Thus if two officers had the same last name and first initial, they were considered as one individual. Further consolidations involved considering variant spellings or probable mistakes in spelling, and cases where no first name or initial was given. In cases where the first initial was identical but a second differed the following rule was used: if both versions of the name appeared in more than one list of officers, they were considered to be different individuals; however if one version appeared only once, it was considered a possible misprint and consolidated. For example then, all the following names would be considered to denote the same individual for the purposes of this analysis: T. McBeth, T.J. McBeth, Thomas Macbeth, T.J. McBeath, Brother McBeath, and T.I. McBeath (cited only once).
78. Figures kindly supplied by N.B. Bouchier, who extracted them from the relevant manuscript censuses.

79. Participation on council was noted in newspaper reports of municipal elections.

80. Past executives of these bodies are all listed in Sentinel Review. "Inaugural Edition."

81. The newspaper survey discussed above produced the names of 679 male leaders of Woodstock lodges. Unfortunately the newspaper accounts never mentioned the address of fraternal officers, and sometimes omitted a first name or initial. Despite this, linkage with census manuscripts and directories resulted in the discover of occupational titles for roughly half (341) of the officers. (Of these 341, four titles represented rural pursuits and thus do not appear on the table.) In comparing the fraternal statistics to census figures, a chi-square calculation was carried out to evaluate the significance of the findings. The results were chi-squares of 46.3880 for 1881 and 49.9148 for 1891, with two degrees of freedom. Both of these results are considered significant at the .001 level, meaning the chance of these figures being a random result is less than one in a thousand.

82. Ingersoll Chronicle. 1 Feb. 1856; Sentinel Review. 2 Feb. 1897. My conclusions here are very similar to those reached by D.H. Doyle in his study of voluntary associations in Jacksonville, Illinois. He concluded that about one third of the town's adult males were active in at least one voluntary association, that between five and ten per cent of adult men in the town at a given time were association officers, that there was overlap between municipal officers and association leaders, and that these leaders were drawn from a "broad middle class" including skilled artisans, which reflected association membership. Doyle, p. 336.

Chapter 10. Conclusions

The tremendous expansion of fraternal activity which swept through Victorian Ontario reflected the economic and social circumstances of the time; in particular it derived from the link of fraternalism as a cultural form with the hegemonic viewpoint associated with the 'Victorian middle class.' As urban men from non-manual and skilled manual occupations transformed the lodge, it came to offer a package of benefits – respectable status, masculine fellowship and financial security – within a framework of tradition. As new members joined these lodges they contributed to an ongoing process of adaptation of the fraternal framework, resulting in new types of orders, and several distinct phases of fraternal expansion in the province. At the same time, lodges offered their members a chance to influence both the local society of their community and the broader cultural hegemony.

The period 1840 to 1901 saw immense changes in Ontario's economy and society. The forces of industrialization and urbanization made many families much more dependent on a capitalist economy, strained or eliminated traditional security nets, and brought an increased emphasis on occupational roles. In this atmosphere, the old hegemony of paternalism no longer held power. The old colonial ruling class found itself displaced by a new dominant group, best identified as the 'Victorian
middle 'ass.'

When this new social group turned to the lodge as one instrument for creating and managing cultural consent, they were appropriating an existing cultural form. As institutions which derived from pre-industrial organizations and claimed ties to the ancient past, fraternal orders offered the legitimacy of tradition. Yet, as they existed in the early nineteenth century, fraternal orders did not completely reflect the mores of the new middle class. Instead they carried a reputation for intemperance, and, in the cases respectively of masonry, Orangism, and oddfellowship, links to revolution, rowdyism and the working working class. Starting in the 1840s, most fraternal orders distanced themselves from these early attributes, and became important institutions in the new cultural hegemony.

At one level, lodges offered obvious attractions to prospective recruits. While apparently rooted in tradition, two aspects of secret societies - financial benefits and camaraderie - allowed their members to protect themselves and their families from, or take advantage of, changing structural conditions. Fraternal benefits offered some measure of protection from disruptions in family income. At first friendly societies offered the security of sick pay and funeral payments. As the century progressed, fraternal benefits became more efficient and more comprehensive, covering a variety of potential mishaps. By the end of the century most orders offered life insurance, sick pay,
funeral payments, and old age or disability pensions, either as a main feature of membership, or in an optional package open only to members. Meanwhile, through rules, ritual and shared social experience, fraternal orders created extended networks of local subcommunities, each emphasizing the bonds of fellowship. Should a member wish to move to another community in Ontario, or anywhere in North America, he or she would find their lodge identification serving as a token of respectable status, as a passport to a new artificial family, and as a key opening doors of job opportunities, if a worker, or patronage, if a merchant.

Individuals also joined secret societies because membership confirmed their respectable status, while allowing them to contribute to a constant reformulation of notions of respectability, and to spread particular definitions among a wider community. At the level of popular culture, fraternal orders defined respectability in words and in action. Ritual, literature, and other aspects of the fraternal framework all emphasized thrift, self-responsibility, sobriety, honesty, compassion, personal (including sexual) morality, and support for the dominant religion. Fraternal societies did more than just articulate these values; they policed members' behaviour, and applied extra-legal sanctions. At the same time, they allowed their members to make direct contributions to this definition as they voted on the desirability of recruits or sat on fraternal courts to judge the behavior of their brethren.
In very obvious ways, fraternal orders reflected and contributed to the dominant hegemony's reification of gender. Lodges divided people on the basis of ascribed gender status, placed women in subordinate positions through organizational, symbolic and economic means, and sought to define masculinity. In the mainstream orders, men could experience an all-male environment without losing their cloak of respectability. Camaraderie reaffirmed masculine values as did certain lodge rituals. On the other hand, women could not find these sorts of bonds. Men dominated most lodges which invited women to join, and these bodies engaged in less intense social and ritual activities.

Fraternal orders took a hand in the social construction of the concept of "class." During the nineteenth century, the different economic functions individuals performed came more and more to define their personal identity. At the same time, people with certain types of jobs came to be seen, and to see themselves, as members of a given class, which implied a certain set of values. Lodges contributed to the construction of a link between occupation and class by recruiting members from specific sorts of occupations. In general lodge memberships overemphasized the non-manual segment of society, gave a fair representation to skilled manual workers and included very few unskilled manual workers. The exact details of this pattern varied from lodge to lodge or, over time, within the same lodge. Fraternal orders in large urban centres sometimes
established specialized lodges catering to a single socioeconomic group; this was much less common in smaller places.

As a result of these factors, the period 1840 to 1901 saw a tremendous expansion in the acceptance and variety of fraternal orders. During these six decades the number of lodges and active members in the province grew in several waves; many new orders appeared, while others underwent major changes. At the start of the period only the Freemasons and Orange order operated in the colony, but the 1840s and 1850s saw the arrival of the first friendly societies and temperance lodges. After mid-century the Freemasons emerged as the most swiftly growing force in fraternalism, but friendly societies soon followed in terms of popularity. By contrast the Loyal Orange Association and the temperance orders wallowed in stagnation without any clear sign of healthy growth. In the late 1870s conditions in the commercial insurance business, federal legislation, and the end of the depression led to a boom in fraternal orders offering life insurance benefits. By the end of the century the largest of this type of order had become larger than any of the other orders. In the late 1880s and 1890s new orders based on ethnic and religious groups achieved limited success, while a more spectacular trend in this period involved the rapid rise and fall of the Grange in the 1870s, of the Knights of Labor in the 1880s, and of the Patrons of Industry in the 1890s. Each of these three
orders mobilized thousands of members for a short time, but then collapsed within a half decade or so.

While the types of orders that succeeded tied into the emerging cultural consensus, other orders did not — indicating some limits on this hegemony. The Orange order, for instance, never became a stable, popular body in urban Ontario because it never became a 'respectable' one. Its leaders fought to turn it into such a body by emphasizing fraternal benefits or imposing restrictions on alcohol, but the early strength of Orangeism meant a powerful rank-and-file resistance to this identification with the new Victorian middle class. At the same time, the order's reputation for rowdy sectarianism continued to haunt it. Temperance orders, on the other hand, originated as completely respectable organizations tied to the emerging hegemonic faction of the new middle class. Yet as that historical bloc sought alliance and consent, the commitment to the pledge became less and less central to its worldview. Cut adrift from the rising hegemony, temperance orders failed to follow the example of more successful orders, admitting women and offering little or no financial benefits to their members. Rejected by, or rejecting, the dominant cultural worldview, these orders turned to rural areas, where this ideology did not hold sway. They thus diverged even further from the path taken by other orders, as adaptations suited to an urban membership seemed much less important to the leaders and members of Orange or temperance
orders.

The Orange and temperance orders shared one characteristic with the more spectacular fraternal failures—the occupational orders and the P.P.A. All of these bodies acted to some extent as interest groups, and focussed a lot of their energy on changing society. By contrast the more successful orders concentrated their efforts on protecting and moulding their members within the constraints of the existing cultural hegemony.

The nature of these provincial patterns of success and failure depended on the success and failure of local lodges, but an examination of local lodges also reveals other information obscured by the provincial level trends. In some cases a picture of an apparently stable order masked a very high turnover of members or even lodges, while dramatic local variation also affected provincial patterns. Thus the failure of the Knights of the Maccabees affected all the insurance lodges in Ingersoll, but not those in Woodstock, where the hard work of one man influenced local reception of this type of order. Factors such as these, repeated across the province, made local variation an important aspect of provincial trends.

The study of fraternal orders in two communities also reveals a fourth attraction that lodges provided to members of specific social groups. Fraternal orders played a role in reinforcing the cultural authority of social communities. In the cases of Woodstock and Ingersoll, this aspect of
fraternalism proved most powerful in the years from 1870 to 1895. When lodges provided community entertainment, such as concerts, excursions, and rallies, they helped entwine the notion of community with a specific definition of respectability. Fraternal orders contributed to community symbols such as parades and bands which helped in the local management of consent. Lodges also played a role in legitimating this cultural dominance by integrating new arrivals and by providing many individuals from the non-manual and skilled manual groups with opportunities to practice community leadership.

This study ends, arbitrarily, with the turning of the century. Although the fraternal situation in Ontario was to change dramatically in the twentieth century, this did not start automatically in the year 1901. Some factors indicate that the fraternal peak had passed in the two towns studied here. The early 1890s had seen the height of fraternal activity, with many new lodges founded and new levels in fraternal entertainment. By the end of the decade, few new lodges were appearing and several of the newest ones had collapsed. Fraternal entertainment also fell off in the last five years of the century. This reflected the orders' ties to the hegemony of respectability, which was then fading. The turn of the century was a time of turmoil, as the new hegemony of efficiency moved into place, marked by corporate capitalism, scientific management, social reform,
domestic feminism, mass entertainment, and Imperialism. Yet the transition was far from peaceful, as members of subordinate groups sought advantage, and the dominant group responded with coercion.

Perhaps the most fitting local symbol of the passing of the fraternal era came with the death of Warren Totten, the man who had played such a vital role in Woodstock's fraternal scene. As the century wore down, Totten fought a long illness. Finally, on the penultimate day of 1899, he died. His family and many friends attended his funeral on a cold winter's day. Looking around, they would have noted the presence of high officials in the Masonic order and in the A.O.U.W. They did not see, however, organized ranks of fraternalists from the local lodges for which Totten had worked so hard.¹ Those lodges no longer had the ability to call out large groups for such occasions, despite the importance of funerals generally, and Warren Totten specifically, to the fraternal cause. In this, they foreshadowed the general fate of fraternalism in twentieth-century Ontario.
Notes to Chapter 10.

Appendix One: Lodges Active in Woodstock, 1800 - 1900

MASONIC

**Ancient Free and Accepted Masons** "King Solomon Lodge, no. 43"; founded in 1852; still active in 1900; joined Grand Lodge of Canada in 1858, also known as "no. 38."

**Ancient Free and Accepted Masons** "Oxford Lodge no. 76"; founded in 1857; still active in 1900; also known as "no. 56."

**Royal Arch Masons** "Royal Arch Chapter no. 18"; founded in 1861; still active in 1900; dormant 1884 to 1886.

ORANGE

**Loyal Orange Association** "Loyal Orange Lodge no. 93"; founded in 1833; still active in 1900; dormant from mid-1830s to 1847, from 1854 to 1860, and from 1873- to 1877.

**Loyal Orange Association** "Loyal Orange Lodge no. 204"; active 1840 to 1844; amalgamated with no. 93

**Loyal Orange Association** "Loyal Orange Lodge no. 329"; active 1851 to 1853.

**Loyal Orange Association** "Loyal Orange Lodge no. 711"; active in 1858 only.

**Orange Young Britons** "Lodge no. 126"; active 1882 to 1885.

**Royal Black Preceptories of Ireland** (lodge name not known); active 1886 to 1892.

**Loyal True Blue Association** "Oxford True Blue Lodge no. 13"; active 1890 to 1895.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

**Manchester Unity Odd Fellows** "Brock Lodge no. 4297"; active 1848 to 1852.

**Independent Order of Odd Fellows** "Oxford Lodge no. 25"; active 1849 to 1850.

**Independent Order of Odd Fellows** "Olive Branch Lodge no. 88"; founded in 1872; still active in 1900.
Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Woodstock Lodge no. 269"; founded in 1889; still active in 1900.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Maple Leaf Encampment no. 55"; founded in 1883; still active in 1900.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Canton Woodstock no. 15" (Patriarchs Militant); founded in 1890; still active in 1900; dormant 1895 to 1898.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Rose Rebekah Lodge no. 43"; founded in 1895; still active in 1900.

Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity "Loyal Oxford Lodge no. 137"; founded in 1889; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Court Myrtle no. 6570"; founded in 1881; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Court Stanley no. 7675"; founded in 1889; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Court Myrtle no. 14" (juvenile); founded in 1881; still active in 1900; dormant 1885 to 1889.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Lady Stanley Circle no. 103" (Companions of Forest); founded in 1890; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Excelsior Lodge no. 7" (Knights of Sherwood Forest); active 1890 to 1895.

Sons of Canada "Excelsior(?) Lodge no. 22"; active 1889 to 1890.

Order of Druids "Loyal Excelsior Grove no. 1838"; active in 1891 only.

Knights of Pythias "Woodstock Lodge no. 45"; founded in 1895; still active in 1900.

**TEMPERANCE**

Sons of Temperance "Woodstock Division no. 205"; active 1852 to 1854.

Sons of Temperance "Perseverance Division no. 87"; active in 1881 only.
Independent Order of Good Templars "Woodstock Temple no. 278"; active 1860 to 1862.

Independent Order of Good Templars "Crystal Fount Temple"; active in 1862 only.

Independent Order of Good Templars "Elgin Lodge"; active 1875 to 1876.

Independent Order of Good Templars "Woodstock Lodge no. 811"; active 1880 to 1885.

Independent Order of Good Templars "Hope of Woodstock Lodge no. 13"; active 1885 to 1894.

Independent Order of Good Templars (lodge name not known, juvenile); active in 1890 only.

British American Order of Good Templars "Star Lodge no. 37"; active 1870 to 1879; dormant 1877 to 1878; later United Temperance Association lodge.

Royal Templars of Temperance "Woodstock Council no. 149"; active 1884 to 1885.

Royal Templars of Temperance "Oxford Council no. 261"; founded in 1887; still active in 1900; dormant 1896 to 1898.

Royal Templars of Temperance "Woodstock Council no. 150"; active in 1897 only.

INSURANCE

Canadian Order of Foresters "Court Beaconsfield no. 15"; founded in 1878; still active in 1900; originally a lodge of the I.O.F., changed allegiance with the secession of 1879.

Canadian Order of Foresters "Court Beaver no. 152"; active 1886 to 1887; briefly named "Myrtle"

Canadian Order of Foresters "Court Barton no. 316"; active 1891 to 1895; amalgamated with "Court Beaconsfield."

Ancient Order of United Workmen "Woodstock Lodge no. 38"; founded in 1879; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of United Workmen "Jubilee Lodge no. 289"; founded in 1888; still active in 1900.

Knights of the Maccabees "Darius Tent no. 40"; active 1879 to 1880.
Knights of the Maccabees "Woodstock Tent no. 78"; founded in 1892; still active in 1900.

Independent Order of Foresters "Court Woodstock no. 69"; founded in 1883; still active in 1900.

Order of Chosen Friends "Garnet Council no. 13"; active 1883 to 1891; dormant 1894 to 1887.

Royal Arcanum "Brock Council no. 719"; founded in 1884; still active in 1900.

Canadian Order of Home Circles "Woodstock Circle no. 39"; founded in 1886; still active in 1900.

International Fraternal Alliance "Lodge no. 260"; active 1890 to 1891.

Septennial Benevolent Society "Woodstock Lodge"; active 1890 to 1891.

Order of Fraternal Guardians "Woodstock Lodge no. 140"; active 1890 to 1892.

Canadian Order of Chosen Friends "Woodstock Council no. 82"; founded in 1891; still active in 1900.

Woodmen of the World "Maple Camp no. 3"; founded in 1891; still active in 1900

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS

Sons of England Benevolent Society "Bedford Lodge no. 21"; founded in 1883; still active in 1900.

Sons of England Benevolent Society "Princess Royal" (juvenile); founded in 1892; still active in 1900; dormant 1895 to 1898.

Daughters and Maids of England Benevolent Society "Princess Alice no. 5"; active 1891 to 1894.

Catholic Mutual Benefit Association "Branch no. 42"; founded in 1885; still active in 1900.

Order of Scottish Clans "Clan Sutherland no. 37"; active 1887 to 1894.

Sons of Scotland Benevolent Society "Edinburgh Camp no. 95"; founded in 1892; still active in 1900.
International Order of King's Daughters (lodge name not known); active 1892 to 1898; connected to Congregational Church.

International Order of King's Daughters "United Service Circle"; active in 1896 only.

Catholic Order of Foresters "Court St. Mary's no. 350"; active in 1893 only.

Daughters of the King (lodge name not known); active 1894 to 1897.

OCCUPATIONAL AND POLITICAL

The Holy and Noble Order of the Knights of Labor "Unity Local Assembly no. 3151"; active 1884 to 1891.

The Holy and Noble Order of the Knights of Labor "Concord Local Assembly no. 4952"; active in 1886 only.

Industrial Brotherhood of Canada (lodge name not known); active 1891 to 1894.

Protestant Protective Association "Woodstock Council no. 56"; active in 1894 only.

Loyal Protestant Women of Canada (lodge name not known); active in 1894 only.

Sources: The information in Appendices One and Two has been compiled from a number of sources, the most useful of which were the newspapers from the two communities. For more detailed source citations in the case of specific lodges, consult the appropriate footnotes in Chapters Seven and Eight.
Appendix Two: Lodges Active in Ingersoll, 1800 - 1900

MASONIC

Ancient Free and Accepted Masons "King Hiram Lodge no. 37"; founded in 1803; still active in 1900; dormant 1832-4, 1836 to 1852; at various times known as "no. 21" and "no. 266".

Ancient Free and Accepted Masons "St John's Lodge no. 68"; founded in 1856; still active in 1900; in 1850s known as "no. 36."

Royal Arch Masons "Harris Chapter no. 41"; founded in 1870; still active in 1900; Dormant '83 - '85

Order of Owls "Oxford Nest no. 1"; active in 1888 only.

ORANGE

Loyal Orange Association "Loyal Orange Lodge no. 505"; active 1855 to 1867.

Loyal Orange Association. "Loyal Orange Lodge no. 1088"; active 1860 to 1861.

Loyal Orange Association. "Pride of Oxford Lodge no. 743"; founded in 1894; still active in 1900

Orange Young Britons "King William Lodge no. 188"; active 1878 to 1887; later "Young Men's Protestant Benevolent Association, Anchor Lodge no. 10."

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Samaritan Lodge no. 35"; founded in 1856; still active in 1900

Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Oxford Lodge no. 77"; founded in 1871; still active in 1900.

Independent Order of Odd Fellows "Unity Encampment no. 21"; founded in 1873; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Court Marquis of Lorne no. 6157"; founded in 1878; still active in 1900.

Ancient Order of Foresters "Princess Louise Circle no. 106" (Companions of the Forest); founded in 1891; still active in 1900.
**Ancient Order of Foresters** "Court Littlejohn no. 34" (juvenile); founded in 1891; still active in 1900.

**Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity** "Queen Victoria Lodge no. 115"; founded in 1888; still active in 1900.

**Canadian Order of Odd Fellows, Manchester Unity** "Victoria Lodge" (juvenile); founded in 1899; still active in 1900.

**Sons of Canada** "Ingersoll Lodge"; active 1889 to 1892.

**TEMPERANCE**

**Sons of Temperance** "Ingersoll Division no. 233"; active 1854 to 1867; dormant 1856 to 1863.

**Sons of Temperance** "Oxford Section" (Cadets of Temperance); active in 1855 only.

**Sons of Temperance** (lodge name not known, Cadets of Temperance); active in 1863 only.

**Independent Order of Good Templars** "Ingersoll Temple no. 109"; active 1856 to 1864.

**Independent Order of Good Templars** "Northern Light Lodge no. 138"; active 1870 to 1877; dormant 1871 to 1872.

**Independent Order of Good Templars** "Union Lodge"; active in 1877 only; described as a "colored" lodge.

**Independent Order of Good Templars** "Beacon Lodge no. 686"; active 1883 to 1886.

**Independent Order of Good Templars** "Ingersoll Lodge no. 287"; active 1890 to 1891.

**British American Order of Good Templars** "Thames no. 369"; active in 1885 only.

**Royal Templars of Temperance** "Empire Council no. 192"; founded in 1885; still active in 1900.

**INSURANCE**

**Canadian Order of Foresters** "Court Oxford no. 12"; founded in 1878; still active in 1900; originally a lodge of the I.O.F., changed allegiance with the secession of 1879; dormant 1882 to 1890.
Canadian Order of Foresters "Court Ingersoll no. 301"; active in 1891 only; amalgamated with "Court Oxford."

Independent Order of Foresters "Court Pride of the West no. 19"; active in 1878 only; constitution revoked.

Independent Order of Foresters "Court Ingersoll no. 64"; active 1881 to 1882.

Independent Order of Foresters (lodge name not known); active in 1885 only.

Independent Order of Foresters "Court Ingersoll no. 798"; founded in 1891; still active in 1900.

Knights of the Maccabees "Solomon Tent no. 15"; active 1878 to 1883.

Knights of the Maccabees "Ingersoll Tent no. 43" active 1890 to 1897.

Ancient Order of United Workmen "Oak Lodge no. 120"; founded in 1881; still active in 1900; Dormant 1883 to 1889.

Order of Chosen Friends (lodge name not known); active in 1882 only.

Royal Arcanum "Ingersoll Council no. 748"; active 1885 to 1887.

International Fraternal Alliance (lodge name not known); active in 1890 only.

Canadian Order of Home Circles "Ingersoll Circle no. 52"; founded in 1893; still active in 1900.

Canadian Order of Chosen Friends (lodge name not known); active 1894 to 1895.

Woodmen of the World "Black Forest Camp"; active 1895 to 1897.

ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS

Catholic Mutual Benefit Association "Branch no. 19"; founded in 1883; still active in 1900.

Ladies' Catholic Benefit Association "Sacred Heart Branch no. 74"; active in 1891 only.
International Order of King's Daughters "Welcome Circle"; active 1889 to 1896.

International Order of King's Daughters "Mission Circle"; founded in 1889; still active in 1900.

International Order of King's Daughters "Lend a Hand Circle"; active 1889 to 1891.

International Order of King's Daughters "Inasmuch Circle"; active in 1892 only.

International Order of King's Daughters "City Union Circle"; founded in 1896; still active in 1900.

Emerald Beneficial Association "Sacred Heart(?) Lodge no. 13"; active 1891 to 1893.

Catholic Order of Foresters "Court Sacred Heart no. 270"; founded in 1892; still active in 1900.

Sons of Scotland "Heart of Midlothian Camp no. 64"; active 1892 to 1894.

Sons of England "Lodge Imperial no. 176" founded in 1893; still active in 1900.

OCCUPATIONAL AND POLITICAL

Knights of St. Crispin "Lodge no. 16"; active in 1874 only.

The Holy and Noble Order of the Knights of Labor "Pioneer Local Assembly no. 2416"; active 1882 to 1888.

Protestant Protective Association (lodge name not known); active in 1894 only.

Loyal Protestant Women of Canada (lodge name not known); active in 1894 only.

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   Princess Louise Circle, Ancient Order of Foresters,
     Ingersoll, Collection.
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   Victor Lauriston Collection.
   Woodstock Loyal Orange Association Records.

IV. Woodstock Public Library.
   Ethel Canfield Collection.
James Canfield Collection.

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R.W. Sawtell Collection.

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Tunaley Scrapbook Collection.

V. Woodstock Museum.

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VI. Ingersoll Sport Hall of Fame.

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