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Would You Sell Yourself For A Drink, Boy?: Masculinity and Fraternalism in the Ontario Temperance Movement, 1850-1914

Megan E. Baxter, *The University of Western Ontario*

Supervisor: McKenna, Katherine M., *The University of Western Ontario*

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in History

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Abstract

In popular culture and in historiography, the temperance movement has often been depicted as a movement by women to control men's drinking. Forgotten have been the thousands of men who identified themselves with the campaign for prohibition, creating for themselves an image of temperate masculinity that exemplified the attributes of responsibility and respectability. In nineteenth-century Ontario, men who had never taken a drink and those who struggled with the habit often joined fraternal lodges centered around the temperance cause, looking for common ground and assistance in avoiding alcohol in a society where alcohol use was normative. The Sons of Temperance, the International Order of Good Templars, and the Royal Templars of Temperance all adapted forms of fraternalism to promote their own ideas of an orderly society, free of class conflict, populated by benevolent patriarchs and grateful wives and daughters.

This dissertation draws on the histories of masculinity, women, class, religion, and culture to examine the contours of temperate masculinity in Ontario in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Influenced by emerging middle-class ideals and a Protestant post-millennial desire to create the Kingdom of God on earth, male temperance advocates worked to bring in prohibition, which they saw as a response to numerous social issues, including domestic violence, labour unrest, and poverty. Their critiques of these social issues were shallow, but they also brought early attention, in particular, to the problem of domestic violence.

Even before the advent of the Women's Christian Temperance Union in Ontario in 1885, these three fraternal temperance lodges admitted women as full members, allowing them access to power and social events within the lodges. However, women had limited access to internal offices, and the work to be performed to host occasions was often as gendered inside the lodges as it was outside. The world temperate men envisioned was one not the one they got, but for many decades, they lobbied hard for their cause, even though they failed to recognize the partial successes they achieved along the way.

Keywords: Temperance, prohibition, masculinity, fraternalism, Ontario, Sons of Temperance, International Order of Good Templars, Royal Templars of Temperance, domestic violence, class conflict, post-millennial Protestantism

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Introduction:
Would You Sell Yourself For a Drink, Boy?

"Would you sell yourself for a drink, boys,
A drink from the poisoned cup?
For a taste of the gleaming wine, boys,
Would you give your manhood up?

Would you bind yourselves with chains, boys,
And rivet the fetters fast?
Would you bolt your prison doors, boys,
Preventing escape at last?

...
Ah, no! A thousand times no! boys,
You were born for a noble end;
In you are your country's hopes, boys,
Her honor the boys must defend.

Then join the great abstinence band, boys,
And pledge yourselves strong against rum;
Stand firm as a rock to your pledge, boys,
And fight till the foe is o'ercome."¹

This poem, published in the temperance newspaper *The Camp Fire* in 1895, appeals to men from a movement that has long presumed to have been the domain of women. Lost in the historical shadows have been the many men who joined the temperance cause, looking for a way to control their own drinking, and the alcohol consumption of those around them, in order to shape society at large into an abstinent paradise. For the many men who joined the temperance

¹ "Would You?," *The Camp Fire*, Vol. 1, No. 10, April 1895.

movement in the nineteenth century, their identity as men was central to their commitment. The poem above displays a belief in the fettering impact of alcohol on masculinity, and makes an appeal to men to take responsibility for themselves, and for the nation. The temperance movement asked men to abstain from alcohol in order to create a steadfast and reliable cohort to guide society.

Temperate masculinity arose in a world in which alcohol consumption was an inescapable fact of life. Much of the supply was initially imported, although eventually breweries and distilleries were founded on Canadian soil to profit from this lucrative trade.² Others made their own for personal use. For legal traders and smugglers alike, importation of rum and other alcoholic beverages to Atlantic Canada was a profitable business.³ Port cities did a brisk business exchanging alcoholic goods for consumption by fishers and farmers. Sailors coming into port and soldiers garrisoned in cities often spent a portion of their earnings on alcohol and carousing, while drinking was worked into the patterns of everyday life for fishermen and outlying isolated communities.⁴ Local disparities existed in the types of alcohol consumed, with rum imported from the Caribbean being the primary drink in the Maritimes, brandy and rum in Lower Canada/Quebec, and whisky in Upper Canada/Ontario. Wine was consumed

² Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 20.

³ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 18.

⁴ Judith Fingard, "A Great Big Rum Shop": The Drink Trade in Victorian Halifax," *Tempered By Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces*, James H. Morrison and James Moreira, eds. (Porters Lake, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1988), 90.

mostly by local elites, while many settlers brewed their own beer and cider.⁵ In early rural Upper and Lower Canada, alcohol was part of the rhythms of an agricultural life. Among the habitants in Lower Canada, and with the arrival of the Loyalists in Upper Canada, small settlements were often physically distant from each other. Even in these circumstances, alcohol was still relatively easy to procure or make. In rural communities, it was customary to offer alcoholic beverages to those who came to help with barn-raising and other communal events.⁶ In the early decades of the nineteenth century, per capita alcohol consumption seems to have increased, although precise statistics on this matter are hard to determine.⁷ There is no way to measure the amount brought in by smugglers, or the quantity that was made and consumed in the home.

Drink had a place in the world of work and industry as well, including the fur trade, logging, and mining, where drink was part of doing business. Alcohol provided by employers was a regular part of the working day, and some workers withheld their labour if their liquor rations were not distributed. Soldiers received a daily ration of rum for their services. Often, men who worked for wages were handed their pay in a pub, and encouraged to spend some there.⁸ The promise of alcohol was a way for employers to keep manual labourers

⁵ Heron, 19.

⁶ Catharine Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood" *Canadian Historical Review*, 82(3) (September 2001), 443-444.

⁷ Heron, 51-52. Heron looks at licensing laws and drinking patterns to arrive at this conclusion.

⁸ Heron, 32-33.

docile.⁹ Families of wealth had well-stocked liquor stores, and hosted events at which toasts to various figures kept the alcohol flowing.¹⁰ Political meetings took place in bars, and alcohol on the hustings at the time of elections was common and expected.¹¹ Although frontier conditions may have exacerbated alcohol use among those who lived and worked in remote areas, the prevalence of alcohol consumption in daily life was not a pattern unique to Canada. In England and the United States, alcohol was similarly a staple of everyday life, and used in many of the same ways: at election time, while working, and on social occasions.¹² Alcohol use was expected and demanded across the English-speaking world and beyond.

Despite this long custom of alcohol as an aid to work and a social lubricant, it was not seen as a benign substance. For almost as long as Canadians have drunk alcoholic beverages, there have also been concerns about the effects. To alcohol was attributed most or all of the blame for violence, poverty, and poor health in nineteenth-century society. Even before organized temperance groups took root in the early landscape of British North America, some settlers were

⁹ Peter Way, *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780-1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 183.

¹⁰ Katherine M.J. McKenna, *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and Her Family, 1755-1849* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 79 and Bruce Curtis, "The 'Most Splendid Pageant Ever Seen': Grandeur, The Domestic, and Condescension in Lord Durham's Political Theatre," *The Canadian Historical Review* (89:1, March 2008), 60, 77.

¹¹ Heron, 40.

¹² For drinking customs in England and the United States see, for example, Norman Longmate, *The Waterdrinkers: A History of Temperance* (London, England: Hamish Hamilton, 1968) and Madelon Powers, *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman's Saloon, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

concerned about drinking, although initially they tended to be more inclined to promote moderation than abstinence.¹³ Although today we think of alcoholism as an illness, early temperance advocates saw it as a matter of opportunity and moral will to abstain. This concern soon manifested itself in a plethora of organizations dedicated to helping members abstain from alcohol.

The tendency of historians has been to describe the temperance movement as either a woman's movement, or to ignore the importance of gender entirely.¹⁴ The organization that most historians to date have focused on has been the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), which was unquestionably one of the most important and influential temperance organizations in the late nineteenth century, and certainly one of the first organizations of any sort to be entirely run by women and exercise significant political influence. The WCTU was founded in 1874 in the United States, following the year of the Women's Temperance Crusade, which began in New York State after a temperance speech given by Dr. Dio Lewis on December 12, 1873.¹⁵ The movement then spread into many Midwestern states, and was particularly prevalent in Ohio, Indiana, and

¹³ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry*, 17.

¹⁴ Sharon Cook's *Through Sunshine and Shadow*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), Ruth Bordin's *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990), and Barbara Epstein, *Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1981), have all considered the role of women in the movement, but not generally of men. Jan Noel's *Canada Dry* looks at the effects of drunkenness as gendered, showing drunkards as men and victims of drunkenness as women, but by far and large, she does not take gender into consideration as an important aspect of the temperance movement. Noel, 97.

¹⁵ Jack Blocker, *"Give To The Winds Thy Fears": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 11.

Illinois.¹⁶ The WCTU coalesced from the organizations and alliances made during these events, and held its first convention in November of 1874.¹⁷ The WCTU was carried to Canada in 1885 by Letitia Youmans, a former teacher. Although Youmans herself would state in her autobiography that the first WCTU in Canada had organized spontaneously in Owen Sound, it was her Union in Picton that spawned the various local, provincial and Dominion branches of the Canadian WCTU.¹⁸

Predating the WCTU by decades, and often unacknowledged, were the huge number of temperance societies that started in the United States, but found fertile ground for growth north of the border. One of the first temperance groups in existence was the Washingtonians, founded in 1840 by working-class apprentices in Maryland. They are widely acknowledged as a precursor to the present-day Alcoholics Anonymous, with a mission to help members in mutual efforts to renounce alcohol.¹⁹ Unfortunately, although the Washingtonians are mentioned in virtually every book on temperance, they have received very little focused historical study. They do not seem to have had a significant Canadian presence. The fraternal temperance lodges that succeeded the Washingtonians were more successful in spreading to Canada, and became the predominant way

¹⁶ Blocker, 24.

¹⁷ Bordin, 36.

¹⁸ Letitia Youmans, *Campaign Echoes: The Autobiography of Mrs. Letitia Youmans, The Pioneer of the White Ribbon Movement in Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), 312. Cook, 18.

¹⁹ Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 133, Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, *Drink in Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1993), 20.

for men to belong to the temperance movement. They were organizations loosely based on the practices of more mainstream fraternal groups such as the Freemasons and Odd Fellows. Smaller lodges rose and fell, but three organizations persisted over decades and spread so widely that they left behind extensive lodge records, literature, and administrative records of the higher levels of the organization. The three most successful temperance lodges were the Sons of Temperance, the Independent (later International) Order of Good Templars (IOGT), and the Royal Templars of Temperance. The Sons of Temperance began in the 1840s in the United States, but spread to Ontario within a decade. The present-day remnants of the organization describe the aims of the historical Sons of Temperance in these terms:

Its objects were to shield its members from the evils of intemperance, to afford mutual assistance in times of sickness, provide a sum of money at the death of a member, to elevate character, to enlist workers in an earnest and noble endeavour to reclaim those who fell under the influence of strong drink, to save the young from the terrible power of the drink habit, and to assist in every way the suppression of the drink traffic.²⁰

In practice, individual lodges attempted to fill all these roles with varying degrees of success.

The Independent (later International) Order of Good Templars was founded in the 1850s in New York State.²¹ It spread to Canada quickly, and

²⁰ "Our Heritage," Sons of Temperance website, <http://www.sonsoftemperance.abelgratis.co.uk/history.htm>, accessed May 5, 2008.

²¹ Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 7.

eventually expanded worldwide, particularly in British colonies. While the Sons of Temperance aimed some of their recruiting efforts at men who wished to stop drinking, the IOGT attempted to attract those who had never drunk, and placed a higher emphasis on the respectability of their members. The Royal Templars of Temperance were a comparatively late entry to the scene in Ontario, with the first lodge founded in Toronto in 1878.²² Although it appears that people rarely held a membership in more than one temperance lodge, the lodge records left behind show that these three organizations were strikingly similar in how they conducted meetings and promoted their cause. The temperance lodges attracted tens of thousands of members in Ontario in the nineteenth century. They also had remarkable longevity, lasting several decades into the twentieth century. A complete accounting of membership totals for all the temperance lodges is difficult to accurately assess, but in 1894, an IOGT newspaper reported that the IOGT Ontario lodges alone had 8000 members in that year, but lamented that it was a falling-off from the peak in Ontario of 35,000 members in 1876. In comparison, Sharon Cook states in her book on the WCTU that, at its height in 1914, the national organization counted 16,000 members.²³ The temperance lodges peaked in membership earlier than the WCTU (and the WCTU may have

²² Rev. W.W. Peele, *A Short History of the Liquor Traffic in Canada* (Canadian Temperance Federation, 1929.)

²³ *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 2. Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 211 and 214.

contributed to falling lodge numbers), but the lodges continued to attract members well into the twentieth century.

Joining the lodge was similar to other fraternal orders: a prospective member had to be put forward by a current member, and their membership voted upon. On entry into the lodge, new members were given passwords and regalia to use at meetings, and introduced to the solemn rituals of lodge life. Temperance lodges were active in lobbying for laws to ban alcohol in their towns and counties, brought in speakers to spread the temperance gospel, and organized events to raise their profile. They avoided identification with any one political party, arguing instead that temperance men should vote for candidates who campaigned for prohibitory laws. Temperance was a major political issue for most of the nineteenth century. The lack of study of the temperance movement's political impact is curious, perhaps due the historiographical focus on temperance women, and women's limited ability to formally engage with the political process during most of this time period.

The scope and influence of the various temperance organizations resulted in a political atmosphere in early British North American society that frequently and passionately debated the merits of restricting the sale of alcohol. One of the first prohibition laws passed in the United Canadas was proposed by Christopher Dunkin in 1864. The Dunkin Act provided for local option laws in Quebec and Ontario, which allowed residents to vote on banning the sale of alcoholic beverages in individual counties and municipalities, and to enact local

prohibition if there was a majority vote to do so.²⁴ After Confederation, the Dunkin Act was replaced by the Canada Temperance Act of 1878. This act was more familiarly known as the Scott Act, after its sponsor, Sir Richard William Scott. The Scott Act extended local option to all provinces of Canada, and towns and rural areas often passed prohibitory laws within their bounds.²⁵ However, since residents of a dry county or town could easily get to a wet one nearby and transport alcohol back, the temperance movement believed that national restriction of the manufacture and sale of alcohol was necessary. A national plebiscite on prohibition was held in 1898, under the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and although the temperance forces won a majority, Laurier did not enact any legislation on the subject. Faced with a result that saw English-speaking Canada vote for prohibition and Quebec vote strongly against it, Laurier chose not to alienate his Quebecois constituency, arguing that the majority that won in the plebsicite was still only a minority of the electorate.²⁶ For all the political action by temperance advocates, widespread prohibition was unachievable until the necessities of the Great War made it more politically palatable to ban alcohol for the duration, in the interests of diverting supplies to food and war efforts. Ontario passed the Ontario Temperance Act in 1916, which outlawed the sale of alcohol, while manufacture remained under federal control.

²⁴ Pierre Corbeil, "Dunkin, Christopher," *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, <http://www.biographi.ca/EN/ShowBio.asp?BioId=39616>, accessed May 5, 2008.

²⁵ Cook, 42.

²⁶ "No!" *The Camp Fire* (March 1899), 1.

This led to an awkward situation where it was legal to make alcohol, but not to offer it for sale, which explains why there was so much Canadian alcohol available to be sold by bootleggers in Canada and the United States. The federal government intervened for only a few months near the end of the war, outlawing manufacture as well, but this law was quickly reversed with victory.²⁷

Despite frequent setbacks, the involvement of temperance advocates in the political sphere was strong through the nineteenth century, and prominent politicians were also members of the various temperance lodges. Father of Confederation Samuel Tilley of New Brunswick rose to the position of Most Worthy Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance of North America (the highest position in that organization), while another Son, Sir George William Ross, served as premier of Ontario from 1899-1905. Tilley took his temperance views very seriously, and introduced a Prohibition Bill in New Brunswick that increased penalties for selling and consuming alcohol, while Ross backed off from prohibition once he became premier, which was likely a factor in his eventual election defeat.²⁸ In addition to these prominent politicians, temperance lodges also contributed grassroots political organization and lobbying. They were frequently frustrated by the failure of governments to enact legislation they

²⁷ Gerald Hallowell, *Prohibition in Ontario, 1919-1923* (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1972), 73.

²⁸ Noel, 44-45. David Burley, "Sir George William Ross, *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, http://www.biographi.ca/009004-119.01-e.php?&id_nbr=7682&interval=20&&PHPSESSID=o39h9pj8rdc5leet9knbptbco3, accessed November 17, 2008.

believed to be self-evidently beneficial, but continued the struggle. The belief in political action to achieve a better society set them apart from other fraternal lodges.

Outside of the political realm, temperate lodge brothers struggled to establish the validity of their beliefs on the day-to-day lives of those around them. In particular, their view that abstinence was central to a responsible masculinity was often derided by those around them. Masculinity was closely tied in to how men made their livelihoods, and in many of these, drinking was part of the culture. Occupational groupings of men ranged from the trappers and timbermen of the resource industries , to yeoman farmers, to the economic elites, as well as the middle class in emerging urban areas, who embraced an ideology of respectable restraint. Each group had a different concept of what a man should be, and acted accordingly in their workplaces, leisure pursuits, and homes. There was no hegemonic mode of masculinity in nineteenth-century Canada, but instead a patchwork of contested identities. For many of these groups, drinking was seen as a particularly masculine pastime, and the tavern a distinctly male locale. The symbolism of the tavern as a male space was potent, even though historical evidence suggests it was a far more heterogeneous space.²⁹

²⁹ For the contested realities of tavern life in nineteenth-century Ontario, see Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2009).

If the tavern was seen as a male space, the temperance movement has been remembered as its polar opposite, a political movement entirely populated by women. The men who joined the movement have been forgotten, elided in a binary that pits reforming women against drunken men. Despite this historical amnesia, temperance was not for women only. Men who joined the movement existed in a curiously awkward space, even in their own time. Amidst the world of multiple masculinities in nineteenth-century Ontario, they created a gendered identity that centered on the decision to stop drinking alcohol entirely. It was an extreme choice in a world that seemed awash in drink, but that action was at the centre of a masculine identity that emphasized respectability, responsibility, and stewardship. Far from abdicating a masculine role by forsaking the tavern, temperance men developed their own gender ideal. They drew strongly upon notions of independence, respectability, and strength, but added in ideals of community responsibility that stood in opposition to the emerging liberal order. In the end, they would argue that they were the only ones who had attained true masculinity, weaving this ideal into class aspirations, religious devotions, and political practice.

The historical impact of the fraternal lodges in the temperance movement has so far gone largely unstudied. They are often mentioned tangentially in larger works on temperance, but have had no concentrated study devoted to them. This is not the result of scarce primary material. The fraternal lodges were part of a North American temperance publishing boom, putting out newspapers,

pamphlets, and magazines in large quantities. Their newspapers largely consisted of reports on the campaigns they were waging, minutes of national lodge conferences, temperance fiction, poetry, letters to the editor, and advice to members. The lodges were also frequently reported on in the mainstream press. In addition, the minutes and membership rolls of temperance lodges are available in national, provincial, and county archives, and prominent members left behind diaries and letters related to their participation in the movement.³⁰ These records are scattered across the country, but the majority are in Ontario and the Maritimes. This dissertation focuses on their impact in Ontario, where there is a rich historiographic context in which to place them both within the temperance movement and within Ontario society as a whole. Where possible, sources from the Maritimes have been used to fill out the picture, but more extensive work on the temperance movement in that region would be fruitful. This work draws on individual lodge records, minutes, membership lists, correspondence, reports from county, provincial, and national meetings, temperance newspapers, pamphlets, as well as articles about temperance and the lodges in national newspapers and other periodicals.

³⁰ Temperance newspapers that have survived include *The Camp Fire*, *The Canadian Son of Temperance and Literary Gem*, *The Cadet*, *The Canadian Temperance Advocate*, *Canada's White Ribbon Bulletin* and *The Canadian White Ribbon Tidings*. Minute books and other documents of individual lodges are available in various archives, as are the papers of prominent temperance advocates including Sir Samuel Tilley. For a recent study of the daily diary of a Nova Scotia businessman and Son of Temperance, see Anne Wood, *Evangelical Balance Sheet: Character, Family and Business in Mid-Victorian Nova Scotia* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006).

Although temperance was a consistently important political issue in the nineteenth century, few historians agree on its methods, aims, and effects. To date, the Canadian historiography has not been extensive. The two major works on temperance in Canada have been Jan Noel's *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation*, and Sharon Cook's *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1940*, both of which are sympathetic to the temperance movement. *Canada Dry* looks at early temperance waves as a mass movement in Canada, particularly in the Maritimes and in Ontario. Noel identifies those who participated in the various crusades as part of a cross-class collaboration that had lasting impacts on the drinking habits of Canada. She also examines the way in which temperance was an outpouring of religious belief combined with an increasingly settled population looking to increase stability. The other major work on temperance, Sharon Cook's *Through Sunshine and Shadow*, examines the WCTU through the lens of evangelical feminism, tracing the beliefs and actions of the women who joined and how they manifested in the motto "Do Everything" adopted by the organization. Both books were published within the last 30 years, and as such, represent fairly recent entries into a field that has been explored in much greater depth outside the Canadian context. In addition, there are a few books of articles on alcohol consumption in Canada, including Craig Heron's social history of

alcohol, *Booze: A Distilled History* and Julia Roberts' study of tavern culture in Ontario, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada*.³¹

In general, historians have seen temperance in one of two ways: as a “stern and repressive paranoia, a driving intolerance of the individual differences and sacred personal freedoms,” or as a vital and necessary movement that addressed urgent social concerns.³² The trajectory of temperance historiography was initially quite clear. Immediately after the passing of Prohibition in Canada and in the United States, participants in the movement wrote celebratory histories of their struggles and biographies of major temperance figures. With the repeal of the Ontario Temperance Act in 1927, and the 18th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1933, however, the next

³¹ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), Heron, *Booze*, Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2009), Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, *Drink in Canada*, James H. Morrison and James Moreira, eds., *Tempered By Rum: Rum in the History of the Maritime Provinces* (Porters Lake, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1988).

³² Norman Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil: An Interpretation of American Prohibition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1976), 6. For other historians who see temperance as unnecessary restriction of personal freedoms, see: Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Random House, 1955), Andrew Sinclair, *Era of Excess: A Social History of the Prohibition Movement* (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), Robert Wiebe, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), and Sean Cashman, *Prohibition, the Lie of the Land* (New York: Free Press, 1981). For those who see temperance as a necessary corrective to society, see, for example, Noel, *Canada Dry*; Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*, and Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990).

generation of historians tended to view the temperance movement as an authoritarian overreaction to a minor problem, led by “bigoted cranks.”³³

After the 1950s, the historiography of temperance became more difficult to neatly categorize. Most of the historians who took up the issue in this time period were sympathetic to the temperance cause, although this support was by no means universal. In the last 30 years, several of the books on the temperance movement have incorporated a significant gender dimension into their arguments, spurred by feminist interest in social and women’s history.

Temperance has implicitly (and often explicitly) been presented as a case of moral women trying to reform drunken men.³⁴ Even the gender of the historians has been taken into consideration by one Canadian historian, who has written that histories that consider alcohol consumption favourably are largely written by “male historians in Canada, including those turning their hand to working-class history,” whereas those who have approved of the temperance movement have been largely “female social historians [who] have joined this choir with withering denunciation of the damage inflicted on families by male drunkards.”³⁵ In recent Canadian historiography, there is a germ of truth to this statement, but it is unnecessarily reductionist of the field and the historians writing in it.

³³ Bordin, xv

³⁴ Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*, Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*.

³⁵ Heron, 14.

There have been male historians who have written favourably about temperance, although over many decades, there has been a tendency to omit any discussion of gender.³⁶ Feminist historians have presented temperance as a movement populated primarily by women who tried to prevent men from abusing mothers, wives, and daughters through drunkenness, and to address the physical violence and poverty thought to result from alcohol use. Sharon Cook summed up the issue in gendered terms, arguing that the temperance movement was a reaction by women to the dangers caused by industrialization, urbanization, and secularization, and, more obliquely, by masculinity itself, including:

men's tendency to enjoy violence in sports, a double standard of sexual morality, resulting in a "white slave trade," their indulgence in personally destructive pastimes, such as gambling and tobacco use, and very important, their violent behaviour towards wives and children, often as a result of drunkenness.³⁷

Similarly, Jan Noel identifies the main problem with alcohol consumption as men and their violent behavior, writing that "often the proletarian's 'Blue Monday' was 'Black Monday' for his wife and children."³⁸

³⁶ See, for example, two works separated in years but which similarly fail to consider gender as an object of study: Clark, *Deliver Us From Evil* and *The Dry Years: Prohibition and Social Change in Washington* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1965), and Austin K. Kerr, *Organized for Prohibition: A New History of the Anti-Saloon League* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

³⁷ Cook, 6. In the American context, Ruth Bordin identifies the same gender dynamic in the founding and operation of the WCTU.

³⁸ Noel, 6. While Noel does look at the early Canadian temperance cause as one that appealed to both genders, she does not include any significant analysis of masculinity within the movement.

However, looking at temperance as a women's issue obscures the fact that not only men drank, and that women were not the only participants in the movement. Women could, and did, drink, and men were also concerned about drinking, poverty, violence, and respectability. While temperance was an issue that had a particular cachet for women, men also actively identified themselves as temperance supporters, and worked for similar goals. Within the temperance movement, maternal ideology existed alongside paternalistic concern for the working classes, and men and women worked together to steer the course of society, alter the public face of their streets, and control the private domain of their homes. The relative political power of men and women affected how these groups worked to achieve their goals. The men's lodges often felt that they could work the system for their political goals, while the WCTU faced the reality that they had to work without having access to the vote.

Masculinity as an area of historical inquiry does not have a long past. In many ways, it owes its genesis to the emerging field of women's history in the 1960s and 1970s. As writers of women's history began to create a layered picture about the meaning of gender in women's lives, and the cultural ideas, structures, and institutions that maintained and disseminated ideas of gender, eventually, by the 1990s, some historians argued that gender as an organizing principle of society also affected the lives of men. Although men and women were in drastically different positions in society, and had vastly different abilities to alter or resist existing norms, the unspoken assumptions of gender helped to shape

men's lives as much as they did women's. Even the name of the area of historical inquiry is still, to some degree, up for grabs. Gender historians who study men's experiences have described their work as looking variously at "manhood," "manliness," and "masculinity." Part of the reason for this variation comes with the changes in terms over time, and the need to differentiate works on masculinity from other histories that concern men but do not consider gender as a topic of inquiry – which often seem to encompass most of the rest of the historical field. Work on maleness in history encompasses time periods when the terminology was itself shifting, as Gail Bederman examines in her book covering the period 1880-1917 when the term "manliness" was used in opposition to "masculinity." "Manliness" was the positive signifier of maleness in the United States until the 1890s. It denoted a respectable, self-restrained, independent, honourable man. "Masculinity," until the closing decade of the nineteenth century, included both negative and positive aspects of maleness. Masculinity was something that any man, no matter the race or class, could attain. Manliness was reserved for those who conformed to a specific, white, class-based ideal.³⁹ Choosing the terms with which to refer to the entire field of historical inquiry into the gendered experiences of men is, to some degree, an arbitrary one. I will use the term "masculinity" as it suggests the critical interrogation of how men experienced gender that a study of "manliness" may not. Outside of the field of

³⁹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 17-18.

history, masculinity is also the general term used for the examination of maleness in sociology, cultural, and media studies. But although I situate my work within a framework of masculinity, the fact remains that in the time period under study, “manliness” would be the common parlance for men when describing their identities as such.

The study of masculinity outside of history has been much more extensive than the available literature on historical expressions of male gender. Drawing from cultural and media studies, masculinity has been a fruitful field for many gender theorists. Tim Edwards, a sociologist, has divided the relatively short history of the study of masculinity into three “waves,” paralleling, in a much shorter time period, the division of feminism into first, second, and third waves. According to Edwards, the first wave of masculinity studies coincided with second wave feminism, and was principally concerned with examining gender as a social construct, and parsing out the ways in which commonly expressed forms of masculinity were detrimental to both men and women. The “second wave” of masculinity studies took place in the late 1980s and early 1990s against a backdrop of a rising men’s movement, as typified by books such as Robert Bly’s *Iron John*, which advised a return by men to a so-called “natural” masculinity of which they had been deprived by society and its constraints.⁴⁰ Reacting to both the “first wave” and this men’s movement, second wave appraisals of

⁴⁰ Robert Bly, *Iron John: A Book About Men* (Don Mills, Ont.: Addison-Wesley, 1990).

masculinity focused on how gender affected power and created structures of control. Although the second wave started to look at plural masculinities, it rejected the notion that masculinities were created equal, and that there was any kind of “level playing field between the sexes.” Theories of power, and, in particular, of hegemonic masculinity and its impact on women and other masculinities were of primary concern to second wave authors.⁴¹

Edwards argued that, within only a few decades, there had recently been a shift into a third wave of masculinity studies, one that draws upon theorists like Judith Butler to conceptualize masculinity as a particular performance of gender. (Butler started to publish on performativity in the early 1990s, which somewhat complicates this periodization of three waves.) In the third wave, masculinity is interrogated as a series of interrelated practices that make up an identity. As one author put it, “the sense of manliness as continuous unbroken performance highlights the pressure on men to keep to the script, to follow the code – not to break character – for any divergence would show that one is not a true man....”⁴² The performance of masculinity is seen to be heavily dependent on and oppositional to other performances of both gender and sexuality. This

⁴¹ Tim Edwards, *Cultures of Masculinity* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 1-3

⁴² Herbert Sussman, *Masculine Identities: The History and Meanings of Manliness* (Denver: Praeger, 2012), 8. Other books that could be classified as part of this “third-wave” of studies of masculinity include: Stephen M. Whitehead, *Men and Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002.)

wave, Edwards says, is more interdisciplinary in nature, and often slippery to define, intersecting with queer and performance theory.⁴³

While this periodization of the study of masculinity may work for the field as a whole, it does not describe the study of masculinity in history well. Of the histories that have been written about masculinity and expressions of manhood, too few have been written to determine whether or not the “waves” Edwards identifies hold true for this field as well. Historians have, of course, also looked at the ways in which masculinity is constructed in opposition to femininity. To be masculine, one had to eschew qualities that were often associated with women, and were identified as weaknesses. This did not necessarily mean that there was no place for compassion and gentleness for nineteenth-century men, but these were the kinds of attributes that were sometimes taken up by opponents. As Cecilia Morgan found, when examining the reaction to and from Methodism in early nineteenth-century Ontario, those who embraced emotion and self-sacrifice in religion were attacked as coming “dangerously close to embracing “feminine qualities.”⁴⁴ Similarly, Timothy Compeau, in examining Loyalist men in the American revolution, stated that

⁴³ Edwards, 3. See also: Christine Ramsay, ed., *Making It Like A Man: Canadian Masculinities in Practice* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2011), John Tosh, “Hegemonic Masculinity and the History of Gender,” *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2004), 41-58. Tosh explores the ways in which “hegemonic masculinity” has been used by historians, and the possibilities it opens up for study.

⁴⁴ Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 108-115.

they found their masculinity constantly under attack by patriots, having to defend the privilege they had assumed for so long against those who saw their political affiliations as suspect and effeminate.⁴⁵ When attacking political opponents, the first stab was almost always to challenge their ability to govern themselves and others, a notion which tended to be deeply entangled with ideas of masculinity. That attacks on masculinity were often performative in nature has been explored at length by historians, some of whom have examined the performative nature of masculinity in nineteenth century Ontario at logging camps, bees, plowing matches, and taverns in Upper Canada.⁴⁶ It was a space dominated by men who worked matters out amongst themselves by performing cultural scripts of masculinity.

Fraternalism was seen as a particularly masculine arena for developing and performing such scripts. The temperance lodges were a uniquely political form of fraternalism, but they did share many other similarities to other fraternal orders, including an emphasis on effective ritual. There has been no extended

⁴⁵ Timothy Compeau, *Dishonoured Americans: Loyalist Manhood and Political Death in Revolutionary America*, Ph.D. dissertation, Electronic Thesis and Dissertation Repository (London, Ontario: University of Western Ontario, 2015) Paper 2712. <http://ir.lib.uwo.ca/etd/2712>

⁴⁶ Kevin B. Walmsley, "The Public Importance of Men and the Importance of Public Men," *Sport and Gender in Canada*, eds. Philip White and Kevin Young (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27. Steven Maynard, "Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History," *Labour/La Travail* 23 (Spring 1989), 159-169. Catherine Anne Wilson, "Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood," *The Canadian Historical Review* 82.3 (Sep 2001), 441-443, and "A Manly Art: Plowing, Plowing Matches, and Rural Masculinity in Ontario, 1800-1930," *The Canadian Historical Review* 95.2 (June 2014). See also Roberts, *In Mixed Company*, 95-99.

work on temperance lodges, although they can be situated within the larger historiography on fraternalism as a nineteenth century phenomenon. Although one historian claims that ritual took up so much time in fraternal lodges that there was sometimes little opportunity for socializing and making business contacts, most have asserted that the primary function of these groups was to forge links between men of the middle class, creating a physical space for networking in an industrializing society.⁴⁷ As historian Mark Carnes states, “in an impersonal and bewildering urban environment, the orders provided cohesive social networks,” offering both potentially important contacts, and material and moral support in times of distress.⁴⁸ Fraternalism offered a way for a mobile population to make connections as they moved from place to place. Membership could be transferred between lodges, and thus served as an effective way to help newcomers put down roots in unfamiliar settings.⁴⁹ This ability to move to a new city and have immediate access to the members and resources of a lodge mitigated the dislocation that mobile young men might otherwise have felt. In the case of the temperance lodges, they also tried to

⁴⁷ Mark C. Carnes, “Middle-Class Men and the Solace of Fraternal Ritual,” *Meanings for Manhood: Constructing Masculinity in Victorian America*, Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 39.

⁴⁸ Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 2.

⁴⁹ Christopher J. Anstead, “Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony” (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Western Ontario, 1992), 19.

ensure that mobile men had likeminded individuals to turn to, instead of being tempted by new friends deep in their cups.

Fraternalism was markedly masculine, although temperance lodges diverged strongly from the norm. Other fraternal orders were spaces in which men could socialize, mingle, carouse, and celebrate a certain kind of masculinity without the presence of women. Although many fraternal orders eventually created auxiliaries or companion all-women lodges, the two sexes rarely mingled. By creating a space that explicitly excluded women and the uninitiated, fraternal men asserted their right to a separate sphere that existed outside of (although was not unaffected by) the business and political nature of the “public sphere.” The rituals that fraternal organizations created to initiate members placed heavy emphasis on paternal power, and Mark Carnes has argued that “[f]raternal ritual provided solace and psychological guidance during young men’s troubled passage to manhood in Victorian America.”⁵⁰ Fraternalism offered men a vision of the world that was organized on the basis of close personal connections between men. The masculinity that the lodges promoted relied not on individuals, but on brothers, helping each other in times of need, and sharing times of triumph – such as rising through the ranks of the more hierarchical lodges, including the Freemasons. It gave them a ritual space without women, which coincided with the increasing concern in the nineteenth

⁵⁰ Carnes, 18. See also Mary Ann Clawson, “Nineteenth-Century Women’s Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders,” *Signs* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn 1986), 40-61.

century over the “feminization” of religion and the churches.⁵¹ In contrast, the temperance lodges admitted women as full members, offering a distinct challenge to the idea that fraternal orders were inherently homosocial.

Although the practice of calling each other “brother” was intended to emphasize the communality of the lodge experience, in practice, fraternal orders were heavily hierarchical. Men could climb the ladder through designated ranks or “degrees” to attain higher and higher status within the lodge.⁵² Membership and rank within lodge space were denoted by regalia, which could tell members at a glance where they stood in relation to other members. These “material indicators of an initiate’s status” bolstered the feeling of commonality between members while keeping internal lodge hierarchy perpetually visible.⁵³ Within the world of the lodge existed an organizational structure that ranked men according to how much of the inner mysteries of the lodge they had accessed, allowing opportunity for advancement. Within temperance lodges, the presence of women and the lack of emphasis on attaining higher degrees within the organization made the hierarchy less rigid, although not absent. When higher degrees did exist, they were open to lodge sisters as well as brothers.

⁵¹ Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977), 97-99. See also Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 68-69.

⁵² Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*, 121.

⁵³ Clifford Putney, “Service Over Secrecy: How Lodge-Style Fraternalism Yielded to Men’s Service Clubs,” *Freemasonry in Context: History, Ritual, Controversy*, eds. Arturo de Hoyos and S. Brent Morris (Toronto: Lexington Books, 2004), 106.

Fraternal rituals offered a buffer from nineteenth-century life, hearkening back to a mythic past, and reaffirming men's place as producers and benevolent patriarchs. At the same time, they accommodated the modern world by providing insurance against the vagaries of nineteenth-century life, and promoting work habits that were essential to the industrial workplace. Their preoccupation with the past was accompanied by a desire to carve out a place for themselves in the present. Fraternalism provided an "illusion of changelessness while providing means of response to these fundamental transformations."⁵⁴ Fraternal rituals purported to be ancient, despite the fact that they underwent frequent revision.⁵⁵ Lodges affirmed the individualism that industrial capitalism and the liberal order prized while cloaking it in praise of craft labour and the creation of artificial kinship ties and shared values.⁵⁶ Rituals were rooted in a mythic past that valorized masculine friendship, power, work ethic, and responsibility.⁵⁷ The temperance lodges took many of the same ideas and tied them to political action and to a masculinity that hinged on the act of taking the abstinence pledge.

Although the temperance lodges were part of the swell of fraternal organizations, they altered the script drastically on the subject of women. The

⁵⁴ Anstead, 18.

⁵⁵ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 33.

⁵⁶ Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 14. Dumenil, 109.

⁵⁷ Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood*, 30.

idea of women restraining men who resist interference runs through most examinations of temperance. Temperance movements are seen as part of a “chorus of control” by which “women attempted to change men’s public habits.”⁵⁸ Even when authors acknowledge that some men had sympathies with the temperance movement, it tends to be written off as an aberration. This view not only leads to easy dismissal of women and their temperance work as that of cranks and busybodies, it also presumes that each sex had a univocal response to alcohol use that is not borne out by the historical record. The presumption that all women wanted temperance obscures the women who did not particularly care one way or the other, as well as the many women who themselves imbibed, sometimes to excess, and saw temperance as an imposition on their lives.⁵⁹ It takes the social reformer and makes her the normative model of nineteenth-century femininity. While social reform was one of the major ways in which interested women could stake their claim to public action, it should be remembered that active social reformers do not represent the complete experience of nineteenth-century femininity. The lives of women, affected as they were by class, race, and religion, as well as personal inclinations, were much more complex than that.

However, while the temperance movement attracted many men, mostly through the lodges, even for them, it was an issue that was perceived to be of

⁵⁸ E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 252.

⁵⁹ Julia Roberts, 147-152, Craig Heron, *Booze*, 36.

particular interest to women. Drunken men and their failure to provide, or even ability to abuse, their female relations, laid bare the economic and political dependence of women on men. Perhaps it was because of alcohol's clear effect on women that the temperance lodges were able to alter the usual fraternal model. While the earliest temperance lodges created female auxiliaries, much like other fraternal organizations, by the mid-nineteenth century, the Sons of Temperance had voted to admit women as equal members, and the IOGT and Royal Templars invited women to join as full members from their beginnings.⁶⁰ Although women may not have held the reins of power in these organizations, they did participate, held office, and gave of their time and effort to work side by side with men in a common cause. Within these organizations, which went to great lengths to establish their respectability, there was the potential to mingle.

Admittance of women, however, did not point to an organization where relations between the sexes were radically different, nor to solutions that addressed the economic and physical dependency of women on men, nor the reliance of men on women's unpaid labour. Temperance lodges emphasized the importance of men in providing both a physical setting and the financial and emotional stability for women to create a domestic haven. The home was seen as a necessary retreat for men at the end of the day, a place apart from the world

⁶⁰ "Grand Worthy Patriarch's Report," *The Abstinence*, Vol. 1, No. 2, September, 1856. See also William Turnbull, *The Good Templars: A History of the Rise and Progress of the Independent Order of Good Templars, 1851-1901* (Jubilee Volume, 1901), 183.

and untouched by its problems where they could be nourished by the loving homes the wives had created. The creation of the home was often seen as practically effortless, obscuring the immense amounts of necessary work done by women.⁶¹ Although the cozy home was presented as a domestic ideal for everyone, the ability to achieve it was contingent on the class of the men on whom women were dependent. Working-class women never had the ability to stay purely within the domestic sphere, as their labour (often sporadic and exploited) was necessary to keep their families afloat financially.⁶² Despite the messy realities that precluded the possibility of separate spheres ever truly existing, the ideology was no less pervasive and powerful.

At the start of the time period in question, class structure was very much in flux. Towns and cities were growing across Ontario, creating urban centers to which increasing numbers moved, giving more room for the emergence of a middle class.⁶³ In this milieu, the middle class started to define itself, positioning its members as those who had the right and duty to guide society. Through the

⁶¹ Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work : Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990), 141, Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study In American Domesticity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 160, and Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 451.

⁶² Works on the creation of the ideology of separate spheres and its interaction with class include Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families : Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007); Christine Stansell, *City of Women : Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; and Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work*.

⁶³ Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 20.

“construction of behavioural norms and adherence to distinctive clusters of behaviour,” the middle class trumpeted the value of hard work, industry, and thrift, in opposition to an “other” which they stereotyped as the wasteful rich and improvident poor. In as far as the middle class possessed a separate identity, it was focused on the notion of respectability, denoting both status and ability to effect change. However, respectability proved a malleable concept, one that was taken up by the developing working class to promote their own claims. This common ideology allowed the temperance lodges to provide a space that was accessible by the middle class and skilled working-class alike.

The temperance lodges were populated by men of varying social classes. Lynne Marks has found that, of the officers of temperance lodges in two small towns in Ontario, at least half were working-class, although of these, most were skilled workers.⁶⁴ Working-class men both belonged to, and held positions of authority within, the lodges. Jan Noel traces this class inclusivity to the foundation of the temperance lodges, particularly the Sons of Temperance, writing that they were “a group founded by seven workingmen in New York City in 1842 [which] suggest[s] they were to some extent influenced by American egalitarianism, blurring class lines to a degree unprecedented in British North American towns.”⁶⁵ Mary Ryan finds a similar pattern in New York State, writing that the membership was so varied that “it can only be said that a wide

⁶⁴ Marks, 93-95.

⁶⁵ Noel, 32. The impact of class on the activities of these organizations has not yet been studied.

range of occupations and statuses were represented, within a movement whose literary productions rang with the praises of the sober middling sort of the pre-industrial city.”⁶⁶ Those working-class men who joined the lodges were often those engaged in skilled labour who may have desired to associate themselves with the middle-class ideology of respectability.

The formation of the middle class in Ontario, Andrew Holman has argued, was both province-wide and locally influenced in the particular contours it took in any given place or time. However, he identified four key elements of middle-class identity that were more or less universal. The men and women of the temperance lodges were middle class in regards to the sanctity of family life, promotion of respectability, and deep belief in self-control and responsibility. The first of the four elements of middle-class identity was belief in “capitalism as the natural order of things; economic competition was an essential part of the human order, and private property was an inviolable right.” Second was an idea that “social mobility was achievable by everyone and that everyone *should* pursue social mobility.” Third was adherence to the ideology of separate spheres for men and women, with men being principally defined by their actions and women by their virtues. Lastly was the sanctity of family life, the home a space apart from the world that was blessed and protected.⁶⁷ The men and women of the temperance lodges agreed in broad strokes with these values, but, given their

⁶⁶ Ryan, 135.

⁶⁷ Holman, 98, 172.

belief in the pernicious effects of alcohol, they were also certain that personal and state intervention into the family and into the potential for social mobility, was essential. As such, they adapted these values to fit their own organizations in significant ways.

Use of leisure time was a prime way for people to make claims to respectability and position. Many people went out of their way to make sure that their leisure time was spent in what were defined as worthwhile activities. For men in particular, activities outside of work or the home could establish their respectability and/or class status, but there was often suspicion of what they did.⁶⁸ For this reason, many of the organizations participated in by the middle class and skilled labourers aspiring to respectability stressed the moral nature of their organizations, and emphasized order within the meetings and without. Temperance advocates in particular used their organizations and the pressing moral issues caused by alcohol consumption to stake their claim to “status, authority and a position of moral guardianship” in their communities.⁶⁹

Some academics have seen temperance as primarily a method by which the middle class claimed and attempted to hold cultural power. Joseph Gusfield, a sociologist, has seen temperance as primarily a status movement, one in which the aim of bringing in legislation to prevent alcohol consumption was secondary to the need to find public reinforcement that middle-class morals were the

⁶⁸ For more on leisure and identity see also Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*.

⁶⁹ Holman, 148.

dominant ones in society.⁷⁰ Although he acknowledged that fear over losing middle-class hegemony was not the only motivating factor for the temperance movement, he did feel it was one of the most important ones. Similarly, American historian Paul Johnson in his study of revivals in Rochester New York, concluded that the resulting religious fervor was a thin rationale the middle class used to bolster their authority to determine morality and culture. The people that evangelist Charles Finney converted in these revivals were primarily employers, and the converts not only embraced evangelical Christianity, but the belief that they had the authority and duty to reform society.⁷¹ For the temperance lodges, if we read “respectability” as synonymous with “middle class”, an argument might be made, but that fails take into consideration the membership of large numbers of skilled workers. It also presumes perfect adherence to the class ideals that were espoused. When respectability is looked at as an ideology that crossed classes, and was as much aspirational as descriptive, the world of the Ontario temperance lodge falls into place. This focus on respectability not only made possible cross-class participation, it blunted a critique of poverty and its causes, combining compassion for the poor with a resentment of their impact on the pocketbooks of respectable men.

⁷⁰ Joseph Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963).

⁷¹ Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millennium: Society and Revivals in Rochester, New York, 1815-1837* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978).

Men who joined the temperance lodges had much in common with the values of the emerging middle class, but with a difference. These values were turned towards a different goal, looking to reform society in the image of the temperate man with an eye to repairing broken homes and creating the Kingdom of God on earth. Legislation of personal lives, not independence in a liberal state, was seen as the way to freedom and happiness. In many ways, society came to meet the values of these men, although by the twentieth century, their single-minded emphasis on prohibition as the sole indicator of success prevented them from realizing that their values now harmonized with the society around them. Although some of the historiography has dismissed their religious rhetoric as a thin disguise for class concerns, the impact of evangelical Christianity on the temperance movement should not be reduced to a mere expression of class bias.⁷² Many members of the temperance movement took part because of a genuine concern for those affected by alcohol abuse. Religion should not be dismissed as a motivating force, nor seen as merely as a cover for selfishness. It is also important to avoid automatically associating church membership with the middle class. Michael Gauvreau has expressed concern that the conflation of class with religious affiliation “clearly essentializes the church as expressing at all times the values of the social elites and middle class and posits its essential

⁷² This attitude can be primarily found in Paul Johnson, *A Shopkeeper's Millenium*, but Joseph Gusfield's emphasis on the class origins of the temperance movement has tended to have an unintended consequence of obscuring other motivations. Gusfield, *Symbolic Crusade*.

function as a conservative pole in a social dynamic in which questions of power and inequality are treated as the expressions of an oscillation between imposition and resistance.”⁷³ In practice, churches in Canada have offered a much more varied experience, and have not always been reflective of the values of the middle class. Dissenting sects and emotional evangelicalism were often antithetical to mainstream respectability, and created an uneasy alliance with middle-class economic and social values.

However, although temperance advocates were genuinely motivated by religious beliefs, that should not obscure the fact that religious ideology is also a product of a particular set of historical circumstances, and is rarely static.

Looking at religion as an ahistorical phenomenon obscures the ways in which belief and practice are shaped by the cultural context in which they arise.

According to religious historian Robert Orsi “[r]eligion comes into being in an ongoing, dynamic relationship with the realities of everyday life.”⁷⁴ Religion is often a site of discipline and resistance simultaneously. In the case of the temperance lodges, they were primarily founded as religious organizations that were independent of institutional church control. Although often accepted by mainstream churches, temperance beliefs sometimes conflicted with church

⁷³ Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert, eds., *The Churches and Social Order in Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Canada* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), 8.

⁷⁴ Robert Orsi, “Everyday Miracles: The Study of Lived Religion,” *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*, ed. David D. Hall (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7.

practice. Lodges engaged in long-term efforts to convince ministers to use non-fermented wine in communion services, with varying degrees of success.

While the study of lived religion has, to date, mostly studied religious practice in conjunction with churches, nondenominational Christian organizations such as the temperance lodges properly belong in this field as well. They have not been so considered precisely because of their lack of an affiliation with a church, means their relationship with religious leaders cannot be easily examined for tension, struggles for power, adaptation, and change. Despite their distance from any kind of church hierarchy (although not without their own internal hierarchies), organizations such as the temperance lodges should be considered as one of the many ways in which religion was expressed outside the churches. Their efforts to make themselves palatable to a wide range of denominational affiliations shows connections and barriers that existed between different Christian groups.

The churches that were involved in sponsoring revivals, were also, not coincidentally, those that tended to support the temperance movement. These denominations, like the lodges, became increasingly more concerned with the practical aspects of theology. In nineteenth-century Ontario, the widespread appeal of revivals, and their non or interdenominational nature, brought men and women from different Protestant faiths together, and encouraged them towards a form of Christian living that was not necessarily tied up in a denominational identity, although the churches hoped to gain adherents from

such phenomena.⁷⁵ To make their message accessible, and likely also because travelling evangelists were often sponsored by more than one denomination, the theology espoused in revival meetings was not strict. Michael Gauvreau has described the influence of revival meetings as creating “not so much a fixed philosophical system of doctrine as a much looser, and consequently more pervasive, body of beliefs and assumptions concerning God, the individual, and society.”⁷⁶ What has been called the “evangelical consensus” broadcast that what was most important was not denominational differences, but rather the opportunity to remake the world in the image of the Kingdom of God. Revivals and interdenominational groups like the temperance lodges created spaces for members of different denominations to work together outside of formal church control. In this, their ideals of communal support flourished, creating a strong base for advocating for government intervention in the home and the workplace through legislative action.

The chapters that follow focus on foundation and development of the ideal temperate man and how he was supposed to fit into the Ontario social landscape. Chapter One examines the history of the temperance lodges and the organizational structure and practices they had in common, laying out the

⁷⁵ See, for example, Terrence Murphy, ed. *A Concise History of Christianity in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1996), 308 and Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 190-191, Kevin Kee, *Revivalists: Marketing the Gospel in English Canada, 1884-1957* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006).

⁷⁶ Michael Gauvreau. *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada from the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 7.

historical context and specific environments in which lodges were formed and operated. Chapter Two looks at the class background of lodge members in both urban and rural contexts and examines how disparate groups found common ground in the language of respectability. Chapter Three builds on these issues of class to examine how, when it came to business, the economy, and poverty, the opinions of the temperance lodges were torn between support for the business class and sympathy for the poor. Chapter Four explores the impact of religion on the beliefs and practices of the temperate lodges, particularly as it influenced their rituals of transgression and forgiveness, as well as how work towards the creation of a Kingdom of God encouraged members to reach out and share their values with wider Ontario society. Chapter Five looks at how these threads come together in defining the ideal temperate male and his symbolic opposite. Temperate masculinity built on middle-class rejection of rough and elite models of maleness, but they focused on alcohol as the distinguishing feature between temperate and degraded masculinities. Chapter Six takes the ideal of the temperate man and examines how it was used to justify responsibility for the behavior of others both within the lodge and in the wider world, particularly within public campaigns for prohibitory laws. Temperance advocates came to be strong proponents of legislation into people's private lives, and created increasingly sophisticated arguments as to the nature and pursuit of freedom. Chapter Seven discusses how temperate masculinity was unusually open to collaborating with women. The position of women within the organization, and

the opportunities and difficulties they found there gave them a wider scope for action, although still within certain bounds. Chapter Eight contrasts the role of the temperance sister with the ways in which women were symbolically important to the temperance movement as innocent victims of their drunken male partners.

In all their actions, both political and social, temperance lodge men challenged prevailing notions of what it meant to be a man, and how government should interact with the lives of its citizens. In this, they went a step further than the emerging middle class, emphasizing communal responsibility as a necessary addition to liberal notions of independence and privacy. There were limits on what they could imagine the world to be, and so their solutions were constrained. However, within the realm of possibility, they carved out a distinct masculine identity centered on responsibility, respectability, and the communal good that set them apart, and joined organizations that gave them a place in which to develop a temperate masculinity in sympathetic company.

Chapter 1

Lodge History and Practice

Men who joined the temperance lodges in Ontario in the nineteenth century were becoming part of a community that linked their self-identity to the lodge, to a political cause, to the nation, and to the family. To do so, they used and adapted fraternal practices common in the nineteenth century to create meetings, structured entertainment, and reinforce a temperate identity through ritual, regalia, and discipline. Their physical and social surroundings affected who they were and how they thought about themselves. The Ontario temperance lodges grew out of the alcohol-soaked culture around them, and were, in part, populated by men who had imbibed in the past and sometimes relapsed even after taking the abstinence pledge. They staked a new identity in opposition to the ways that men around them socialized, worked, and imbibed, and reinforced that identity through costume and time set aside to explore and reaffirm their temperate identities. In so doing, they rejected common recreational aspects of Ontario society. Temperate masculinity was developed in the material surroundings of the lodge and the activities they found important, as well as the structure of local lodges within international organizations. This chapter will outline the organizational structure, membership customs, and entertainments that members of the temperance lodges developed, providing a thorough

grounding in what the lodge life in Ontario provided brothers and sisters who joined, which will set the stage for the chapters that follow.

The temperance lodges arose in an age of fraternalism. The Freemasons and The Independent Order of Odd Fellows dominated the scene as the largest fraternal groups. Many smaller organizations also attracted large numbers of male participants. Historians and sociologists have examined the origins of these groups, tracing the links between class, fraternalism, urbanization, industrialization, and masculinity. Fraternal lodges reached the height of their popularity in a time that was defined by associational culture. There were a vast number of groups and organizations to which inhabitants of cities, towns, and rural areas could belong in the nineteenth century.¹ These organizations were variously political, social, and religious, and catered to reform-minded women, mothers, young children, and men from the working, the rising professional, and middle classes. Fraternal lodges were a distinctive presence in this milieu, differing from other groups in significant ways, yet part of the overall culture that encouraged and fostered membership in local organizations. On a practical

¹ Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario towns* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000). See also Mary Ryan, *The Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 127-132, Nancy Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), Karen Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), and Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Small Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.)

level, lodges were attractive to many men for the material benefits they offered. Like friendly societies, lodges frequently offered sickness or death benefits to members, giving material support in the event of misfortune. The lack of state social support made illness a serious issue for those without the financial resources to sustain them through a prolonged period without the ability to work. Maintaining membership in a lodge offered security to members.

The opportunity for homosocial bonding and the practical benefits of membership resulted in a boom in fraternal organizations, particularly in the last third of the nineteenth century. In the United States during that time, there were 810,000 Odd Fellows. (By comparison, the Odd Fellows in Ontario in their largest year, 1920, included over 61,000 men.) At the peak of fraternalism, in the United States, there were also 750,000 Freemasons, and many thousands more who joined smaller groups. In 1897, it was estimated that one in five to eight men in American society was a member of at least one fraternal order.² In Ontario, by the end of the nineteenth century, there were at least 250,000 members of fraternal orders, which comprised almost 23% of the male population of that province.³ Every large city, and most small towns, and even rural areas, had

² Mark Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 1. For the Odd Fellows numbers in Ontario, see H. Robert Howard, "Jurisdiction of Ontario," http://www.ioof.org/history/history_ontario.html, accessed June 25, 2012

³ Christopher Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony" (London, Ont: Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Western Ontario, 1992), 1. Statistics on the total male population of Ontario in

multiple fraternal lodges. London, Ontario had 100 lodges in 1901, while the tiny town of Norwich, with 1000 people, claimed seven distinct fraternal lodges.⁴ Christopher Anstead, in his dissertation on fraternalism in Ontario, attributes the success of fraternalism to an emerging middle-class worldview, which attempted to assert cultural hegemony through respectability, homosocial bonds, and financial security. American historians of fraternalism have also argued that the rise of these organizations sprang from a desire for men to have a homosocial space in which to bond with other men and find some stability in a changing industrial order.⁵

The Independent (later International) Order of Good Templars, the Sons of Temperance, and the Royal Templars of Temperance all drew on fraternal forms in creating their orders, their organizational structure, their rituals and regalia, but they also differed from these groups in significant ways that complicate the picture of fraternalism and masculine identity in the nineteenth century. Mainstream lodges offered members space, ritual, and companionship as they developed an ideal of masculinity based on work, friendship, and fraternal membership. Temperance lodges offered a masculinity that built upon

1901 were found at <http://www.ancestry.ca/genealogy/canadian-census/1901-Ontario-Census-Records.html>

⁴ Anstead, 2.

⁵ Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) 18. See also Mary Ann Clawson, "Nineteenth-Century Women's Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders" *Signs*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn 1986), 40-61

fraternal traditions, but also espoused values that were not drawn from their forebears. The temperance lodges also lacked the rigid structure of many other fraternal groups, making only periodic and half-hearted attempts at creating an ongoing hierarchy of membership. Without being fully egalitarian, members of the temperance lodges seemed to place less emphasis on where they stood in respect to each other, and more on their relationship to the exterior world. Whereas the fraternal lodges placed a high emphasis on creating a space where men could retreat from the world, the temperance lodges offered a respite that would reinvigorate their members in their mission to reform their communities.

The most obvious difference from the larger fraternal world was the absence of alcohol. Drinking and conviviality at the end of meetings had often provided a bond between fraternal brothers. Freemasons, for example, encouraged members to be temperate, but, for them, being temperate was virtually synonymous with being a moderate drinker. Many Masonic lodges allowed their members to drink both outside and sometimes inside their fraternal space.⁶ Orange Order lodges in Ontario initially allowed drinking within the lodge, but by the end of the nineteenth century, a concerted effort was underway to prevent drunken conviviality from being an overt part of lodge activities. In this, they were not entirely successful, as individual lodges did not

⁶ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 24, 78.

always respect the new rules.⁷ Temperance lodges based their identity on the decision to abstain from alcohol entirely. Temperance men rejected the very notion of a moderate drinker, believing that moderate drinkers were only drunkards who hadn't shown themselves yet. Alcohol held an important practical and symbolic place in temperance fraternalism, and was always a distinctly malevolent force to be fought. Initiation, rituals, discipline, and public display revolved around the issue of the evils of alcohol. The pub was rejected as an appropriate masculine space, and drinking was seen as a dishonorable act.

The place of ritual and of subsequent degrees and hierarchies within fraternal lodges was also another major difference. Although temperance lodges spent time on rituals, they made space regularly for other activities within the meeting time, including political planning to advance their temperance agenda, the reading of minutes, reports on lodge activities, discipline of errant members, and entertainment. The large portions of each meeting not devoted to ritual reflects the fact that they were founded around a political issue, and needed to devote time to advancing their cause. This space for other activities may also have existed because the temperance lodges largely did not adopt the elaborate hierarchy of "degrees" found in Masonic culture. There were ranks within the temperance lodges that could be attained, but these were relatively limited, and

⁷ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 113-114.

seem to have been mostly pursued outside of lodge time. Within the temperance lodges, whether or not someone had done the work to ascend the lodge hierarchy, and attained a higher degree, did not have an overt impact on their role in lodge meetings, although it might have given them an edge when it came to holding office. In the IOGT, special meetings for those who had attained a higher degree could be held on a county basis, but mention of members actually attaining these degrees is erratic, and there are occasional motions made in local minutes to abolish these rankings entirely.⁸

By far the largest deviation from fraternal norms was in who they allowed to be members. Fraternalism, as the name suggested, was for men alone, unless it was a temperance lodge. While fraternal orders usually barred women or relegated them to auxiliaries, temperance lodges admitted women on equal grounds with men. Two of the three organizations, the IOGT and the Royal Templars, welcomed women from their very beginnings. The third, the Sons of Temperance, started with a traditional fraternal pattern of having women's auxiliaries, (Daughters of Temperance), but then transitioned to allowing women to come as visitors to meetings, and later, admitted them as full members. This was a radical departure from fraternal norms, which, outside of the temperance context, excluded women from meetings and membership. The admittance of women from nearly the beginning of the temperance lodges signified that these

⁸ Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

were a different kind of fraternal organization. The emphasis on temperance, an issue that was always seen of particular concern to women, opened up the door for them in an organization that fostered heterosocial mingling and political action.

Temperance organizations in Canada predated the emergence of the fraternal temperance lodges, but once the lodges appeared, they quickly gained ground and became a strong voice lobbying on this political and moral issue. The fraternal lodges first came onto the scene in Ontario in 1847 or 1848 (primary sources differ), when the first Sons of Temperance lodge in Ontario was founded in Brockville, only a few years after the organization had been created in the United States.⁹ This new form of temperance organization was immediately popular, and it was recorded that over the next five years, an average of one new Sons lodge was created every week.¹⁰ The Sons of Temperance would continue to flourish, even when rival organizations, including the IOGT and Royal Templars, began to compete for members. Membership in one of these three main fraternal temperance groups would be the primary way that interested men interacted with the political issue of temperance for the rest of the nineteenth century. The three organizations were remarkably similar in fraternal forms,

⁹ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 145, Rev. W.W. Peele, *A Short History of the Liquor Traffic in Canada* (Canadian Temperance Federation, 1929), 6.

¹⁰ Ruth Spence, *Prohibition in Canada: A Memorial to Francis Stephens Spence* (Toronto: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919), 47.

meeting organization, division of powers within the lodge, and provincial and national organizational structure. Where they occur, differences will be pointed out. Given the similarities in structure and meetings, it is difficult to tell why people in the nineteenth century chose one lodge over another. The minutes of the meetings sound remarkably similar, and there do not appear to have been large cultural differences between them. In part, it seems to have been a function of availability, but many towns supported more than one temperance lodge, and the membership split between them cannot be easily explained.

The local lodges were the primary locus of fraternal temperance activity. Beyond the local level, though, provincial and national organizations attempted to regulate the lodges under their purview. For the Sons and the IOGT, the provincial level was called the Grand Lodge. The Royal Templars operated under the auspices of the Dominion Council.¹¹ The Sons and the IOGT both had one further level above the provincial – the Sons belonged to the North America-wide National Division of the Sons of Temperance of North America, while the IOGT had a Canadian National Lodge.¹² Most of the activity of the lodges was concentrated at the local levels, although the provincial and national organizations held yearly conventions to try to coordinate the political fight and to reaffirm the breadth of the temperance fellowship.

¹¹ *Constitution of the Dominion Council of Canada and Newfoundland, Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton, On,) 1904. Accessed online at https://archive.org/details/cihm_88029

¹² Spence, 47.

Given how similar the organizations were, it is not surprising that calls to unite the various organizations under one umbrella were almost as old as the lodges themselves. Fifteen years after the IOGT started to compete with the Sons of Temperance in Canada, calls for unity started to go out, with little success. In 1868, a joint committee was struck, comprised of members of both the Grand Lodge of Canada of the IOGT and the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance. Their aim was to call a convention, with an eye to uniting the fraternal temperance organizations under one banner, but this effort did not succeed.¹³ The National Division of the IOGT, which oversaw lodges in both the United States and Canada, considered the issue of merging with other temperance orders two years later, in 1870, but although there was some initial enthusiasm, no agreement on how and when to unite was reached.¹⁴ Similar calls later in the century met with little success. From the surviving documentation, there is little evidence as to why they remained distinct organizations, other than that the members of the fraternal temperance lodges were attached enough to their own organizations to resist the merger. There may have been deeper reasons, but they are not evident in the surviving sources.

When the Dominion Alliance was created in 1876 by representatives from various temperance organizations, lodges, and churches, they served as a central

¹³ Spence, 105.

¹⁴ Rev. T.F. Parker, *History of the Independent Order of Good Templars* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1882), 171

agency for coordinating the political actions of the various temperance lodges, the WCTU, and other interested parties. They attempted to facilitate members of different groups in organizing local option campaigns, promoting total prohibition and lobbying the federal government, as well as paying for the printing and dissemination of temperance literature.¹⁵ The Dominion Alliance was very different from the lodges. The Dominion Alliance was primarily a political organization, aimed at formulating policy and coordinating the temperance cause at elections.¹⁶ Perhaps because of the dissimilarity to their own practices and structures, the temperance lodges had little difficulty in working closely with this new association. The Dominion Alliance did not compete for members in the same way that other fraternal temperance orders had.

The offices in the temperance lodges followed some common trends in fraternal organizational structure, with all the positions being elected quarterly. The names the various orders gave the positions were different, but the structure was mirrored almost precisely. For the Sons of Temperance, the highest position, equivalent to a President, was the position of Worthy Patriarch, evoking masculine responsibility. The vice-president was the Worthy Associate, who assisted the Worthy Patriarch in his duties. The secretary was titled the

¹⁵ The Dominion Alliance for the Total Suppression of the Liquor Traffic, *The Alliance Year Book* (Toronto: Citizen Publishing Co., 1885), 4.

¹⁶ Spence, 115, Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 64-65.

Recording Scribe, and took minutes for meetings. When the Recording Scribe was unavailable, the Associate Recording Scribe did this duty. A Financial Scribe and a Treasurer took care of financial matters. The other offices specifically referred to the ritual aspects of lodge life. The Conductor and Associate Conductor were in charge of leading members to their places in the lodge prior to the opening ritual, and obtaining passwords from each member to ensure that no one who was not a member of the lodge was present. Later, the Associate Conductor would be designated as a role for women, who would collect passwords from female members, while the Conductor went among the men. It can be presumed that the Conductors would know the members by sight, but the role was designed to make the point that they might be joined by strangers who were, nonetheless, brothers, and emphasized the secrecy of the ensuing meeting. The Inside and Outside Sentinels guarded the doors, making sure latecomers came in at appropriate times, and preventing outsiders from barging in.¹⁷

Fraternal temperance orders were expected to be universal in their adoption and application of rules and rituals. In theory, a man on business to another city, carrying a traveling card and armed with the passwords for the quarter, could get in touch with Brothers in the order, be admitted to the meetings, and find himself in a setting where, although the faces were different, the motions were

¹⁷ Sons of Temperance of North America, *Constitution of the national, grand, and subordinate divisions of the Sons of temperance of North America: together with the by-laws, rules of order, and decisions of the Grand Division of Canada West* (Brockville, Ont.: D. Wulie, printer, 1851), 5

substantially the same. Knowledge of what could be expected at meetings helped make lodge members feel a sense of community with their larger fraternal organization.

A Chaplain was elected each quarter. If an actual minister were an attending member of the lodge, such as the Rev. O.G. Callamore in the Orono lodge, he might be chosen for this position. However, most lodges did not have ministers as attending members, and so another Brother or Sister was chosen for the role. The Chaplain led the groups in the religious portions of their programmes.¹⁸ Immediately after women had been accepted as full members into the lodge, special roles were created to integrate the female members into the ritual, although they fell out of use fairly quickly. For the Sons of Temperance, every quarter, three women would be elected to the offices to serve as the embodiments of "Love," "Purity," and "Fidelity." In Orono, these offices were not filled with any great consistency, and disappeared from the lists of elected officers within three years of their creation.¹⁹

The name of the highest office of the IOGT, the Chief Templar, was less gendered than the Patriarch of the Sons of Temperance, but their organizational structure was very similar. The highest office at the local level was that of Worthy Chief Templar, supported by the Vice Templar. Other offices included

¹⁸ Sons of Temperance *Constitution*, 5, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

¹⁹ Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

the Secretary, Financial Secretary, and Treasurer. The Marshal took on the role that the Conductor had in the Sons of Temperance, assisted by a Deputy Marshal, a Guard and a Sentinel. Chaplains were likewise an elected position. The one deviation from the Sons organizational structure was that, when possible, IOGT lodges also had a Superintendent of Juvenile Work.²⁰ Although the lodges wanted to welcome young members, they also set bylaws to make sure that the highest offices were not held by those too immature to fulfill their duties. The Washington Lodge of the IOGT in 1867 decreed that young men wishing to hold the office of Worthy Chief Templar had to be at least 21 years old, while young women aspiring to the rank of Worthy Vice Templar had to be at least eighteen. Initially, the Vice Templar position in the IOGT was reserved for women, with the presumption that men would hold the highest office. However, by the end of the nineteenth century, it was not unusual to see women elected to the position of Chief Templar at the local level, suggesting that their status within the lodges improved over the decades, or that there were fewer suitable male candidates. Although the overall numbers in the lodges declined over the last few decades of the nineteenth century, women joined in roughly the same proportion to men as they had earlier.²¹

²⁰ Fred Robins fonds, London, Ontario, Archives of the University of Western Ontario.

²¹ Constitution Book, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives. Fred Robins fonds, London, Ontario, Archives of the University of Western Ontario.

In the lodges, power was hierarchical, although it never attained the minute degrees of hierarchy seen in the Freemasons. Elections occurred four times a year, and it was not uncommon for new members to become officers shortly after joining the lodge, although their initial positions tended to be those with less authority.²² Moving up through the ranks could happen fairly quickly, if new members attended regularly and were interested in standing for office. As an example, in the Orono lodge of the Sons of Temperance, new officers usually started in a secondary role, such as one of the Inside or Outside Sentinels, in charge of protecting the doors while the meeting was taking place. They might also take on the role of Conductor or Assistant Conductor, leading others to take their place inside, and collecting the password. After a term or two had been served, new members could then be elected to positions such as the Worthy Associate or Worthy Patriarch. The latter position often depended on age – most lodges had a minimum age requirement for the Worthy Patriarch. However, mobility within these positions was frequent, and those who attained high position would often later take on the more secondary roles as well. In the Orono lodge, William Armstrong joined in 1866, and was elected to be Outside Sentinel shortly after he joined. He then did not hold office for several years, but two and a half years later, he became the Worthy Associate in one quarter, and Worthy

²² IOGT Hope of West Lodge attendance and officers book, Fred Robins fonds, Box 4095, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, and Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

Patriarch in the next. A few quarters later, he was elected Outside Sentinel again.²³ Others continued to hold the secondary positions for long periods of time, without ever taking on the more prestigious positions. Albert Clark, of the same lodge, held office frequently over a period of four or five years, but always as a Conductor or Sentinel. It is difficult to tell exactly why one member might have moved quickly into high office, while others stayed in the lesser positions, but in Clark's case, his age was likely a factor. He was only 18 when he joined, and members of the Orono lodge had to be at least 21 to become Worthy Patriarch.²⁴ Similar patterns of office-holding can be seen in IOGT lodges.

This mobility tended to both reinforce and undercut authority within the lodge. Those who took the lodge seriously may have tried to enforce the hierarchy, knowing that, eventually, they would be the ones who would be trying to keep order. Despite the relative lack of strict hierarchy, members who were not elected to office in a given quarter were expected not only to abide by the rules of the organization, but also to be respectful and attentive to the office holders. However, the frequent changeovers meant that other members felt free to challenge the power of those who held the highest offices, having had the experience of holding those positions themselves, or having seen many men take on responsibilities and handle them more or less well. In practice, respect

²³ Minute Book, 1866-1870, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

²⁴ Minute Book, 1870-1877, Minute Book, 1877-1881, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, MU2880.

sometimes had to be earned. At times, petty squabbles over issues took over the lodge records for weeks at a time, and were difficult to resolve. The power of the officers, after all, only existed insofar as members gave it to them. No one was making them stay, and many did fall away over the years. For those who stayed, sometimes small issues flared and exposed the difficulty of maintaining a voluntary hierarchical structure, particularly one that so often changed.

In the Ameliasburgh Sons of Temperance lodge in 1851, the Worthy Patriarch, Brother Russell, apparently stood up in the middle of the proceedings and declared the meeting to be closed, without following proper procedure. Not only did he breach the bureaucratic steps surrounding the opening and closing of the lodge, he also transgressed against the given duties of several other officers on the way to the door. This Worthy Patriarch apparently gathered up all the books and papers he used in his office, and when the other members requested that he give them up, he refused, and forced his way past the Inner Sentinel “without giving the retiring password” and out the door. However, despite the senior officer storming off in high dudgeon, the meeting was then taken over by the Worthy Associate, who resumed the regular business of rituals and exhortations to promote the temperance cause, and socializing. The root cause of this apparent power struggle over the lodge and its meetings was not recorded, nor were the opponents who so incensed the Worthy Patriarch that he literally took the books and went home. However, a few weeks later, after the striking of a committee and meeting with all the parties concerned, there was an official

motion made and carried that “all former animosities be done away with and that we all commence anew and endeavour to have all succeeding transactions harmonious ones.”²⁵ Although the Worthy Patriarch had failed to exert his authority over the lodge, the organization was able to eventually bridge the gap between the officers and the members, and come to some kind of settlement. Whether or not that truly led to harmony within the lodge is unknown.

Sometimes the causes of disagreement were not written, but, at other times, direct criticism of the senior officers was recorded in lodge minutes. At the Orono Sons lodge in 1875, Brother George Walkey thought that the Worthy Patriarch was not keeping order as well as he should have been and created a stir in the meeting by criticizing the way things were being run. The fracas was recorded in the minutes by the Secretary, who captured the clash of personalities and differences of opinion over the proper running of the lodge. Walkey wanted his complaints recorded that the officers were not showing up on time and were not always ready to start the meetings right away. Another lodge member, Brother Cameron, agreed, and added that as soon as enough people were present to open the meeting, it should be done, instead of waiting for stragglers. Without officers present, however, this would be hard to do, as the opening ritual had scripted roles for the conductors, the sentinels, and the Worthy Patriarch. One of the officers, Brother Knox, was ready to concede the point and agree that, in

²⁵ Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085.

principle, officers should be arriving earlier and setting a good example. However, he felt personally attacked, and complained that at a previous meeting, Brother Walkey had been “a little hard” on him. With no sign of deference, Brother Walkey, no stranger to lodge office, apparently said that “Bro. Knox deserved all he got.”²⁶ The appeal to authority and request for leniency that Brother Knox made was dismissed offhandedly by Brother Walkey, who had been a member of this lodge for many, many years, and held offices often, including Worthy Patriarch, Chaplain, and many years as the Treasurer. He clearly had his own ideas of how the meetings should be run. Knox had been a member for even longer, and also been Worthy Patriarch, Recording Scribe, and, repeatedly, the Financial Scribe. These two senior members, both of whom had held highest office, and frequently been responsible for the various financial affairs of the lodge, clashed publicly, and neither seemed ready to back down, although the disagreement was not recorded in the minutes of subsequent meetings.

These incidents probably had much to do with individuals and personality clashes, but they often came to the fore over issues about the conduct of the lodge and the authority of the officers. Such disagreements could occupy a lodge for weeks, and often took intervention by several other members to

²⁶ Minute Book, 1870-1877, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

resolve. While power was supposed to be invested in officers by virtue of their position, in practice, grudges and ill-feelings could surface unexpectedly. The voluntary hierarchical structure was prone to friction, and authority could be weakly or strongly vested, depending on the response of the membership to the officers. At the local level, such arguments were between members who saw each other frequently and had ample opportunity to find occasions for disagreement. Such power struggles could also extend into the provincial and national organizations, where disagreements about who had control over different aspects of lodge life could flare at the upper levels as well. Sometimes these arguments were based on well-founded ideological differences, such as the debate over segregated lodges in the U.S. South that split the IOGT for a decade, but they could also be for very simple reasons.

In correspondence that was ostensibly about the issuing of juvenile rituals in 1913, the National Secretary of the IOGT, J. Vernon Jackson, wrote a letter to Fred Robins, Superintendent of Juvenile Work for Ontario. Although the issue was whether the provincial or national bodies should be the ones distributing ritual books to juvenile temples, Jackson turned to the topic of the financial duty of provincial lodges to the national organization. The provincial level was the more active than the national, which mostly consisted of loose efforts to coordinate campaigns between provinces. Jackson wrote: "If you will forgive a little slang, which applies better than anything else I know of, let me say that this nonsense [sic] of not being called upon for any financial support is all Rot and I

don't know where any one got it from nor how any one could for a moment think of such a thing."²⁷ Robins appears to have been taken aback by this non sequitur of a response, which had nothing to do with juvenile rituals, and unclear as to what had caused it. He wrote back to Jackson, saying "I feel like a child that has been well spanked. I do not know why. I cant [sic] say "I will be good" yet. I am G.S.J.W. of this Grand Lodge. I want to do the work without interference and feel in the issue of Rituals for the first time I should be "it."²⁸ Robins seemed to have stumbled into a hot button issue for the National Secretary, who responded hostilely to what he felt was an attack. While no level of the organization was supposed to be a money maker, even the issue of who distributed (and was paid for) juvenile rituals could spark an argument. While the ideal of a fraternal lodge, wherein all members worked in harmony, was an appealing one, on both local and provincial and national levels, the ideal was often difficult to attain.

In order to promote harmony, when officers of a new quarter were installed, they were often given a pre-written speech about their solemn duties, and invested with the regalia appropriate to their office. Conversely, when an officer resigned his position or was stripped of his office, the minutes mention

²⁷ Letter from J. Vernon Jackson to Fred Robins, 8 May 1913, Correspondence and Printed Materials, Box 4105, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

²⁸ Letter from Fred Robins to J. Vernon Jackson, 12 May 1913, Correspondence and Printed Materials, Box 4105, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

the returning of the regalia to the lodge.²⁹ These speeches were often practical, as they laid out the specific duties each office entailed, such as the Guard and Sentinels being told they would “conduct candidates at their initiation, and introduce others as required. You will have charge of the regalia and odes, and will see that they are properly distributed at the opening and collected at the close of each meeting.” The Chief Templar was enjoined to “begin each meeting at the proper time, and...conduct the business impartially - taking no part in debates while you are presiding.”³⁰ They were also symbolic, linking the specific duties of the newly elected officers to a sense of higher calling, such as when the Secretary was reminded that “[g]ood Secretaries are always in their places; their duties are arduous and honorable, and upon their promptitude and efficiency the success of the Lodge largely depends” or when the Superintendent of Juvenile Work was told that “[s]eed-growing in youth yields its harvest in maturity. We hope you fully realise the importance of the trust committed to your hands, and that you will ever labor earnestly and faithfully for the up-building of our Juvenile work.”³¹ After the individual charges, all the new officers were reminded of the honour being done to them and the responsibilities this entailed, being told to: “[a]ct together in harmony, in honor preferring one

²⁹ Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085

³⁰ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars*, 1906, 40-43.

³¹ *Ibid.* 41-42.

another. Strive to excel in good words and works. Remember the object for which our noble Order was instituted, and its cardinal principles as symbolized in our emblem, and found in our motto - "Faith, Hope, and Charity." May peace always prevail amongst you, and prosperity attend your efforts."³² In this way, the performance of their duties was linked to the larger success of the fraternal temperance order and the cause for which they advocated.

The Royal Templars gave their own titles to virtually the same positions. Their president and vice-president were Chairs and Vice-Chairs, their Conductors Heralds. Other positions had the same names as the IOGT or Sons.³³ For all three of the temperance orders, the structure was repeated at the provincial and national levels. The names became more elaborate, as the Worthy Patriarch of the Sons became the Grand Worthy Patriarch of the provincial organization, and Most Worthy Patriarch of the North American organization. Officers at the upper levels of the organization were also entitled to more elaborate regalia than their brethren in the local lodges.

Once members had assembled, officers collected passwords. In small towns and rural areas, these were likely superfluous, but in theory, these practices meant that lodge members, when travelling, could find sympathetic brethren wherever they were. In all three temperance lodges, meetings were

³² *Ibid.* 44.

³³ Minute Book of the West Middlesex District Council, Royal Templars of Temperance, 1897-1901 fonds, VF158, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

opened by the highest ranking officers, who would remind members of the duties with which he or she was entrusted for the duration of the meeting. The Sons opening ritual also charged the brothers and sisters present to “be strong and temperate in our cause – prompt in the transaction of business – courteous in debate, charitable in our judgment of others, faithful to our vows, careful to avoid all wrangling and vain dispute....”³⁴

Often, the charge to remember the purposes of the organization and the meeting was followed by a prayer by the elected Chaplain to consecrate the space and the time. This generally included asking for forgiveness of the imperfections of the members, a prayer for the cause and those who suffered from intemperance, and blessing upon the members. The Sons asked divine assistance to “Help us in word and life to rescue our fellow men from the sin of intemperance, and to instruct and train the young people in the practice of total abstinence from all that intoxicates,”³⁵ while the Royal Templars asked for similar but more florid support, imploring that God “Help us to be the instruments of Righteousness and Truth, and grant that the cause of Temperance, and the interests of suffering humanity, may be advanced in our land...Hasten

³⁴ *Blue Book for the use of subordinate divisions of the order of the Sons of Temperance* ([Toronto?]: The National Division of North America, 1906), 11.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 12.

the day when the fatal scourge of Intemperance shall be driven from the land....”³⁶

From there, meetings turned from ritual to administrative matters, unless there were new members to be initiated. The initiation ceremonies were the most elaborate of the temperance lodge rituals, and will be examined in detail in chapter five. Common administrative issues to be taken care of were reports of various committees, collection of dues, planning of future temperance speakers or local option campaigns, entertainment, and then a closing ritual to send the members on their way. The closing rituals were a charge for members to take the sense of purpose they felt in the lodge and promote temperance in their day-to-day business. The Royal Templar book of rituals included urging for members to “remember your obligations, be diligent in your respective callings, consistent in all your dealings, and exhibit by your faithfulness and integrity that the labors of our Council have not been in vain.”³⁷ The IOGT closing ceremony followed similar sentiments up with a warning of the dangers of the world outside the lodge walls: “As we are about to separate to mingle again in the pursuits and temptations of life, let me remind you that it is our duty to shun the way of evil-

³⁶ *Ritual of the Royal Degree including the Ceremony of Installation and Burial Service of the order of Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1889), 5.

³⁷ *Ritual of the Royal Degree including the Ceremony of Installation and Burial Service of the order of Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1889), 16

doers, and prove by our integrity that the labors and teaching of the Lodge are not in vain.”³⁸

When a town was large enough for more than one fraternal lodge, there was some competition for members. Each order tried to attract new members through entertainment, claims to respectability, and appeals to the benevolent nature of potential members. As mentioned earlier, from the available evidence, it is difficult to know why people picked one lodge over another. For some, they were loyal to the first lodge they encountered in life.³⁹ For others, it may have simply been a question of which lodge was then viable in their community. Many joined the same lodge as their family and friends, giving them a connection to one organization over another. Orono was a small town, but despite its size, it managed to sustain both a Sons of Temperance lodge and an IOGT lodge. The IOGT records are not available, so it is difficult to tell how long the two lodges coexisted, but Sons of Temperance records relate occasional friction between the two groups.⁴⁰ However, while they competed for membership, they also worked together on political issues related to temperance, including sponsoring temperance speakers to come to the area and hold public meetings, in order to advance the cause outside of the private walls of the

³⁸ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 34.

³⁹ Letter, Fred Robins to Mrs. Morrison, November 25, 1912, Correspondence and Printed Materials, Box 4105, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

⁴⁰ Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

lodge.⁴¹ In 1889, the Orono Division of the Sons of Temperance sent a resolution to their Grand Lodge inquiring about amalgamating the Sons, the IOGT and the Royal Templars on a local and national level, but the Grand Division returned an answer that such a union fell outside their jurisdiction. The ambiguity in fraternal temperance culture, in which different groups worked for the same cause, but recruited separately, created an atmosphere that tried to encourage collective action while retaining skepticism and sometimes even hostility to other groups.

This friction was likely felt between the higher levels of the fraternal temperance lodges as well, but the official publications of these organizations, as well as their meetings, expressed a desire to work together with the other groups. Representatives from each organization were regularly sent as visitors and well-wishers to the annual meetings of the other organizations. Representatives were also sent to the national WCTU meetings to show their support for the ongoing efforts of the women-only group. Francis Spence, the editor of the *The Camp Fire*, a Canadian IOGT newspaper that was published in Toronto from 1894 at least until 1902, struggled with the same need to give credit to other organizations while still promoting the one to which he belonged. The first issue contained an editorial assuring its readers that “[w]e disparage no agency. We criticize no honest effort....Other orders are doing nobly. We wish

⁴¹ Minute Book, 1881-1891, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

them all God speed. May they all grow better and stronger and more successful.” This praise of the other orders, however, ends off with a confession of a “special attachment to the loyal craft [the IOGT] that has weathered so many storms, has come victorious out of so many fights, and has carried rich cargoes of blessing and gladness to so many lands.”⁴²

While temperance lodges competed with each other to attract members, they also had to deal with the nitty gritty details of where those members would meet. Lodges that could raise enough money often built their own temperance hall, and then had their own dedicated space as well as a source of income. Most rented out their hall on non-meeting nights to other groups (as long as they promised to be temperate). The respectability of groups wishing to rent the hall from the temperance lodges was carefully considered. The Orono Sons of Temperance, after building their hall, made a motion that it only be rented to outsiders for “moral, religious and scientific purposes.” Theatrical performances were banned in 1853, after some discussion in the group.⁴³ Half a century later, the Ontario Grand Lodge of the IOGT reaffirmed its belief that temperance halls could not be rented out for dances, nor could dancing be held in connection with meetings.⁴⁴ The Orono Sons lodge was amenable to renting its hall to school

⁴² *The Camp Fire*, (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 2.

⁴³ Minute Book, 1853-1854, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

⁴⁴ *I.O.G.T. Sixty Second Annual Session Grad Lodge of Canada (Ontario) Held at Toronto, Ontario, June 16th and 17th, 1915* Box 4106, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

assemblies, but added the caveat that such activities could not occur on Sundays.⁴⁵ Despite the competition between the fraternal temperance orders, in 1883, the Orono Sons of Temperance allowed the Royal Templars to rent the hall on alternate Fridays. The other Fridays had already been allocated to the Grange, a farmer's organization.⁴⁶

The rise and fall of temperance lodges in smaller towns sometimes meant that a temperance hall existed, but was not immediately available to a new lodge. When the Carthage "Forest Home" lodge of the IOGT reformed in 1873, they initially held their meetings in a Wesleyan Methodist church. Their predecessor lodge had prospered enough to build their own temperance hall, and this building was still in good condition. In order to use it, though, the new division had to assume the debt of the old one, which was luckily owed to a lodge brother. He agreed to reduce the \$65 dollars owed to him to \$35, and to wait up to a year to be paid. After these negotiations had been completed, the Forest Home lodge was able to use the temperance hall again. This was a large expense for a new lodge to take on soon after their formation, but the temperance hall was where they wanted to be. To this end, members held a social to help raise

⁴⁵ Minute Book, 1853-1854, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

⁴⁶ Minute Book, 1881-1891, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879

the money to pay off the old debt. They also gave initiation fees of new members directly to the creditor until the debt was cleared.⁴⁷

If temperance lodges could not, or had not yet been able to fund their own temperance hall, they had to try to find other suitable spaces. Some went to individuals and arranged to rent rooms from them directly, including the Ameliasburgh Sons of Temperance.⁴⁸ Halls built by non-temperance organizations were sometimes available. Another option was to rent a church hall, although this could give the appearance of creating a denominational affiliation when none was desired. The Hope of the West IOGT lodge in London, Ontario, rented a room from the Southern Congregational Church for the first years of its existence, starting in 1907. This reflected the personal religious affiliation of one of the founders. Despite this personal connection, after a few years, the Hope of the West lodge found the rent at the church more than they could afford. By 1914, they had moved their meetings to the “Society Hall” on Dundas Street in London.⁴⁹

The expense of a meeting place was often a stumbling block to the success of a lodge. One woman, Mrs. W.S. Ingram, who was the Superintendent of Juvenile Work for the IOGT lodge in Fort William, wrote to the Grand

⁴⁷ Minute Book, 1873-1875, Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge) fonds, Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives.

⁴⁸ Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085.

⁴⁹ Calendar Book, 1914, Box 4096, Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

Superintendent of Juvenile Work (GSJW) in Ontario, Fred Robins, explaining that the juvenile temple there had folded. The reasons she cited were that the adult lodge had not helped them out enough financially, the children had not been paying their dues regularly, and she had not been able to continue to rent a church hall there. Ingram related that she had tried to hold the juvenile temple meetings in her own home, but found that that was too destructive to her personal property. As a result, she had had to give up organizing the Temple.⁵⁰ Finding and keeping a hall for an adult lodge could be similarly difficult, as Marion Day related to Fred Robins in a letter. She wrote to Robins to update him on the situation in her Toronto lodge, sending him "[j]ust a word about our change in hall, well it is not going to help us. I am afraid our members do not like the hall and will not come to lodge - I mean adult members but one cannot get another hall around here so what can we do.[sic]" ⁵¹ Other IOGT lodges and temples in Toronto in 1914 that had more luck finding reliable meeting places found homes in Methodist churches, Presbyterian halls, and other edifices such as College Hall, Poulton Hall, Occident Hall, and Moose Hall.⁵² These arrangements were sometimes tenuous, although some lodges kept their meeting places over the long term.

⁵⁰ Letter from Mrs. W.S. Ingram to Fred Robins, 2 Dec 1913, Box 4105, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

⁵¹ Letter, Marion Day to Fred Robins, 11 Feb 1913, Box 4105, Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

⁵² Temperance Pamphlets, Box 4106, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

As the fraternal temperance lodges began their decline in the latter part of the nineteenth century, those lodges which had had the financial support to build their own temperance halls were occasionally some of the casualties. Technically, if the lodge disintegrated, the property was supposed to revert to the provincial organizations. By the twentieth century, this was becoming a concern for the Grand Lodge of the IOGT in Ontario, as they tried to press their claims to deserted temperance halls, and wanted to either revive lodges in those areas, or, if that proved fruitless, to sell the halls and use the money for the organization. They sometimes ran into difficulties in asserting their rights to these properties, but were determined to keep an account of the halls defunct lodges had owned, and considered them assets of the provincial organization

Once the location was settled, the next matter was the timing of the meetings, and these reflected the circumstances of the local lodges as well. Meetings of the major fraternal temperance orders were held weekly, although some rural lodges voted to have biweekly meetings during the spring and summer months, when agricultural workloads were at their heaviest. This consideration also affected meeting times, to accommodate extended hours of sunlight. At the Sons of Temperance lodge in Norwich, Ontario, meetings from October to April were begun at 7 pm, while those from April to October, when members of this small farming community in Southwestern Ontario would have

heavier workloads, were delayed until an 8 pm start.⁵³ Lodges would occasionally invite other members of the same fraternal order to come and visit a meeting. These occasions were the subject of much planning, and refreshments and entertainment were supplied for both the local lodge and their guests. In this way, they strengthened local connections between lodges.

In the midst of creating bonds between lodges, brothers and sisters of the Sons, the IOGT, and the Royal Templars worked to create a distinct identity within their own organizations. One of the first steps was by using regalia to denote status and membership within the lodges. Regalia was also used to display proud membership in the order to the outside world, when they were used in parades, on display at the occasional open meetings most temperance lodges held, and sometimes at funerals, to show both individual and collective sorrow upon the death of a member.⁵⁴ IOGT regalia consisted initially of “collars with rounded corners.” These “collars” hung most of the way down the torso, and could have additional metallic insignia to denote offices held. Normal members wore white collars, while officers wore scarlet ones, with “a rosette but no tassels.”⁵⁵ Men and women of the lodges wore the same collars. Regalia were

⁵³ *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, Harold Williams collection, microfilm reel MS 301.

⁵⁴ Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 208-209.

⁵⁵ William W. Turnbull, *The Good Templars: A History of the Rise and Progress of the Independent Order of Good Templars, 1851-1901* (Jubilee Volume, 1901), 23.

to be kept in good repair by the brothers and sisters, and worn at every meeting, particularly when rituals were to take place.⁵⁶ In practice, regalia were most often made by lodge sisters, or the wives of members.⁵⁷ They were also sometimes available to be purchased from a former lodge division that had closed. The Washington IOGT lodge bought the regalia of the previous BAOGT lodge for their own use and adapted them to the IOGT specifications.⁵⁸ By the twentieth century, officer's regalia in the IOGT were of a heavy red material, with a purple oval on which metal letters signified the office the wearer held. This oval was surrounded by metal laurel leaves. On the existing specimens in the Fred Robins collection, attached to the back of the regalia were white, blue and red rosettes. Fred Robins himself, as Grand Superintendent of Juvenile Work, had a different regalia displaying his office in the provincial organization. The base material was the same, but gold fringe was sewn around the shoulder piece.⁵⁹ One officer of the organization was often delegated the job of storing regalia between meetings.

Wearing regalia cemented a visual identity for members of the temperance lodge, reminding members that they were part of a greater whole.

⁵⁶ *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301.

⁵⁷ Minute Book, Hope of the West Lodge, 1907, Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

⁵⁸ Minute Book, 1868-1870, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

⁵⁹ Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, Box 4107.

There were also methods to strengthen the fraternal bonds in more material ways. Insurance, both against injury and to provide survivor's benefits in the case of death, was a feature of both the early Sons of Temperance organization and the Royal Templars of Temperance. For many in the nineteenth century, death or prolonged illness could be a burden for individuals and families, as few had a financial buffer with which to weather such periods. Working-class men and small producers in towns and cities were vulnerable in this way, as were labourers and farmers in rural areas.⁶⁰ To combat this hardship, some of the fraternal temperance lodges joined the ranks of "friendly societies" in offering access to funds to provide for medical attention, and to sustain families at times when the primary provider was incapacitated. Initially, this was not technically insurance – in the Sons of Temperance lodges that participated, members would pay small sums quarterly into a Physician's Fund that would be used to disburse money to ill members.⁶¹ Later, these evolved into full insurance plans, although many Sons of Temperance lodges dropped their sick benefits over time.

Some of the early Sons of Temperance lodges were diligent in collecting money for the fund, and in disbursing it to sick members, as well as sending members to check on those who were ill and injured to see if they qualified, and

⁶⁰ Bryan D. Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992), 97.

⁶¹ *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301.

after they had been receiving aid for a certain amount of time, to make sure they continued to need the financial support. The Ameliasburgh Sons of Temperance minutes record regular payments going out to brothers who were unable to support themselves temporarily, but they apparently found the financial burden too much to sustain indefinitely. In 1853, they voted to halve the amount paid to sick brothers.⁶² The Orono lodge in the first few years of its existence provided regular benefits for sick members, but, by 1856, members were introducing motions to dispense with the benefit system entirely, arguing that it distracted from temperance activities. The committee that recommended this change said that they thought the lodge would still help out those in need, but wished it to be on a less formal basis. Two decades later, they further dismantled the benefit system by voting to discard the funeral benefits, some evidently feeling that men were joining in order to take advantage of the system.⁶³ A Sons newspaper in Nova Scotia summed up the changing views on the effects of the insurance system when they wrote that “multitudes [had been] initiated who cared for nothing but the spoils, either in the form of pecuniary benefits or official honors. All such were, of course, dead weights, and in many localities destroyed Divisions.”⁶⁴

⁶² Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085.

⁶³ March 20, 1867, and March 22, 1876, Minute Book, 1870-1877, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

⁶⁴ “Thoughts For the Sons,” *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 22, November 15, 1856), 17.

The IOGT did not offer insurance initially, arguing that it caused some to join the organization, not out of any great devotion to the temperance cause, but solely in order to obtain the monetary benefits of membership.⁶⁵ The Royal Templars took the opposite view – that sick funds helped to keep their movement strong and functioning. The Royal Templars, one temperance advocate wrote, found “their system of insurance and sick benefits a wholesome check on the tendency to drift away from the lodge room when the novelty is past.”⁶⁶ Sick benefits were seen as a wonderful way of demonstrating to the general public the advantages of total abstinence. They believed that the record would show that teetotalers were sick less often and for shorter periods, and thus, needed to use their insurance less. When it existed, insurance was promoted as a way to protect members against the realities of life in the nineteenth century, allowing members to rely on their brethren for material support when misfortune arose.

Difficult times came whether the lodges were offering insurance benefits or not. Concern for the sick was always an issue. Every lodge had a visiting committee, which was given the task of attending on the brothers and sisters of the local lodge who were ill or injured. Often, the visiting and finance committees were the only regular committees formed. Initially, part of their job was to assess the claims of ill or injured brothers and determine whether or not

⁶⁵ Turnbull, 23.

⁶⁶ Spence, 55.

they qualified for benefits, but even when insurance was not part of the business of the lodges, the committees persisted. The visiting committees were sometimes reprimanded and fined for not fully carrying out their duties, but checking on the sick remained a function of the temperance lodges.⁶⁷

In order to keep their lodges running smoothly, all three temperance lodges relied on rules of order and by-laws. Many were fairly standard operational guidelines, relating to methods of running a meeting and electing officers. Other rules reflected the characteristics they wanted to see in prospective members. Individual lodges were able to set their own by-laws regarding a minimum age.⁶⁸ The by-laws ranged from a low of 14 years old, to at least one lodge that decreed that potential brothers had to be at least 18 years old. Barred from joining the Norwichville Sons of Temperance lodge was anyone who did not “possess a good moral character, or who is in any way incapacitated from earning a livelihood, or who has no visible means of support.”⁶⁹ The last was particularly important in the early Sons of Temperance movement, as lodges

⁶⁷ Minute Book, 1853-1854, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

⁶⁸ *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301. See also Constitution Book, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

⁶⁹ *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301.

provided insurance in the case of illness or death, and so they screened out members who were joining because they were sick in order to take advantage of the benefits. To show their financial viability, new members of every fraternal order had to pay an initiation fee and a smaller amount as quarterly dues. Dues differed slightly among lodges, but every lodge that wished to be affiliated with the parent organization had to remit a certain amount per member to the provincial lodge. In general, dues set for women tended to be about half the dues set for men, perhaps in recognition that they had more limited access to ready money.⁷⁰

To become a member in the Sons of Temperance, a present brother (or sister) had to propose in writing a candidate, including their age, where they lived, and their occupation. (The gendered name of the Sons organization never came up for debate in any of the available records, even after women were admitted and the Daughters of Temperance auxiliaries were folded into the main group.) Available records suggest that the IOGT and Royal Templars followed similar patterns for membership. Three brothers (or sisters, if the proposed member was female) would investigate the character of the person proposed, and report at a later meeting as to what they found. The definition of character

⁷⁰ Minute Book, 1873-1875, Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge), Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2880.

was left open to local interpretation. Once the report was made, the lodge voted on whether or not to admit the candidate to membership, using black and white balls. One set of lodge bylaws laid out the procedure, declaring that “if not more than four black balls appear against him, he shall be declared elected, but, if five or more black balls appear, he shall be rejected and so declared.”⁷¹ Candidates who had been blackballed could not be proposed for membership in any Sons lodge for the next six months. Revealing who had voted against a potential member was forbidden, to keep peace within the lodge, and to allow brothers to vote freely and honestly on new members.⁷² On paper, the above were the conventions to be followed, but lodge minutes suggest that this was not always the case. While it was usual for members to be proposed at one meeting and admitted at the next, presumably after having undergone the investigation mentioned above, it was not uncommon for a brother to bring a potential member along, leave him outside the lodge room, and propose him for membership. A committee could be appointed to quickly interview the candidate, have the report voted on immediately, and the new brother brought in for initiation. It is possible that the person being brought forward had been discussed as a promising new member within the lodge informally, but the

⁷¹ *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301.

⁷² *Constitution, By Laws and Rules of Order of the Norwich Division, No. 284, the Sons of Temperance, Canada West. Established June 4, 1851.* Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301.

nature of the records make it impossible to tell what might have distinguished those who seem to have skipped the investigatory stage from those who underwent it.⁷³

Another group of bylaws that were left up to local discretion were those concerned with maintaining propriety within the lodge. These bylaws provided means to monitor behaviour considered unsuitable to their order, and punishments to be meted out when their rules were broken. Although the Sons of Temperance encouraged entertainment and conviviality, they were careful to set borders around these activities, in their desire to appear respectable to the outside world. They wanted no tales of ribaldry or ill-mannered behaviour to be carried outside the walls of the lodge. In order to combat this danger, they forbade worrisome behaviour, punished those who violated those standards, and fined brothers who talked about lodge business outside the lodge. In the Norwichville Sons of Temperance Constitution, brothers who used “profane or indecent language, [or]...disrespectful expressions” in the lodge, or who refused to obey the commands of the Worthy Patriarch could be fined. Similarly, a specific bylaw was created to punish those brothers who spat on the floor in the meeting room. Regalia used in the lodge was to be kept in good repair, and looking clean and respectable, and if a brother allowed his to be damaged or dirtied, he was responsible for the cleaning, repair, or replacement of the same.

⁷³ Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

These rules show what the expected standards of behaviour were, but the accompanying minute books also show that they were frequently violated. While violations of the pledge were prosecuted more freely than any other charge, members were also punished for having used “vulgar and unbecoming language” in the meetings.⁷⁴ Masculine behaviour in the lodges was supposed to create an alternative to the rougher male culture found in taverns, where crude language might be common.

To enforce these standards of behaviour, lodges could bring members up on charges before the entire division and ask them to explain their behaviour. Fines were imposed on members for having violated the by-laws, including those surrounding proper behaviour, being disruptive, or neglecting one's duties. Members could also be suspended from the order, or, in extreme cases, expelled. Suspension (or sometimes expulsion) was the most common outcome when a member was behind on dues. The grace period was quite long, and members could have neglected to pay their dues for many months before their names were proposed before a meeting as candidates for suspension. In many cases, these men seem to have left the order due to lack of interest, lack of money, or waning sympathy with the cause, but had not wanted to go through the motions of formally withdrawing. Instead, they simply stopped attending meetings or paying dues, and let their inactivity speak for itself. Few suspended

⁷⁴ Minutes, Sons of Temperance, Norwichville, 4 Dec 1871. Harold Williams collection, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, microfilm reel MS 301.

for nonpayment of dues returned to the lodge, and this cause of suspension or expulsion comprised the single largest category of members who left the orders.⁷⁵

Expulsion was also the fate of many who broke their pledges, but this was not universally the case. Brothers could be retained if the lodge voted to allow them to stay, provided they paid a fine and were held accountable for their actions. Even if a member had been forced to leave for having imbibed, this did not permanently bar him. If a sponsor could be found and the brothers and sisters agreed, an expelled member could be eligible to be re-inducted into the lodge. More often, though, those who had broken their pledges appeared to have no particular interest in rejoining the lodge, sometimes scorning the attempts of the lodge to reform them. Others, after suffering the embarrassment of being expelled, may have stayed away to avoid further awkwardness.⁷⁶

These rules were all put into place to try to promote a harmonious atmosphere, and foster feelings of fellowship between members. Rules alone, however, could not tie members together tightly in the temperance cause. From the early days, lodge organizers recognized that they had to offer some fun as well, although what kinds of fun were permissible varied. The place of

⁷⁵ Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, and Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766, and Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085.

⁷⁶ Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

entertainment in the temperance lodges was often an uneasy one, but it was one of the ways in which lodges attracted and kept members. These were also the activities that created a community and cemented fraternal bonds. The social sphere involved activities that were neither purely public nor purely private. A semi-private social space, with other people around at all times often “provided a meeting ground for men and women that enabled them to mingle with greater equality of circumstance and to act with greater freedom than in either their public or private worlds.”⁷⁷ Looking at how lodges incorporated entertainment and socializing allows a look beyond the dichotomy of public and private and opens up a realm of interaction that had formal and informal rules that differed from those for business, politics, family, and the home. Lodges regarded themselves as being engaged in serious business, but that did not mean that they believed that entertainment was a bad thing. Tension did exist about what kinds of entertainments were acceptable, and how much should be allowed. Some lodges banned dances, on the belief that they were too frivolous, and morally dangerous.⁷⁸ Other activities that were considered more innocuous were common. Temperance songs were distributed in lodge books outlining the order of proceedings, often set to the tunes of popular songs. Some temperance

⁷⁷ Karen Hansen, *A Very Social Time: Crafting Community in Antebellum New England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 1. See also Nancy Osterud, *Bonds of Community: The Lives of Farm Women in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991).

⁷⁸ Anne Wood, *An Evangelical Balance Sheet: Character, Family, and Business in Mid-Victorian Noval Scotia* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006).

literature urged the lodges to make sure that their meetings were full of “entertainments of the highest and best kind, full of interest as well as of instruction and usefulness.”⁷⁹ In practice, however, individual lodges had to find a balance about what kinds of entertainment were suitable, and how much of their meetings should be devoted to pleasant activities.

When the official organ of the IOGT set forth a plan in which lodge members were to be divided into two groups which would compete to see who could arrange the best entertainments, some Canadian members bristled and wrote that such a plan was both “unhealthy” and “vicious.” They worried that competition over amusements would distract the lodge from more serious business, and attract new members who were only there for “*an unseemly party context*, to the utter disregard of the grand object for which Good Templar Lodges are instituted.”⁸⁰ In rebuttal, the Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Canada wrote that, under the plan as written, participants in such a contest had to make sure that the activities were moral, intellectually engaging, and were not against temperance principles. If they followed all these guidelines, this method “can and does develop in our Lodges a stronger moral life, a purer social atmosphere, a higher intellectual standard, leading to improved physical conditions, broader sympathies, more generous impulses, and the strengthening

⁷⁹ “Retaining Members,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 2.

⁸⁰ Rev. A.W. Mahon, “The Plan of Campaign Boycotted,” *The International Good Templar* (London, Ontario, March 1888) 173. Emphasis theirs.

of the numerous traits and graces which elevate and dignify true manhood and noble womanhood.”⁸¹ Although entertainment and socializing activities were sometimes a cause of contention, they were essential instruments in attracting and holding members, and instrumental in creating fellowship in the lodge.

The activities that the lodges decided had some merit beyond pure pleasure promoted merriment in a communal setting, allowing different members of the lodges in turn to organize entertainments at meetings with songs, speeches, or writings, most frequently on the topic of temperance. Some lodges appointed people each meeting to prepare an activity for the amusement and edification of the lodge at the next meeting, while other divisions directed the holders of various offices to prepare the entertainment, or divided some of the meetings into “Brothers’ Nights” or “Sisters’ Nights,” and had either the men or the women prepare activities and sometimes refreshments. Ideally, these entertainments were to be loosely connected to temperance, although they were not necessarily always directly on the subject. These activities took place after the business of the lodge, and were a means to attract and retain members, while fostering a sense that the lodge was more than just a duty.⁸²

⁸¹ Thomas Lawless, “The Plan of Campaign,” *The International Good Templar* (London, Ontario, April 1888), 242.

⁸² Minute Book, 1907-1913, Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, Box 4104, and Minute Books, 1867-1868 and 1868-1870, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

While some were disparaging about potential members who might join the lodge for the entertainment value, others argued that well-organized entertainments were a good way to introduce suitable candidates to the fun, as well as the work, of the temperance movement, and that attention to this aspect had enriched both the numbers and the sentiments of local lodges. Some believed that a healthy entertainment program could double the membership of a lodge, and not undermine their political activities, but it was always a delicate line to walk.⁸³ Entertainments which engaged the mind were often staged in temperance lodges, and, in this way, lodges attempted to encourage members to think more deeply in general, and, specifically, to provide them with opportunities to sharpen their temperance arguments on each other before they used them on people they encountered outside the lodge. Spelling bees occasionally occurred, and both brothers and sisters participated. More frequent were debates, which, when the participants were recorded in lodge minutes, were men only. Sisters would attend these debates, but were not chosen for the teams. While the debates did not always deal with alcohol directly, the old topic of "Which is Worse: Alcohol or War?" reared its head in nearly every set of lodge minutes available. The question was virtually always decided in favour of intemperance being the worse evil.⁸⁴

⁸³ Thomas Lawless, "The Plan of Campaign," *The International Good Templar* (London, Ontario, April 1888), 242.

⁸⁴ Minute Book, 1866-1870, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, Minute Book, 1867-1868, Washington Lodge No.

Other topics for debate can give some insight into the concerns of the local lodges. Debates could be split on issues that surrounded drinking culture. When lodges debated whether or not temperance men could morally grow barley, as it could be used in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages, the conclusions were mixed. Similarly, when it was debated whether or not tobacco was an evil, the Hope of the West IOGT Lodge in London, Ontario, decided in favour of tobacco, perhaps due to the importance of the crop in the region.⁸⁵ Through these debates, the lodges often articulated their stances, and they were not always as strict on such issues as one might expect. However, the Orono lodge did end one debate in favour of the proposition that reading fiction was “injurious to society,” so sometimes the lodges were dubious about the morality of popular entertainment.⁸⁶

For rural lodges, their place in the grand scheme of things was also a common theme of debates. In the midst of an Ontario whose population was slowly becoming more urban, the number of lodges that existed in rural areas or small towns remained high. For members of these lodges, one of the frequent debate themes was exploring the virtues of farming life. Available urban lodge

21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

⁸⁵ Minute Books, 1877-1881 and 1881-1891, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2880, and Minute Book, 1907-1913, Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, Box 4104.

⁸⁶ Minute Book, 1877-1881, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2880

minutes do not record having held debates on similar topics on their own environments. The Orono lodge debated good farming practices, but more often had an eye to affirming the inherent worth of their way of life. Debates on these topics tended to happen after Confederation, when the largest cities in Ontario were growing. Rural lodge members wished to assert the respectability and value of what they perceived as traditional rural values. Debates on the subject were always decided in favour of rural life, such as the debate that agriculture was “more beneficial to mankind” than commerce, or the one in which it was decided that farm life was superior to professional or business life.⁸⁷ These debates on the benefits of rural life indicate a concern with its vulnerable position and an assertion of their privileges and rights as fraternal brothers and rural citizens.⁸⁸

Lodges also attempted to foster the intellectual abilities of their members in other ways. Some lodges attempted to produce monthly newspapers to which members would contribute articles. These were to be read aloud at meetings. Others dedicated some of their dues to founding and maintaining a small library for the use of the members. Such endeavours were not without their frictions, as articles were not always handed in on time to the editors of the lodge newspaper,

⁸⁷ Minute Books, 1866-1870 and 1870-1877, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

⁸⁸ Minute Books, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879 and MU2880, Minute Book, 1907-1913, Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, Box 4104.

nor books returned to libraries as often as they were taken out. In Ameliasburgh, Ontario, the library case was broken into, and the librarian had to defend himself against accusations that he had done so himself, despite the fact that he presumably would have had a key. The librarianship was a paid position, and the librarian defended himself vociferously against these charges. He was eventually cleared and paid his salary.⁸⁹ Despite these difficulties, lodges persisted in trying to collect books for members to read, and to create newspapers for members to enjoy.

The lodges also organized excursions to neighbouring lodges in the same order, or sometimes to divisions of the other temperance orders. Invitations were extended, and transportation often debated several times before it could be arranged. Weather permitting, one lodge might visit another, for the evening, or sometimes overnight. Urban lodges most often visited other lodges in the same city, while town and rural lodges could entertain visitors either from nearby settlements, or sometimes from places a distance away, such as when the

⁸⁹ Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085. The Washington lodge also had a library, but with much less friction. Minute Book, 1868-1870, Washington Lodge No. 21, Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives. Lodge newspapers were created by, among others, the Orono Sons of Temperance and Carthage IOGT divisions. Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766, and Minute Book, 1873-1875, Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge), Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives.

Waterloo lodge visited the Washington lodge, a distance of almost 27 kilometers.⁹⁰ Special entertainments would be organized by the host lodge.

Lodges of different orders and lodges within the same order would also collaborate on public events, designed to raise their profile in the area, to attract potential new recruits, and to bring people together to hear temperance arguments. Picnics were a frequent event used to bring in members of the general public, including children. Similarly, evening socials operated under temperance rules were hosted. In such cases, the sisters of the order were often expected to put together the refreshments and serve them, assisted by the brothers. Most overtly connected to temperance, however, were the occasions when lodges sponsored temperance speakers to come to their area and give public lectures on the topic. Speakers would either send their particulars to the lodges in hopes of securing an engagement, or lodges would engage speakers of some renown. A location (often one of the churches, if the temperance hall was not available or not large enough) would be procured, and the members of the local lodge would work to put the event together, host the speaker, and make sure the evening went as smoothly as possible. These events, some purely social, some with educational overtones, were one way in which the temperance lodges brought their cause before their neighbours and friends, hoping to convert some to teetotaling, or even better, to join the fraternal order.

⁹⁰ Minute Book, 1868-1870, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

All of these activities were the means by which members created a sense of fellowship, using resources easily available in nineteenth century Ontario. They were also often used to help members hone their temperance arguments, and to provide a safe place for brothers and sisters to meet and socialize in respectable surroundings. One newspaper article, originally printed in the *Toronto Daily Globe* and reprinted in the *International Good Templar*, gave a rosy-coloured view of how lodge life complemented the rural experience of young men:

Have you ever got up at four o'clock in the morning and milked four cows, and curried and harnessed the horses before breakfast, and worked in the harvest field until eight o'clock at night, and then rolled down the sleeves of your flannel shirt, and put on a paper collar and walked two miles to Lodge, recited "The Accursed Wine Cup," and seconded two motions, and then walked home with Sister Brown three miles away in the other direction from where you live, let down two sets of bars, helped Sister Brown over a couple of fences, debated the right of way with large dogs, and then trudged home across the fields and by way of the side-line just in the neighborhood of midnight, feeling all the way that life was a good time the whole year 'round, and that Lodge night was a weekly picnic?⁹¹

This idealized view of a young man's life on the farm elides the long hours of labour that would make a day that started at four in the morning and ended at midnight an exhausting one. That men continued to go to the lodge despite the demands of agricultural labour makes their commitment visible. Women like Sister Brown would have had their own gendered farm labour during the day

⁹¹ "Observations on Good Templary," *The Toronto Daily Globe*, in *The International Good Templar Annual* (London, Ontario, 1888), 442.

before attending the meeting. There is an undertone of courting to this section that suggests that part of the reason for going even after a full day might have included socializing with the opposite sex. The rest of the article went on to outline the contributions the lodges made to the social and political development of members. The lodges adapted existing modes of socializing in nineteenth-century Ontario to their own needs, and imbued them with political overtones. Sometimes, fun itself was seen to be a necessary component of lodge life, essential to keeping a lodge healthy and vibrant. At the same time, however, the amount and types of fun allowed were frequently brought up for discussion by those who thought that individual lodges had tipped too far over into frivolity and lost sight of their larger mission.

The balance between fun and serious purpose was a difficult one, but the lodges persisted for decades in offering a space for men and women to come together and work for the temperance cause, with light wholesome entertainment as an additional attraction. All the lodges were well suited to provide respectable diversion that came with a motivating sense of purpose in the wider world. Not all who joined stayed for long periods of time, but temperance writers hoped that, long or short, the time brothers and sisters spent in the lodge would arm them to resist the alcoholic temptations of the world outside the lodge walls. To this end, the lodges attempted to provide a structure that attracted members, rules to govern them, entertainments that retained them,

regalia and ritual to make meetings a special time, and a sense of purpose for brothers and sisters to carry with them into the greater world.

Chapter Two

Class in the Lodges

The question of class in the temperance lodges is not a simple one. Some members are easily slotted into one class or another, but the nebulous nature of class in nineteenth century Ontario prevents an easy answer. Further difficulties are raised by the large numbers of rural lodges, where urban definitions of class fit uneasily or not at all. While many who joined the temperance lodges would be, by most definitions, classified amongst the working class, they tended to aspire to what we would call middle-class ideals. Those who joined temperance lodges as opposed to the other fraternal options were making a claim to respectability, which was related to, but not synonymous with, the middle class. Despite the varied class composition of their lodges, the temperance literature spoke in stark delineations of middle-class sobriety and the inebriety of the poor. The arguments they made attempted to appeal to the working-class by praising the respectability of manual labour, while simultaneously appealing to the business class with the promise of increased business and lower taxes. Their belief that the abolition of alcohol would create a more affluent society stood alongside (and was often entwined with) arguments based on morality and altruism. The temperance lodges promoted cross-class solidarity, claims to respectability, and, a harmonious hierarchical society. It was through their

concept of responsible and respectable masculinity that working-class and middle-class ideologies were reconciled. Respectability was a cornerstone of the temperate masculine ideal, and it existed in concert and tension with altruism, self-interest, and belief in the promise of a better world.

Before examining the class status of those who joined the lodges, it is useful to look at those men the lodges used as the drunken male “other” to their idealized masculinity. Although the evidence is not adequate to prove that drinking was primarily a working-class habit, the temperance movement sometimes identified it as such. The temperance press sometimes acknowledged the existence of middle-class drinkers, but the connections it drew between alcohol and poverty meant that those written about had relinquished any status in the process of imbibing drink. Specifically, drink was often identified as being so entwined with pre-industrial patterns of work and socialization that manual labour and drinking could scarcely be separated. It was part of the working day of most labouring men.¹ In some workplaces, drinking was customary, while in others, such as the taxing work of building the Rideau Canal, large amounts of alcohol, often rum or whiskey, were part of the provisions supplied to the workers.² Its presence in the workday life of the emerging middle class is less

¹ Greg Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 53-54, 75.

² Peter Way, *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals 1780-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 186 and Katherine M.J. McKenna, “Working Life at the Isthmus, Rideau Canal, 1827-1831,” in

obvious. The position of alcohol use in the daily life of those of various classes had changed over the course of the nineteenth century. Craig Heron found that by the latter decades, more and more workplaces had banned drinking on the job, and that drinking had changed to an “off-the-job, leisure time experience, part of the new, more rigid distinction between work time and non-work time that came with industrial capitalist management.”³ For the middle class, and increasingly for the working class as well, drinking became an after-hours activity. Although the times and locations of drinking had shifted, conviviality and drinking during leisure time remained an important connection between masculinity and labour.

For those who had the ability to lift themselves beyond the temptations of drink, and its threat to status, the temperance lodges attempted to provide a welcoming home. Often, fraternal organizations, temperance or otherwise, have blurred class lines, substituting an imagined shared masculinity. Because the records do not lend themselves to clear-cut arguments regarding class, historians of fraternalism have frequently disagreed on the class composition of fraternal organizations. On one side are the historians like Mark Carnes and Lynn Dumenil, who see in fraternal organizations a vehicle of middle-class hegemony,

Labourers on the Rideau Canal 1826-1832: From Work Site to World Heritage Site, ed. Katherine M.J. McKenna (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2008), 66.

³ Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 72 and 11.

wherein the middle-class officers ruled over working-class members, and attempted to instill class-specific values into their working-class brethren.⁴

While a few other historians will argue that it depends on the order (and the Freemasons seem to be the most middle-class of the fraternal organizations, as well as the best studied), an opposing camp of working-class historians, writing at roughly the same time as Carnes and Dumenil, argued that fraternal orders, particularly in urban areas, were an important expression of working-class culture.⁵ Historians of the working class emphasize the roots of fraternal orders, and their continuing presence in urban working-class culture. The 1963 classic of the genre, E.P. Thompson's *Making of the English Working Class*, argues that the friendly societies that arose in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the precursor of fraternal orders, were almost all working class, and that these were a way of avoiding "paternalist control" of their work by employers. Thompson identifies these early groups as the root of "independent working-class culture and institutions," and, eventually, the root of trade unions.⁶ Later historians of the working class, in both Canada and the United States, build on Thompson's work. In the heyday of working-class history from

⁴ Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), and Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁵ Clifford Putney, "Service over Secrecy: How Lodge-Style Fraternalism Yielded to Men's Service Clubs, *Freemasonry in Context: History, Ritual, Controversy*, Arturo de Hoyos and S. Brent Morris, eds. (Toronto: Lexington Books, 2004), 107.

⁶ E.P. Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1963), 421.

the late 1970s through the 1980s, the working-class nature of fraternal orders was identified as an important feature in urban life, and, in particular, American history. Roy Rosenzweig identified the International Order of Good Templars (IOGT) as a blue-collar organization in late nineteenth-century American cities.⁷ This seems to contradict an organizational emphasis on recruiting from the more respectable classes and may point to a dissonance between rhetoric and practice.

In Ontario in the late nineteenth century specifically, Lynne Marks found that fraternal lodges in general averaged around 40% working-class officers, although these statistics did not include general membership. The class breakdown varied between lodges, with the Orange Lodges having the highest percentage of working-class officers, and the Masons the lowest.⁸ Christopher Anstead, in his study on fraternalism in nineteenth-century Ontario, found similar distributions, with skilled workers comprising a large minority of the membership, and non-manual workers making up the bulk of the membership.⁹ It is difficult to speculate on the general membership, although if one advances the theory that the officers were likely to be those most respectable, the

⁷ Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours For What We Will* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 115. See also John T. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), 46-50.

⁸ Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 109.

⁹ Christopher J. Anstead, "Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario: Secret Societies and Cultural Hegemony" (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Western Ontario, 1992), 182-184.

percentage of the working-class in the general membership may have been higher. Bryan Palmer identified the fraternal orders as accommodating both the working and middle class, and but rejected the belief that the middle class held sway. While they participated beside the middle class, the working-class brothers learned “the benefits and attractions of equality, fraternity, and cooperation, on the one hand, all deeply embedded within the consciousness of the emerging labour movement; or, on the other hand, deference, accommodation, and an exclusionary contempt for those less attuned to the practices of sober thrift and appropriate propriety.”¹⁰ While the skilled workers who joined these orders may have been embracing values increasingly identified with the middle class, Palmer has seen fraternal orders as a training ground for the labour movement.

Labour historians have also identified the tavern as one of the sources of working class solidarity.¹¹ Given the general inebriety of the non-temperance fraternal organizations, these two arenas for a developing working-class consciousness were not mutually exclusive. Despite a common assumption that working-class men drank more than their middle-class counterparts, one temperance newspaper printed an article claiming that the view of the tavern as a working-man’s club was a “total fiction,” and that few working-class men

¹⁰ Bryan Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1979), 43. See also Bryan Palmer, *Working Class Experience: Rethinking the History of Canadian Labour, 1800-1991* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1992) 95-98

¹¹ Peter DeLottinville, “Joe Beef of Montreal: Working Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1880” *Labour/Le Travail*, (8/9, 1981/1982), 9-40.

frequented taverns for any length of time. The author, championing the working-class men as potential budding converts to the cause, wrote that “thousands of working-men...spend their evenings at home, and find no necessity for any club or such resort.”¹² Despite this defence of the working-class man, present historiography tends to agree that late nineteenth-century urban taverns were largely working-class, and a potential breeding ground for solidarity.¹³ Drinking in the privacy of the home was identified as an upper class weakness. Historian of fraternalism Mary Ann Clawson argued that there is “little consensus and even less theoretical clarity” about whether or not fraternal organizations contributed to working-class solidarity, arguing that the evidence at present does not provide an easy answer either way.¹⁴

While historians disagree on whether fraternal orders were a vehicle for working-class or middle-class consciousness, there is consensus that fraternalism tried to create an atmosphere in which the classes could freely mingle. The fraternal orders tried to advance a notion of universal brotherhood among white men, trying to erase class as a distinction between members.¹⁵ Their idea of universal brotherhood attempted to deny the reality of class by claiming a

¹² “A Serious Mistake,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 5, No. 8, February 1899), 2.

¹³ Rural and small-town taverns had a much more varied clientele. As the nineteenth century progressed, a former mix of classes in the taverns started to disappear. See Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009), 35.

¹⁴ Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 88.

¹⁵ Clawson, 6. Putney, “Service over Secrecy,” 107.

common experience among white men. The experience of members may not have been as free from class considerations as the rhetoric asserted, but fraternalism attempted to mitigate class divisions and replace them with a rosy view of shared masculinity to which any worthy man could aspire. (Non-temperance fraternal lodges did not admit women, or created auxiliary lodges to give them their own space.) Trying to create alliances between men of different classes allowed some men to overlook the realities of increasing class division in industrializing society. The long-term impact of these groups on class consciousness is open to debate, but by their own rhetoric, they were trying to deny the existence of class as a defining identity for members. How this lofty rhetoric played out in the lived experience of fraternal brothers is difficult to tell. The records are mostly of an official nature, and downplay the importance of class to the lives of their members. This is further complicated when the temperance lodges are examined as part of the equation. Temperance itself has been largely associated with middle-class concerns, and this association has obscured cross-class participation in temperance organizations.

Complicating the class composition of the lodges still further, the position of skilled artisans in nineteenth-century Ontario is a contentious one. Some have placed them as part of the newly emerging middle class, others as the pinnacle of the working class. A. Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein pointed out that in most case studies, scholars have used their own “sense of the institutional conditions of the community under study” to place skilled artisans as either

working or middle class, and that while the various schema may effectively describe a specific location and time period, it does not make comparisons between studies easy. Given that so many of the members of the temperance lodges were skilled artisans, particularly in rural areas, it is difficult to make blanket statements about their class. The nebulousness of what the middle class actually was has not aided the issue.¹⁶ In important ways, the manual labour of skilled artisans connected them to the working class, while their aspirations to respectability linked them to the emerging middle class.

One stream of thought, started by E.P. Thompson and continued by working-class historians like Bryan Palmer, holds that the emergence of class and the emergence of class consciousness were inextricably intertwined. The working-class emerged as a group when it identified itself as separate from those who employed them, and found that their interests differed substantially. Similarly, this theory holds that it was only when the middle class started to define itself as something other than the upper or working classes that it truly came into existence.¹⁷ With regard to Ontario society in the nineteenth century, many historians have plucked skilled artisans out of the working class and

¹⁶ A. Gordon Darroch and Michael D. Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871: The Vertical Mosaic in Historical Perspective" *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 61, No. 3, (Sept 1980), 310. See also Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 7 and 11.

¹⁷ Bryan Palmer, *Culture in Conflict*, xvi. See also E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

grouped them with the middle class, arguing that the separation between manual and non-manual labour was not as important as the common desire for respectability and status in the community. Others have seen the split between manual and non-manual labour as integral to an emerging middle class.¹⁸ Gidney and Millar, in their work on secondary education in Ontario, included in their middle class “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.”¹⁹ For most of the nineteenth century, skilled artisans owned their own workplaces, employed others, and sold their own goods directly to the market. In this, they were quite different from the working labourers, and can reasonably be argued to have had more in common with the ambitious middle class. In contrast, labour historians like Greg Kealey and Bryan Palmer have argued that skilled workers were an integral part of the working class, and their arguments for respectability and the right to make a good living were instrumental in the development of a working-class consciousness.²⁰

¹⁸ Holman, 14-15.

¹⁹ R.D. Gidney and W.P.J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 8.

²⁰ See, for example, Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, “The Bonds of Unity: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900,” *The Character of Class Struggle: Essays in Canadian Working-Class History, 1850-1985*, Bryan Palmer, ed. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1986,) 37-65.

Gidney and Millar sidestepped the problem by saying that their middle class was not truly such at all, but closer to an idea of the "respectable classes." Opening the criteria so broadly, however, may lead to the type of problem that Jan Noel found when trying to examine temperance as a middle-class phenomenon. She questioned whether regarding temperance as a middle-class phenomenon would mean incorporating "a group too broad for a class concept to be meaningful," leading to theoretical muddiness instead of clarity.²¹ The skilled workers were a large proportion of the membership, and their position in a class structure that was only just defining itself remains impossible to identify precisely. Christopher Anstead, in his 1992 consideration of fraternalism in nineteenth-century Ontario, pointed out that European historians looked at artisans as a completely separate class, often designated the "lower middle class."²² Due to the difficulties in defining whether skilled artisans were middle or working class, skilled artisans in the temperance lodges will be separated out as their own category, drawing attention to their ambiguous space in the other class groupings.

That many of these skilled workers lived in predominantly rural areas does not lessen the difficulty of precisely identifying the membership of the temperance lodges by class. There is a problem in the existing literature on

²¹ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 30.

²² Anstead, 30.

fraternal lodges in that the studies of urban lodges are used to make definitive statements about organizations as a whole. The historiography to date, with the exception of Christopher Anstead's dissertation on fraternalism in Ontario, has focused almost exclusively on the urban experience, and used those examples to make sweeping statements about the class dimensions of entire organizations. The difficulties in applying the experience of class in growing industrial cities to the many hundreds of lodges in towns and rural areas should be obvious. The class divisions that were increasingly apparent in larger centres were not so evident in smaller locations, and the much smaller pool of potential members had a distinct impact on the membership of fraternal lodges, both temperance and non-temperance.

Determining class in the country is a difficult task, made more complex by the relative dearth of rural social history. Most work on labour history and class has focused on the effects of industrialization and urbanization.²³ While there have been some excellent efforts in recent years to incorporate rural history into the larger sweep of Canadian social history (particularly when it pertains to women's history), it is still a topic ripe for further exploration.²⁴ Indeed, there is

²³ Russell G. Hann, *Farmers Confront Industrialism: Some Historical Perspectives on Ontario Agrarian Movements* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1975), 2.

²⁴ The experiences of farm women, in particular, have been more extensively explored than other areas. See Monda Halpern, *And On That Farm He Had A Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900-1970* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), Louise Carbert, *Agrarian Feminism: The Politics of Ontario Farm Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), Margaret Kechnie, *Organizing Rural Women: The Federated Women's Institutes of Ontario, 1897-1919*

little consensus on how even to define the word rural, whether as “a *geographical* classification, relating to population size, density, and distance from urban centres, or a *cultural* classification, relating to a particular culture or way of life that differs significantly from the urban.”²⁵ In the nineteenth century, temperance advocates were among the many who rhetorically used the country as a contrast to the evils of the city. For the temperance movement, this dichotomy of good and evil was stark. Whatever they knew about the unseemly possibilities for drinking in the country paled next to what they presumed must happen in the city: “In cities and towns there are more temptations to sin and more opportunities for wrong doing than in rural places. Wrong doing is also more easily concealed and an additional restraint is taken away from those who are very susceptible to public opinion.”²⁶ Temperance lodges took root in all of these locations, both in urban areas presumed to be surrounded by evil, and in the middle of the country, which, the records of drinking violations by lodge members make clear, were still not free from temptation. These contradictions were masked by a rosy view of country life. Farmers in the nineteenth century identified themselves with the English yeoman class, which in their view,

(Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003), and Linda Ambrose, *For Home and Country: The Centennial History of the Women’s Institutes in Ontario* (Erin, Ont.: Boston Mills Press, 1996).

²⁵ R.W. Sandwell, “Notes toward a History of Rural Canada, 1870-1940,” *Social Transformation in Rural Canada: Community, Cultures, and Collective Action*, eds. John R. Parkins and Maureen G. Reed (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012), 23.

²⁶ “Cities and Towns,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. IV, No. 3, (September 1897), 3.

symbolized hard-working, responsible landowners, and were the proper opinion-makers for their societies.²⁷ This conflation of occupation and class has continued to be a source of contention in the historiography.

This rhetoric of a community of respectable farmers has served to obscure real differences in land-owning and income. Even if farmers were a homogeneous group, which they certainly were not, their position in a class structure has never been clear. As Louise Carbert pointed out, they were “wealthy in terms of farm assets, but associated with urbanized blue collar work.”²⁸ There have been other debates over whether farmers in the early years of settlement of Ontario (Canada West) should be considered “pioneers, peasants, or ...commercial.”²⁹ Were farmers prosperous working-class or something else entirely? Wherever farmers as a class stood, they were not monolithic. The association of occupation and class has meant that there are odd disjunctures between manual labour, non-manual labour, occupation, and status. Farmers complicate this issue even more. Many, but not all, owned their own land, and the farms they owned varied wildly in their success. The farmers were employers of labour, but that labour mostly came from wives and children, as well as seasonal hands. Not only is their place in the class structure complex, the

²⁷ Halpern, 21, 25. See also David Jones, “‘There is Some Power About the Land,’: The Western Agrarian Press and Country Life Ideology,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17:3 (Fall 1982), 96-108.

²⁸ Carbert, 50.

²⁹ Peter A. Russell, *How Agriculture Made Canada: Farming in the Nineteenth Century* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2012), 276.

variations in status among farmers make a blanket association of occupation with class impossible.³⁰

While both land-owning and tenant farmers identified themselves as farmers on censuses, there was a vast difference between the two. Those who had the ability to purchase their farms were much more prosperous than their renting neighbours. Both types of farming were present within the same areas. Many of the families who continued membership in temperance lodges over generations appear on the same land on multiple censuses, which may point to longer-term residency, and possibly, greater prosperity. However, there are as many who identified themselves as farmers upon gaining membership to the lodges who appeared on no census, or appeared only once. They were joined in the temperance lodges by those who took a second route in towns and rural areas to potential prosperity, providing products and services to farmers.³¹

The extensive membership records of the Sons of Temperance in Orono, Ontario, allow for a look at class over a long period of time. Out of a survey of some 200 members of the Orono lodge located on the censuses of 1851, 1861, or 1871, occupations were found for 154 of them. They can be broken down into roughly four groupings. As it was a predominantly rural area, it comes as no

³⁰ Charles M. Johnston, "'A Motley Crowd': Diversity in the Ontario Countryside in the Early Twentieth-Century," *Canadian Papers in Rural History* (Gananoque, Ont.: Langdale Press, 1990), 238.

³¹ David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land, and Social Change in mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 99-109.

surprise that some 42% of the Sons (65 total) were farmers, although of that number, 29% had the census taker record their occupation as “yeoman,” signaling that they saw themselves as belonging to a more settled class of farmer. The term is nebulous, but tended to denote land ownership.³² The next largest group was made up of the skilled trades, those who worked with their hands, but nonetheless had deeper ties to the notion of respectability than unskilled labourers. These included blacksmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, cabinetmakers, and tailors. These comprised 27% percent of the Orono Sons. The third largest grouping was made up of those who would be considered part of the newly emerging middle class, making up 17% of the total. These included seven teachers, four ministers, physicians, druggists, clerks, and merchants, among others. The last group was those who were listed as labourers or agricultural labourers, the smallest group, but certainly not absent. Unskilled workers made up 14% of the Orono Sons. The occupations taken were from the first census in which members were recorded as having one, as this was likely to be closest to the time when they joined the lodge. Most, but not all, members joined in their teens and early twenties.³³

³² David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers*, 99, Colin Read, "The Land Records of Old Ontario, 1791-1867," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* (Vol. 30, No. 59, 1997), 138.

³³ Censuses consulted include the 1851, 1861, and 1871 censuses of Upper Canada and Ontario. 1881 and 1891 were used to supplement details when possible. Names were gathered from lists of members and minute books. Sons of Temperance of North America (Orono Division No. 79) fonds, Archives of Ontario.

Although membership in the temperance lodges spanned classes, they tended to come together around the idea of respectable masculinity. Respectability was associated with the middle class, but found resonance beyond it. Respectability also reinforced class differences without overtly referring to them, normalizing middle-class behaviours and habits as an inherent good, unconnected to class. It was perhaps so powerful an idea in the nineteenth century because the term was also so plastic. Many different groups could lay claim to the term, and mean different (although often overlapping) things by it. Respectability was certainly different for women and men, and moving between the realms of the respectable and the disreputable was much easier for men, not to mention less likely to result in public censure. Whereas respectability for women often hinged on sexual behavior and their ability to perform household tasks up to increasingly high standards, for men, it more often had to do with leisure behavior, and the ability to fulfill masculine economic duties.³⁴

³⁴ For respectability as it relates to women's sexual behavior, see, for example, Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), Katherine McKenna, *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and her family, 1755-1849* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), and Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). On increasing demands on housework standards in the nineteenth century, and its relationship to respectability, see, for example, Magda Fahrni, "'Ruffled' Mistresses and 'Discontented' Maids: Respectability and the Case of Domestic Service, 1880-1914," *Labour/Le Travail* Vol. 39, (Spring 1997), Susan Strasser, *Never Done: A History of American Housework* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), Annegret Ogden, *The Great American Housewife: From Helpmate to Wage Earner, 1776-1986* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1986),

For men, respectability was related to class, but not synonymous with it. When it came to non-work activities, it was connected to how productively their leisure time was spent. Many groups made claims that their own activities were truly productive, rather than the disreputable loafing of idle young men.³⁵ While older, more settled members of families might hope their young men chose something like a temperance lodge to occupy their evenings, for many of these young men, aimless behaviour was part of the process of growing up. Most passed through it, and would later embrace markers of respectability such as church membership and community leadership after they had started their families.³⁶ For men, this kind of less reputable behavior was more a phase than a lifelong pastime. Once they had married and had children, respectability for men was associated with responsible fiscal behavior, which could be displayed by men of both the working and the middle class, although it was easier to attain for higher earners.

Economic behavior for men was associated first and foremost with breadwinning, the ability to provide for a family well, and doing so without

and Denyse Baillargeon, *Making Do: Women, Family and Home in Montreal During the Great Depression* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999).

³⁵ Lynne Marks, "Religion, Leisure, and Working-Class Identity," *Labouring Lives: Work and Workers in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, ed. Paul Craven (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 280. See also Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, and Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty*.

³⁶ Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 32-37. See also E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15-36.

complaint. There were associated expectations having to do with community leadership and maintaining certain standards. Respectable men were expected to provide the money to create the home, the pleasures of which they were supposed to enjoy after work, with their wives and children. At its core, masculine respectability was virtually synonymous with responsibility, with the expectation that such responsibility for the home and the family would yield respect in the community, a good livelihood, and pleasant home life. As an ideal, respectability was certainly more financially attainable for middle-class men, but not necessarily out of the reach of more prosperous and fortunate members of the working class.³⁷

Because the ideals of respectability could cross class barriers, it could both obscure and highlight class conflict. Temperance literature suggested if prohibition were made the law of the land, class divisions would simply melt away in a flood of respectability. The presumption was that under a temperate state, financial concerns, both domestic and national, would be eliminated. One poem, "The Land of Prohibition," outlined how the author thought society would change under prohibitory laws:

No broken windows or hanging doors,
No greasy walls or dirty floors,
But pretty homes and gardens gay,
Scent of sweet flowers miles away
In the Land of Prohibition

³⁷ Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 211-212; Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 59, 151-153.

...
No public debt to make men frown,
No breaking banks to crush them down,
No empty coffers in the state,
For debts are small and income great
In the Land of Prohibition.³⁸

This idyllic view of a society that had not only been purged of drink, but had reformed in every way, included an association of the financial wellbeing of the home with the financial wellbeing of the state. Respectability, connected with a male ability to provide, was presumed to be the ideal of all men.

When middle-class social reformers looked at the working class, they saw a group that seemed devoid of respectability. They took it upon themselves to model good behavior, and to try to hold others to the same high standards. It is premature, however, to presume that the constellation of meanings bound up in the word “respectable” were solely a middle-class preserve, or that the working class had no interest in similar values and virtues. Cynthia Comacchio has pointed out that there is not enough known about how working-class families operated to accept blindly the assertion that their values were “alien” to middle-class culture. The overwrought concerns of social reformers in the nineteenth century about working-class culture need to be critically examined. At least some of the working class embraced the ideology of respectability and adapted it to

³⁸ “The Land of Prohibition,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. 1, No. 3 (Sept 1894), 3.

their own circumstances.³⁹ There were good reasons to do so. Groups like the Knights of Labour argued that the working class was given no chance to attain the standards of decency. They promoted a class consciousness that included the ability to provide for their families and live respectably as one of their aims.⁴⁰ Once respectability had gained hold as a vehicle for social advancement, it was seized upon by other groups to bolster their own status in a community. Skilled labourers often identified themselves as respectable, whether or not they identified as middle class. Still others strove, but found those ideals impossible to attain or entirely irrelevant to their daily lives.⁴¹ Although respectability was part of the ideology of a growing middle class, the ways in which it could be shorn of deliberate reference to class made it powerful for both the middle class and for some of the working class who were attempting to establish their own claims to power and respect.

³⁹ Cynthia Comacchio, "Another Brick in the Wall: Towards a History of the Welfare State in Canada," *Left History* Vol. 1, No.1 (Spring 1993), 105. See also Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens*, 21.

⁴⁰ Gregory S. Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, "The Bonds of Unity: The Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 28 (November 1981).

⁴¹ Most of the work on social reform, and the reactions to reformers and their ideals is for a later time period and tends to focus on women, but the patterns of accommodation and resistance are fairly consistent through the work that has been done. See, for example, Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 60-61; Lara Campbell, *Respectable Citizens: Gender, Family, and Unemployment in Ontario's Great Depression* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009); and Margaret Little, "Ontario Mothers' Allowance Case Files as a Site of Contestation," *On The Case: Explorations in Social History*, eds. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 234.

Skilled artisans were trying to assert their positions in a rapidly changing Ontario, and could materially benefit from the material and social benefits conferred by being “respectable” and reliable. In reference to drinking in particular, the move to a more industrial society meant that drinking in the workplace moved from a common part of the day to a real danger: “The shop drunk was no longer the butt of amusement but a threat to the safety and earnings of workmates who tended complicated equipment requiring great attentiveness and coordination.”⁴² In addition to such practical considerations, there were also ideological reasons for those attempting to improve their status in society. As Jan Noel wrote, “for skilled artisans wishing to establish their respectability, criteria based on behavioural status were preferable to other hierarchies based on blood, birth, or manual/non-manual distinctions.”⁴³ In particular, they incorporated into the idea of respectability a valuation of manual labour that bolstered their own identity as masculine providers. Thus, respectability could be both an attempt to control the working class and a value that some of the working class themselves promoted. The ideology was so powerful because it was so adaptable.

For those who were concerned with the cultural capital that respectability promised, the issue of temperance was not inconsequential. Indeed, for some,

⁴² Bruce Laurie, *Artisans into Workers: Labor in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1989), 184.

⁴³ Noel, 31.

temperance became the primary vehicle by which they asserted their respectability and their claims to moral standing and increased status. For many, sobriety and abstention were outward proofs of respectability, and membership in a temperance lodge one way of demonstrating their status. Self-control was a cornerstone of these claims to masculine authority. But it was also an assertion of respectability, and, more obliquely, of class status. Not only did a sober man assert his masculine authority, it was also understood by the temperance movement that he would be a good provider for his wife and children. Sobriety, masculinity, and being a responsible economic individual were intertwined in the rhetoric of the temperance lodges.

The looming menace of the failure to provide was the flip side of this rhetoric. The initiation rituals of both the Sons of Temperance and the IOGT made reference to this spectre. The IOGT referred to “bright hopes and prospects blasted; and the innocence of youth grown old with the deformity of ignorance and want,” while the Sons made reference to the home of the drunkard, where “fair-faced plenty smiles no longer in the doorway, but wan and haggard poverty crouches upon the threshold.”⁴⁴ For those men who could find the fortitude to resist drink, the promised rewards were to be great. The Sons initiation ritual referred to the temperate man as one for whom “[p]lenty springs

⁴⁴ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 27, and *Blue Book for the Use of Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (National Division of North America, 1906), 15.

up in his pathway, he giveth aid to the needy, and is the supporting staff of parents and home." In return for such beneficence, temperate men were assured that their economic prosperity could only grow. In one temperance newspaper, a story was related in which one drinking man told a temperate man that "when I...have drunk a quart or two, I feel as if I could knock a house down." The temperate man replied, "quietly," "since I have been a teetotaler, I have put two houses up, and that suits me better."⁴⁵ Those who had chosen the temperate path themselves were assured they would find financial success, while being reminded of their responsibilities to their families.

Of course, not all men were willing to become temperate willingly, as the failure of moral suasion as a tactic had made clear. In that case, the temperance lodges hoped to provide enforced sobriety, which would not only stop men from drinking, but lead to them reasserting themselves as responsible economic actors, as signified by their care of the home. One temperance poem related the expected outcome:

The man who spends his money for the drink
Would now commence to lead a different life,
With no saloon to tempt him by the way,
He'd carry home his earnings to his wife,
If rum should die.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ "Stray Arrows," *The Camp Fire* Vol. IV, No. 8, (Feb 1898) 3.

⁴⁶ "If Rum Should Die," *The Camp Fire* Vol. IV, No. 7, (Jan 1898), 3.

While it was best if men could muster the requisite self-control to choose teetotalling, the path to responsible economic masculinity (and the promise of an increase in wealth and status) could be foisted upon men from the outside, and was the foundation of the more perfect Ontario society temperance lodge brothers were hoping to create.

Although all the fraternal temperance orders (and, indeed, the movement at large) conflated respectability and economic reliability, there are suggestions that the IOGT saw itself as drawing from a higher class than the Sons of Temperance. When the IOGT was espousing its own superiority over the others, it often focused on the relative respectability of orders. At the individual lodge level, the members of the IOGT lodge in Orono, Ontario, allegedly threw aspersions on the character and respectability of the young women who joined the Sons of Temperance in the same area, as opposed to their own organization. It was not the admittance of women to which they were objecting, as the IOGT had always admitted women. Rather, they were calling into question the respectability of the Sons of Temperance in the area, and suggesting that women who enjoyed that company were themselves morally suspect, and respectable women should turn away from that organization towards their own. The Sons had grown out of a focus on support for former drunkards in a like-minded social group, and their official histories and local lodge minutes alike reflect this emphasis.

In contrast, while the IOGT may have accepted former drunkards, they preferred those who had been sober from birth. Indeed, by the early twentieth century, some IOGT lodges were asking members to enroll their children on a “Cradle Roll,” dedicating them to the temperance cause from the moment they were born.⁴⁷ The IOGT acknowledged that they drew from a different group than the Sons, and wanted those who had always been temperate. In one official history, the author insinuated that the other temperance orders, including the Sons, were not really “temperance Orders,” writing that they “were more or less homes for the reformed inebriates, which the Washingtonian and other movements had brought together, providing a place of weekly rendezvous for them and a stipulated amount of help in case of sickness, and, in some cases, for those out of employment....It did what it could to raise the fallen, but saw clearly that success could never be attained by saving those who were already the victims of rum....”⁴⁸ Their emphasis on providing a cordial atmosphere to reformed drunkards was seen as a hindrance to true temperance work. The reforming of drunkards was fundamentally an individual act of will, symbolized by the taking of the pledge. Other lodge members could help bolster the intent of the reformed drunkard, but there was no method by which former drinkers were cured. The IOGT lauded these efforts, but saw that their own mission in creating

⁴⁷ Letter to Fred Robins from Sis. Mrs. West, SJ Temple, Ave, East Toronto, Oct 22, 1914, Box 4105, Fred Robins fonds, Western University Archives, London

⁴⁸ Rev. T.F. Parker, *History of the Independent Order of Good Templars* (New York: Phillips & Hunt, 1882), 304.

a temperate society was not by raising the fallen, but by providing a political training ground for those that offered the most hope.

Given the connections temperance advocates made between drinking and poverty, this obliquely suggests the class from which they were hoping to draw their members. They wanted young men who had never touched alcohol, and believed they could help them grow into temperate manhood without ever giving in to the temptations that surrounded them. The official historian of the IOGT advanced the argument that constant support, not redemption, was the primary aim of their group, saying that they “can show some splendid trophies from the ranks of drinking men, but its grandest triumphs are those who by its training have grown to manhood unstained by intemperance, and these are numbered by thousands.”⁴⁹ While it is difficult to know how those who had fallen away from the order recalled their experiences, some remained lifelong members and credited their early induction into the order for their sobriety, and future success in their lives. One man, Fred Robins, who went on to be the Grand Superintendent of Juvenile Work for the IOGT in Ontario, strongly believed in the juvenile outreach of the order. He often told his own story in correspondence to local Superintendents of Juvenile Temples, to encourage them to recruit more young people to the Temples, and not to get discouraged if they attended only for a short while. After all, Robins himself had “joined the order as a boy for a

⁴⁹ Parker, 304

lark, was taken away from home three months after and did not get back to the order for twenty years after that yet in that three months learnt the lessons that have lasted through life and the results of which will last through eternity."⁵⁰ To join the lodge as a youth, some urged, was to guarantee children a future life of prosperity and abstention.

Instead of overtly calling for better-off adherents, however, they used the language of respectability, and this provided a place for some working-class members to also find their places in the IOGT. Attempts were made to make meetings accessible to those who had to work in the evenings, or, in the case of some women, were in domestic service. This seemed to be of more concern in urban centres than in rural areas, and was recorded more often in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than it was a few decades earlier. Minutes from rural lodges never seem to record concerns about whether or not brothers and sisters could make it there in the evening, but urban lodges, like the Hope of the West in London, Ontario, frequently noted it as a concern. From this, demands on the workforce in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth are apparent. A second lodge in London, Ontario, Forest City Lodge, closed "due to the fact that some of their active members had been obliged to work late of nights, and their not coming had discouraged the others." Other members

⁵⁰ "Report of the Grand Superintendent of Juvenile Work", June 1, 1914. Fred Robins fonds, B4105, Western University Archives, London, Ontario. See also Letter, Fred Robins to Mrs. Morrison, 21 Hannaford St, Toronto, Nov 25, 1912, and Letter, Fred Robins to Mildred Affleck, Glasgow Station, Ont., Aug 29, 1912.

quietly informed the leaders of the remaining lodge that their work schedules had changed in such a way that made their attendance impossible.⁵¹

In some cases, it is apparent that it was distinctly working-class men and women who were struggling to keep their local IOGT lodges and temples open. In Fort William, Ontario, a local brother reported back to Fred Robins that: "Now for the Unity Lodge, the members that was working it always went to the bush in the winter time to work so that meant shutting it up for the winter and these last two summers they seemly [sic] didn't think it was wise to open it up again." The dependence of the local economy in Fort William on the lumber trade and the railway lines meant that many in the town owed their livelihoods to one of these two industries. The local IOGT lodge was affected by the seasonal fluctuations of these trades, particularly lumber, suggesting a largely working-class membership.⁵² Women in the lodges in the early twentieth century sometimes had the same problem, as one of the sisters in Fort William reported her domestic service occupation meant she could rarely get to the meetings.⁵³ There was no mention of accommodations made for mothers who had childcare that might

⁵¹ Letter, Fred Robins to Brother Lyle, Dec 22 1912, and Letter, E. Whittingham to Fred Robins, 756 Walker St, London, ON, Mar 6 1915.

⁵² Thorold J. Tronrud and A. Ernest Epp, eds., *Thunder Bay: From Rivalry to Unity* (Thunder Bay: The Thunder Bay Historical Museum Society Inc., 1995), 43.

⁵³ Letter to Fred Robins from Thomas Hunter, 313 Finlayson Street, Fort William, May 30 1914 and Letter to Fred from Sis. M.A. Walmsley, 531 Catherine St., Fort William, Mar 11 1914.

interfere with attending meetings, although some IOGT lodges had children's "Temples," which often met immediately before the adult lodge. In at least some areas of the province, in the early twentieth century, lodges were dependent on the attendance of working-class members, at a time when some were finding that the demands work made on their time made their presence impossible.

The temperance lodges drew their membership across class lines, although skilled workers and those who would identify as part of the emerging middle class of Ontario society made up a large proportion. Standing somewhat outside urban class structure, the many rural lodges scattered across the province drew from agricultural producers in substantial numbers. However, while members may have come from a wide variety of professions and trades, it was the rhetoric of respectability that was used to elide class differences and direct the aspirational nature of temperate masculinity towards a firmly middle-class sensibility, and most of the publications put out by the major lodge groups assumed their readers shared a perspective on society and class that closely adhered to middle-class values.

Chapter Three

Class, Poverty, and the Effects of Alcohol

While the temperance lodges attempted to position themselves as middle-class bearers of respectability, they were also strongly concerned about poverty. Moreover, as the nineteenth century wore on, more and more of the arguments for temperance that were advanced focused on the financial liabilities of drinking, and the effect of drinking on the national economy. While the impact on the wealth of individuals had always been a part of temperance rhetoric, by the 1890s, and with increasing industrialization and urbanization, there was an increasing emphasis on the economic cost of alcohol consumption, shifting the argument somewhat from moral and ethical grounds. In this way, temperance advocates were trying to appeal to those on the higher end of the class spectrum – to those who owned and operated the means of production, relating alcohol use to their workforces, as well as to those who paid taxes. Warnings were issued that not only was intemperance dangerous to the morals and lives of drunkards, but that their long-term cost would be passed on, in very specific ways, to the pocketbooks of the middle class and the wealthy. Temperance advocates were still urged to help their fellow man, but they were increasingly being confronted with arguments that caused less fellowship and more animosity towards those who drank. In statistics and arguments, temperance literature started to focus on the ways that the folly of the drunkard hit the

pocketbooks of the temperate. This created a tension in the temperance movement between using scare tactics relating to financial cost by drunkards, and the more religiously motivated arguments for caring for their fellow man, which will be examined in the next chapter. Although these two facets of the temperance movement are being examined separately, it should be remembered that they existed in uneasy (and occasionally not-so-uneasy) relation to each other. The same issue of a temperance newspaper could have religious calls to help others and build the Kingdom of God alongside statistics on how much the tax burden of drunkards cost Canada.

Economic arguments focused on the amount of money that was being wasted on alcohol every year instead of being spent productively on goods and services of value (and wasted is exactly how Canadian temperance advocates viewed money spent on alcohol), and on the social costs of an underclass impoverished primarily, so they believed, by the effects of alcohol. The common refrain was that alcohol was “the cause of almost all the poverty, and almost all the crime, and almost all the ignorance, and almost all the irreligion that disgrace and afflict the land.”¹ Most temperance advocates were not radical when it came to class and class relations. They were not advocating for a redistribution of wealth, nor for an expanded welfare state. (Although these were positions that American WCTU president, Frances Willard, would come to when she became a

¹ “A Curse,” *The Camp Fire* (September 1894), 1.

Christian socialist late in her life, these views were never shared by the bulk of the movement).² Most temperance advocates tended to argue that once alcohol consumption had been outlawed, poverty as a systemic problem would fix itself. If money was not being spent on alcohol, it was presumed that there would be more than enough money to go around, no matter how small the wage.³ This assumption took the responsibility for poverty away from any need for better wages or reliable work, and placed it squarely on alcohol and the man who drank it.

It was not simply an altruistic argument. The appeal was not just to help the poor obtain jobs and manage on small amounts of money – it also made the explicit connection between the tax bills of the temperate and the relief the poor required. This is one of the areas where concern for the poor was overlaid with concerns about the state of the economy nationally, and the pocketbooks of the temperate locally. In the 1850s, temperance newspapers were already reprinting articles from England showing outrage over the issue. The author wrote: “And yet, sir, this traffic won’t let me alone. It attacks my pocket. Who pays the increased taxation on drunkenness? The sober and the virtuous. And it is a shame that the whole community should be taxed for one class.”⁴ While

² Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 209.

³ See, for example, “The Price of Two Drinks,” *The Camp Fire* (September 1897), 3.

⁴ “Let Us Alone and Mind Your Own Business,” *The Abstinence* Vol. 1, No. 1, (Oct 15, 1856), 2.

temperance advocates ostensibly put the responsibility on those who provided the alcohol, hostility towards drunkards was often evident.

The concern with the tax bills of temperate men continued as a topic throughout the nineteenth century in temperance publications, both in nonfiction articles and in verse. In these works, the societal good that would come was closely linked with the lower tax bills that would benefit those men who, the temperance press assumed, populated their movement. One poem used the symbolic importance of the farmer in the nineteenth century to underline the financial hardships caused by drink, and how they affected the temperate and non-temperate alike. In the poem, "Good Farmer Brown" came home with his tax bill, and was concerned about its impact on his livelihood: "These rates so high will by and by/Take from me my good farm." The cause of this presumably virtuous farmer's impending loss of his farm was "all because of rum." The taxes were presented as the direct result of inebriation:

For those who drink are sure to sink,
To prison, or almshouse come.
Asylum too, filled through and through!
The courts are thronged meanwhile
And then, they say, "Tax I must pay
To keep these things in style."

The solution to Farmer Brown's woes was to bring in prohibition, which would both ease his tax burden, and make sure that "women's fears and women's

tears/Would all be chased away.”⁵ Thus, the financial wellbeing of temperate men, particularly farmers, was associated with the moral state of society, and the safety of women.

These arguments were echoed in more sober, factual terms, such as when *The Camp Fire* was relating the minority report of the Royal Commission looking into alcohol and liquor consumption in the late nineteenth century. The minority report stated that financially, drunkenness caused a great indirect tax burden on Canadian citizens. Summarizing the section on this aspect, *The Camp Fire* reported that “The cost, therefore, of the support of hospitals, insane asylums, police, jails, penitentiaries, and the courts, to say nothing of the large sums spent in voluntary charities is rightly chargeable, in considerable part, to the liquor traffic.”⁶ The utopian view of a society that would emerge after the imposition of prohibition was also one that would decrease the tax bill of Ontario citizens.

When writing about the amount of money wasted on alcohol, temperance advocates were expressing concern about the state of the working-class, and yet putting the primary responsibility for their poverty on their own habits. At times, the emphasis on the waste verged on blaming the poor for their poverty. Temperate individuals were being required to support those who frittered away their money on alcohol instead of food, clothing, and shelter. While the blame was ostensibly placed on the industries that profited from such human misery,

⁵ “Farmer Brown’s Soliloquy,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. II, No. 7, (Jan 1896), 1.

⁶ “Financial Loss” *The Camp Fire* Vol. III, No. 8, (February 1897), 3.

there was a faint undercurrent of resentment of the drunkards themselves. The solution that was called for by the temperance movement was a systemic one, where alcohol industries were seen as parasites leeching off society rather than as part of the supply and demand of an increasingly industrial society. While the articles on the subject bristled with some resentment at the cost to society and to temperate individuals by drunkards, the reaction was to be carried out against the businesses that furnished the hated substance. By the late nineteenth century, the temperance movement had largely moved away from outreach to the poor and towards a political campaign for prohibition. Agitation against the industries that made and supplied alcohol became the primary focus. Temperance publications tried to prove that breweries and distilleries were not contributors to society in the same way other industries were. Ideologically, they refused to believe that spending money on alcohol contributed to the economy. It was seen as unnecessary and destructive, fundamentally different than other consumables, which were nourishing and needful. Members of the temperance lodges believed that manufacturers and sellers should realize that prohibition was in their own best interests: "Let merchants and tradesmen only realize that every dollar spent for beer and rum would go into the tills of those who manufacture and sell articles which are a blessing to the purchaser were it not for the saloon."⁷

⁷ "Getting Light," *The Camp Fire* Vol. II, No. 9 (March 1896), 1.

Starting from this premise, temperance publications denied that any of the money gained by the government in taxes from brewers and distillers was in any way a net gain. The minority report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic estimated the cost of the liquor industry to Canada at over \$143 million dollars per year, as opposed to just over \$8 million in taxes paid at local, provincial, and federal levels. Their means of obtaining this statistic were based on the assumption of an industrial sector that could, and would, provide full employment for all, at good wages. In the grand total of \$143 million, they included the amount spent on alcohol by individuals, the raw materials used in the production of alcohol, the taxes spent on hospitals, asylums, and jails, and the loss of productive labour and life. This statistic was based on the presumption that 8% of the population was not in the workforce due to alcohol alone, and that if they were, they would find readily available, well-paying jobs waiting for them. Using the amount they presumed would be paid in wages (based on averages for all Canadian men), and adding to it an amount per worker that they thought each worker in an industrial economy added to domestic production, they arrived at a total of over \$76 million.

These statistics also claimed that the salaries of men who worked in the liquor industries counted not as wages that would be returned to the economy, but rather as lost labour. They counted this expense as a debit to the overall economy: "If rightly employed these men would hand to the country an amount

of wealth which we now have to do without.”⁸ Similarly, temperance advocates, including Frances Willard, dismissed any contributions the alcohol industries might make because they were not as labour intensive as other manufacturing sectors. A reprinted article by Willard in the Canadian IOGT newspaper contained her rebuttal to a questioner who had asked about throwing out of work those presently employed in the liquor industries. This was not a concern, she replied: “In Sheffield, England, there is an iron factory with a capital of \$150,000; it employs 3,000 men. In Scotland, there is a distillery with the same capital: it employs 150 men. There is no industry that requires so few hands to carry on its work in proportion to the amount of capital invested as the liquor traffic but our wage-earners do not stop to think of that.”⁹ In making their economic arguments, temperance advocates presumed the wages or taxes paid by the liquor and brewing industries counted for little in the national economy, in comparison with what they took out. They often included entries that would otherwise have been seen as part of the contribution of an industry to the economy on the debit side, such as money paid to employees for their labour, adding what might otherwise be classified as credits to the debit side of the ledger. Their belief that alcohol could not possibly contribute to the economic life of the Dominion factored into the way they presented the economic costs to

⁸ “What It Costs,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. IV, No. 4, (Oct 1897), 4.

⁹ Frances Willard, “A Wise Counsellor,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. 1, No. 9, (March 1895), 4.

Ontarians. The question raised by the economic arguments, “whether the consumption of alcohol increases the wealth created, assists in its equitable or adequate distribution and facilitates that exchange of goods and services which sustains and enriches a nation’s life,” was answered with a resounding negative.¹⁰ That response shaped the framing of the economic arguments in sometimes illogical ways.

Such calls did not go unanswered, however. Breweries, distilleries, and to a lesser degree, liquor sellers, fought back in their own publications, and attempted to show that they were, far from being leeches on a capitalist society, an integral part of that society, paying their share of the tax burden, paying their own workers well (they claimed), and supplying other workers with the beverages they needed in order to make their lives more palatable. Both sides made arguments based on the growing system of industrial capitalism, and used the power structures inherent in the emerging class differences to try to prove that their way helped workers better fit themselves for full and willing participation in wage labour. While the brewers and distillers leaned heavily on their contributions to the running of the nation, both in taxes and in cheap relief for overtired workers, temperance advocates argued that temperate workers

¹⁰ “The Drink Problem in the Economic Set-Up” Canadian Temperance Federation, Leaflet Number 3, Toronto. n.d., later than 1913.

were increasingly essential in an industrial system, and that working-class temperance would yield better workers who would need less pay.

The liquor industry protested that it did contribute to the national economy, and that they should receive compensation were they shut down. They also believed that the amount they contributed in taxes should be taken into consideration when submitting the question of prohibition to the public, as happened in the 1898 plebiscite. The liquor interests wanted to include in the question of whether or not voters supported prohibition a clause about how the government would replace its lost income if the industry were shut down. This request was frankly scoffed at by temperance advocates. It would make the question unnecessarily complex, for one, and furthermore: "Parliament...cannot tie its hands by asking the people to vote to-day upon some method of raising some uncertain portion of the national revenue at some unspecified future time."¹¹ While many of their own arguments were made along economic lines, they had little patience for the economic arguments made by the other side.

Temperance advocates dismissed these requests as irrelevant to the issues at hand, and, to do so, they developed an interesting meld of economic and moral arguments. When it came to compensation, as we have seen, temperance advocates believed that the liquor industries cost the country much more than they contributed. Most temperance lodge publications flatly rejected the call for

¹¹ "A Straight Vote on a Straight Issue," *The Camp Fire* Vol. III, No. 11, (May 1897), 2

compensation. The liquor interests were accused of having “wrecked ten thousand homes/Spread want and desolation,” and causing economic misery. It is the moral cost, however, in which their works will be considered, as a poem went on to inform the reader:

Lord pity them ere they shall sink
To self-imposed damnation!
To meet the hosts they’ve slain by drink
Where crime reaps compensation.¹²

The melding of economic and moral arguments had a powerful appeal to temperance advocates, and allowed them to argue against the economic contributions of the liquor industry to the national economy by pointing out the costs of doing business.

As the temperance lodges entered the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the economic arguments they advanced meshed nicely with needs of the industrial workplace. Temperance advocates argued that class conflict was itself due to alcohol, and claimed that with prohibition, friction between workers and employers would fall away. It would be replaced with a natural order in which harmony would reign in the workplace just as they presumed it would in the home. In contrast to this rosy view, class relations were increasingly fraught as industrialization and periodic economic depressions made it difficult for many working-class families to stay afloat. Employers were largely reluctant to provide more security or raise wages. Their own ability to save money, innovate

¹² “Compensation” *The Camp Fire* Vol. III, No. 7 (January 1897), 4.

in their operations, and invest the profit back into business were seen as a hallmark of responsible masculinity in the economic world, and was threatened when those they employed challenged them both materially and ideologically. They tended to believe that the solution to uncertain work cycles was frugality and thrift, and that wages needed to be under the full control of employers.¹³

Temperance lodge newspapers agreed with this sentiment. One article, entitled "The Great Enemy to Labor" laid out the prevailing temperance stance on the cause of class conflict, and the ways in which the natural order was peaceful coexistence between the employers and the employed. As usual, blame was shifted onto alcohol, malleable enough to be regarded as the sole cause of many of the world's ills: "Capital is not the enemy of labor: without capital labor could not find employment. The liquor traffic is the great enemy to labor. It steals the workman's brains, robs him of his hard-earned wages, and keeps him poor and degraded." Although it was increasingly apparent to working-class men that their conflicts with those who controlled their workplaces were a complex issue, the same article confidently assured lodge members that "If this

¹³ See Greg Kealey, *Workers and Canadian History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 107, Robin Neill, *A History of Canadian Economic Thought* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 44, 59, 66, and Ian McKay, "Class struggle and merchant capital: craftsmen and labourers on the Halifax waterfront, 1850-1902," *The Character of Class Struggle: Essays in Canadian Working-Class History, 1850-1985*, ed. Bryan D. Palmer (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 18-19.

abominable traffic were only out of the way, the labor problem would soon meet with a peaceful solution."¹⁴

Due to this fairly simplistic view of the world, divided into fraught present and idealized future, temperance publications tended to be firmly on the side of the business class, and attributed the difficulties poorer families were having to the influence of a profligate breadwinner. They also assumed that one man alone could support a family on working-class pay, and took little consideration of other workers who might be in the family. Secondary wage earners rarely appeared in temperance literature, unless they were a signifier that the degraded masculinity of the man of the house had forced other family members into the workforce. While business owners and the government together opposed working-class strikes on the principle that workers should not be part of the process of setting wages, the temperance movement went one further, arguing that what they were paid presently was more than enough, and that more was not only unnecessary, it could be downright dangerous, as it would be spent on drink.¹⁵

Drinking and responsible economic behavior were believed to be incompatible. In "A Scientist's Verdict," *The Camp Fire* quoted a sociologist who

¹⁴ "The Great Enemy to Labor," *The Camp Fire* Vol. III, No. 7, (Jan 1897), 4.

¹⁵ Ruth Bleasdale, "Class Conflict on the Canals of Upper Canada in the 1840s," *Labouring Canada: Class, Gender and Race in Canadian Working-Class History*, eds. Bryan D. Palmer and Joan Sangster (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 2008), 59.

claimed that “wealth proves to be a more prolific cause of drunkenness than poverty, the surplus earnings being too often expended in drink.”¹⁶ The assumption that any sort of drinking would lead to irresponsible economic behavior and eventually to destitution underlay the temperance argument that it was not wages that caused problems for the working-class. Not only did this point of view permeate official temperance lodge publications of the late nineteenth century, it even popped up in instruction manuals for children. If they were attempting to aim their recruiting at working-class children (as the IOGT sometimes did), those children would likely find little help in the advice that *The Juvenile Templar Manual of Instruction* gave them on their parents’ circumstances. For those children from better off homes, the advice worked to cement stereotypes of the wasteful worker. One section of the book was subtitled “Better Wages No Remedy,” and put forward the argument that raising wages wouldn’t help the condition of the working-class man, as “if he gets an extra holiday, spends it in dissipation which unfits him for his work afterwards; and if he obtains a rise of wages, instead of bringing him comfort, it lures him into vice and crime.”¹⁷ Although the author went on to say that he was not protesting better wages, the overall jist of his case was that as long as drink was present, better wages were a danger to the working class.

¹⁶ “A Scientist’s Verdict,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. 1, No. 10, (April 1895), 2. See also “Better Burn the Money,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. 2, No. 3, (Sept 1895), 3.

¹⁷ *The Juvenile Templar Manual of Instruction* Box 4104, Fred Robins Fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, 23

Not only did a good deal of the temperance rhetoric of the late nineteenth century appeal to the payrolls of industrialists, it also promised a more reliable workforce. Unlike previous patterns for manufacture, into which were woven patterns of drinking throughout the day, the demands for industrial production were better served, it was argued, by temperate employees. Employees who didn't drink would be better able to fit themselves to the new patterns of work, fragmented labour and stricter consideration of the clock. Taylorism, developed in the late nineteenth century, was the theory of scientific management of the workforce, through analyzing how work was done and finding ways to make it more efficient. It was rarely implemented to the extent its creator wished, and the more humane intentions were often excised, but its overall impact was to encourage employers to rationalize the workplace, to make it orderly and precise. Employees who drank were seen as a danger to that new workplace.¹⁸

The temperance movement eagerly embraced this aspect of the changing world of work, promising better and more reliable employees with the coming of prohibition. They courted the business class and tried to entice them to their organizations and cause. The hope was that the influence of this class would help push through prohibition legislation more easily than the previous efforts by

¹⁸ See Greg Kealey, *Workers and Canadian History*, 335, Craig Heron, and Robert Storey, eds., *On the Job: Confronting the Labour Process in Canada* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), 13, and T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: antimodernism and the transformation of American culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), 14.

true believers in the cause. In this, they were largely disappointed. Business owners may have been attracted by the potential of temperate employees, but in general, did not throw their influence or money behind the temperance cause. Still, the rhetoric of temperance being a necessary ingredient for the industrial workplace continued. While their point of view on the wages of the working-class would not attract the support of those who needed better pay to support themselves and their families, there were other temperance arguments that seemed to be more directly aimed at attracting working class supporters. When it came to the working class, temperance advocates focused on the future, not the present. In the harmonious world they envisioned under prohibition, lodge publications often put forward the belief that wages would naturally rise. There would be no need for strikes to force raises out of employers.

Sometimes this assertion was nebulous, as when one writer argued that with prohibition, "there would be an increase of wealth that would probably put us, even under present circumstances, in a position far more prosperous than any we have yet occupied."¹⁹ In other articles, the authors were more elaborate, espousing a faith in an economy that would be naturally and beneficially self-regulating without alcohol to poison its workers:

Abstinence from strong drink would inevitably result in an increased demand for necessities and legitimate luxuries; this increased demand would mean increased production: increased production would mean increased wage-paying, with a larger number of wage-earners, and these extra wage-earners would, in

¹⁹ "The Cause of Hard Times," *The Camp Fire* Vol. 1, No. 6, (December 1894), 2.

their turn, become increased consumers. So would the wage aggregate continue to rise until the whole area of available labor would be drawn upon in order to supply mutual wants, and thus would be reached the highest possible plane of universal comfort, so far as that comfort can be affected by the matter of wages.²⁰

Even this explanation of the cause of future wealth ends with ambiguity as to whether higher wages are necessary when it comes to human comfort. The temperance appeal to labour and the working class was much weaker than their arguments to the business class. Although they tried to promote the idea of a classless society, the working class got short shrift in their literature.

Yet, at the same time, some labour organizations, in particular the Knights of Labor, supported the temperance cause. They might not have believed that prohibition would erase class conflict, but there were aspects of the abstinent society that harmonized with their own visions of the future. It was the image of temperate masculinity that appealed in this case to the nascent labour movements. Their emphasis on self-control and responsibility meshed well with the Knights of Labor ideal working-class man who did honest labour, upheld community standards, and deserved honest recompense in return. Temperance was a plank in the Knights of Labor platform when it came to elections in late nineteenth-century Ontario, and the leaders of the various temperance lodges in Ontario attempted to form coalitions with the Knights of Labor to advance similar interests at the ballot box. Although the temperance lodges often seemed

²⁰ "Abstinence and Wages," *The Camp Fire* Vol. IV, No. 11, (May 1898), 3.

to espouse views that were not compatible with labour organizations, their shared ideological basis of responsible masculinity opened the door for them to work together to attempt to forge a just and equal society.²¹

Few wealthy industrialists populated the lodges, but the arguments for a well-ordered industrial society fit well with the hopes and wishes of those who did join the temperance movement. The aims of the business class, the middle class, and the temperate were all seen to coincide, and temperance advocates were firm that their endeavours would also benefit the working class. However, the presence of extreme poverty complicates a class-based analysis, as it would be unwise to lump the poor in with the working class without examining what is meant by poverty.

The temperance movement had a simplistic view of the source of poverty. Poverty was not seen as systemic, as the outcome of a capitalist system that depended as much on the subsistence wages paid to unskilled labour as on the wealth it created. Nor was the erratic and seasonal nature of work for many of the working class readily identified by the temperance movement as a factor. Members of the temperance lodges created a set of beliefs in the causes and outcomes of poverty as the result of poor personal choices and the loss of will

²¹ Greg Kealey and Bryan D. Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be: the Knights of Labor in Ontario, 1880-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 225, 227, 312. For the ways in which working-class members adapted organizations for their own ends, see Greg Kealey, *Workers and Canadian History* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 121.

due to alcohol use.²² Recent historians of labour and of social policy attribute poverty in the nineteenth century in Ontario mostly to seasonal fluctuations in the availability of jobs and the vicissitudes of a newly industrial society, but the temperance movement tended to perceive moral weakness as the cause of poverty.²³ Wives and children were defenceless victims of this moral weakness, and might deserve charity, but better still would be to ban their husbands and fathers from drinking, and cut off the problem at the source.

Poverty was seen as the result of personal action and the consequent loss of will that choosing to drink entailed. Within the temperance movement, despite cross-class membership, this belief was widely held, and dissenting voices are almost non-existent. This constellation of beliefs arises out of ideas that stem both from political and economic theory and from religious belief. The latter will be examined in the next chapter, but they combined to create a powerful rhetoric on alcohol and poverty that simultaneously blamed and removed the blame from the individual for their own poverty. In this way, their rhetoric was amazingly plastic, and could be both accusatory and compassionate. This plasticity allowed members to both excuse the poverty they saw around them while placing the

²² Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 110.

²³ Alvin Finkel, *Social Policy and Practice in Canada: A History* (Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 2006), 69 and 35. For more theoretical views of poverty and pauperism, see Michael B. Katz, *Poverty and Policy in American History* (New York: Academic Press, 1983), 218.

responsibility for poverty on individuals. It combined compassion and distance in troubling ways that led to contradictory opinions on poverty.

The question of how the temperance movement focused on class, and its inevitable companion, poverty, is a complex one. Long identified as a middle-class status movement, historians have assumed that temperance advocates were focusing on the drinking of the working-class. At times, that was true.

Arguments over wage rates and a sober workforce were a frequent feature of temperance publications. The temperance movement in Canada adopted tactics, initiated in Britain, of "rational recreation" for a working class "thought to be vulnerable to corrupt appeals of an alcohol-oriented leisure industry."²⁴ Some of the suggestions to ameliorate the problem of drink were distinctly aimed at the working class, such as a suggestion to "shut up our liquor-shops at seven o'clock on the last evening of the week, because it is then that temptation finds men an easier prey. They have finished their weekly round of toil, and loosened the tight rein of work-compelling will-power that has held them in for the last six days, and in the inactive mood of rest."²⁵ Not only were they trying to outlaw drinking as a form of working-class leisure, they were also trying to provide alternatives.

When looking at the desperately poor, though, the focus shifted from rational recreation and the proper wages to essential natures. By the end of the

²⁴ Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 35.

²⁵ "The Holiday Season, *The Camp Fire* (Vol.1, No. 6, Dec 1894), 2.

nineteenth century, nonfiction articles in temperance newspapers, in particular, espoused an idea of hereditary drunkenness and poverty that drew heavily on eugenicist ideas of the late nineteenth century.²⁶ Columns of the temperance newspapers were filled with expressions of this idea, ranging from “Intemperance begets a hereditary disposition to idleness and vice” to “it seems hard that when a man drinks spirituous liquors his children and his children’s children should be urged by a burning thirst, which they can scarcely withstand, toward indulgence in intoxicating drinks.” The partially genetic nature of addictive behaviour has been established, but temperance advocates extended their belief in the negative effects far beyond those behaviours, connecting drinking to inherited poverty and criminality. They argued that drink “creates such conditions of heredity and environment as to make it impossible for a large proportion of children to become anything else but paupers and criminals.”²⁷ Initially, these eugenicist ideas were not focused on immigrants in the same way they were in the United States. That association developed later, when immigration in Canada rose dramatically between 1897 and 1913.²⁸

²⁶ For more on eugenic thought in Canada, see Jane Harris, *Eugenics and the Firewall: Canada’s Nasty Little Secret* (Winnipeg, MB: J.G. Shillingford Pub., 2010), Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990), and Ian Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane: Psychiatry and Eugenics in the United States and Canada, 1880-1940* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997).

²⁷ “Why Drink Causes Crime,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 4, October 1895), 2, “The Curse of Heredity,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 2, August 1895), 1, and “Drink and Crime,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 7, January 1897), 1.

²⁸ Harris, *Eugenics and the Firewall*, 37, and Dowbiggin, *Keeping America Sane*, 136.

This belief in the inherited and intractable poverty of drunkards, expressed through these alleged accounts of generations remaining poor (and often criminal), exists alongside another familiar temperance story, that of the fall from grace. In fiction, the class of the drunkard was often not initially that of the poorest of the poor. One article from the 1890s stated that "wealth proves to be a more prolific cause of drunkenness than poverty, the surplus earnings going too often expended in drink."²⁹ It is almost impossible to catalogue how many temperance stories revolved around a previously prosperous man falling into abject poverty. In these stories, the present drunkard once had a bright and prosperous future, forfeiting his masculinity and self-control to his habits. Even if the story itself did not go into great detail of the fall from grace, there were often allusions to a previously comfortable life.³⁰ While there was the belief that drinking was more prevalent among the working class, temperance literature positioned alcohol as the barrier between a man and his rightful position as a financially comfortable, responsible husband and father. They often emphasized the former stature of the drunkard in their fiction, both to magnify the drama of his fall, and to advance their core idea that anyone, no matter what class, could fall prey to the dreaded vice. Thus, while they did regard the drinking of

²⁹ "A Scientist's Verdict," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 10, April 1895), 2.

³⁰ See, for example, "The Reclaimed One," *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, no. 3, December 15, 1856), 37; "The Broken School," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 5, No. 8, February 1899), 3; "A Tramp's Eloquent Lecture," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 5, No. 1, July 1898), 2, and many more.

working-class men with worry, they identified drunkenness with a class below that, that of the indigent poor, who would and could not rise out of the depths of poverty until and unless alcohol was removed from society.

What is remarkable is not that those in the temperance movement had various reactions to poverty, but that they all sprang from the same set of beliefs, which were malleable and powerful enough to be applied to contradictory arguments. In the end, whether temperance members used this set of beliefs to urge compassion for, or hostility towards, poor families (or, paradoxically, both), they came together again on the proposed solution: prohibition. Taking alcohol out of the reach of the poor would both remove an addictive substance from those who could not help themselves, and keep those who were a drain on the state from choosing to drink. Through these means, society would be vastly improved, and, not incidentally, the tax burden on the responsible temperance men would be greatly lessened.

While the post-millennialist ideas of temperance advocates resulted in a particular vision of a temperate Christian Canadian society, the economic arguments also posited a future utopia. In this perfect world, the banning of alcohol would result in a poverty-less society. While these visions may seem hopelessly naïve, in that they assume wholesale adherence to prohibitory laws, in practice, temperance advocates were well aware of the difficulties of enforcement, but believed that passing the prohibitory laws was the first step, and then after that point, they could work on effective enforcement of the laws.

By the time of the major Ontario and Canada-wide campaigns for prohibition in the 1890s, lodge members had decades of experiences with local option laws, and plenty of chances to see first-hand how laws that were in place could be undermined by a lack of enforcement. They took the attitude that once prohibition had been achieved, they could then turn their attention to how it was enforced. While prohibition might not be a universal panacea, it would create the conditions under which they could then strive to totally eradicate the vice. Temperance newspapers pointed out that lodges needed to pay attention to who the license inspectors and commissioners were, and to make sure they were filled by temperance men. They also touted success stories, such as one in Pleasant Town, Kansas, where a woman had been elected mayor, and, finding that the police in her town were not enforcing prohibition laws, had dismissed them, appointed reliable temperance men in their place, and stamped out the local liquor trade.³¹ Lodge minutes also show that lodge brothers and sisters were actively involved in trying to make sure their own members were appointed to be license inspectors or prosecutors. At one point in the Orono Sons of Temperance lodge, it was moved that the division not only appoint a prosecutor, but pay all “necessary expenses” involved in the prosecutions.³² Idealistic as

³¹ “Along the Lines,” *Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 1. See also other articles like “License Commissioners,” *Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 11, May 1895), 2, and “Charlottetown,” *Camp Fire* (Vol. IV, No. 2, August 1897), 2.

³² April 14, 1869, Minute Book, 1866-1870, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879. See also Jan 10, 1872, Minute

their imagined outcome might be, members of temperance lodges were also aware of the difficulties they would face, and the monetary concerns that might affect them. With legal backing, it was believed that prohibition could be the popular practice as well as the law. Their naïvete may lie more in their belief that they could obtain zealous enforcement from police officers and liquor inspectors than in their belief that prohibition would lead easily to an alcohol-free society.

This idea of a poverty-free society had its roots in a certain conception of the economic system. Their critique of the problems of contemporary society, as we have seen, rooted poverty in issues of choice. Thus, temperance advocates promised a future that was not only shorn of alcoholism and its ill effects, but one in which poverty was a thing of the past. The idealized future as it related to class and work was one in which class had not disappeared, but in which the worst effects of poverty had been negated by the increased ability of workers to save their wages, instead of spending them on alcohol. This small difference was believed to be essential. Through printed temperance materials, readers were told over and over again that, without drinking, working-class men would easily be able to both support a family and save for the future. One story had one working-class man telling another that if he'd not bought two drinks a day,

Book 1870-1877, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

“He’d have been a rich man now, not an orange-pedlar. A snug little house, a servant, good furniture, a warm hearth, a tidy table.”³³ The likelihood of an orange-pedlar having a servant on the price of two drinks a day was tenuous at best, but it was by these rhetorical devices that temperance advocates helped build the vision of a rosier future for all classes.

This emphasis on the ability to save not only promised to help eliminate poverty, but also drew on powerful notions of masculinity, particularly those related to responsibility. It was always assumed that the amount spent on alcohol, if spent on other things, would in itself be enough to lift a family out of poverty and into a life, if not of leisure, then one of gainful employment. It was not a classless society that temperance advocates were promoting, but one in which, the misery of poverty being abated, workers would be happy in their class.

This vision of a future in which employer and worker coexisted peaceably without the contributing friction of alcohol (which had been seen in other circumstances as a lubricant, breaking down barriers between men) did occasionally take into account the one type of poverty that saved wages could not possibly help – the plight of the poor widow. Without male assistance, women who lost their husbands, or never married, were still vulnerable to the

³³ “The Price of Two Drinks,” *Camp Fire* (Vol. IV, No. 4, October 1897), 3. For other examples see “Speak to Father About It,” *Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 11, May 1895), 3, and “Impoverished Maine,” *Camp Fire* (Vol. II, No. 9, March 1896), 3.

extremes of poverty. Their sensitivity to women's issues made this scenario one of which the temperance lodges were aware, but their publications dismissed it as a relatively minor issue. Once other demands had ceased, they believed that the amount of money donated to charity would be more than enough to help these marginal cases. One article on poverty claimed in its subtitle that "Nine-Tenths of Their Poverty is Due to Their Habit of Drink," and was dismissive of the other one-tenth as a minor issue, although they did identify it as most likely a women's dilemma:

The sudden death or long illness of the breadwinner of the family will from time to time, cause a very acute phase of misery and want. The poor, helpless mother, with her hungry brood, is as sad a sight as well can be. But such cases are exceptional, and men do not legislate for exceptions. Such needs can easily be met and are met in every well-organized community by Christian charity. They are also of their very nature only temporary.³⁴

There was the assumption that widows would quickly remarry and regain an economic provider. Rather than seeing poverty as a systemic issue, and women's poverty as a symptom of society-wide trends in sexist employment practices and economic obstacles, their emphasis on the individual and insistence on seeing these women as isolated incidents, led them to downplay its importance. They felt sympathy for these women, and laid little of the blame on them for their own poverty that they leveled towards drinkers. However, they continued to see

³⁴ "The Curse of the Poor," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. III, No. 6, Dec 1896), 3.

poverty as the result of individual circumstance, and the proper response to be individual help from religious charities.

The temperance lodges promoted the ideology of the middle class, blaming poverty on the weak will of the drunken male, and dismissing systemic causes, including oppressive working conditions, seasonal unemployment, and loss of income due to sickness or death. Temperance attitudes to poverty were that it would disappear with the coming of their non-drinking utopia, which would turn Ontario into a harmonious land with no class conflict. To keep their ideas from alienating those who engaged in manual labour, whether skilled or unskilled, temperance advocates drew upon the rhetoric of responsible, respectable masculinity to bridge the gap. The unquestioned assumption that men should be able to provide for their families, and that sober respectable men, whether working or middle class, should receive material gain for their efforts ran through temperance lodge literature. This harmonious society was not necessarily devoid of class divisions, but certainly of class conflict. The utopian thought of the future paradise that Prohibition would usher in was brought together with evangelical Protestant post-millennialism to further develop an ideal of the world to come.

Chapter Four

Religious Affiliation and Belief in Temperance Lodges

While class may have been some of the unacknowledged background to the fraternal temperance lodges, religion was the foreground. Although they stood outside the denominational Protestant churches, Christianity was integral to their practice and their ritual. Members who joined the lodges tended to believe deeply in a sense of Christian responsibility, and in the masculinity they promoted, themes of stewardship and benevolence were often explicitly drawn from evangelical Protestant rhetoric. However, the lodges were trying to stay outside the denominational system, which led to temperance ritual and rhetoric that was Christian without being theological. Drawing heavily on existing Protestant influences, particularly from within Methodism, the religion that was expressed in the lodges expressed a post-millennial belief in the creation of the Kingdom of God on Earth through the actions of men and women, an emphasis on the watchful eye of God on believers, and mutual surveillance to see that others in the lodges were being true to their vows. In so doing, they incorporated evangelical idioms into their rituals of repentance and reconciliation. Without being a formal Protestant religious organization, the lodges offered a religious organization that was dominated by laypeople and expressed their concerns about how to best follow a Christian and sober life.

In part because of their emphasis on direct, relatively unmediated relationships with the Divine, and, in particular, their cultural practice of conversions, it is not surprising to find many Methodists in the temperance lodges. In fact, the various Methodist churches contributed almost half the members to the Orono Sons of Temperance. Out of 197 members for whom religious affiliations were recorded on censuses, 49% belonged to one of the Methodist churches. This large minority went a long way to defining some of the features of the lodges, including their emphasis on being saved and the possibility of redemption even after backsliding. Surprisingly, however, the second largest denominational affiliation was no affiliation at all. Nineteen percent were recorded only as “Christian” on the censuses consulted, indicating a lack of church membership, or even a sense of belonging to a particular denomination without the formality of membership. They still considered themselves Christian (as opposed to the one Son recorded as “none”) but appear not to have been active in local churches. Third came the Presbyterians, whose emphasis on a gradual growth in providential grace that displayed itself in outward signs also meant that they contributed a significant percentage of members, at 16%. There were also a scattering of Anglicans and Universalists, at 8% and 4% respectively, along with two members of the “Church of God,” and

one each who were listed as a Roman Catholic and a Deist (There were also two for whom the abbreviations listed did not point to a clear denomination).¹

The early stories of most denominations in Canada are ones of fractures and unions. Different factions within each denominational affiliation fought for adherents, and the scattered settlements of early Upper Canada made it difficult, initially, for coherent hierarchical structures to form. In this, the various forms of Methodism were perhaps the best equipped to deal with this early situation. They later became the denomination most willing to unite with other groups, culminating in the formation of the United Church of Canada in 1925. Along the way, they shifted from a focus on revivals and emotional religious experience to becoming middle class and concerned with respectability, without ever losing the Arminianism that had been their trademark. The Arminian features of Methodism in Canada meant that Methodists focused on the availability of salvation for all. Unlike Calvinism, there was no predetermined elect, and through free will and surrender to the will of God, anyone could be saved. Until the end of the nineteenth century, Methodism remained highly focused on revivals as the core of a religious awakening, which often prompted critics to issue warnings about the dangerous emotionalism of Methodist worship. Given their general concern with society, and the renewal and reformation of the world,

¹ The censuses of 1851, 1861 and 1871 were consulted, with the censuses of 1881 and 1891 consulted when necessary to complete the picture. Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

it is not surprising that the Methodist church was involved with the temperance movement throughout the nineteenth century, nor that the membership of the temperance lodges drew heavily from the Methodist churches. The religion of the lodges, although they welcomed many members from more Calvinist groups, such as the Presbyterians, drew heavily on Methodist and evangelical tropes of conversion and public vows of change and repentance. That these declarations were then mutually regulated and policed by other members of the lodges also draws on Methodist traditions of small groups assisting each other in attaining spiritual perfection.²

The Church of England in Canada wanted to think of itself as the de facto Protestant denomination of the new British Colonies, but with little state support, and a less-than-coherent constituency, it found its position less assured than it might have liked. There were three distinct theological strains of thought present in Ontario Anglicanism in the nineteenth century, weakening any appearance of a unified voice. These divisions had originated in England, but were imported into the new province with Anglican immigrants. There was friction between

² In addition to the above cited works, for more on Canadian Methodism, see: Elizabeth Muir, *Petticoats in the Pulpit: The Story of Early Nineteenth-Century Methodist Women Preachers in Upper Canada* (Toronto: United Church Publishing House, 1991), Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881-1925* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), Neil Semple, *Faithful Intellect: Samuel S. Nelles and Victoria University* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), and Marilyn Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005).

“low” or evangelical Anglicans, liberal or modernist Anglicans, and “high” or Anglo-Catholic Anglicans. Low Anglican congregations rejected overly ornate services or settings, emphasizing evangelicalism and personal experience over hierarchy. High Anglican congregations saw themselves as Catholic in all but in name, embracing ritualism and ornate services, with a heavier emphasis on the natural hierarchies of society. Stuck in the middle, “liberal Anglicans criticized what they saw as the medieval superstition of the anglo-catholics and the repressive biblical literalism of the evangelicals.” Amongst these groups, Low Church and liberal Anglicans were more likely to participate in social reform movements, including temperance.³ Without detailed records of which churches temperance brothers and sisters attended, it is fair to assume that those who listed their religious affiliation on the census as the Church of England were from the evangelical or moderate branches of Ontario Anglicanism.

The emerging Presbyterian Church in Canada grew slowly but steadily, and, in early Upper Canadian society, pushed to be co-established with the Church of England as official state religions. Presbyterianism was built on heavily hierarchical church structures and did not tend towards congregational control, which led to difficulties when there were few churches, no larger

³ Katerberg, 24, 27, 34. For more on Canadian Anglicanism, see Norman Knowles, ed., *Seeds Scattered and Sown: Studies in the History of Canadian Anglicanism* (Toronto: ABC Pub., 2008) and Curtis Fahey, *In His Name: The Anglican Experience in Upper Canada, 1791-1954* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991).

organization to set and enforce rules, and little interest from abroad. Their theology also did not help in attracting new adherents in the sparse settlements of Ontario – they lacked the emotional appeal of more revival-based denominations, such as the Methodists, and the Calvinist basis of their beliefs could be off-putting to newcomers.⁴ As with the Methodists, temperance had long been a cause associated with Presbyterianism. There was a scandal during the lead-up to the national plebiscite on prohibition in 1898, when prominent Presbyterian George Grant spoke out publicly opposing temperance. Grant, in letters to *The Globe*, had argued that “the object of every worthy society should be to develop its citizens into more and more perfect freedom,” but that to “protect grown men against themselves” was contrary to the means or ends of a free society. He argued that it would be wrong if “for the sake of criminals and weaklings the community is denied the natural opportunities of developing into the highest condition of freedom or self-realization.”⁵ Grant believed that people might decide themselves to stop drinking, but to enforce those laws without allowing individual Christian consciences to decide would become despotic. The Presbyterian hierarchy was quick to announce that in this case, Grant was

⁴ John Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Hamilton, Ont.: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1987), 43, 65 and John S. Moir, Geoffrey D. Johnston, and Joseph C. McLelland, *No Small Jewel: A History of the Synod of Southwestern Ontario, The Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 2005), 17.

⁵ George Monro Grant, “Principal Grant’s Letters on prohibition: as they appeared in the Toronto Daily “Globe,” December 1897, January 1898” pamphlet, (1898), 15.

speaking about his own individual beliefs, and not in any way from his position as a “church officer.”⁶ They reiterated that Grant notwithstanding, the official position of the Presbyterian Church of Canada was to support temperance.

One must exercise caution, however, in reading denominational information from census documents. For one, the answers relied on the one member of the family who answered the question, most often the male head of the household, who may or may not have represented the rest of their family accurately. In addition, denominational affiliations were not necessarily set in stone. There were many reasons people switched denominations, or, indeed, maintained more than one denominational affiliation. As Hannah Lane, in her study of a New Brunswick town in the mid-nineteenth century, found, “denominational identity was not always either fixed or coherent, and that it was, moreover, often interwoven with or shaped by other forms of identity, such as family or ethnicity.”⁷ Similar patterns can be seen in the Ontario records in the census, or scattered in family records. Among other factors Lane found for the changing of denominations, geographical location of churches and availability of certain denominations were prominent. For some, a search for respectability may have prompted a move to a more prestigious church, or the

⁶ Moir et al, *No Small Jewel*, 77-78.

⁷ Hannah M. Lane, “Tribalism, Proselytism and Pluralism: Protestants, Family, and Denominational Identity in Mid-Nineteenth Century St. Stephen, New Brunswick,” *Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada, 1760-1969* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002), 105.

search for a more direct experience to a more evangelical one. Tensions between adherents and the clergy were also not uncommon, and could prompt some to fall away from one church and attend another. Membership tended to be maintained over longer periods of time when the denominations were linked to an ethnic background, such as Scottish Presbyterians, but Methodists and Congregationalists showed greater variation in their denominational affiliations.⁸ So while denominational affiliation is important in assessing the impact of religion on the temperance lodges, it should not be seen as static or, necessarily, coherent.

The various denominations of Christianity did not always rest easily together in temperance lodge life. Catholics rarely appeared in lodge records. A distrust of Catholicism permeated Protestant attitudes in the nineteenth century in Ontario. Although official government barriers to Catholicism had fallen in the early part of the nineteenth century, anti-Catholicism was still displayed in religious tracts, books, government debates, and attitudes to education and missionary work. Protestant dislike for Catholicism became intertwined with British nationalism, believing that Catholicism was incompatible with being a faithful daughter colony. At its most extreme, anti-Catholicism was founded on the belief that: "Romanism was destructive to the building blocks of a sound society: sturdy individuals and wholesome families. In the hands of a church

⁸ Lane, 111-118.

whose true purpose was the augmentation of its own power, the educational system aimed not at the empowerment and liberation of individuals, but at their enslavement and obedience to the wishes of the church.”⁹ Some historians have argued that defining themselves in opposition to Catholicism was central to nineteenth-century Canadian Protestantism.

However, official temperance lodge newspapers were careful to write approvingly about Catholic temperance groups that sprang up under the aegis of the church, and to avoid blaming Catholic groups for opposition to temperance. Overt anti-Catholicism is not expressed in the literature coming from the temperance lodges, although that does not mean that the members were free from such religious prejudice. There is a spice of it in one eulogy for Father Mathew, the Catholic priest from Ireland who was a model for the early temperance movement. One Sons of Temperance newspaper commented on “his own peculiar views and opinions as a Roman Catholic priest,” but congratulated Mathew on transcending such handicaps when he “threw himself heart and soul into the work of forming a Temperance or Total Abstinence Association.”¹⁰

Father Mathew was virtually the only Catholic to appear in most temperance

⁹ J.R Miller, “Anti-Catholicism in Canada from the British Conquest to the Great War,” *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-Speaking Catholics in Canadian Society, 1750-1930*, Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, eds. (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), 34. See also Alison O’Mahen Malcom, *Anti-Catholicism and the Rise of Protestant Nationhood in North America, 1830-1871* Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Chicago, (Ann Arbor: Proquest/UMI, 2011).

¹⁰ “Father Mathew,” *The Abstainer* (Vol 1, No. 3: Jan 15, 1857), 53.

publications. Rarely did the various temperance newspapers mention encouraging signs from Catholic priests and bishops promoting the temperance cause.¹¹ On the flip side, Catholicism is never directly referred to as an impediment to the temperance cause in the official press. In the wake of the temperance plebiscite of 1898, the temperance response to the resounding “No” vote from Quebec was both outraged, and yet carefully devoid of religious judgement. Quebeckers were accused of being backward and not up to the standards of the rest of the country, but Catholicism was not singled out as a cause.¹² Such sentiments may have been held privately, but the temperance press was always careful to avoid anti-Catholicism in its official writing.

Despite this official restraint, the lack of Catholic members in the temperance lodges suggests that, as ecumenical as they strove to be, temperance brothers believed there were limits. Having a Catholic lodge member was so exceptional that it formed part of an article in *The International Good Templar* on a lodge in Moncton, New Brunswick. To show the tolerance and good nature of this lodge, it was related that: “[i]n this Lodge we have also seen a Roman Catholic occupying the Chief Templar's chair and an Orangeman occupying the Vice-Templar's chair, during the same quarter.”¹³ This supposedly harmonious

¹¹ See, for example, “A Catholic View,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1894), “Rally the Catholics,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 10, April 1895), and “Encouragement,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 12, June 1895).

¹² See, for example, “The Situation,” *The Camp Fire* (April 1899), 1.

¹³ “Notable Lodge – Moncton Jubilee,” *The International Good Templar* (London, Ontario: Vol. XXVII, No. 12, December 1914).

co-existence of two traditional enemies was a tribute to the openness of the lodge. It is counteracted by the dearth of Catholics in lodge records.

Within Protestantism, temperance lodges were not the only organizations that were attempting to bring together denominations in common organizations instead of reinforcing existing barriers between them. In the late nineteenth century, a growing number of people were looking to bring together Protestant groups that had long been separate, and saw a great potential for united religious thought and action. Bringing denominations together in shared experience paved the way for effort to reunite all Christian churches, and found its largest expression in Canada in the eventual founding of the United Church of Canada in 1925. Groups like the temperance lodges were one of the aspects of nineteenth-century life that brought together different Protestant denominations on equal footing. Temperance lodges were one of the precursors of the ecumenical movement, and one Presbyterian minister who was arguing for the church union reminded his listeners that his church and the Methodists had grown closer through the temperance cause.¹⁴

As these interdenominational practices became commonplace, theologians both within and outside Canada responded to these and similar forces by promoting the idea of uniting churches to find some purer Christianity,

¹⁴ Phyllis Airhart, *A Church with the Soul of a Nation: Making and Remaking the United Church of Canada* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 35, 20.

untouched by the artificial differences which they believed had arisen out of accommodation to the world.¹⁵ George Monro Grant, who had been influential in the uniting of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, turned his gaze to the wider national religious landscape. During his time as Principal of Queen's College, he promoted the ideal of an even more united Christianity, believing that it could bring together the best of each denomination, as:

a new church that would capture the best qualities of the major Canadian denominations: order and conservatism from the Anglicans, enthusiasm, zeal for missions, and adaptability from the Methodists; insistence on the rights of the individual from the Baptists; the love of liberty from the Congregationalists; and high regard for the Word of God from the Presbyterians.¹⁶

He even dreamed of an eventual reconciliation between Protestants and Catholics. As the Presbyterians and Methodists united their individual churches in the latter part of the nineteenth century, they were guided by prominent Canadian thinkers, ministers, and theologians towards a more extensive church union, which eventually brought together the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists in 1925. It was less expansive than the original goals, but it created the single largest denomination in Canada at the time.

¹⁵ N. Keith Clifford, *The Resistance to Church Union in Canada, 1904-1939* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985), 5-7. For more on revivals in nineteenth-century Ontario, see also: George A. Rawlyk, *Wrapped Up In God: A Study of Several Canadian Revivals and Revivalists* (Burlington, Ontario: Welch Publishing Company, Inc., 1988) and Eric A. Crouse, *Revival in the City: The Impact of American Evangelists in Canada, 1884-1914* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).

¹⁶ Airhart, *The Church With the Soul of a Nation*, 16.

The temperance lodges were leaders in ecumenism in nineteenth-century Ontario, and worked hard to make their lodges accessible to a wider variety of Protestant Christians. The temperance lodges were among the first and most prominent of the nondenominational associational Christian groups. In this way, although they may not have been explicitly involved in the ecumenical movement, their organizations helped create the spaces in which members of differing denominations worked together. The religion of the temperance lodges attempted to rely on concepts that would not be divisive to its members, which meant that the Christianity expressed in the lodges was non-doctrinal, and more focused on practice than theology. The ways in which members on the local and national levels attempted to negotiate their Christian identities came from a wellspring of genuine religious devotion that wanted to integrate leisure activity, political cause, and religious practice.

This focus on practice and the tendency to simplify theology so that it was palatable to brothers and sisters from different Protestant churches led Sharon Cook to describe the temperance lodges as “espousing a vague Christianity” that could be placed next to the evangelicalism of the WCTU.¹⁷ By simplifying theology to a point where it was almost non-existent, the charge has been made that this dilution resulted in a religion that demanded little of its adherents.

¹⁷ Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 22.

While theology was not a strength of the temperance lodges, their focus on practice was. Their rituals and the rich religious history of Protestantism that informed their practice showed a desire to experience religious feeling outside of the churches, to expand its reach and practice beyond the public spaces of the church and the private spaces of the home into the social space of the lodge.

While theology is important, most adherents focus more on what they do on a daily and weekly basis rather than on whether or not they are doctrinally correct.

A focus on practice and ritual formed the basis of the religious and spiritual aspects of the temperance movement, founded in a broad non-denominational evangelical Protestantism. This broadness facilitated recruitment and led to fellowship and mutual support across religious divides.

While the temperance lodges wished for close and cordial relationships with the churches, the response they got was not always as positive as they might have desired. Although members of the Sons, the IOGT and the Royal Templars all thought that the Protestant churches should endorse temperance and change from alcoholic to non-alcoholic beverages for communion, in practice, both individual clergy and church hierarchies were not so quick to agree with the necessity for total abstinence. Given that alcohol was featured prominently in the story of the marriage of Cana, at which Jesus turned water into wine, and later, in the story of the Last Supper, this association between churches and communion wine was a problem for the temperance lodges. When grappling with the issue, temperance advocates delved into previously avoided

theological territory, focusing their attention on the word used for wine in the Bible, arguing that it denoted an unfermented wine instead of a fermented one. These claims were often based on assumptions rather than necessarily on fact. The core of the issue came down to a firm belief that Christ could not have recommended drinking alcohol under any circumstances, as it must have been known to be evil by the Son of God. With this foundational belief, the arguments were tenuously phrased but fervently believed. Summing up the arguments, *The Juvenile Templar Manual of Instruction* told its young readers that “an old writer, Pliny, tells us that in his day there were 195 varieties of wine. Therefore when the Bible recommends wine, we may be sure it was a kind that had no poisonous alcohol in it; and when it speaks of wine that made people drunk and brought sorrow with it, it must have been fermented, and therefore intoxicating wine.”¹⁸ Other arguments on the case brought in opinions on the translation of the biblical words, attempting to prove the non-alcoholic nature of the wine.

What was entirely evident to temperance advocates, that wine in any form was an evil substance that should never be seen in church, was a much harder sell to church hierarchies, who had been using wine in their communion services for centuries. Trying to get churches to switch to non-alcoholic communion was one issue on which they lobbied ferociously in the mid to late nineteenth century. While some churches were resistant to changing their holy sacraments to please

¹⁸ Jos. W. Hopkins, *The Juvenile Templar Manual of Instruction* (Grand Lodge Templar Printing Works, 1899).

the temperance advocates in their midst, others eventually bowed to pressure and took wine out of their rituals and used grape juice instead. Indeed, the Welch's Grape Juice company in the United States was eager to serve this emerging market.¹⁹ In the last few years of the nineteenth century, the newspapers published by the temperance lodges were still printing articles urging even more churches to make the switch. One fictional story told of a liquor seller who told church members that his business must be moral, if the church was one of his customers. The story summarized the major arguments on both sides, of course siding with temperance advocates who thought that churches must get out of the business of providing alcohol as part of their religious services. The denomination went unnamed. Those who were for retaining communion wine argued, primarily based on Scriptural authority, that "the unfermented juice of the grape was *"not wine,"* as well as "that the Saviour had used alcoholic wine at the institution of the Supper, and it would be presumptuous and sacrilegious to substitute anything else." Concern for denominational reputation was another argument made in the article, as "one of the wealthiest brothers, whose ruddy proboscis testified to the presence of wine at his dinner table daily," pompously expressed the opinion "that so large and influential a congregation would not stultify itself by any such absurdity as that

¹⁹ Jennifer Tait, *The Poisoned Chalice: Eucharistic Grape Juice and Common-Sense Realism in Victorian Methodism* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 2011), 2-3.

contemplated in the motion before the meeting.” In the story, the temperance forces successfully rebut these arguments, using both Scripture and emotional appeals. The Scriptural argument is again based on the idea that it was unfermented wine mentioned in the Bible in reference to Christ, and “that alcoholic or fermented wine was never mentioned except in connection with a warning, a denunciation, or an anathema, and consequently could not have been given to His disciples by the Saviour.” Of even more import in the story, however, are the stories of the old man who trembled to see his former drunkard son take communion, and the younger man who was afraid that the first time alcohol would pass the lips of his young sons was in the church.²⁰

Whether or not these arguments mirrored those that actually took place in Methodist and Presbyterian churches and other denominations in the nineteenth century, it is likely that stories like these furnished temperance members with arguments for their side. By the First World War, almost all Presbyterian churches had replaced communion wine with grape juice.²¹ The Methodists had preceded them in this change. The sacramental wine question marks a point when members of the temperance lodges and organizations, using their own strong religious beliefs combined with their temperance advocacy, altered church practice. In so doing, they asserted that their beliefs accurately reflected

²⁰ “How we Settled the Sacramental Wine Question,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. IV, No. 10, April 1898), 3.

²¹ John Moir, *Enduring Witness*, 172.

the Bible and the will of God, successfully enough to change centuries of practice. This not only denotes the cultural capital that the temperance movement possessed at the time, but also illuminates how religious practice could be changed and adapted by adherents, in this case, with enough force to become official policy.

In addition to wanting to bring their temperance beliefs into churches, temperance lodges also hoped to make room for memberships within their own walls. Ministers were welcomed as members, and when they joined any of the three major temperance organizations, tended to be immediately elected to the position of Chaplain as long as they were active members. At the proceedings of the Grand Temple of the IOGT in 1862, a proposal was made to give free membership to clergy, as long as they were of “Evangelical denominations.” The measure did not pass, but the temperance lodges were interested in attracting and retaining ministers as members.²² In the absence of a minister, lay brothers and sisters (women were frequently elected to the office of Chaplain) filled this role, including in ritual. This lay assumption of the equivalent of a ministerial role might have caused some friction, but the lodges seemed quick to make sure that, were a minister actually present, they took on a role that corresponded to their status. However, if they wanted ministerial participation in their organizations in an active role, the lodge memberships were mostly

²² *Proceedings of the Grand Temple of the Independent Order of Good Templars, Canada* (Woodstock, ON: R. McWhinnie, Book, Job and Newspaper Printer, 1862), 16.

disappointed. Many ministers seem to have joined for only a short time, as shown by withdrawals, and the records that showed even when they remained members, they were frequently absent ones. The many demands of pastoral care may have meant that ministers had little time to spare for lodge meetings, and they may not have wanted to extend their professional responsibilities into their meagre leisure time. Unfortunately, we have no records that illuminate exactly why those ministers who joined so rarely attended.

In this case, there is a clear differentiation between national, provincial, and local levels. There were obviously some ministers who were devoted to the temperance cause and rose to positions of significance in the temperance lodges beyond the local level. The officer lists of the provincial and national IOGT, for example, frequently include one or two officers who were also ministers, although their denominational affiliation is not noted. Ministers who wanted to devote their time to the temperance cause were welcomed, and their status within the community may have made it easier for them to be elected to higher positions, if they showed themselves willing. The picture that arises from the official organs of the various temperance lodges is one that shows the lodges working in harmony with ministers.²³

²³ See, for example, "Our International Album," *The International Good Templar, 1909-1913* Office of the International Secretary, (Glasgow, Scotland), 154, "Ontario Grand Lodges Meet and Unite," *The International Good Templar* (London, Ontario, 1888), 421, and William Turnbull, *The Good Templars: A History of the Rise and Progress of the Independent Order of Good Templars* (1901), 98.

However, there are hints of another pattern in the attendance records that have survived. In both the Sons of Temperance in Orono in the nineteenth century, and in the Hope of the West IOGT Lodge in London in the early twentieth, similarities in membership and attendance patterns can be seen. Whether this can be extrapolated to all temperance lodges is not known, but it does suggest that, while ministers joined temperance lodges, their actual participation was minimal. In both lodges, there are multiple cases of a minister joining and attending for a few meetings. After that point, in each case, the minister stopped attending meetings, although it seems that all the ministers kept paying dues for a much longer period of time, possibly wishing to show passive support.²⁴ The ministers who joined may have done so as part of their vocational duties, and to show their support for the temperance cause. Once admitted to the lodges, ministers tended to find that they were given the same role they had outside, and after a meeting or two, their attendance, for the most part, quickly ceased. They may have been joining simply out of a sense of obligation to their congregants, but that duty does not seem to have been enough to keep them as active members in local lodges. There are no records of friction in lodge minutes between ministers who joined the lodges and other lodge

²⁴ IOGT Hope of West Lodge attendance and officers book, Fred Robins fonds, Box 4095, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, and Minute Books, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

brothers, but the pattern of ministers joining but not attending lodge meetings is indicative of the social distance between men who took up a religious vocation and those to whom they ministered, or an indication of the many demands on a minister's time.

In official writings, temperance lodge members saw little reason for friction between their organizations and the denominational affiliations of their adherents. It seemed like an obvious alliance, particularly in the midst of the post-millennial zeal of the late nineteenth century. Religious culture at this time was divided not only along lines of evangelical and established, or respectable and suspect, but also showed a distinct pre- and post-millennial split, which in this case referred the thousand years predicted to accompany the return of Christ, not necessarily attached to the changing of the calendar. There was a theological split that gave rise to drastically different viewpoints, stemming from disagreement over the order of events in the Book of Revelation, Chapter 20. In this passage, there are references to a millennium, a thousand years of victorious Christianity, and the second coming of Christ. Those who tended to literal interpretation have tended to read this passage as saying that the world would become increasingly sinful until the return of Christ, who would be present for the triumphant Christian Millennium. Groups like the Millerites, Seventh-Day Adventists, and the Plymouth Brethren, preached the imminence of the Second Coming, and encouraged conversion and separatism from society in preparation

for the coming apocalypse.²⁵ Post-millennialists, in contrast, believed that the thousand years promised in the Book of Revelation would precede the Second Coming of Christ. This difference in the ordering of events written in the Bible gave rise to very different worldviews. In response, most mainstream churches embraced a postmillennial outlook, which believed in a world that would gradually grow in grace, and emphasized the importance of human agency in bringing about the Kingdom of Heaven before the return of Christ.²⁶ Temperance groups fell into the postmillennial camp, and believed that their organizations were powerful vehicles for the Christianization of society.

The lodges were trying to help create the Kingdom of God on earth, built on the foundation of total abstinence. They thought this mission dovetailed nicely with the social outreach of the evangelical churches to which they mostly belonged. The importance of their core issue was so obvious to them that they were baffled by any resistance from the churches they thought should be their staunchest allies. The aspects of evangelical Protestantism they incorporated focused on a sinful world, and, in particular, on the most sinful substance they could think of, alcohol. They made ample space for individuals struggling with alcohol to participate. Rituals of repentance and forgiveness were a regular

²⁵ Phyllis Airhart, *Serving the Present Age : Revivalism, Progressivism and the Methodist Tradition in Canada* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), 40-41.

²⁶ Michael Gauvreau, *The Evangelical Century: College and Creed in English Canada From the Great Revival to the Great Depression* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 121.

feature of meetings. Most importantly, their religious impulses were often directed outwards. Their withdrawal from the temptations of the world was paired with strong encouragement to venture out into that world in pursuit of prohibitory laws. These religious impulses melded seamlessly into the rhetoric of responsible masculinity that urged members to take care of the world, and gave them the perceived right to remake it in a different image.

The three major lodges shared the evangelical impulse to bring religion into spheres that had largely been considered profane. Temperance lodge members found that their religion was inseparable from their practice. The lessons they learned in their churches were central to the ritual life of the lodge. The temperance lodge meetings were a place where religion was expressed outside of official denominational control, and as such, served certain purposes for a lay organization attempting to make claims of respectability. The church hierarchies may have been more or less comfortable with this diffusion of religion outside the walls. Lay religion was out of denominational control, but lodge meetings did show their adherents trying to live Christian lives and extending their religious practice into their leisure time as well as their home life and church attendance.

This focus on religion in temperance ritual, however, should not mask the fact that the rituals were often less impressive than intended. While performing rituals of initiation, installation, and even funerals, there are hints that what was intended to be awe-inspiring could sometimes be tedious or even amusing. The

aim was high, but the practice was not always satisfactory. Manuals of the rituals of virtually all the lodges included instructions for those who had speaking roles to attempt to learn their lines by heart. The IOGT ritual included an injunction to members to allow the solemnity of the ritual to fill them, and to: “let each one avoid any needless movement or word. At such a time a whisper, a smile, or even an attitude indicating indifference, may disturb or annoy a Candidate and mar the impressiveness of the ceremony.”²⁷ That this was so often repeated suggests that there were times when the rituals were marked by officers forgetting their lines, or reading them out of the book, creating humour in what was supposed to be a serious occasion. There are also hints that repeated exposure to ceremonies, particularly when they were not supposed to vary, created irritation. Motions in the Orono Sons of Temperance meetings to shorten the initiation services cropped up in the minutes in both 1854 and 1863.²⁸ On one occasion in the small town of Washington, Ontario, the Worthy Chief Templar of the local IOGT lodge stepped down from his position and “apologized on behalf of the Lodge for their conduct during the initiation” of a new brother.²⁹ The specifics of the misbehavior were not recorded. At their best, initiation rituals were designed to be solemn, meaningful ceremonies that marked the beginning

²⁷ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 16.

²⁸ Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2879, 2880, 3766.

²⁹ Minute Book, 1867-1868, Washington Lodge No. 21 Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, COA 5, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

of a brother or sister's life within the lodge. In practice, such feelings of awe and fellowship were not always achieved.

Dressing the part was the first step to holding effective rituals. The first ritual that most new members would encounter upon being invited to join was the initiation ritual. Rituals were an important aspect of lodge life, and attempted to create a liminal space where brothers and sisters could concentrate on the ritual alone. Although the lodges were nondenominational and secular, ritual space was symbolically consecrated to God. The ceremony that lodge brothers and sisters experienced most frequently was the initiation ceremony. Depending on the state of the lodge, it could happen as often as every few weeks. The introductory rituals of all the temperance lodges were designed to impress upon new members the seriousness of their new commitment, and to bind them into a community of believers and activists. The initiation ceremony, with its centerpiece of the taking of the temperance pledge, in part drew power from conversion narratives. The idea of one moment of dedication to the cause was not the same as the blinding flash of knowledge that accompanied conversion, but it similarly took the process of faith and belief and narrowed it down to one moment that members could look to as the start of their life in a community of like-minded believers. One initiation ceremony commemorated this moment with the words "Here you see the family circle gathered around one common

altar, fully determined to reclaim the fallen, and save others from falling.”³⁰ Like other religious groups, this was a family that could be joined voluntarily. It promised help and a mission to reform the outside world, in return for a change in behaviour and tacit agreement to self- and community monitoring.

The initiation rituals differed between orders, but they had several main themes in common. First was a welcome, which often incorporated a section singing the praises of the order, to impress on the new member the importance of the organization he or she was joining, and to create a feeling of fellowship that transcended the walls of the meeting room and extended to all other members of the fraternal order, in other cities, provinces, or countries. Initiation rituals then went on to emphasize the seriousness of the responsibilities the new member was taking on. In the IOGT, the Chief Templar was to intone to the new member, when he or she was first brought into the presence of the lodge, a description of their aims, and a warning about the seriousness of the pledge about to be taken:

We aim to unite the moral and intellectual forces of the community in an unceasing warfare upon this giant evil. Our hearts and hands are open to lift up those who are sunk low, and to restore them to family, friends, and society, as well as to save the young, pure, and virtuous from falling into the snares of the tempter. In uniting with us, you will be required to take upon *yourself* a solemn Obligation of total abstinence, and to bind *yourself* to our laws; but, rest assured, there is nothing in this Obligation inconsistent with your duties arising from any of the relations of life. It is, however, an

³⁰ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 18.

Obligation earnest in its nature, imperative in its requirements, and life-long in its duration.³¹

The rest of the ceremony was dedicated to elaborating on the evils of drink, and inflaming the membership to further activity in the cause, while calling for the blessing of God on their efforts. The Chief Templar, the Vice Templar, the Chaplain, and the Past Chief Templar each took their turns to recite (in hopefully ringing tones) speeches about alcohol, about the order, and about their mission in the world.

The surveillance extended even further. One of the most common themes in the initiation rituals was the watchful eye of God, which was presumed to fall with satisfaction on the work that the temperance lodges were doing. The approval, however, was tempered with the notion, drawn from Protestant evangelicalism, that God's eye was always upon the believers, and that private actions would be as closely scrutinized as the public ones. This was both a promise and a warning. The Royal Templars, in their initiation ceremony, prayed that members would have "Grace to perform those things which are acceptable in Thy sight, and to avoid those errors that are displeasing to Thee."³² Similarly, the closing prayers of the initiation ceremony for the British American Order of Good Templars (a branch of the IOGT), reminded new members and

³¹ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 18.

³² *Ritual of the Royal Degree Including the Ceremony of Installation and Burial Service of the Order of Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton, ON: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1889), 14.

old alike that “thine eye is upon us, and that we must give an account to thee for all we do.”³³ A tension existed here between the men of the temperance lodges assuming their roles as paternal role models for society, and the pervasive idea of God as a watchful parent to whom account must be made. That attention was a goad for these men to assume a Christian role, and a warning to prevent them from lapsing into sin. Hierarchy was inherent in this idea – the men of the temperance lodges were under the watchful eye of God, and in their turn, took on a custodial role for their families, and society in general.

Briefer ceremonies marked the beginning and end of each meeting, or at least, were provided for the members to use at those points. At the end of each IOGT meeting, the ritual space was again opened to the outside world with a sincere wish that “[a]s we are about to separate to mingle again in the pursuits and temptations of life, let me remind you that it is our duty to shun the way of evil-doers, and prove by our integrity that the labors and teaching of the Lodge are not in vain.”³⁴ The distinction between the space of the lodge, which was supposed to be separate and holy (although in practice not always quiet or well-controlled), from the corruptions of the outside world was central to the fraternal temperance organizations, offering a space to members and potential members

³³ *Ritual of the British American Order of Good Templars* (London, Canada West: City Press Office, 1860), 28.

³⁴ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 34.

that created and strengthened them in their identities as temperance warriors and fraternal brothers and sisters.

The Bible itself was sometimes incorporated into lodge ceremonies, although not universally. The BAOGT initiation ceremony told members to look at the Bible as a “true and safe chart for the whole voyage of life.” They were enjoined to “follow faithfully the teachings of this book – it will lead you to honor and happiness in this world, and to glory, and immortal joy in the world to come.”³⁵ However, while all the lodges assumed a predominately, if not exclusively, evangelical Protestant base, not all lodges actively used the Bible in their ceremonies. There may have been some worry about the propriety of such a measure. The Sons of Temperance and the Royal Templars rituals did not use it. As for the IOGT, the 1906 ritual did not actively incorporate the Bible into the ritual, but this had changed from earlier decades. In the IOGT Grand Temple of Canada West in 1861, the delegates selected to go to the Right Worthy Grand Temple of North America were instructed to bring forward as an issue the objection some members had to using the Bible in their rituals.³⁶ Such an objection must not have carried, as the next year, in 1862, the *Proceedings* include a petition to exclude the Bible from the ritual, and their response was that they

³⁵ *Ritual of the British American Order of Good Templars* (London, Canada West: City Press Office, 1860), 22

³⁶ *Proceedings of the Grand Temple, Independent Order of Good Templars, Canada, Annual Session* (Woodstock: E & J.W. McWhinnie, 1861), 38.

believed it to “be the life of our much beloved Order.”³⁷ That the Bible was sometimes incorporated into lodge rituals points to its importance in evangelical Protestant culture, but that its use made some members uneasy shows the liminal state of the lodges between sacred and secular space.

The language of evangelicalism was at the centre of one ritual that took place more often than members would have wished. The lodges were supposed to be places for men to find a supportive atmosphere in which to quit drinking forever. Particularly in the early decades of the lodges, however, incidents of members breaking the pledge were far from uncommon. Through much of the nineteenth century, charging members with a violation of their abstinence was at least a monthly occurrence, and those charges often were made against several members at the same time. This pattern suggests that the breaking of the pledge most often took place in communal atmospheres, and that brothers in the lodge were likely to share company frequently outside those walls. The solidarity of a number of brothers was not always enough to provide the strength to refrain from drinking when drink was offered. The frequent accusations of drinking point to substantial differences in how seriously temperance lodge members took their pledges. Some seem to have taken them to extremes of evangelical zeal, proselytizing eagerly, while others found that in the company of those who were drinking, their commitment fell by the wayside.

³⁷ *Proceedings of the Grand Temple, Independent Order of Good Templars, Canada, Annual Session* (Woodstock: R. McWhinnie, 1862), 25.

However, backsliding was scarcely a new issue for evangelical believers, and the lodges incorporated aspects of religious responses to such behavior into their own rituals. For all that conversion was supposed to be a moment of life-changing import, religious leaders were all too aware that converts made during a revival were not necessarily permanent. While a conversion experience was supposed to mark a permanent change in a person's life, signifying grace and their acceptance of their place in an evangelical community, in practice, those who converted did not always remain saved.³⁸ Evangelical denominations needed to find ways to accommodate those whose behavior was not always a sign of internal grace, without losing their emphasis on the revolutionary nature of conversion. Similarly, temperance lodges created practices to make sure that those who broke their temperance pledge were not irrevocably cast out into the wilds of Ontario drinking society.

Not all violations of the temperance pledge led to expulsion. When they did not, religious tropes of repentance and forgiveness provided a basis for the pattern the organizations tended to follow. In the Orono Sons of Temperance minutes, a very clear pattern emerges. When a man was charged with violating Article Two of their Constitution (the pledge), there were generally two

³⁸ Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 203-204. See also Richard Carwardine, *Transatlantic Revivalism: Popular Evangelicalism in Britain and America, 1790-1865* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 8-9, 49-50.

outcomes. If he refused to meet with the committee appointed to investigate the charge, or refused to come to a meeting and explain himself, the result was usually expulsion. On the other hand, if, once accused, a man admitted that he had violated the pledge, and stated that he wished to remain a member of the lodge and acted with repentance, he was usually retained. Even habitual violators of the oath could, on occasion, be forgiven, although in general, the more violations, the more likely was expulsion. This tendency to keep those who admitted their wrongs and asked forgiveness shows that the lodges were not single-minded in their dedication to the ideals of temperance, and, indeed, that their religious framework made it possible to expel some men for being unrepentant while welcoming back those who admitted their guilt and begged pardon. They did not condone violations of the oath, but they also understood that it was not as easy to forswear drinking as it was to recite the pledge.

Repentance was the key, which also points to their desire that members take masculine responsibility for their actions, as well as indicating that they were not ready to give up on someone easily. There is also a sense that long-time lodge members knew each other well, and knew who was actually struggling with what we would today call an addiction, and who was a member in name only. In the most dramatic case, Francis Fitzpatrick, shoemaker from Orono, joined the Sons of Temperance lodge in 1854 for the first time at the age of 21, four years after the founding of the lodge. Over the next 16 years, he was brought up on charges no fewer than 13 times, and expelled six times in total. He

often had the same sponsor nominating him for membership, possibly pointing to someone in the community who hoped he could be helped. Several of the times he was charged with a violation of Article Two, the charge was not brought by one of the brothers, but through a confession before the group by Fitzpatrick himself. However, he was always penitent when brought up on charges and showed a desire to do better, which can help us understand why the Sons of Temperance continuously admitted a man with a long history of habitual drunkenness. While the Sons took their oaths seriously, they believed in second chances, or, in this extraordinary case, thirteenth chances. They hoped they could help him attain the ideal of masculinity that they themselves worked hard to retain. In Francis's case, however, the flip-side of masculine dissipation led them to finally refuse to continue admitting him to membership, although the same sponsor tried repeatedly, even after the thirteenth offence.³⁹

Offenders like Fitzpatrick (although there were few who matched his long record of repeated violations) were frequently retained in the lodge and given their obligations again. The cycle of transgressing and reintegration became so frequent that some brothers in the IOGT were worried that expulsion was beginning to lose its meaning. At the Grand Temple in 1861, Grand Worthy Templar announced that the practice of expelling members for five minutes and then readmitting them to the lodge was becoming far too common, and risked

³⁹ Minute books, 1853-1854, 1854-1859, 1863-64, 1866-1870, the Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

“being nothing more nor less than a burlesque [sic] on the mode of punishment prescribed.”⁴⁰ The various temperance lodges tried to negotiate the contradictory impulses to welcome back errant members and help to reform them, and to punish and harangue those who had strayed so others would learn from the lessons before them. Frequently, visiting committees were asked to seek out those who had violated their temperance pledge and stayed away from meetings in order to try to convince them that erring once was not necessarily the end of their time as a temperance brother.⁴¹ If the errant member returned and was reintegrated into the lodge, some wanted that to be the end of the matter, but others, like a letter writer to the *Canadian Son of Temperance* in 1852, wanted to make sure that the lodges did not pass up a chance to publicly rail against the sins they were forgiving. This correspondent thought that the reintegration ceremony ought to include the Worthy Patriarch or Past Worthy Patriarch deliver a speech: “The enormity of the offence to be printed out, a few words of caution given in regard to his future conduct, the certainty that his actions for some time at least would be scrutinized with a jealous eye, might make a lasting

⁴⁰ *Proceedings of the Grand Temple of the Independent Order of Good Templars, Canada, Held at Ottawa, October 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1861, Annual Session* (Woodstock: R. & J.W. McWhinnie, 1861), 14.

⁴¹ See, for example, March 13, 1873, in Minute Book, 1873-1875, Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge) fonds, Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives, and Jan 20, 1886 in Minute Book, 1881-1891, Sons of Temperance of North America (Orono Division No. 79) fonds, Archives of Ontario.

impression not on his mind alone, but on that of others.”⁴² The editor agreed.

Neither, apparently, considered that this might make it more difficult for those who had transgressed to feel comfortable renewing their association with the lodge.

Although the lodges were, in general, more than willing to welcome back those who had fallen off the temperance wagon, if the members in question were not repentant, and would not appear to make a public display of their guilt and their reinclusion in the temperance brotherhood, they were expelled. Members like a brother in the Orono Sons of Temperance who “expresses no sorrow nor repentance [sic],” were erased from the books of the order and entered on a list that was disseminated to other nearby lodges. There was rarely a ceremony to this expulsion. It was taken care of as part of the administrative business of the lodge. One of the temperance organizations, however, the Royal Templars, did incorporate it into the ritual of their meeting, as well as the business. As part of their initiation ceremony, each new member was given a rod with their name inscribed on it, which was then ceremonially bound into a bundle to symbolize the additional strength in community. If a brother were expelled, his rod was publicly removed from the “Symbol of Fraternity,” marked with the “date and

⁴² “An Important Suggestion,” *Canadian Son of Temperance* (Vol. 2, No. 1, Jan 5, 1852), 10.

cause,” and bound into “the unfaithful bundle.”⁴³ Whether incorporated into a ritual, or disposed of as part of the administrative business, expelling a member marked a failure of the community to assist and support fellow members.

Through expulsion and readmittance, temperance lodges found a system that both acknowledged and punished transgressions, while providing mechanisms for errant members to be reintegrated into the community. In this, they drew on religious ideas of repentance and forgiveness, although they were sometimes tempered by desires to be more punitive and stern. By making a clear system by which people ceremonially both entered the lodge, and were welcomed back after mistakes, they tried to be a model of Christian forgiveness. That they were not always successful, or that those who had erred were not willing to come back to be forgiven, tested the limits of such forms of community control. The reactions of temperance lodges to violations of their central precepts were more compassionate than might be expected. At the same time, they seized upon these moments as ones to increase group cohesion among those who had not strayed, and to either expel or reintegrate those who had violated their temperance pledge back into the community.

The relationship of the temperance lodges to the wider community was itself an uneasy one, and here too, can be seen the influence of the religious

⁴³ *Ritual of the Royal Degree, Including the Ceremony of Installation and Burial Service of the Order of the Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1889), 15-18.

institutions to which members belonged. Churches have often struggled with whether or not to adopt a separate identity from their wider community, or to embrace integration and attempt to make their own religious values those of the wider society.⁴⁴ Temperance lodges found themselves in a balancing act between the two. Taking the pledge was an act of renunciation, one that marked them apart from the wider society, and, particularly in the early decades of the movement, one that could easily expose them to ridicule from those who had not converted to temperance in the same way.

While in some ways, temperance lodge demands were not excessive, when it came to drinking, they were asking their members to deviate greatly from common practice. More than that, they demanded not merely private adherence but also public condemnation of drinking. In such a way, members of the temperance lodges set themselves apart from their communities in significant ways. When election time came around, members were advised only to vote for temperance men. They were directed to speak out against the drinking habits of others on all occasions, a requirement that would have alienated these men from the greater society in which they lived and worked.⁴⁵ While likely not all

⁴⁴ See, for example, John Webster Grant, *A Profusion of Spires: Religion in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Kingston/Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.)

⁴⁵ See, for example, the ruling that a member violated his pledge if he were at a Bee where alcohol was consumed and didn't speak out against it, *Proceedings of the Grand Temple, Independent Order of Good Templars, Canada, Held at Hamilton, October 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th, 1860* (Hamilton: F.T. Barker, 1860), 13.

temperance brothers spoke out as often as the organization would have liked, those who followed these rules to the letter perhaps contributed to the popular view of temperance advocates as humourless fanatics. Some temperance brothers probably decided to stay quiet at these difficult moments, instead of risking public opprobrium. This requirement of membership, whether or not followed, put pressure on members to show their allegiance in the face of opposition. In doing so, it likely increased the feeling of community within the lodges, where brothers and sisters could turn to each other without the anger or ridicule of the outside world. This in turn, may have intensified their commitment to the cause.

There are traces of community backlash against temperance lodge members in the records, suggesting that their separation from their communities may have been real as well as perceived. One temperance lodge in Orono reported having their hall burnt to the ground, and, in Galt, members were attacked by those in the community who resented their presence.⁴⁶ Similarly, the Orono story of local rumours that the “Brown Jug” used in their rehearsals for a temperance play contained real alcohol shows that gossip was probably eager to paint the temperance brothers as hypocrites.⁴⁷ Temperance brothers and sisters might not have entirely integrated into their communities, and their own rituals

⁴⁶ *Canadian Son of Temperance and Literary Gem* (Toronto, C.W., Vol. 2, No.1, Jan 5, 1852), 11. Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2000), 132.

⁴⁷ October 29, 1879 entry, Minute Book, 1877-1881, Sons of Temperance (Orono) fonds, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, Box MU2880.

emphasized their place apart from the world. However, the organizations required members to carry their temperance beliefs to those who would not agree. In this way, they reflect a distinctly postmillennial view of the society in which they lived, a society that they believed they could shape to more closely resemble the Kingdom of God.

The lodge was the safe place to which lodge brothers could turn for relief from “the pursuits and temptations of life.”⁴⁸ This sanctuary was not a place where they could remain. They had an obligation to refill their reserves in the lodge, and then return to the fight outside those walls, a place that might be sinful, but that could also be redeemed. The Royal Templars told their members to “be the instruments of Righteousness and Truth, and grant that the cause of Temperance, and the interests of suffering humanity, may be advanced in our land.”⁴⁹ In the temperance rhetoric of the ceremonies of all the major temperance lodges, it was emphasized that members had not only a right to shape the world outside, but a responsibility to do so. Indeed, questions of whether or not they should were never raised, subsumed in rhetoric that emphasized the need of the world for help, and the responsible masculinity needed to effect change:

Wherever public opinion permits, or false customs sanction, or
unrighteous law protects the iniquitous traffic, there set your face

⁴⁸ *Ritual of the Royal Degree, Including the Ceremony of Installation and Burial Service of the Order of the Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1889), 16.

⁴⁹ *Ritual of the Royal Degree, Including the Ceremony of Installation and Burial Service of the Order of the Royal Templars of Temperance* (Hamilton: Royal Templar Book and Publishing House, 1889), 5

as a flint, and with manly honest firmness battle bravely for the right. Encourage the weak, watch over the tempted, lead back the erring, and hold no intercourse with the upholders, or the associates of the traffic, except to reform them.⁵⁰

Temperance lodges wanted to provide sanctuary from the outside world for their members, but it was only a temporary respite. As temperance brothers and sisters, but more often, just as temperance men, they were expected to reform society and provide an example of ideal masculinity in perfect harmony with Christian belief that would provide the basis for a moral regeneration.

Temperance lodges were sites of religious expression less formal than the churches, but no less permeated with Christian imagery and thought. In them, laymen struggled to reconcile their Christian belief with the world in which they lived. The religious expression that emerged was instrumental, and in constant adaptation to meet the changing needs of the groups. As such, it shows the malleability of religion, and the ways in which organizations, formal and informal, changed and are changed by the structures and expressions of religion. Although not every aspect of the lodges were explicitly religious, nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant Christianity provided the common ground for members of different denominations to come together in common cause. Through the issue of temperance, their attention was focused on the failings of the world, and in many ways, seen through a gendered perspective that put the blame squarely on the effects of compromised masculinity. Bolstered by a

⁵⁰ *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 18.

version of Christianity that emphasized responsibility for self and society, male benevolence and generosity, temperance brothers found in the religion of the lodges much of the underpinnings for their visions of themselves as men in nineteenth-century Ontario. As such, they could see themselves as men apart from their society, superior in outlook, and those in the celestial hierarchy who could be trusted with the job of reforming society in their own image. Such belief tended to elide ways in which they exerted their own power. The notion of the Christian gentleman gave focus to their beliefs, and other aspects of evangelical Protestantism provided a strong, if unacknowledged basis for creating organizations that lasted for decades.

Chapter Five

Degraded Masculinities

Being a man in nineteenth-century Ontario was not a simple task. Masculinities have never been singular, and what being a man meant was heavily dependent on regional difference, population density, class, religion, race, and culture. A man born into a struggling farming family would not find their source of identity in the same way as a member of the elite colonial gentry. Amidst competing masculinities at the time, men who joined the temperance lodges built upon other cultural trends in defining their masculinity, centering it on a rejection of what were considered traditionally male spaces and activities. Popular memory of the temperance movement has been that it was innately female, working against men and male habits. The reduction of male responses to temperance to resistance presumes that the vast majority of men felt constrained by the expectations put upon them by temperance women, and pushed back with vigour. It erases from our histories the many men who were themselves active in temperance, helped create temperance culture, and who themselves wanted to restrain not only their own appetites for alcohol, but also those of their fellow men. In so doing, these men did not see themselves as effeminate or weak, although they were certainly painted that way by opponents. They created a masculinity that was formed in relationship to other prevalent forms of nineteenth-century masculinity, including rough masculinity,

gentry masculinity, and an emerging middle-class masculinity. Out of, and sometimes in opposition to, these disparate sources, a teetotaling male identity developed that drew on discourses of respectability and self-control, but deployed them in ways that differed from the emerging middle-class culture that surrounded them.

To understand the particular forms and attributes of temperate masculinity that the temperance lodges were actively engaged in creating, maintaining, and defending, other types of masculinity available to nineteenth-century men must be examined. In embracing abstinence, temperate men outright rejected some practices that were an essential part of manliness for many of their non-teetotaler compatriots. Most men in nineteenth-century Ontario probably did drink, at least on occasion, and the act of drinking was often invested with meaning that directly related to their manliness. Without recourse to the camaraderie of the tavern, and the implications of that institution for work, leisure, and gendered expression, men who joined the temperance lodges created an identity that claimed for themselves some of the dominant attributes of masculinity. Temperance lodge members directly attacked the manliness of men who drank, painting them as unmasculine, and themselves as bastions of male virtue.

The masculinities available to men in nineteenth-century Ontario were numerous, and were formed in contrast both to femininity and to other masculinities. The urban middle class staked out a position of responsible

manliness, in opposition to what they saw as a degenerate effeminate upper class, and a dangerously hypermasculine lower class. Working-class men found a common masculinity in shared work and leisure practices, and often resisted efforts to reform their behaviour. These differing forms of masculinity were not just created along class lines. Race was frequently policed using threats of racially charged male violence, or the depiction of certain men as racially effeminate.¹ In addition, regional concerns affected masculine ideals. In Ontario, masculinity was founded on different ideals in rural areas than it was in urban settings, as farmers (particularly those who defined themselves as “yeoman” farmers) used milieu-specific criteria for assessing the manliness of themselves and the men around them.² Through competitive and collaborative farming activities, rural men defined themselves by their endurance, skill, strength, and self-control. From plowing matches to the various bees that dotted the rural calendar, rural men had ample opportunity to display the virtues they associated with desirable masculinity.

¹ Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), Kay Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

² Monda Halpern, *And On That Farm He Had A Wife: Ontario Farm Women and Feminism, 1900-1970* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 21, 25. See also David Jones, “‘There is Some Power About the Land’: The Western Agrarian Press and Country Life Ideology,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 17:3 (Fall 1982), 96-108.

In nineteenth-century Ontario, a rough masculinity emerged that has frequently been identified with the “bush” and the associated trades, fur trapping and logging. This strain of masculinity was recognizable by the emphasis on “displays of physical performance,” including excellence at specific kinds of labour, as well as fighting ability.³ While this masculinity was prized in the bush, it is a spatial restriction that overlooks the connections with rough male culture in urban and rural settings. For many men in Ontario, both rural and urban, one of the places where rough masculinity was acted out was the tavern. Drinking in public, for much of the nineteenth century, was seen as a distinctly masculine pastime. This is not to say that women did not drink, but despite their occasional presence, the general tavern culture that emerged was defined as a male one.⁴ In her examination of taverns in pre-Confederation Canada, Julia Roberts has found a culture that was, at time, far more heterogeneous than many have expected, one that tolerated, and sometimes even welcomed, those who have often been presumed absent, including both women and non-white men. While their presence was sometimes tenuous, taverns were not necessarily out of

³ Kevin B. Walmsley, “The Public Importance of Men and the Importance of Public Men,” *Sport and Gender in Canada*, eds. Philip White and Kevin Young (Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999), 27. Steven Maynard, “Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History,” *Labour/La Travail* 23 (Spring 1989), 159-169.

⁴ Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 157. For more on tavern culture, see also Peter DeLottinville, “Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889,” *Labour/Le Travail* 8/9 (1981/1982), 9-40 and Madelon Powers, *Faces Along the Bar: Lore and Order in the Workingman’s Saloon, 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.)

bounds to these groups. On the other hand, the occasional resistance to the presence of women and black men also shows that the default assumption about the taverns was that they were a white male space, and that accommodation could be made for others, but was not a given. Roberts defines the role of the tavern as an informal public space, separate from the more formal and regulated arenas of politics and business, where the social lubrication of alcohol could relax class hierarchies that might otherwise have been enforced. The role of the tavern in rural areas as a stopping place for travellers demanded that they welcome women in Upper Canada. However, while Roberts found evidence that women did frequent bars, she states that exactly how women who entered bars were regarded is difficult to determine.⁵ Within these informal public spaces, men formed a culture that incorporated leisure patterns and drinking, finding a space in which they felt they belonged as equals.⁶ This culture could be either welcoming or forbidding to those who did not automatically belong by right of gender or race, depending on the location, the individual personalities, and the time period. No matter the circumstances, white men could walk into a tavern without fear of exclusion, marking tavern culture as a primarily homosocial and racially-bounded community, although not exclusively so.⁷

⁵ Julia Roberts, *In Mixed Company: Taverns and Public Life in Upper Canada* (Toronto: UBC Press, 2009), 151.

⁶ *Ibid*, 5.

⁷ *Ibid*, 127.

Tavern culture placed a high premium on conviviality and generosity. Drinking with others was a way of creating a sense of community, as well as displaying a man's disposable income. Even more important than drinking together was the practice of treating each other to drinks. Treating was a common practice in taverns, and had a more serious purpose than merely helping others to drink themselves comatose. Roberts argued that tavern culture was based on ancient customs of sharing: "[g]atherings to share food and drink had a serious social purpose. They invoked ancient connotations of mutuality inherent in breaking bread together. More immediately, they echoed the supper parties staged by contemporary English and American elites...."⁸ Taverns offered the opportunity for men to claim for themselves a culture of reciprocity and community, expressed through leisure, drink, and company.⁹

The masculinity expressed in tavern culture may have been rooted in mutuality and community, but it was not particularly refined or genteel. Extreme drunkenness was often on display. Craig Heron has argued that despite the teetotalers' insistence that a moderate drinker was only a man on the road to utter drunkenness, the chronic drunkard was an outlier. Using temperance surveys of bars in the early twentieth century, he refers to large numbers of men drinking, of whom only a small percentage were glaringly drunk.¹⁰ Looking at

⁸ Roberts, 128.

⁹ *Ibid*, 94. See also Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889." *Labour/Le Travail* (8/9, 1981), 9-40

¹⁰ Heron, 124.

tavern culture in nineteenth-century Ontario, Julia Roberts concurs.¹¹ The culture of the tavern could be rough, and sometimes exploded into violence, but this was not necessarily an expression of excessive alcohol use. Tavern brawls tended to take place by certain rules that were enforced by tavern owners and other imbibers. Specifically, violence, when it occurred, was expected to be taken outside – the tavern itself was out of bounds as a location for a fight. There were practical reasons for this, as the property damage could make it difficult for a tavern owner to meet his expenses, and fighting within the tavern could potentially open up the tavern-keeper to lawsuits and the withdrawal of his license. Julia Roberts also found that violence had a particular pattern in Upper Canadian taverns. Rarely did a man go from silence to an attack. Violence was virtually always preceded by threats and taunts, with the removal of a coat being the final sign that someone was ready to fight at any time. When violence threatened to escalate out of control, or to involve weapons such as whips or pistols, other taverngoers would often intervene to keep the situation in hand.¹² When a fight went beyond these unspoken guidelines, there was surprise and outrage, both in the community, and amongst those who had been present at such an anomalous occurrence. Temperance advocates regarded the taverns with horror as sites of unbridled drunkenness and violence. However, masculinity as it was expressed within the taverns was boisterous, and occasionally resulted in

¹¹ Roberts, 89-92.

¹² *Ibid*, 96-98.

physical altercations, but was also kept within internally acceptable bounds by convention and community regulation.

Taverns held slightly different places in rural versus urban life. While men could sometimes sleep in taverns and saloons in cities, it was a primary function of the rural tavern, sheltering those traveling with rudimentary accommodations. Those in the cities regarded rural taverns with some worry, as all those who were staying, men and women, would sleep in the same area in rough beds. In urban taverns, it appears that overnight accommodations were only available to men.¹³ For those concerned with the dangers of alcohol, these practices increased the suspicion of rural taverns as sites of potential sexual danger. Whether urban or rural, taverns were also places where leisure and work overlapped. Pay was sometimes disbursed at taverns, and certainly many working men took their pay packet directly to drinking establishments, as numerous stories of wives trying to intercept the money before it was paid out to their husbands may attest. In the pre-industrial workplace, too, employers were often expected to provide alcoholic beverages to their employees during working hours.¹⁴ This practice mostly took place within male-dominated workplaces, and was another way that alcohol consumption was woven into the masculine world, both at leisure and at

¹³ Roberts, 24-25.

¹⁴ Heron, 32-33. See also Peter Way, *Common Labour: Workers and the Digging of North American Canals, 1780-1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993) 183, and Katherine McKenna, "Working Life at the Isthmus," *Labourers on the Rideau Canal 1826-1832: From Work Site to World Heritage Site*, Katherine McKenna, ed. (Ottawa: Borealis Press, 2008), 66-67.

work. Similarly, at barn raisings and bees in rural settings, the family for whom the work was being done was expected to provide refreshments, including immense amounts of alcohol.¹⁵ In this case, like in rural taverns, while women may not have been excluded from either the arena in which the work was being done, nor necessarily from imbibing themselves, the culture that was most prominent was one of men working together and sharing food and alcoholic beverage, as a form of communal work and community-building.¹⁶

While alcohol consumption was certainly not restricted to a certain age group, the masculine culture that could be seen in taverns was often perceived as one that was particularly attractive and dangerous to the young. Older working men certainly drank as well, and possibly also those who belonged to the emerging middle class who considered themselves to be “moderate drinkers,” but for young men, without their own homes and families to keep them occupied, tavern culture was particularly attractive. Certainly, emerging Ontario culture in the mid-nineteenth century, as it became concerned with respectability and the need for social control, looked on the prospect of young rakes drinking together in taverns with particular alarm. Julia Roberts found evidence that even the young men who enjoyed going out frequently to imbibe with their friends

¹⁵ Catherine Anne Wilson, “Reciprocal Work Bees and the Meaning of Neighbourhood,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 82.3 (Sep 2001), 441-443. See also Susanna Moodie, *Roughing It In The Bush* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2009), 339.

¹⁶ Heron, 114.

were sometimes ashamed of how they spent their leisure time.¹⁷ Without the responsibilities of a wife and family, and with access to their own funds, some young men reveled in the freedom from their families, and indeed, the ability to thumb their noses at respectable society. Most would eventually marry and settle down without any particular danger to their long-term wellbeing, but a few may have found in this lifestyle a habit that they would struggle with their entire lives. Those who joined the temperance lodges believed that most if not all who took these risks as young men were courting disaster, but, for many, this was a rite of passage, a time when most of their compatriots were men of their own age, and where they could indulge freely, if not entirely without guilt.¹⁸

Although many in Ontario culture saw drinking as part and parcel of a healthy masculinity, temperance advocates obviously did not share this view. Between those who imbibed to excess and those who thought that no amount of alcohol was safe were many who thought that while overindulgence should be avoided, moderate use of alcohol as a social lubricant, and part and parcel of work or leisure, was normal. They are a substantial, but mostly silent, backdrop against which the struggle over alcohol use took place. Moderate drinkers left few records and wrote few polemics; indeed, the temperance movement denied their very existence. However, many of those who imbibed probably did not do

¹⁷ Roberts, 134.

¹⁸ Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 88-91.

so to particular excess. There were certainly those who did, and their histories are told in sensational temperance literature, as well as in the recordings of the local arrests published in the papers, which frequently made reference to the intoxicated state of those who had run-ins with the law. The many who drank to a lesser degree, however, should not be forgotten, even though they tend to disappear in the narrative.

Against both tipplers and those who thought that drinking could be integrated into a masculine identity without particular danger to men or their dependents were the temperance advocates. These men used their dedication to the temperance cause as one of the defining features of their identity, and specifically, the meanings of abstinence that were bound up with the masculinity they wished to promote. In many ways, their ideal masculinity closely resembled the emerging ideal manliness of the middle class in urban centres, in particular their emphasis on respectability, self-control, and religious belief, but they differed by the pride of place in which they put their pledge to abstain. Like other fraternal orders, the temperance lodges prided themselves on offering a practical guide to a better life, with the pledge as the first solid step, and political activism as the eventual goal.¹⁹

Given the powerful framework of the idea of a liberal order in Canada, it is perhaps not surprising that fraternal lodges have been associated with the

¹⁹ Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984), 169.

development of those ideals. Todd Stubbs has seen the fraternal orders (in particular, those with a nationalist bent) as developing a combination of mutual aid to alleviate the structural flaws in industrial capitalism paired with an emphasis on individual economic action that elided these flaws.²⁰ However, the temperance lodges do not fit neatly into the idea of the development of the liberal order. The structure of fraternal orders was a malleable one, and that it could bolster a liberal philosophy of individual effort does not mean that this was inevitable. While in many ways, the temperance fraternal orders did not reject the structures of an industrial capitalist state, they did reject the idea that the state should stay out of the lives of “independent economic actors.”²¹ They had early rejected individual moral suasion as an effective tactic for achieving their political goals, seeing in communal aid the answer to the problem of drink in society. Alcohol use was a society-wide problem, and needed society-wide regulation to address.

Like other gender identities, the men of the temperance lodges were defining what they were partly by defining what they were not, separating their male identity from that of the majority of nineteenth-century Ontario society. To that end, they drew upon prevalent constructions of masculinity to form both their ideal temperate manliness and its opposite. While in much of nineteenth-

²⁰ Todd Stubbs, “Patriotic Masculinity and Mutual Benefit Fraternalism in Urban English Canada: The Sons of England, 1874-1900,” *Historie sociale/Social History* (45:89), 2012, 35, 46.

²¹ Stubbs, 46.

century Ontario society, drinking and carousing were an expression of healthy, if slightly suspect, masculinity, to temperance advocates, these activities became the signifier for a degraded manhood to which all men who did not sign the pledge were susceptible. The figure of the drunken, dissipated, cruel, impoverished man haunted the pages of temperance literature, appearing over and over in virtually every issue of their newspapers, in virtually every temperance story, in most temperance speeches. This apparition was the abdicated masculinity against which they thought temperate men must fight, and to which any man who drank could be prone.

The ways in which this spectre of the drunken man were presented were complex, but two themes recur. The first is that the drunken man was representative of a degraded and violent masculinity, the second was that the drunkard had relinquished his manliness. When degraded masculinity appeared, it was assumed that every man who drank would follow the same pattern, almost as if he were reverting to a less civilized but predetermined state of manhood. This was masculinity without the controls of society; the responsibility, the independence, or the self-control. It was male power at its worst, used to hurt and to harm himself and members of his family. In this view, drink freed masculinity from the strictures of society and religion, causing men to revert to their most dangerous form. It was the subtext of many temperance parables, in which male power was shown repeatedly being used for evil

purposes by drunken men, but this was not the way that temperance advocates overtly explained the actions of the drunkard to themselves or to the world.

The drunken man was also seen as someone who had abdicated his claim to masculinity, who, by falling prey to the evils of alcohol, had lost that essential part of maleness that allowed him to function in society. Alcohol was seen to sap the will, and as free will and self-control were central to the temperance movement, the figure of the drunken man was a cautionary tale of what could happen if these essential qualities were lost.²² The drunken man was seen to slowly sell his free will to the bottle, as in a warning to a young man told that if he were not careful, he would “understand what a dreary thing it is when he shall feel himself going down a precipice with open eyes and passive will – to see all godliness emptied out of him, and yet not able to forget the time it was otherwise....”²³ This notion of alcohol as the causative agent in the loss of will appeared in both moral lessons and scientific explanations alike, as when the temperance reader was informed that “as more and more alcohol is taken, its effect progresses from one nerve to another until the brain itself is stupefied and the mind is totally under the deadly influence, while a man sinks himself to the lowest level of mere animal existence.”²⁴

²² Mariana Valverde, *Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemmas of Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 6.

²³ “Dash Down the Cup,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 1, July 1895), 3.

²⁴ “How Alcohol Intoxicates,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 10, April 1895), 3.

In this concept, though, there was hope. The drunken man had lost essential qualities of masculinity, but they were not necessarily irretrievable. With the aid of temperance (or of prohibition, a less personal and more pervasive form of intervention), the drunken man could be restored to full manhood, if he only accepted the ability of the lodges or the temperance movement to help, and embraced their ideal of the temperate man. The drunken man stood in temperance literature as the constant counterpart to the temperate man. Advice and appeals were made directly to the temperate man, the presumed audience, but the drunken man was the focus of the stories which were the core of so much temperance literature. He expressed the deepest fears of the movement, and one of its most powerful negative images. Barely a human, anymore, let alone a man, the drunkard was an object of fear and pity. He retained the connections of family that the temperance movement thought bound all society together, but these bonds were open to be abused, as alcohol robbed him of the ability to reason or feel. In a particularly histrionic example, it was believed that alcohol could cause "a father to throw his infant child into the fire or out of the window, a mother to fling her babe from her breast into the kennel and leave it there, and a husband to roast his wife, or, when pregnant, to kick her to death."²⁵ These stories, recounted in lurid detail, permeate temperance literature, and often the same tales are told and retold, although always presented as recent events.

²⁵ John Gridley, *Four Reasons Against the Use of Alcoholic Liquors, Explaining the Law of Stimulation* (New York: American Tract Society, 1852).

While women were occasionally presented as potential drunkards, in the overall volume of temperance literature, they were greatly outnumbered by the drunken men. Unlike the male drunkards, stories of female drinkers almost always centered on institutionalization. Female drunkards were represented in jails or asylums, not on the streets or in the family. One inebriate asylum story described the inmates as “women in gowns of coarse blue denim, some with faces blunted and brutalized, some youthful, with a wild fierce beauty in them, almost all bearing cruel traces of their past lives.”²⁶ These women were not represented as delinquent mothers (except for one example of a mother who had lost her child before starting to drink), instead appearing as individuals without family connections.²⁷ Where drunken men destroyed their families, women drunkards were entirely separated from them. Temperance stories were remarkably similar in the literature and periodicals of each temperance lodge, and over long periods of time. What did change was the perception of the ability of drunkards to change, and the methods needed to reform them.

Certain attributes recur in the character of the drunkard in temperance literature. In examining them, it helps make the oppositional masculinity of temperance men clear. First of all, the drunkard was out of control, quite literally. As Mariana Valverde examined in her book *Diseases of the Will*, the drunkard had

²⁶ “Light Wines,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 9, March 1895), 3.

²⁷ “The Baby’s Shoes,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No.7, January 1895), 3.

lost the power to control himself, and that permeated every aspect of his life.²⁸ Even if the drunkard had good intentions, he was subject to sudden whims or compulsions to buy alcohol, and thereby squandered any potential for good. In temperance literature, drunken fathers frequently intended to buy clothes for their children, but were waylaid on their way to the pub. Husbands intended to remain moderate drinkers, but could not pull themselves away from the conviviality of the tavern, and left their wives at home alone. Men intended to be better men, but failed.²⁹ Although the figure of the inebriate was often described as having lost his masculine independence, the power he wielded was still firmly rooted in belief in paternal power – power, that, in this case, was abused. Drink might have robbed these men of their ability to attain a disciplined masculinity, but it did not negate their right to be the head of a family, nor to dispose of money as they saw fit. Temperance literature tried to teach that paternal power should not be abused in this way, but never disputed the right of these men to wield it. While drunkards had abdicated some aspects of masculinity, other rights remained vested in them as men. Temperance men wished to curb the abuses drunken men heaped upon their families, but not by abrogating their rights. Instead, with the help of prohibitory legislation, they were to be returned

²⁸ Valverde, *Diseases of the Will*

²⁹ See, for example, "The Serpent's Trail," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1894), 1., "A \$10,000 Nose," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 6, December 1894), 2, "Married To A Drunkard," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No.7, January 1895), 4, "Pink Boots," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 1, July 1896,) 3.

to their rightful senses, raised up to the level of temperate men, and then, it was assumed, they would become responsible and loving wielders of paternal power, instead of wasteful, crazed, and violent. It was in the drink, not paternal power as head of the household, where temperance advocates perceived the problem. The image of the out-of-control drunk was developed as the antithesis of the temperate man.

Although temperance advocates never advised stripping men of their paternal power when they abused it, they did recount such abuses in lurid detail. In temperance fiction, some drunken men were merely wasteful, not violent, but this carelessness with money was seen to be no less dangerous to those who depended on them for protection and basic necessities. One example among many is the working man whom his wife finds in a tavern, while she herself is dressed in "threadbare garments." She asks her husband for food to feed their children on Christmas Eve, but he had already drunk away his wages. When his wife came to him for money, knowing that "on this Christmas Eve, when neighbours and friends were preparing their little festivals, there was not a crumb of bread in the house for the famishing little ones, and she was unable to appease their piteous cry for food!"³⁰ The story concludes with the husband laughing in his wife's face, and her fleeing the tavern. Virtually every piece of temperance fiction includes a description of the poverty that surrounds

³⁰ "A Christmas Temperance Sermon," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. V, No. 8, February 1899), 3.

drunkards. Alcohol is generally portrayed by temperance advocates as the sole cause of poverty, and source of the callousness of men in neglecting their masculine duties as fathers and husbands.

Taken one step further, drunken men could be neglectful beyond depriving wives and children of the necessities of life. Alcohol was seen to deaden the inebriate to the world around him to such an extent that his actions took a direct toll on the women and children in his life. Most drunkards are portrayed as the providers for a family, which further emphasizes their lapse in masculinity. While the drunkard in this type of story does not tend to be violent, his actions result in the death of those important to him. Sometimes those deaths were opportunities for repentance, at other times they caused the inebriate to sink further into the bottle. In the story "One of Many," a man who had the financial resources to drink freely without depriving his family still wrought havoc in their lives. In this story, his wife was careful to hide his drinking, and so habitually waited for him to come home drunk and would let him quietly in. But one night, the drunkard husband grabbed his wife's shoulders and pushed her out the door, went in himself, and locked her out. Ashamed to "disgrace her husband before the servants," the wife remained outside all night, and was found in the morning "with her night dress drawn under her feet, crouching in the corner, almost chilled to death." She died shortly thereafter. No mention is made in this story of whether or not her husband reformed after the death of his

wife.³¹ While most temperance stories concern the poor or those whose drinking has impoverished their families, some authors, as in the case above, cast a searching eye on society's elites, critiquing their perceived degeneracy, and attempting to show that the effects of alcohol could be devastating even if the family were wealthy.

In another story of a well-to-do drunkard, whose drinking had apparently not deprived his family of their standing in society, Mr. Winter, a "successful and highly-respected lawyer," comes home drunk, only to find that his daughter Daisy had a toothache. His exhausted wife, who has stayed up with Daisy, says that she is going to lie down briefly, and pleads with her husband not to drink any more that night. Indignant that she would question his ability and right to drink, Mr. Winter soliloquizes on the harmlessness of alcohol, claiming that "women are half crazy now-a-days with their temperance notions." While drinking his glass of whiskey, Mr. Winter remembers that that is just the thing for toothache, and goes into his daughter's room and tells her to drink up. His daughter doesn't want to, but Mr. Winter insists that she drink a "large tumbler" full. His wife awakes on a premonition and immediately sends for the doctor, but he is too late, and Daisy dies of alcohol poisoning. In this story, causing his daughter's death is enough to set Mr. Winter on the path to temperance, and when he signs the pledge, his wife immediately forgives him for his part in their

³¹ "One of Many," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 4, October 1895), 1.

daughter's demise.³² The punishment these men lay upon themselves and the newfound sense of responsibility they display by taking of the pledge are sufficient, in the literature, to set them on the path to responsible manhood, and enough to prove to their wives their sincere contrition.

Along this spectrum of irresponsible masculinity, we have gone from those who are careless with money, depriving their families of necessities, to those whose thoughtless actions and lack of control inadvertently end in death. At the furthest end of this spectrum of degraded masculinity lies the figure of the abusive, violent male, whose addiction to drink manifested itself in outright cruelty towards his dependents, and often resulted in death or disability. The violent, crazed drunk not only deprived his dependents of food and clothing, but also lashed out, abusing those around him. In temperance literature, such lurid examples almost inevitably end in death. Alcohol was seen as the cause that first makes men insensible to the needs of those around them, and then leads to physical violence. In the story "A Temperance Advocate," a man descends slowly down this path. First "he would take his wife's dresses and all the other bed clothes and many other valuable things in his home" to feed his habit. And then, when that wasn't enough, the author relates that this man fell far enough to "take the blanket that lay over his sleeping baby to keep it warm," and when his wife tried to intervene, he "drew back his fist and knocked her down." This

³² "Daisy Winter," *The Camp Fire* (Vol.2, No. 10, April 1896), 3.

sensational story goes on to relate that the baby died from exposure, and the wife from heart-break, sorrow, and abuse.³³ By the time these men resorted to physical abuse, temperance writers believed that their fate was almost always irrevocable.

A similar fate awaited both mother and daughter in a temperance poem written by an uncredited author. In this piece, the mother, on her deathbed, charges her oldest daughter to take care of the house and protect the other children from their father, enjoining her to

“[K]eep the children out of his way
Whenever he comes home wild
And keep the house as well as you can;
And little daughter, think
He didn’t use [sic] to be so –
Remember, it’s all the drink.”

This excuse for the abuse of male power is the last thing the mother says before she expires. Young Mary does her best, protecting her siblings and taking “the beatings in their stead.” The burdens placed upon her, which were too much for her mother, prove to be too much for Mary as well, and she also dies, presumably leaving her siblings to the further cruelties of their father.³⁴ In temperance literature, the fathers and husbands who have fallen into this extreme abrogation of their paternal duties are shadowy figures, devoid of personality.

³³ “A Temperance Advocate,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 1, July 1896), 3.

³⁴ “Show Him Your Hands,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 2, August 1896,) 3.

While fathers who are merely negligent are fleshed out (as much as such tales allow) and allowed the possibility of reform, men as they become more violent are practically forces of nature, which cannot be stopped or gainsaid. Only on occasions when they have been sentenced for their crime and are in jail or about to be hanged are they given a chance to speak for themselves. Stories of gallows or jailhouse repentances are relatively common. In these stories, the person in jail or about to be hanged often committed a crime, not after a long career as a drunk, but after an aberration brought on by a single drink. In "Five Minutes More To Live," a young man relates in tears about his first drink of whiskey, which caused him to get angry with his little brother, who had "beautiful blue eyes and flaxen hair," and struck him with a rake, staggering away and leaving the brother to be found the next day, "his hair...clotted with his blood and brains."³⁵ When older men appear in temperance stories and are violent, their actions do not end in these jailhouse tales of repentance.

No matter the circumstance, in temperance fiction, men who had fallen prey to inebriation could not lift themselves from that temptation without some outer goad, one that would cause them to take the abstinence pledge, or, through prohibitory legislation, physically prevent them from drinking. This outside

³⁵ "Five Minutes More To Live," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 8, February 1897), 1. The same story had been previously published under the title "Only Once," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 9, March 1895), 4. Other examples of young men's repentances after drunken crime include "Do Something To Stop It," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 5, No. 2, August 1898), 2.

impetus could be the work of a temperance advocate, who could intervene at an opportune time and awaken the dormant will of the inebriate. This is one area in which temperance stories do change dramatically over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. In early temperance stories, temperance lodge members saving one of their fellow men through direct action are fairly common. They act as recruiting stories, testimony to the real change that men could find by joining a temperance lodge.³⁶ In one story, members of a Sons of Temperance lodge in Wolfville, Nova Scotia went hunting for a lapsed member. After protests by the hotel keeper, they eventually found him intoxicated in a room, and leave him to sleep it off. They returned in the evening, however, tracking their fallen brother to another bar, where the proprietor “declared that he was not there, and mingled his declarations with profanity and abuse. The Sons insisted on searching the house, and in one of the chambers they found their friend, and conveyed him to his home.” After this adventure, they were able to restore him to sobriety, masculinity, and the temperance lodge.³⁷ Stories of lodge members undertaking such direct action to redeem their fallen brothers fall by the wayside over the years.

³⁶ See, for example, “Incidents from the Journal of a Temperance Missionary,” *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 1, October 15, 1856), 5, “The Reclaimed One,” *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 3, December 15, 1856,) 37. These stories come from in a Sons of Temperance newspaper, but no equivalent IOGT newspaper exists at the same time for comparison, so it is difficult to say whether this emphasis on recruitment and reform is due to difference in the orders regarding the membership of former drunkards or not.

³⁷ “Doings of the Traffic,” *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 7, April 1857), 107.

In contrast, by the end of the nineteenth century, efforts of temperance men are a source of ambiguity. There are plenty of articles containing advice, urging members to get their hands dirty by intervening actively in the lives of those struck low by drink, posing it as a sacred duty: "Something is lying on the ground, at the side of the walk, seemingly a mass of filth and rags – a man beastly drunk...who will stand the staring gaze and sneer of the lookers-on to save that treasure – to lift the man, seemingly below the level of the beast, to the high and glorious privilege of a child of God?"³⁸ While this type of action is lauded, there is little sign that lodges actually engaged in this type of work, and temperance stories of redeemed drunkards rarely show the efforts of individual temperance workers being rewarded. A tension exists here in trying to reconcile the lauding of individual action with the conviction that such action was almost inevitably doomed to failure unless legislative aid in the form of prohibition was brought to bear. As early as the 1850s, members of temperance lodges were already regarding moral suasion as a worthy effort, but a failure. The efficacy of direct, individual action was more and more in doubt as the years passed.

By the latter part of the nineteenth century, part of temperate masculinity was not interfering with another man's life or independence. While some in the temperance movement tried to breach such conventions, it seems that many were uncomfortable trespassing on another man's business, a trait they shared

³⁸ "Save the Jewels," *The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Vol. 1, No. 12, June 1895), 2.

with other members of the middle class. In one story, as a new taker of the pledge started to doubt his ability to remain sober, a chance encounter with a temperance man helped him decide to keep his pledge, but it was through a kindly word and encouragement, not an active intervention, that the narrator was saved. At the end of the story, it is made clear that direct individual intervention was less useful than aiding those who had already started to help themselves: "[Y]ou can work by your influence, but it must be by your example as well, so that you can say to these men *'Come with me;'* not *'Go as I direct.'*"³⁹ A strong feeling remains that the dissolute must take the first step, but after they have done so, encouragement would help them keep to the path. The middle-class concern over privacy often prevented temperate men from interfering directly, but they were ready to support anyone who looked for help.

If temperance advocates could do little to help their fellow man once he has been lost to drink, who could? In temperance literature, the most common cause of a reformation is the words or actions of a child. Where adults could do little, and wives had no power over their drunken husbands, in temperance fiction, children were seen as the vehicle by which men could recover themselves and their ability to provide for their families. Their innocent voices and mistakes could bring home to drunken men lessons they could not otherwise have learned, and thus awaken a latent or weak manliness. In "The Greedy Bottle,"

³⁹ "The Power of Sympathy, *The Camp Fire* (Toronto: Vol. 3, No. 3, September 1986), 1.

young Tim heard his mother say that, as her husband spent all his money on drink, young Tim's new shoes had gone into his father's "black bottle." Tim breaks the bottle to get the shoes out, and, on explaining his actions to his father, teaches a valuable lesson.⁴⁰ Similarly, one issue of the IOGT's *The Camp Fire* has two such stories on one page about the moral force of children. In one, "Like His Pa," young Freddie asks his father innocently if, when he grows up, his nose will "be red like yours, and my face swelled?" This vision of how he looks in his son's eyes is enough to awaken the father to his present state and responsibilities.⁴¹

Children were presented as holding the power to cut through societal conventions and reach their father's hearts. Their words did not rob their fathers of their independence, and instead allowed for truth to reach a man and allow him to reclaim his masculinity. Through interaction with children, a drunken man could be reminded of his role as a protector and role model, and choose to reclaim it.

Through such stories, members of temperance lodges shaped, and were presented with, an image of drunken masculinity that stood in counterpoint to the temperate masculinity the lodges wished to instill. The repetition of these stories over years and sometimes decades created a literary portrayal of

⁴⁰ "The Greedy Bottle," *The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Vol. 2, No. 3), 3.

⁴¹ "Like His Pa," *The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Vol. 3, No. 1, July 1896), 3. See also "Pink Boots," *The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Vol. III, No. 1, July 1896), 3, and Mary Wyatt, "How Joe Stood Up For His Principles," *The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Vol. 2, No. 2, August 1895), 3.

masculinity at its most abandoned, a man who both abused his patriarchal power and had lost the ability to exercise his masculinity responsibly. These drunkards littered the pages of the temperance press, providing a constant reminder of everything that temperate men were supposed to abjure. The representations were not without sympathy for their plight, but they also served as cautionary tales. This brand of temperance fiction served as a constant example of the threats to masculinity posed by alcohol. This danger could be combatted by the temperance movement in general, and by the lodge in particular.

In opposition to the perils of degraded manhood to which all men were potentially prey stood the image of ideal temperate masculinity, which will be explored in greater depth in the next chapter. Temperance men were enjoined to be independent, self-supporting, and to practice self-control and altruism in all their interactions with the world. These descriptive phrases were, however, a double-edged sword. If these were the attributes to which temperance lodge men aspired, the unspoken assumption was that they were an oasis of such masculinity in a desert of those less responsible, less independent, and less benevolent. An implicit (and sometimes explicit) critique of masculinity in the wider society was contained within the seemingly innocuous list of virtues, often displayed by their stories of men totally dissipated, given over to their vice. The critique also took in the vast majority of men who were neither temperance lodge members, nor hopeless drunks. These were seen to be potential drunkards, wife-

beaters, and wastrels. Even if they were not, their decision not to become involved in what temperance advocates saw as the most pressing moral issue of the day was abdication of responsibility. While temperance men created rhetoric about the kind of men they were trying to be, they were also setting themselves apart from society as a whole, and the underlying assumption was that those who chose not to take the pledge and join a temperance lodge were suspect, and that the masculinity of such men could manifest in destructive ways at any time.

Chapter Six

Temperate Masculinity, Responsibility, and Political Action

Ideal temperate masculinity was held up as the answer to the problem of degraded drunken men. To attain this ideal, members of the lodges needed to be responsible, independent, and benevolent. They were also supposed to use these attributes to change the world. To join a lodge was to fight, and the lodges needed fighters, men who would take up the battle. A poem published in *The Camp Fire* described "The Men We Need:"

The World needs noble men and great
To shape with labor of the hand
And head the destiny of State -
To lift to higher planes the land
And save the nation from the fate
Of kingdoms buried in the sand
And bear aloft with joy elate
Their flag where peace and honor stand.¹

Temperate masculinity was an expression of manhood rooted in the virtues of respectability, self-control, independence, and benevolence. It was not proven through physical contests or violent altercations. It was displayed through the taking of the pledge, and attaining a respectable reputation that, in a circular way, was seen as proof of internal virtue.

Fighting for prohibition was to take on masculine stewardship for society as a whole. As such, influence over the habits of others, particularly alcohol

¹ "The Men We Need," *The Camp Fire* (Toronto, Vol. 2, No. 5, November 1895), 3.

consumption, was assumed to be a right of the temperate male, and responsibility was essential to this identity. A conscientious man took care of his family, his wife, his livelihood, and was measured by how well he carried out these obligations. Whether a farmer, a craftsman, or later, a clerical worker or businessman, to be temperate was not only to eschew alcohol, it was also to take care of one's own affairs. Responsibility also extended beyond the specific into the societal. Men of the lodges had a right and an obligation to shape and guide society – helping others to be temperate through an understanding hand and a watchful eye was often shown to be a true expression of the duties of a temperance man. Within the lodge, such control was exercised in monitoring the behavior of other brothers, and enacting judgment and forgiveness when they were warranted. In the wider world, the belief that the temperate man should set a template for the rest of the world to follow underlay arguments for prohibition and political involvement. In this way, the temperate man was seen to be the ideal figure to guide the future development of the nation, and, in the loftiest of terms, the world. However, the kind of control these men wanted to exert over the world was nebulous. Having given up on the efficacy of moral suasion alone, they turned their attention to shaping behavior legislatively. Prohibition would help others to achieve a higher masculinity by controlling access to alcohol, freeing them from the substance that sapped their self-control.

In creating a temperate male identity, the temperance lodges took much from organizational structure of other fraternal orders, but this was not

something they adopted wholesale. While they adapted some of the hierarchical forms prevalent in fraternalism, these structures were not as rigid or as pervasive as they were in, for instance, the Freemasons. Within non-temperance fraternal organizations, the rituals created often centered around an ideal masculinity. The performance of ritual involved extolling the virtues they thought inherent in their order, including bravery, fraternity, and independence.² The rituals were also a substitute initiation into male adulthood, and often borrowed elements from other cultures (with substantial revision and creative liberties). Most historians of fraternalism have seen this initiation into a world of men as part of a homosocial culture that rejected feminine influence and its perceived attacks on masculinity (including the temperance movement itself.)³ Initiation gave men a new family, one made up solely of other men, who both challenged and welcomed their new members. In so doing, “the rituals affirmed that, although woman gave birth to man’s body, initiation gave birth to his soul, surrounding him with brothers.”⁴ In this way, surrogate kinship structures helped hold together fraternal lodges, and the connections made there were supposed to substitute for, or be a supplement to, kinship networks outside the lodge, which

² Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 109.

³ Mary Ann Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood: Class, Gender, and Fraternalism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 162-164, Mark C. Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 120.

⁴ Carnes, 120.

had often been mediated and maintained by female family members. In temperance lodges, though, the presence of women as full members rendered this function less important.

While mere accident of birth might enmesh a man in kin relationships, the networks to which fraternalism gave them access had to be earned. When they thought that insufficient ordeals remained to mark a passage to manhood, fraternal lodges sought to replace them with symbolic versions. In the Red Men fraternal lodges, an offshoot of a fraternal group that traced their symbolic lineage back to the Boston Tea Party, men acted out a capture of the new member, threatened torture and death, only to have the “Sachem” decide to spare the initiate and to welcome him as a brother. Obviously borrowed in broad and unsubtle strokes from popular conceptions of Native culture, the Red Men demanded bravery under fire, in a ritual with no teeth but great symbolic meaning. Similarly, in the Odd Fellows, an organization that had a strong presence in Ontario, one initiation ritual reenacted the attempted Old Testament sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, complete with ritualized divine intercession, and the embrace and acceptance of the “Isaac” into the group.⁵ These rituals served as a substitution for the real-life ordeals lodge members thought men had all had to once undergo. Men had to prove themselves equal to membership in a peer group by undergoing threats of death and torture, and display courage in the

⁵ Carnes, 98, 123.

face of adversity. To the urban middle-class members that have been the subject of fraternal histories, the world outside the lodges seemed to be devoid of such challenges.⁶ Once accepted, the new brother had come into a family, but as a junior member. In most lodges (particularly the Masons), he would then have to work his way up through the ranks, gaining more responsibility and respect as he did so. As well as knowing where he fit into a hierarchical structure, a member had claim on the friendship and assistance of other members, particularly in times of sickness. The fraternal members thought they were as good as family, and, through their financial donations and friendliness, constructed a male version of the family that was ideally warm and welcoming.

The elements of mock kinship structures seen in fraternal organizations were promoted as one of the main benefits of the lodges – kinship with other men without the mediating force of women. However, this fictionalized kinship obscures actual family connections that likely occurred in the fraternal lodges. Most of the historiography on fraternal lodges to date has focused on the United States, and, more specifically, on large towns or cities, and historians have often presented the men who joined as atomized and isolated individuals who joined a mock family and hierarchy to which they had no prior connection.⁷ One of the

⁶ Clyde Griffin, "Reconstructing Masculinity from the Evangelical Revival to the Waning of Progressivism: A Speculative Synthesis," *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, eds. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffin (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 191.

⁷ See, for example, Mark Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood in Victorian America*, 120-125 and Mary Anne Clawson, *Constructing Brotherhood*, 36-38.

unspoken assumptions of historians when talking about lodges is that they were populated by strangers coming together and finding common ground. This focus on lodges in larger centres has overshadowed the many thousands of lodges that were founded in small towns and rural areas. Here, the men were unlikely to be joining strangers in becoming brothers. There simply were not that many strangers in the areas in which they lived. They were likely joining lodges alongside fathers, brothers, cousins, relatives, and friends. Acknowledging the presence of previous relationships between lodge brothers should qualify the perception of the lodge as a place apart from the family. Even in larger cities, lodge membership may not have been as random as it is sometimes portrayed. To join any lodge, most men needed to know at least one person who was already a member, although whether these were work, social, or family connections is difficult to determine. Urban areas aside, the thousands of lodges in smaller centres were creating imagined kinship bonds that supplemented existing connections, rather than creating new relationships.

The allusions to family reached their most striking expression in temperance lodges, which were not the homosocial spheres other fraternal lodges tried to be. Women were accepted and included, if not always without friction. Temperate masculinity was not in this way exclusionary. Men who joined the lodges were not looking for a place away from their wives, mothers, and daughters – these members of their families frequently joined with them. The convergence of temperance and fraternalism curiously made a space that

contradicted both other fraternal lodges and the growing notion of middle-class separate spheres. Although men were active in the temperance movement, it nonetheless was seen as an issue in which women had a particular stake, and this association helped open up these organizations to a fraternal model that welcomed women as well as men.

This meant that not only were temperate men in organizations alongside fathers, sons, and brothers, but also wives, mothers and sisters. Membership lists for small towns and rural temperance lodges (and even some for larger cities), strikingly reveal how many members share last names, and, more specifically, how often several men and women with the same last name joined a lodge over a short period of five or six months. It seems to be relatively common practice that one member of a family joined the lodge, and then encouraged or sponsored other family members to join as well. Not all family members so encouraged seem to have stuck with the lodge over the long-term, but when records spanning longer periods of time are available, the same last names recur over decades. In Orono, the seven men and women with the last name of Andrus who joined were dwarfed by the 23 Gamsbys, all descended from several brothers who had moved from the United States to Orono by the time of the 1851 census. In the Hope of the West Lodge, a lodge that seemed to particularly attract couples, the Johnsons, the Dixes, the Swindalls, and the Nobles joined, husbands and wives together. In Washington, Ontario, the Bouchiers made up at least 15

members of the local lodge over the years.⁸ There were many smaller clusters of names as well. Going to the lodge could be, literally, a family activity. This pattern is more true for the temperance lodges than it was for the fraternal lodges as a whole, as wives, sisters, and daughters could accompany fathers, brothers, and sons to the temperance lodge, and partake in the same activities.

While the temperance lodges used some of the ritual forms of the fraternal lodges, and some of the language of independence, courage, and moral strength, they also adapted both the content and the form of fraternalism to suit their own ends. Their initiation rituals did not lean so heavily on the idea of a dangerous ordeal for incoming members, which may have had something to do with the admittance of women, and their presumed gentility and need for protection. However, even the Sons of Temperance, in the few years before they started to admit women, also had initiation rituals that did not rely on the play-acting of ordeal that can be seen some other fraternal lodges. Perhaps this lack of symbolic danger as an element of the initiation ritual can be explained by the relationship of men who joined the temperance lodges to the wider society. In a way, that relationship itself was the test of strength, specifically when it came to community norms surrounding alcohol consumption by men. The Sons of

⁸ Sons of Temperance of North America (Orono Division No. 79) fonds, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario. Similar patterns can be seen in other lodge records with extensive membership listings,, including the Hope of the West IOGT Lodge, in the Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario, and the Washington Lodge (No. 21) Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

Temperance initiation ritual cautioned men against the dangers they faced outside the lodge, with various officers taking their parts to inform the new brother: "Here you are safe from the all-pervading Destroyer! He comes in the mask of kindness. He whispers, "Be merry, be social," and proffers the cup of enchantment." "Touch but a drop with your lips, and behold a vast ocean surrounds you, to ruin and sink you forever!"⁹ Men who joined were welcomed as having come through tribulations already, having passed through the fires of temptation and come to a space in which their brothers would aid their future struggles with negotiating a temperate male identity. The hardship did not need to be dramatized, because it had been lived.

For those teetotallers who joined, men and women both, the interaction between temperance advocates and society as a whole was still sometimes tense. Even a man who had never touched a drop in his life (the type of member the IOGT in particular was hoping to attract and retain) still had to leave the space of the lodge and go out into a society that normalized a vice that was seen as both attractive and dangerous. Living in a society that temperance advocates often regarded as corrupt and in need of saving was itself difficult, and the hostility that some members felt from non-members may explain the lack of a reenacted ordeal. Once entering the lodge, they were declaring themselves part of a small

⁹ *Blue Book for the Use of Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (National Division of North America, 1906), 17.

elite, one that would brave the scorn of the outside world in order to do what they thought was right.

Temperate masculinity was an ongoing process, particularly for those men who had started out as drinkers, and joined the lodges in an attempt to stop their drinking. In this way, it resembles aspects of more mainstream fraternal culture, as Mary Ann Clawson pointed out when she argued that the masculinity used by fraternal lodges in general was not inborn. It was, rather, something to be achieved.¹⁰ Masculinity was not simply bestowed on male children at birth. It was something that took hard work, practice, and adherence to principle. While lodge members valued other virtues as well, the first and best proof of temperate masculinity was in a continued ability to refrain from alcohol consumption. However, while abstaining from alcohol was the core of the temperate masculine identity, it was not the only attribute. One IOGT newspaper printed the following excerpt, outlining what they thought a temperate masculinity looked like:

A Good Templar must be a good man, a gentle-man, a man who is gentle, a man who loves his neighbor as he loves himself, a man a woman can trust and a child can kiss, a man who will not speak evil of you when your back is turned, a man who is not your friend with friends and an enemy with your enemies - you can trust him with open letters or with sealed packages, with your signature and your bank book.¹¹

¹⁰ Mary Ann Clawson, "Nineteenth Century Women's Auxiliaries and Fraternal Orders," *Signs* Vol. 12, No. 1 (Autumn, 1986), 44-45.

¹¹ "A Good Templar," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 3, September 1894), 2.

The emphasis on gentleness may have been particularly emphasized in Good Templar literature, but the Sons and the Royal Templars also presented a temperate masculine ideal that was benevolent, trustworthy, and responsible.

Saving the world was a difficult task, and it was an enterprise that lodge sisters were also expected to undertake, but lodge men were particularly enjoined to the task, as they were the ones with the political power to bring to bear on this issue. While this obligation was a large burden to take on, the temperance brothers, at least in theory, did so willingly. Hidden within the rhetoric of responsibility were concomitant rights, enforced through legislation if necessary. Duty, as expressed by the lodges, could not easily be divided from power and influence, both of which temperate men were expected to wield. As will be discussed in the next chapter, they were even willing to extend the political franchise to women in order to achieve their goals.

The charge to take responsibility not only for oneself but for the world in general began at initiation. The initiation ritual attempted to instill a sense of purpose and gravity in new members. They, and they alone, could prevail against the great evil they were fighting. The obligation to intervene and the right to do so were intertwined when, at the initiation ceremony, new members of the IOGT were told that their duty was to make sure their “hearts and hands are open to lift up those who are sunk low, and to restore them to family, friends, and society, as well as to save the young, pure, and virtuous from falling into the

snare of the tempter.”¹² Similarly, the Sons of Temperance rituals lauded the purity of a temperate male identity, mingling responsibility and power together. In this ritual, the Senior Counselor laid out the best and worst that men could be. The worst closely corresponded to the degraded masculinity already examined, by which alcohol “touches the manly frame, and it is clothed with corruption.”¹³ In contrast, the Sons’ ritual that opened every meeting reminded the brothers that their duty was to “rescue our fellow men from the sin of intemperance, and to instruct and train the young people in the practice of total abstinence from all that intoxicates.”¹⁴ The temperate man was expected to guide the world, and in return, the world was bound to recognize the superiority of his benevolent masculinity.

Naturally, the urging of temperate men to intervene in wider society did not end at initiation. As we have seen, the temperance press was full of fiction about the intervention of temperate men at key moments in the lives of drunkards, and the ways in which their intercessions sometimes made the difference between reformation and degradation, although, in practice, temperance lodges had turned their attention from such individual interventions to the need for legislation. Benevolence was always accompanied by a sense that

¹² *Ritual for Subordinate Lodges of the International Order of Good Templars* (1906), 18.

¹³ *Blue Book for the Use of Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (New York: National Division of North America, 1859), 23.

¹⁴ *Blue Book for the Use of Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (National Division of North America, 1906), 12.

what they did do, they had the right to do – and the right to censure those who refused their help. When *The Camp Fire* described the work of the temperance lodges, it was a laundry list of charitable activity, claiming that their work:

has fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and healed the sick, and taught the ignorant, and elevated the degraded, and gladdened the sorrowful, and led to the cross multitudes that had been wandering away. An enterprise that has gathered again the fortune that had been scattered, and built again the home that had been ruined, and raised again the character that had been blasted, and bound up the heart that had been broken.¹⁵

Many of these claims are overblown, given the actual activities in which individual temperance lodges were involved, but lists such as this were commonly used to bolster the spirits and mission of those who had joined the orders. Temperate masculinity imbued them with a sense of purpose and responsibility for the people around them. Their work gave them the right to judge people's lives, ostensibly for their own good.

When it came to action, however, few if any temperance lodges recorded participating in benevolent work of the sort described above. While they might claim that their work had raised the moral tenor of society and been instrumental in reclaiming some drunkards (although, as we have seen, some lodges, the IOGT in particular, were wary of admitting former imbibers), practical measures to combat the issues listed in that *Camp Fire* article were few and far between. There are no remaining records of temperance lodges that suggest that they did

¹⁵ "The Temperance Enterprise," *The Camp Fire* Vol. 2, No. 1, July 1895, 1.

anything specific to feed the hungry or to clothe the poor, or raised funds to be used in this way. As far as “healing the sick,” that only extended as far as fellow lodge members, during those time periods when the temperance lodges offered insurance schemes to their brothers and sisters. Educating the ignorant they believed they did, by offering public meetings where anyone could come and hear temperance speakers, generally for a fee to cover refreshments and the rent of the room. Education in a larger sense was not undertaken, unlike the WCTU, who were actively engaged in trying to change Ontario curriculum to incorporate lessons on temperance. The women of the WCTU extended their projects into many areas of charitable work never considered by the temperance lodges. Where the WCTU sometimes undertook visiting of the poor, founded houses of refuge for intemperate women, created missions to lumber camps, and arranged to meet young women getting off the train in big cities to escort them safely to respectable lodgings, the temperance lodges showed no sign of trying to “do everything” in the same way the women of the WCTU did.¹⁶ With many more avenues to affect the world than the women of the WCTU, lodge brothers were content to restrict their efforts to temperance in a specific and limited way, offering fellowship and support for members, and working for the political cause of prohibition. They organized temperance meetings in towns and villages to

¹⁶ Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 32, 48-61.

spread the good word, circulated petitions, and worked on local option campaigns, but there is little evidence of direct intervention in the lives of those who drank.¹⁷ The good works they did do were more indirect, as lodges believed that every member who came and stayed was one fewer person who would abdicate their personal responsibility to themselves and their families. It was also hoped that those who had joined and later left would carry their temperance convictions with them, even if their membership had lapsed.

Control within the lodge was often a site of contention, but explicit in every lodge constitution was the right and responsibility of investigating and reprimanding those who broke their pledges. Maintaining those pledges was a locus of control, but one that cannot be regarded as solely punitive. Often, lodges wanted to reclaim those who had slipped, and some men who joined found the community surveillance of their behaviour useful in assisting them in keeping their word. With the surveillance came support for those who struggled with alcohol, and wished honestly to give up the habit. When the Sons of Temperance lodge at Orono celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1890, among those attending were several men who had belonged to the lodge for more than two decades, and in two cases, since the 1850s. These older members stated that they found it difficult to make it to meetings, but that it was important to them to pay their

¹⁷ See, for example Dec 9 1867 and Feb 3 1868 entries, Minute Book, Washington Lodge No. 21 IOGT, Nov 1867-Dec 1868, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives

dues and remain as brothers.¹⁸ Two of these long-term members, George Walkey and John Gifford, at a meeting years earlier, had related their reasons for joining the lodge, and both stated that they had been drinkers before joining the Sons of Temperance, and had, with the help of their fraternal brothers, stopped. Past Worthy Patriarch Robert Moment chimed in to explain that he had had "his own experience with the "Brown Jug," and explained for [that] reason he sympathised with others that now use the same."¹⁹

When it came to keeping the pledge, surveillance and support were two sides of the same coin, although some brothers brought charges against other members so frequently, it seemed that they were always on the lookout for wrongdoing. Lewis Tourje (whose name sometimes appeared in the records as Forgie, the proper spelling frequently defeating Secretaries), in 1855 alone, charged 13 brothers with having violated their oath. Other members were equally diligent in sniffing out slips among the brothers.²⁰ If some members appreciated the support and second chances the lodge offered, others rebuffed both the helping hand and the watchful eye. In its most passive form, resistance to the surveillance of the lodge could be seen in simply failing to show up after being brought forward on charges of violating the pledge. In the Ameliasburgh

¹⁸ February 26, 1890, Minute Book, 1881-1891, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

¹⁹ October 29, 1879, Minute Book, 1877-1881, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

²⁰ Minute Book, 1854-1859, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

Sons of Temperance Lodge in October 1850, a charge was brought against Brother A. Collar for violating the pledge. Initially, the division appointed a committee to go to Collar and “wait on him and use their efforts to reclaim him before expulsion.” The reception this committee met with was not recorded, but at the next meeting, one of the members made a motion that if Brother Collar came before the lodge and admitted his guilt in the charge, he would be forgiven and given the pledge anew. This idea was not successful, and Brother Collar seems to have wanted not only to avoid appearing before the group to show guilt, but to continue drinking. By December, the lodge had decided to expel him, as he had been seen “repeatedly violating” his pledge. There is no sign he ever appeared in the lodge to answer to the charges, and seems to have thumbed his nose at the authority they were hoping to wield over him.²¹

Other men (no example of a female member being brought up on charges has been found in any of the existing records) took this reprimand in stride and did not immediately repudiate the authority of the lodge – at least not openly. When William Robinson of the Forest Home IOGT Lodge in Carthage, Ontario, was charged with violating his pledge in 1873, the committee that was appointed “to try and induce him to continue in connection with the lodge,” convinced him to admit his fault and remain a member. However, while Robinson allowed the lodge to assert authority over him, it did not necessarily change his behaviour.

²¹ Minute Book, 1850-1854, Sons of Temperance (Ameliasburgh), Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, MU2085.

Less than a month later, he was up on charges of having violated his pledge a second time.²² Publicly accepting the authority of the lodge while continuing to drink could be seen either as a sign of weakness when it came to alcohol, or a way of flouting the authority of the members to regulate behaviour.

Excuses were sometimes made for why members refused to appear before the summoning authority, such as youth and inexperience. In the Orono Sons of Temperance lodge in 1866, a number of brothers did not show up for their hearing before the committee on charges of "conduct unbecoming." One of the young men so accused, Brother Smale, explained this absence by saying that it was "because they could not put men's heads on boys' shoulders." Brother Smale asked for leniency based on the youth of himself and his compatriots. A motion the following week demanded that these young men appear before the Worthy Patriarch and "acknowledge their error" on penalty of suspension. Perhaps because of their youth, or perhaps because their transgression was a lesser charge than that of violating the temperance pledge, the penalty was amended to a reprimand.²³ The matter was dropped in the minutes after this point, so it is unclear whether or not the young men made amends for their actions.

In other cases, it seems that ignorance was accepted as an excuse. When a number of brothers were all brought up on charges for having broken their

²² Minute Book, 1873-1875, Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge), Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives.

²³ June 20, July 4, July 11, 1866, Minute Book, 1866-1870, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

pledges during a visit to a neighbouring settlement, the charges were dismissed. The brothers confessed, but apparently had argued that they had been unaware that they had imbibed liquor (no more details are given, but a drink may have been spiked). The committee's final recommendation was that, as the offence had been committed in ignorance, they would "pass over the offense" without penalty.²⁴

For others, such excuses were not made, and the reaction of some men to the lodge attempting to regulate their behaviour was repudiation of their membership. Although the initiation ceremonies made it clear that one of the cores of temperance lodge membership was group monitoring of behaviour with regard to alcohol, when some violated their pledges, they refused to associate with the lodges any longer, out of embarrassment or anger. Lodge brothers continued to believe it was their right and duty to regulate each other's behavior, but this tacit agreement was frequently challenged in practice as members violated their pledges and left the lodges in disgrace. They had failed to live up to the ideals of temperate masculinity, and although lodges would frequently try to make allowances and to woo men back to the fold, some slipped away or openly rejected temperance as an important part of their male identity.

²⁴ March 5 1874, Minute Book, 1870-1877, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879. (Confusingly, the minutes read that since it was done "intentionally" the offense would be passed over – presumably this is an error and "unintentionally" was meant by the Recording Secretary, as the phrasing does not otherwise make sense with both the plea and the result.)

When men were retained, there was often discussion about how best to do so. Retaking of the pledge, or “reobligation” was included in most ritual books, and was designed to reintegrate the erring member back into the group with minimal fuss. But was that truly enough of a response to a member breaking the cardinal rule of the lodge? Some doubted that a mere repetition of the pledge, however solemnly given, was enough. This concern arose early in the history of the Sons of Temperance lodges in Ontario, when one member wrote into their newspaper, *The Canadian Son of Temperance and Literary Gem*, with advice on this issue. A member from the Dundas lodge in 1852 wrote that instead of reobligating the erring brother and leaving the issue there, it was the perfect time for the Worthy Patriarch or Past Worthy Patriarch to give an admonitory speech. While all was theoretically forgiven on the reobligation of a brother, this lodge member thought that a stern speech, in which

the enormity of the offence can be pointed out, a few words of caution given in regard to his future conduct, the certainty that his actions for some time at least would be scrutinized with a jealous eye, might make a lasting impression not on his mind alone, but on that of others.²⁵

The author dismissed the suggestion that the prospect of being so scolded might deter errant members from returning to the fold, saying that those who would be scared away were unlikely to stay with the organization over the long-term anyway. The Sons, more so even than the other two groups, struggled with

²⁵ “An Important Suggestion,” *The Canadian Son of Temperance* (Toronto, Vol. II, No. 1, January 5, 1852,) 10.

finding a balance between welcoming prodigal members back into the fold, and making sure that these members knew the enormity of their mistakes, and the repercussions of the same. While the other two groups did allow former drinkers to join, they were more focused on recruiting those who had never drank, and so the Sons had to grapple more often with those who had formerly been drinkers and had fallen off the wagon. Temperate masculinity was always a work in progress, a path on which the brothers could slip and fall, but with the help of other members, regain their footing.

While sometimes hard to attain and maintain, responsibility and self-control were major aspects of temperate masculinity. The source of the power that they felt they had or should have was specifically conceptualized as benevolent and paternal. As far as the temperance lodges were concerned, they were acting for the good of society and their fellow man. They were eligible for this power because of the responsibility they had taken for their own lives, and the self-control they wielded when it came to the issue of alcohol consumption. Their restraint, often connected to self-denial, uniquely qualified them to work to reform the world. Choosing to renounce alcohol, and to take the public step of allying themselves with the temperance cause, qualified them for the task. Some members were challenging in non-temperate company, exhorting those around them to follow in their footsteps. As far as rhetoric in the lodge and in the temperance newspapers went, members had a responsibility to exercise their power to convince others not to drink, as well as to work for prohibitory laws,

which they could do by voting, organizing local option campaigns, and keeping temperance in the public eye through sponsoring public meetings and speakers.

This benevolent paternal power was idealized as strong, loving, and always in the best interests of those it controlled. It came from a conception of society as hierarchical and ordered, with power flowing down from the male head of the family, and the symbolic fathers of the general public, those elected and appointed to rule them. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the temperance lodges were committed to prohibition, instead of moral suasion, as the primary method by which the habits of others would be altered. The way to stop alcohol consumption was to make it unavailable, a move they justified based on their belief in the state to intervene in people's lives for their own good. The justification for this move was in the right and responsibility of temperate men to both set an example and to exercise their moral authority to dictate the behaviour of others. Whereas female power was often seen to be persuasive in nature, masculine authority gave temperance advocates the belief they should influence the habits of the general public, popular or not. They believed in the right of the state to intervene on the behalf of those who were making questionable choices in order to put those choices out of their reach.²⁶ Alcohol was seen as a substance that sapped the will, ensnaring men in a "bondage to

²⁶ See, for example, "The Liberty Question," *The Camp Fire* Vol. IV, No. 7, (Jan 1898,) 2.

appetite.”²⁷ Because of these perceived attributes, men who drank could not freely exercise their personal will until access to alcohol was legislated out of existence.²⁸ Temperance brothers were consistently frustrated that the state did not seem to agree.

The core of this disagreement centered around power, and the particular way that temperate men conceived power and its relation to independence. In nineteenth-century Ontario, ideas about masculinity were often focused on the notion of autonomy, and indeed, to be dependent was to be in many ways emasculated, an issue that was grappled with by the emerging middle class. As early Ontario society developed, the idea of self-determination as a necessity for masculinity and for effective political participation was key. This was perhaps not as developed as it was in the United States, where reliance on others was seen as an obstruction to free political expression, and being independent was the key to their republic.²⁹ Those who were dependent were suspect political actors, and alcohol one of the roots of adult male dependency. However, in Ontario, even without the republicanism of the United States, independence was

²⁷ “The Demand for Prohibition,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. 3, No. 10, (April 1897), 4.

²⁸ Mariana Valverde, *Diseases of the Will: Alcohol and the Dilemmas of Freedom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.)

²⁹ See, for example, Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty’s Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Boston: Little Brown, 1980), Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), and Barbara Cutter, *Domestic Devils, Battlefield Angels: The Radicalism of American Womanhood, 1830-1865* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003.)

still seen as a core feature of political action. Even for those who desired a hierarchical political structure, with a limited enfranchisement with strict property qualifications based their arguments around the issue of autonomy, which was once again seen as not only key to responsible political engagement, but as a uniquely masculine attribute. Independence was a malleable concept, and, as such, was consistently used by men on differing sides of political issues.³⁰

As the middle class started to work more for others than for themselves, they had to face a new form of economic dependence.³¹ As a result, while autonomy remained an important concept, its nature changed, able to incorporate those who worked in white collar jobs as able to provide for their families, even though their employment depended on others. They turned to a valuation of non-manual labour and pride in personal behavior as the seat of independence. When it came to temperance, and to anti-temperance forces, independence became the core of the issue surrounding the introduction of prohibitory legislation. Both sides agreed that freedom from unreasonable restraint was integral to masculinity, and that only independent men could be relied upon to engage with the political system responsibly. The publications of the temperance lodges, however, put a slightly different spin on the issue than

³⁰ See, for example, Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Language of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 76.

³¹ Andrew Holman, *A Sense of Their Duty: Middle Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), 75-96.

did those who opposed them. In particular, the loss of independence became intimately tied to the use of alcohol. It was not whether or not a man worked for others that became the important issue, but whether or not he was in control of his own will. Those who drank to excess forfeited their ability to make their own decisions, and thus were seen to be then incapable of reliable political action. Beholden to a substance, they gave up a central aspect of their masculinity.

Despite their belief that drinkers could not make rational choices, temperance advocates were frequently opposed in the political arena. Opposition to prohibition was often unorganized and the men who voted against restricting alcohol left few records of why they voted against the issue. However, there was significant money poured into a counter-campaign, from funding anti-temperance newspapers to making sure their voices were heard politically at the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic. The Royal Commission was appointed in 1892 to look into the “question of Liquor Traffic in Canada,” headed by Sir Joseph Hickson. The Commissioners were charged to look into the effect of the liquor traffic in Canada, to look at what prohibitory or regulatory measures had been taken in Canada and other countries, the results of prohibitory laws, and to examine whether bringing in prohibition in Canada would be financially feasible and/or advisable.³² Financial support for the opposition to prohibition came from brewers and distillers, who had the most to lose from the passing of

³² *Report of the Royal Commission on the Liquor Traffic in Canada* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, Printer to the Queen’s Most Excellent Majesty, 1895), 3.

prohibitory laws. The temperance movement was fond of saying that the brewers and distillers were buying votes, although there is little evidence available to judge that claim.³³ Anti-temperance campaigns tried to inflame the male voting public against the temperance men and women who were trying to take away one of their pleasures and rights. Near the end of the nineteenth century, the alcohol producers also fought back by funding a newspaper devoted to the liquor interests, to combat the many temperance publications. *The Advocate*, published by Louis Kribs, was devoted to taking on the temperance movement, and demolishing their primary arguments for the prohibition of alcohol. Not surprisingly, much of the attack on prohibitory laws used the language of independence to bolster a different type of masculine idea. *The Advocate* argued that: “[I]t takes away from man the liberty of action to stand up and do as God directs him – the liberty which will not be shackled with laws unless those laws are in accord with God’s laws,” and that it is “only ignorance and egotism that try to dictate in such matters.”³⁴ The liberty of man to choose, opponents charged, must include the ability to choose to drink or not.

Kribs attacked the temperance movement for trying to deprive men of their masculinity and independence. Temperance newspapers fired back against this type of argument. It is difficult to tell if their responses are aimed specifically

³³ See, for example, “The Opposition Allies,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. III, No. 10, April 1897), 2.

³⁴ “Sound Words,” *The Advocate* (Vol. 1, No. 44, December 6, 1894), 1037 and “The Fallacy of Prohibition,” *The Advocate* (Vol. 4, No. 42, November 22, 1894).

at *The Advocate*, but they rebut exactly the claims that Kribs was making. Far from denying men their choices and masculinity, prohibition was seen as the only avenue to exercising these attributes freely. It was alcohol, they argued, that robbed men of their autonomy and threatened to turn them into the worst specimens of male behaviour. By removing the substance that so robbed them of their free will and ability to choose, the temperance lodges believed that they were not restricting men with prohibitory laws, they were setting them free. When accused of working to deprive men of choice, *The Camp Fire*, the official organ of the IOGT in Canada, responded:

A good example of this sophistry is to be found in the statement that the personal liberty, which is desirable and right, would be unduly interfered with by a law prohibiting liquor-selling. As a matter of fact, in a community, personal liberty can only be secured by just such restrictive legislation. A man's liberty to live at peace in his own house would be destroyed if a stronger man were given liberty to drive him out of it. True liberty can only be secured by the suppression of tyranny.³⁵

The article went on to add that such restrictions of absolute liberty were a necessity for human society as it existed, and that prohibitory legislation was, at its core, no different than laws against assault or theft, which "protects liberty by restricting liberty." Although the temperance movement believed that they supported liberty and independence for members of society, they saw prohibitory laws as being compatible with both of those concepts, as they believed such laws were necessary for a society in which every member could

³⁵ "The Liberty Question," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 2, August 1894), 2.

exercise their rights freely. Although temperance publications shot back against arguments that they were out to deprive people of their liberty, the contradiction remained a tension in their arguments. The same article ended “when the grandest ideal of freedom prevails supreme, *every man will have the right to do what he chooses, only as far as he chooses to do what is right.*” [italics theirs]³⁶

Temperance advocates claimed they were working for more liberty, not less, but their idea of liberty was distinctly different from that of their opponents.

In this way, lodge members stand somewhat in opposition to what historian Ian McKay has called the “political form of modernity in Canada” – liberalism, a political orientation that saw “the individual as primary, as more “real” or fundamental than human society and its institutions and structures. It also involve[d] attaching a higher moral value to the individual than to society, or to any collective group.”³⁷ Liberty, temperance advocates claimed, was only possible when the impediments to a free exercise of that liberty and free will had been cleared away, and was not extricable from the responsibilities a man had to his family and his community. Thus, in seeking to ban alcohol, they believed they were not trying to strip men of their ability to choose how they spent their leisure time and what they spent their money on, but rather that they were

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Ian McKay, ed., *The Challenge of Modernity* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992), xi-xii.

freeing these men from the bondage of alcohol, and allowing them finally to make free choices without that enslaving effect.

The justification for such a view comes from two sources, both ideas commonly held by men who belonged to the temperance lodges. The first is that alcohol, once consumed, was inevitably enslaving. As previously mentioned, by the mid-nineteenth century, temperance literature allowed little space for moderate drinkers. One article in a temperance newspaper estimated that nine out of ten moderate drinkers eventually succumbed to drunkenness.³⁸ Moderate drinking was seen as merely a waystation on the inevitable road to utter dissipation. That some men who drank did not become hopeless drunkards in no way dissuaded temperance advocates from this view – as far as they were concerned, these men had merely not yet fallen as far as they eventually would. The existence of the drunkards they knew about, and the stories that were passed around and repeated time and again over the decades of the nineteenth century drove home the simple message: alcohol inevitably led to the fall of men, and to the abandonment of responsible masculinity. Therefore, prohibition was not robbing these drinkers, moderate and immoderate, of their liberty. It was restoring to them the ability to choose. Once they could no longer drink, temperance advocates believed that they would regain their senses and abilities lost to their drinking habits, see the error of their ways, and begin to make

³⁸ “The Danger of Moderate Drinking,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 4, October 1896,) 3.

independent choices again. In this way, they would be able to exercise their liberty to be reliable men, to take up their duties to their wives and children, and to society at large. Limits on alcohol had to be set for the good of the nation and the individual, which would be a victory for independence, not a loss.

Temperance literature in Ontario argued that liberty and independence came from a man's position as part of a family and a community. Men were supposed to exercise their wills, but that did not excuse them from responsibilities to others. Temperance advocates took the language of self-reliance and reframed it in community terms, challenging the idea of the atomized male asserting his autonomy without connection to those around him. Without freedom from alcohol, and from other outside forces that robbed men of their free will, they could not take up their positions as responsible shepherds of society. Banning will-deadening substances was the first step to taking on a true and responsible masculinity that entailed being part of a community, and taking charge of the direction of society. Like the rhetoric of responsibility, liberty and independence were double-edged swords. On the one hand, temperance rhetoric spoke of helping men to become their best selves. On the other, that best self implicitly and often explicitly justified the belief that men who joined the temperance lodges were on their way to becoming epitomes of temperate masculinity. As far as most temperance advocates were concerned, giving up the liberty to indulge wasteful habits was an easy tradeoff to restore liberty to those who drank. In this way, the temperance advocates laid their own claim to the

rhetoric of independent masculinity and denied that the legal imposition of their beliefs might unjustifiably rob others of the ability to choose their beverages and leisure activities. The intertwining of the themes of independence, responsibility and control resulted in a specific sphere for men to wield their power. It started at home, and extended outwards, and was often intimately if not explicitly connected with self-sufficiency and wealth. Temperate masculinity depended on the idea that man could, and should, support his family, and bring the benefits of his wealth to bear in reforming society. Men were expected to support their families well, and without the draining influences of alcohol on the pocketbook and willpower alike, it was presumed that supporting a family was easily within the grasp of all men.

Independence, for temperance men, not only meant the freedom to choose without the shackles of alcohol, it also extended into the realm of politics. Many who joined the temperance lodges were known as stout party men (frequently Liberals, but there were prominent Conservative lodge members as well). And yet, their interactions with party politics also caused tension between political participation and temperance interests. Over the course of the nineteenth century, while achieving significant local victories over the selling of alcohol, Ontario temperance men were disappointed again and again by provincial and national governments. Many candidates for provincial and federal office ran on temperance platforms, but when they were elected, they seemed to instantly forget their promises. Even George Ross, a Son of Temperance who had

supported the Scott Act when a provincial legislator, distanced himself from the cause when he became premier of Ontario. He introduced optional training on temperance issues for teachers, but failed to bring in the prohibitory measures for which his fellow lodge members had campaigned.³⁹ His previous actions had raised the hopes of temperance advocates. In his years before attaining the highest political office in Ontario, Ross spoken out boldly about prohibition, saying:

On a question like this, when the choice is between the paltry revenue of a few millions - paltry because life is invaluable as compared with money - and the sacrifice of many of the noblest and best of our young men, I decide in favor of humanity....When the choice lies between national morality and happiness and the Minister's financial balance sheet, I stand on the side of morality. When the choice is between the best interests of the many and the selfish interests of the few, I stand with the majority.⁴⁰

With rhetoric like this, temperance advocates were hopeful that as premier, he would continue to value temperance above finances, but they were disappointed. He would retreat from this position, refusing to impose his beliefs on his party: "Although the leader of the Government at the present time and the leader of the Liberal party, I am not the Liberal party." He declared, "I can only go as far as my supporters in the Legislature will enable me to go."⁴¹

³⁹ David G. Burley, "ROSS, Sir GEORGE WILLIAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 14 (University of Toronto/Universite Laval, 2003) - accessed January 3, 2017,

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/ross_george_william_14E.html ,

⁴⁰ Ruth Spence, *Prohibition in Canada: A Memorial to Francis Stephens Spence* (Toronto: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919), 111.

⁴¹ Spence, 303.

Temperance forces had won local option contests in many rural areas and small towns in Ontario, creating small pockets of prohibitory laws across the province. Cities were much harder, often impossible, to win. When faced with plebiscites at the federal level in 1898, and in Ontario in 1902, they rallied their forces. Although they won each plebiscite through sheer numbers, each time, the prime minister or the premier announced that the results were non-binding. The reasons given were always that they had failed to poll a majority of voters, or even a majority of voters who had turned out at the last election. These arguments were roundly rejected by temperance advocates who felt betrayed just at the point when they thought they had finally won their legislative objective. Prohibition was just too costly for politicians in power to actually pass. Quebec was strongly against prohibition, as were the growing urban areas, and few politicians were willing to alienate those populations. By making the requirements more than a simple majority of votes, they were able to finesse their way out of this sticky situation. In the federal plebiscite, although temperance forces won, 278,380 votes to 264,693, Quebec in particular voted against prohibition – almost half of the total “nay” votes were cast in Quebec. Unwilling to alienate Quebec, Laurier changed the goalposts. He based his decision not to pursue prohibitory legislation on the argument that the majority that had won the plebiscite was nowhere near a majority of eligible voters. Temperance advocates reacted with anger, arguing that not only had Laurier

changed the conditions for a temperance win, his new conditions were unreasonable:

In the contest on the prohibition side there were none of the strong inducements that usually stir men to activity. There were no offices to be filled, no patronage to be secured, no personal benefit to be attained by those who gave their energies to the cause. No one could expect the vote polled under such circumstances to equal the vote polled in ordinary elections.⁴²

The fury of the temperance movement was unleashed towards the Liberal government, but there was little they could do to change the results. They felt that they had achieved a moral and literal victory, but the federal government refused to act.

The distrust that temperance advocates had for the party system predated the two plebiscites, but the results of them confirmed a long-held belief that temperance men had to look beyond the party system when they went to the polls. Political independence was seen to be a key to temperance victories, and long before the plebiscites, calls were already going out to members to vote along temperance, not party, lines. Not all members followed these appeals, but part of the ideal temperate masculinity was a man who put his cause above party loyalties. As early as 1857, a Sons of Temperance newspaper in the Maritimes was asking readers to stay away from party politics, and vote for temperance candidates.⁴³ Almost forty years later, in the newspaper of the IOGT, the call

⁴² "The Situations," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. V, No. 10, April 1899), 1.

⁴³ *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 7, April 15, 1857), 104.

was much the same, suggesting that members retain party membership, but vote for the candidates they thought most inclined to bring in prohibition. It was a constant refrain in the temperance press, with lodge members told to “go earnestly into politics with the firm determination to be prohibitionists before being partisans,” or that prohibition would be passed “just as soon as the temperance men...are willing to sacrifice their party predilections for the promotion of prohibition.”⁴⁴

Temperance lodge members were supposed to be independent when it came to politics, working for their primary cause, instead of being distracted by other political issues. Many undoubtedly did vote because of long-term affiliation with a political party, or on other issues than temperance alone, and failed to live up to this ideal. Even prominent temperance advocates had to defend themselves against charges of being party men, and thus suspect in their approach to politics. F.S. Spence, publisher of the IOGT newspaper *The Camp Fire*, for all of his editorials urging others to eschew party politics, was himself on the receiving end of accusations of partisanship. In her history of prohibition in Canada, his daughter felt it necessary to defend him against these charges:

Liberal by training and conviction, he was sometimes accused by those who opposed his temperance policy of being politically biassed [sic] and of sacrificing the temperance cause to the Liberal party. He did identify himself with that party, because he believed it best represented many things for which he worked, but no one

⁴⁴ “How We Have Been Treated,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 2, August 1894), 2. “The Duty of Voters,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 9, March 1895), 2.

had a greater scorn than he for party servility or insisted more stringently upon the necessity for independent thinking.⁴⁵

Party membership continued to be a contentious issue for men who belonged to temperance lodges, and their participation in the political process was, as we have seen, fraught with setbacks.

This disappointment led to occasional and not terribly successful attempts to form a Prohibition Party in Canada. Independence in terms of party politics remained a part of the temperate masculine ideal that was more aspired to than realized. Interactions of the lodges with the political process were, as we have seen, full of difficulties. They circulated petitions, distributed temperance literature and tried to spread the word, yet it sometimes felt like this effort had only a minimal impact. Members did not necessarily vote according to their temperance conscience. Lodge brothers who were elected to political office only occasionally followed through on their prohibition platforms. Political maneuvering, and what the movement regarded as tricks and betrayals, occurred frequently. However, these difficulties did not deter lodge members from engaging in the political process. When they suffered a defeat, the rhetoric was not one of withdrawal, it was one of rededication of effort to the cause.⁴⁶

Despite their difficulties, temperance men and women remained clear in their determination that temperance was an issue that must be won through

⁴⁵ Spence, 9.

⁴⁶ "A Protest," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. V, No. 10, April 1899), 2.

political means. Members could, in theory, help individuals, but the only chance to change society lay in the legislative process. To that end, not only did lodges engage in temperance campaigns for local option and during the plebiscites, they also attempted to use lodge meetings to prepare members for political engagement. Whether as officers or merely members, the temperance lodges gave men the chance to hone their rhetorical skills, such as they might have been. Speeches, recitations, debates, all allowed men to become comfortable speaking in public, and examples abounded in both what and what not to do. Some men carried these skills into public life, and the lodge was seen by some as a good training ground for that purpose. One 1888 article from the *Toronto Daily Globe* claimed that “[m]any of our municipal representatives date their interest in affairs and their capacity for public business to the opportunities which the Lodges afforded. In scores of young men the taste for reading and the desire for information had birth in the rivalries of the Lodges.”⁴⁷ Lodges were private institutions, but the skills they taught were supposed to be transferable to politics, business, and advocacy.

Temperate masculinity stood upon an image of the ideal man as responsible, controlled, and exercising benevolent paternal power in the service of society. He was independent, although the temperance notion of independence differed from that of their opponents. Through the temperance

⁴⁷ “Observations on Good Templary,” *The Toronto Daily Globe*, reprinted in *International Good Templar* (London, Ontario, 1888).

lodges, it was hoped that men could find a home where they could foster this type of masculinity, and offer a haven where members could socialize with like-minded men and women, and prepare themselves for battle with the world outside. While this form of masculinity, it should be remembered, was likely more prescriptive than descriptive, knowing the ideal that the temperance lodges promoted gives some insight into the kind of men those who joined the lodges may have wanted to be. Temperate masculinity was not the dominant form of masculinity in Ontario in the nineteenth century, but it offered an alternative to other forms of masculinity, and appealed to many men, who joined the lodges in great numbers. Temperance men differed from the values of the middle class in their willingness to promote state intervention into the lives of others, and also in their approach to separate spheres. In contrast with other nineteenth-century masculinities, temperate masculinity proved uniquely open to bringing women into their world.

Chapter Seven

Women in the Lodges

Temperance lodges were fraternal organizations, and fraternal organizations were notable for their gender segregation. Women were generally excluded or relegated to separate auxiliaries. This was where the temperance lodges deviated from typical fraternal structure most sharply. The IOGT and the Royal Templars admitted women as full members from the very inception of their organizations. The Sons of Temperance was initially formed as a men's organization, but within twenty years of its founding, it started to admit women on the same basis as men, in part to compete with the appeal of the IOGT. However, women did not move seamlessly into this space. They did not have equal access to power within the lodges, nor were they equally recognized by the outside world. It is true that lodge life offered temperance sisters opportunities they might not otherwise have had. On one hand, their roles were limited on the larger provincial and national stages, and they were often streamed into jobs that had long been defined as "women's work." On the other hand, while they were not always willing to elect women to positions in higher levels of lodge hierarchies, temperance advocates did not oppose women's political participation. They were early supporters of women's suffrage, wanting women's votes to add to their own in local option contests and federal and provincial elections and plebiscites. While the temperance lodges were unusually

supportive of women's political participation for their time period, in practice, this was limited by gender norms and the role of the symbolic female victim in their rhetoric.

It was the potential plight of women married to drunkards that was at the core of temperance literature. The angelic, long-suffering victim was a powerful image, and was in many ways the centre of the constellation of symbols that drove temperance advocates and shaped their arguments. Woman as victim served as an object lesson of the effects of alcohol, and demanded political action. Sometimes, the actions of actual women involved in the movement disappeared in the public discourse, replaced by the figurative woman who suffered and needed to be saved. Women, as workers, sisters, and symbols, were important to the fraternal temperance lodges, but their involvement with these organizations was neither uncomplicated nor consistent.

The nineteenth century was the heyday of associational culture. Men and women joined groups and clubs, forging links between members of their own social class and, less frequently, across classes. For women in Ontario, there were the Women's Christian Temperance Unions, as well as mother's clubs, missionary societies, church auxiliaries, and Women's Institutes.¹ Women joined

¹ See, for examples of female associational culture: Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 105-117, and Margaret Kechnie, *Organizing Rural Women: The Federated Women's Institutes of*

together to express common concerns and to undertake projects seen as particularly suited to their abilities and gifts. Often their endeavours were focused on issues of moral reform and education.

The power they wielded as members of these organizations varied widely. Within the WCTU, women ran the entire organization. In missionary societies, women's groups were often separate from, but subordinate to, denominational control. In church groups, women were at the vanguard of raising money to pay for the construction of churches, as well as frequently taking responsibility for the appearance of this public space.² They sewed decorations for the churches and raised money for stained glass windows, pews, and new roofs. But, as with missionary groups, they were often at least nominally under the purview of the minister and other men who kept the churches running.³ These kinds of activities are not easily delineated as public or private. Women might be creating goods for a group to which they belonged, but the same activities were undertaken in

Ontario, 1897-1919 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003), Andrew Holman, *A Sense of the Their Duty: Middle-Class Formation in Victorian Ontario Towns* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000), Lynne Marks, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), and Patricia Hill, *The World Their Household: The American Woman's Foreign Mission Movement and Cultural Transformation, 1870-1920* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1985).

² Marilyn Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 98-101.

³ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *Christian Churches and Their Peoples, 1840-1965* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 86.

the performance of daily tasks.⁴ Women might meet to work together on the production of domestic goods, as a project for a women's church or missionary group, in the same way that they might share tasks with other women for the benefit of their own families.

While some were subject to male control, women's associations tended to be only for women, much as fraternal organizations were for men. Women did not often join organizations with men. The Masons, the Oddfellows, and other fraternal orders created female auxiliaries for wives of members, but did not welcome them into the main lodge. However, the fraternal temperance lodges challenge the perceived separation of male and female worlds in the nineteenth century. How truly 'separate' the separate spheres really were has long been the subject of debate.⁵ While separate spheres was always more prescriptive than descriptive of lived experience, it was a powerful idea that shaped how women had access to the public sphere. They might not have been the politicians and the

⁴ For women's collective work, see, for example, Katherine McKenna, "The Union Between Faith and Good Works: The Life of Harriet Dobbs Cartwright, 1808-1887," *Changing Roles of Women in the Christian Church in Canada*, Elizabeth Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), Karen Hansen, *A Very Social Time*, 92, and Barbara Maas, *Helpmates of Man: Middle-Class Women and Gender Ideology in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Bochum: N. Brockmeyer, 1990), 110-116.

⁵ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations Between Women in Nineteenth Century America," in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). For a similar view of separate cultures with a focus on masculinity, see Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity From the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

businessmen, but when it came to public events, women organized, attended, and participated.⁶ Within the social sphere, women had more leeway. The fraternal temperance lodges are an example of this, and show that not only were women able to participate in public meetings and gatherings, but they also joined social spaces that straddled the public/private divide. Nineteenth-century associational culture might have been primarily homosocial, but there were opportunities for men and women to join groups together, and, in the case of the fraternal temperance lodges, to combine socializing with a political cause. Within the walls of the lodge, and publicly in parades and public meetings, women and men worked together for the political cause of temperance, while enjoying the community aspects of fraternal life. Temperate masculinity does not seem to have included a need to keep their organizations separate and free from women's participation.

Women joined the temperance lodges in large numbers. They rarely outnumbered men in any given lodge, but often made up a large percentage of the membership, ranging from around 30% of the total membership for lodges in the mid- to late-nineteenth century to a high of 38% for the Hope of the West lodge in London, Ontario, in the early twentieth century.⁷ The specific

⁶ Hansen, *A Very Social Time*, 166.

⁷ Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge) fonds, Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives; International Order of Good Templars (Hope of the West) record books in the Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario; Sons of Temperance of North America (Orono Division No. 79) fonds, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario; Washington

motivations for women who joined the temperance lodges is difficult to determine. However, some comparison to the women's temperance movement may be fruitful. Experiences with male drunkenness, either of a family member or someone known to them, are commonly given as a reason for participation in the WCTU, although the actual number of women who joined due to the drinking of a relative is difficult to determine. There are certainly examples of women who joined and became prominent in the early women's temperance movement because of husbands, sons, or brothers who drank, so for some women close experience with the effects of alcohol was a causative factor in their involvement. Jack Blocker found that of the American women who joined the Women's Crusade, the precursor to the formation of the WCTU, a few prominent members had been personally touched by the negative effects of alcohol. He wrote that "The Crusaders were women whose family wealth did not insulate their families from liquor and therefore did not protect them as women from the pain, shame, and economic loss which sometimes followed male drinking."⁸

Lodge (No.21), Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

⁸ Blocker, *"Give To The Winds Thy Fears": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874* (Wesport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 118. Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 4, 160. Bordin talks about some WCTU members who had personal experience with drunken family members, although she concludes that there is not enough data to definitively say how many WCTU members had this type of experience. Similarly, Carry Nation, one of the most public faces of the WCTU (sometimes to their dismay), and of the temperance movement, had a first husband who was a drunkard. For more on her

Others may not have had personal experience driving them, but had witnessed the effects of alcohol in their communities. In Ontario, Letitia Youmans reported in her autobiography that it was her observations of a drunkard in her town, and the effects of his drunkenness on his family, that caused her to become interested in the temperance movement.⁹ It is difficult to extrapolate from this to the general WCTU movement, and even harder to use this information to say definitively why women joined the temperance lodges, but it is suggestive that familial links or personal experience may have been a factor. Even before the WCTU offered women a home to express their concerns over men's drinking, the temperance lodges attracted many women to their meetings.

Women were consistently active in lodge life, even after the WCTU appeared on the Ontario scene. Sharon Cook has found one example of a temperance lodge complaining that the WCTU was siphoning off their women, but membership rolls for lodges after the founding of the WCTU show women continuing to join the lodges on a regular basis.¹⁰ It is likely that some women found they had more opportunities to take on responsibility through the WCTU, and chose that way of getting involved in temperance. Still, other women either

experience, see Fran Grace, *Carry A. Nation: Retelling in the Life* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁹ Letitia Youmans, *Campaign Echoes: The Autobiography of Mrs. Letitia Youmans, the Pioneer of the White Ribbon Movement in Canada* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), 40-42.

¹⁰ Sharon Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 27.

combined WCTU and temperance lodge membership, or found the lodge a more congenial atmosphere. It is difficult to tell how many women might have been members of more than one temperance society, or why some women chose a mixed-sex group for their temperance work over the WCTU. Even though some local lodges felt the WCTU was poaching members, on a national level, the temperance lodges publicly supported the WCTU. They often sent delegations to WCTU conventions, and welcomed speeches from the WCTU at their own conventions. Temperance lodge publications frequently lauded the work of temperance women. Among numerous references to the good work was an article which promoted the Ontario WCTU newspaper, and their convention, and assured readers that "The many earnest Canadian ladies who take part in this great white ribbon work are, however, themselves enough to make these annual gatherings deeply interesting and very useful....[F]rom their wise and careful consideration much good is certain to result."¹¹

By the time the WCTU was founded Ontario in 1885, the place of women within the temperance lodges was well established, but their places had not always been uncontested. The experiences of women gaining admittance to the temperance lodges differed greatly between orders. The IOGT admitted women on the same basis as men from the beginning of their organization, and used this feature as a selling point for their lodges. The Royal Templars, formed decades

¹¹ "W.C.T.U. Work," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. III, No.3, September 1896), 1.

later, followed suit. It was the Sons of Temperance who struggled over whether or not women should be admitted to the lodges, and, if so, in what capacity. Of the three main temperance orders, the Sons of Temperance were the only one that initially restricted membership to men, offering men a temperate space that was physically and ideologically inaccessible to women. They struggled with gender segregation over the first two decades of their organization, and the attitudes of the Sons were not necessarily coherent or consistent.

The local, provincial, and national branches of the Sons started to develop an organizational stance on women joining in the early 1860s, but consensus was not easily attained. By that point, the issue had already been a bone of contention within the lodges for several years. By the mid-1850s, the admission of women was on the agenda of many Sons lodges.¹² Most non-temperance fraternal lodges had created auxiliaries for women who wished to join, giving them a place that was not part of the main lodge or their rituals and meetings. This pattern happened with the Sons as well. Daughters of Temperance auxiliaries existed in the Maritimes, including a “Mayflower Union No. 3” in North Sydney, Nova Scotia, which had 19 members in 1857, but there is little remaining evidence about them.¹³ There are a few references to Daughters of Temperance auxiliaries over the next two decades, but instead of embracing the separate but linked

¹² “Grand Worthy Patriarch’s Report,” *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 2, September, 1856).

¹³ *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1857), 90, 127.

organizations, Sons lodges eventually admitted women as full members. As early as 1856 in Nova Scotia, a motion was put forward in the Grand Lodge to admit women as full members, but it was only “partially adopted.” Other lodges in Nova Scotia took the alternate approach of allowing women as visitors to their lodges.¹⁴

The early and complete records of the Sons of Temperance lodge in Orono allow an examination of how one lodge dealt with this issue, and evidence suggests that other Sons lodges in Ontario and elsewhere were grappling with the problem around the same time. The Orono Sons considered and experimented with several different options for the role of women in their organization in the 1850s and 1860s. They initially admitted women as “female visitors” without voting privileges. Eventually, they, along with the provincial Sons organization, came to the conclusion that women should be admitted as full members. This sounds like a straightforward narrative of progress, but it was not. The path for the Orono Sons from a male-only space to one where women were admitted on the same basis as men was a winding one, with members travelling in different directions. The admittance of women as full members was debated over and over before it finally was accepted.

Allowing women in their lodge rooms first became an issue for the Orono Sons only three years after their founding. The International Order of Good

¹⁴ *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 10, July 1857), 147.

Templars also had a lodge in Orono at that time, so it is possible that their competition prompted the consideration of the issue by the Sons of Temperance.¹⁵ The initial motion put forward in 1856 would have allowed women to join, pay an initiation fee, and take the total abstinence pledge, but withheld voting privileges. They would have been considered “visitors” only, not members. Brother Gifford, a “Past Worthy Patriarch” of the Orono lodge, argued women should be allowed to be visitors because “[T]he prosperity of the order of the S of T is founded upon the principle of sociality and in as much as the Society of females has a tendency to improve this feature of our Order and has proved beneficial in numerous instances in neighbouring Divisions by awakening a renewed interest and securing a more regular attendance. [sic]”¹⁶ Such arguments did not persuade an unresponsive general membership. This motion was brought forward three separate times in 1856 and lost each time.

Brother Gifford did not, however, let the matter lie there, although it was almost a year and a half before he made his next assault on the lodge’s fraternal structure. This time, he did not have to rely only on the principle of the matter and the examples of other divisions. He also had on his side newly-set national rules that allowed female visitors. Thus, the motion passed to allow women into lodge space in March of 1858. Within two months, the lodge at Orono had

¹⁵ April 16, 1856, Minute Book, 1854-1859, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

¹⁶ October 1, 1856, Minute Book, 1854-1859, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

admitted eight female visitors, two of them the wives of the brothers who had made and seconded the motion. Indeed, all of the first eight women were married to members. Unmarried women soon started to enter the lodge as visitors as well, some of them the daughters of members. Within five months, over thirty women had been admitted as visitors to the lodge.

The initial response of the Sons of Orono to this change is lost, unfortunately, by one of the few gaps in their minutes. Five years later, there was still dissension in the ranks. This time, debate erupted over changing the status of women from visitors to full members. The Grand (Ontario) Division of the Sons was canvassing local lodges, asking if they would be willing to “admit females to full membership on the same terms as males.”¹⁷ This question was duly raised in the Orono lodge. However, the debate was not only over whether or not women should be allowed to become full members. At the same meeting where the Sons started to consider the question posed them by the Grand Division, another man brought forth a motion that showed discontent with the mere presence of women. Brother Christae moved that women be barred from the lodges altogether. Brother Christae had previously held the positions of Worthy Patriarch, Chaplain, and Recording Secretary, so he had some influence in the lodge. No woman with the last name of Christae entered the lodge in any of the recorded years, so either Brother Christae did not have female family

¹⁷ September 23, 1863, Minute Book, 1863-64, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

members who wanted to join, or he himself made sure they did not participate in his lodge.

The place of women within the Orono Sons in the early 1860s was tenuous, and it was simultaneously debated whether they should be granted full membership and whether they should be tossed out of the organization altogether. By this time, the general opinion had shifted, and Brother Christae's motion was not carried. In 1863, women were admitted as full members, but with a proviso. Although they would now have all regular voting privileges, they were barred from taking on the highest office at the local level, the office of the Worthy Patriarch. Compared to the other two main fraternal temperance organizations, the Sons were the most gendered in naming their highest offices, and it was considered unseemly to have a woman be named a Patriarch. But while women were restricted from taking the highest office, the Orono lodge was one of the first Sons divisions to admit women as full members. The Grand Division of Ontario took several more years before making an official pronouncement on the issue.

Although women were now allowed to be full members in the Orono Sons, it continued to be debated at the local and national level. In 1867, the Orono Sons instructed their delegate to the Grand Lodge to vote in favour of admitting women as full members.¹⁸ The decision of the Grand Lodge two years later was

¹⁸ October 16, 1867, Minute book, 1866-70, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

to admit women, but the implementation must have been left up to local lodges. In 1869, the Sons of Orono again took up the issue.¹⁹ For almost three months, the question of whether or not women should continue as full members or be demoted to visitor status was debated. On July 14th, 1869, the right of women to retain full membership was upheld, defeating an attempt to further postpone a vote on the issue.²⁰ The Sons of Temperance had fought about the presence of women for over a decade. That this issue recurred consistently over ten years is notable, particularly since many of the debates seem to have been over whether or not to revoke the privileges they had already granted. Even after women had joined, they had to watch as the men in the organization fought over whether or not they belonged there.

This step had been as contentious in other Sons of Temperance locales as it was in Orono. The minutes of the Orono lodge do not offer much discussion of the matter, beyond recording the motions and results, but it is likely that the arguments were similar to those expressed in Nova Scotia:

The admission of females to full membership, which is also a peculiarity of the Order of Templars, will not be so popular here, we think, as in the States. Our female friends are admitted as visitors, and that is as much as the majority of them desire. Were they to become full members it is not at all likely that they would be inclined to take part in our discussions. Probably their influence

¹⁹ Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2003), 54.

²⁰ July 14, 1869, Minute book, 1866-70, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

is greater under the present arrangement than it would be under any new modification.²¹

Giving women full membership was dismissed as a privilege they neither desired nor lobbied for, with some brothers believing that women best asserted their power behind the scenes, with the nebulous “influence” they were expected to have as non-voting female visitors to the lodges. The same writer also believed that the IOGT, in allowing women as full members, was “pander[ing] to the love of novelty.” Ironically, the same issue of *The Abstainer* also carried a story, in which the author was sure that, when they had a bazaar to run to raise money, they had: “within [their] bounds a host of ladies with warm hearts and willing hands who will be glad of the opportunity the Bazaar presents to enable them to contribute of their own handiwork to a cause in which, of all others, they have the deepest interest.”²² Women were seen to be passionate about the cause, and their help was welcomed and even expected, but many Sons of Temperance did not want them as full members with voting privileges and the ability to hold office, seeming to feel that this would diminish their own experience by sharing it with the women visitors.

Others thought that admitting women was a great advantage to the order. Indeed, the Ontario Division stated in 1870 that they believed that the reason that the I.O.G.T. had been so successful was due to the welcome they extended to

²¹ *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 12, September 1857), 184.

²² “The Bazaar,” *The Abstainer* (Vol. 1, No. 12, September 1857), 188

women, stating that they had "Contrasted the state of the Good Templars and Sons of Temperance and attributed the success of the former to the admission of ladies as full members while the Sons had excluded them. Tried to impress on the minds of those present the great importance of admitting Ladies as full members and keeping up an interest in the Division by well-arranged programmes."²³ Women, some believed, would attract a healthy membership, and increase interest in attending lodge meetings.

Officially, the debates that went on in the lodge over women were about their status as members and ability to hold high office in the organization, but, occasionally, general animosity towards temperance sisters flared up, over issues that had little to do with their admission as members. These small controversies offer a glimpse of some of the hostility that early sisters in the Sons of Temperance might have had to deal with, even after their admittance to the organization was settled. There are hints in the available records that the Sons of Temperance was seen as a less respectable option for women who looked to join a temperance organization in the mid-nineteenth century. This view may be due to the prior existence of the Sons as a male-only organization, but an additional factor might have been the class composition of the various lodges – the IOGT and Royal Templars seem to have skewed towards a desire to recruit a slightly more middle-class membership, while the Sons focused more on the working-

²³ July 13, 1870, Minute book, 1866-70, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

class. The archival records on the views of the propriety of women belonging to the Sons of Temperance are scanty but suggestive.

It came to the attention of the Orono Sons of Temperance lodge in 1858 that people in their town, particularly those who had joined the IOGT, were casting aspersions on the women who had joined the Sons. One of the Orono Sons reported to his lodge that he had heard "from one of the Good Templars to the effect that they objected to cooperating with the [Sons] Div[ision] because the females were not respectable."²⁴ However, he also stated that on conferring with other IOGT members, they had assured him that most did not see any particular problem with the female Sons. There is no evidence as to what the root of this rumour about the propriety of women in the Sons of Temperance was. It might have been that the Sons was not a respectable place for women, or that they were not attracting the best class of female members. Whichever it was, the concern was echoed internally. Brother Caldwell, a member of the Sons, complained that a rumour had reached him that Brother Gifford (the man most instrumental in bringing women into the lodge) had recently expressed reservations. Caldwell reported that Gifford had said "in conversation with a Lady who thought about joining the Division - that he could not conscientiously recommend a lady to join the Sons."²⁵ It was moved that Brother Gifford be reprimanded, but Caldwell

²⁴ August 16, 1858, Minute Book, 1854-1859, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

²⁵ August 25, 1858, Minute Book, 1854-1859, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

withdrew his complaint without explanation, and the issue died without further examination. Neither of these controversies amounted to a great deal, but that they made their way into the minutes and into the awareness of the lodges is significant. Lodge records are quick to smooth these matters over. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact source of these rumours about the respectability of women Sons, but it continued to be an issue at infrequent intervals over the next 15 years.

By 1871, women were full members, and had been elected as officers in the Orono Sons lodge. This official recognition, however, did not end informal hostility. On May 3, four women tabled their resignations from the order. The Worthy Patriarch appointed a committee to investigate the matter, made up of two men and one woman.²⁶ The committee found out that the women had resigned due to an incident in which a Brother had spoken against them, using language "unbecoming" to a Son of Temperance.²⁷ Because the committee could not agree as to whether this was indeed language unbecoming, a second committee was appointed, and, in this case, the committee was all men. The second committee ruled that the offending brother had not been overheard saying "anything disrespectful of the Lady members of the Division," and

²⁶ May 3, 1871, Minute Book, 1870-77, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

²⁷ May 10, 1871, Minute Book, 1870-77, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

without having male corroboration, dismissed the charges.²⁸ Despite the decision, the offending brother resigned from the lodge, as did three or four other men. With their departure, the four women who had attempted to resign withdrew their resignations.²⁹ Although the lodge had not openly addressed the issues surrounding the events that drove these women to attempt to leave the Order, the departure of the offending parties apparently made the lodge once again a place where women felt welcome. After a tempestuous sixteen years, this incident was the last recorded hostility directed at female members in the Orono Division of the Sons of Temperance. If other friction occurred, it was not recorded. The lodge seemed to gradually become more comfortable with their female members. Indeed, by 1882, the Sons were inviting speakers to talk about “woman’s rights” and “universal suffrage,” having evidently come to share the opinion of many other temperance organizations, that without women possessing the vote, prohibition would never be passed.³⁰

While it is difficult to ascertain, it is likely that women in other Sons lodges experienced the same periodic flares of hostility as the sisters of the Orono lodge. The length of time that the national, provincial, and local lodges took in debating the place of women in the lodge is indicative that there were many who

²⁸ May 31, 1871, Minute Book, 1870-77, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

²⁹ June 14 and 21, 1871, Minute Book, 1870-77, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

³⁰ May 17 and August 9, 1882, Minute Book, 1881-1891, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

did not think that they needed to open their doors to women, and preferred to keep their temperance lodges for their fellow men. Despite opposition and hostility, women continued to join the Sons of Temperance, just as they had joined the IOGT and, later, the Royal Templars. Some might have been deterred by the atmosphere they found, but others persisted in their membership.

One of the factors that might have helped women remain in the Sons were the familial memberships. These kin patterns hold across all the temperance fraternal organizations. Many women who joined the organization were not walking solo into a hostile environment. They were joining their husbands, brothers, and fathers in the lodges, following a familial link between members. They tended not to be on their own in the lodge room, but had male and female family members also present. More difficult to perceive from the records, many likely knew and had formed friendships with other members of the temperance lodges, and went out to lodge night with a group of people with whom they enjoyed socializing. Not all women who joined temperance lodges had a last name in common with other members, but many did. All new sisters and brothers had to be recommended by an existing member, so it is not surprising that we find both family relationships as well as, presumably, nominations of friends. Having familiar faces in the lodge may also have encouraged long-term membership. When going to the lodge was something that family members did together, it was harder to drop out of an organization that, in part, was an open display of respectability and reliability.

The number of women who joined with fathers, brothers, or sons should not overshadow the large number of young single women who joined on their own. While it cannot be determined how their attendance compared to those women who had family members in the lodges, joining singly, or with other young women of the same age group was not uncommon. Much of the time, three or four young women seemed to have presented themselves for membership simultaneously. The pattern of young women joining in small groups can be seen over long periods of time and across fraternal organizations. What prompted these young women to join remains a matter of speculation. They may have wanted to participate in the social activities of the lodge, to meet available young men in a safe atmosphere, or felt a keen interest in the temperance issue. The lack of kin connections was not necessarily a bar to membership for young women.³¹

Once in the lodge, women were unevenly integrated into fraternal life. They found some barriers to holding office. These bars could be formal, as in the case of the Sons, when they were banned from taking on the position of Worthy Patriarch, but there were also informal barriers. The positions women actually

³¹ Carthage Lodge, Good Templars (Forest Home Lodge) fonds, Listowel, Ontario, Perth County Archives; International Order of Good Templars (Hope of the West) record books in the Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario; Sons of Temperance of North America (Orono Division No. 79) fonds, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Ontario; Washington Lodge (No.21), Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

did hold indicate that they were often streamed into less responsible roles. However, individual aptitude for a task could change that pattern, overriding expectations that men would be more skilled at writing and keeping accounts in the business world they inhabited. Some women were repeatedly elected as the Recording Scribe, and in the London IOGT lodge between 1909 and 1910, Maggie Bell held the office of Treasurer for seven consecutive terms.³² Earlier lodge records from all of the major organizations, however, show that this type of responsibility most often fell to male members. On occasion, certain offices were intended for women, or even specially created to give them a place in the organization. In the Sons of Temperance, the position of Worthy Associate had initially been a training ground for someone who was likely to later become the Worthy Patriarch. Later, it often became the highest role a woman attained, as very few women were ever elected to the top office in the nineteenth century.

Once women were admitted as full members in the Orono Sons lodge, it took less than a year for Sister Carrie Clark to be elected to the office of Assistant Recording Secretary.³³ A year later, in 1872, two women were nominated for the office of Worthy Patriarch, and one, Sister Long, was elected to the position. Her husband was a long-time member, frequently holding the office of Worthy Patriarch himself. In the quarter when Sister Long was the Worthy Patriarch, her

³² Fred Robins fonds, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario

³³ Jan 4, 1871, Minute Book, 1870-77, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

husband served as her Worthy Associate, which was the equivalent of Vice-President. The Recording Secretary made no record of any controversy over this election in his minute book.³⁴ However, the election of a woman as Worthy Patriarch almost stands alone – in the records of the next twenty years, only one other woman attained this position, Sister Lydia Tourjie in 1886. While women could, on rare occasions, take on the highest role in the local organizations, in the mid- to late-nineteenth century, it remained relatively rare. IOGT lodges in the 1860s and 1870s record no women holding the highest office, but they held many other offices. In the London Hope of the West lodge in the early twentieth century, women were occasionally elected to the highest office, and held all offices at various times. However, in seven and a half years (comprised of 30 quarters, with new officers elected in each quarter), women held the role of Chief Templar only four times. In the West Middlesex District Council of the Royal Templars of Temperance between 1897-1901, women held offices infrequently, and never higher than Vice Chair.³⁵ This precedent may not be reflective of the Royal Templars as a whole, as local levels appear to have been more likely in general to elect women to office, and the remaining records are of the next level up, organizing in districts to direct the temperance work of many small lodges.

³⁴ Mar 27, 1872, Minute Book, 1870-77, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

³⁵ Minute Book of the West Middlesex District Council, Royal Templars of Temperance, 1897-1901, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

In general, the surviving records show some small change over time in patterns of office-holding for women, but the role of Patriarch, Chair, or Chief Templar remained a male-dominated one.

Some positions were created solely to give women a ceremonial place in the temperance lodges. This example comes from a single Sons of Temperance lodge, so it is difficult to tell how prevalent the practice may have been, but the Orono Sons created three offices to be held only by women – as the symbolic embodiments of Purity, Fidelity, and Love.³⁶ As such, they represented not only these virtues, but also an ideal womanhood, pure and inspiring. These were the “cardinal principles” of the Sons: “LOVE, the inspiring motive to do good to all men, and especially to the Brotherhood; PURITY in heart and conduct, and freedom from all base and selfish motives and views; and FIDELITY in redeeming every vow and pledge and in promoting the interest of the Order in the world.”³⁷ In these roles, the three young women chosen for these positions participated in the ritual life of the lodge, and had to perform ceremonial duties. They do not appear to have had duties outside of the rituals. While the Orono records do not include specific explanations of their ritual role, an early Sons of Temperance ritual manual may do so. There was an allegory included in the

³⁶ These positions only existed from the late 1850s into the 1860s. Minute Books 1863-1864, 1866-1870, Sons of Temperance (Orono), Toronto, Archives of Ontario, MU2879.

³⁷ *Blue Book for the Use of Subordinate Divisions, of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (New York: National Division of North America, 1859), 3.

initiation ritual of three angels sent to bring a message to mankind. The first, Love, had “features [that] glowed with inspiration and her eyes swam in tears.” She promised to “visit the sick, lift up the fainting head, and cheer the failing heart.” The second, Purity, had a “visage...like unto the evening star, and in her eye was the bright blue of heaven.” She promised to “show the children of earth how to be spotless in heart and life.” The third angel, Fidelity, “had an earnest and serious face. She stood firm and lofty in her integrity though with an air of peace and gentleness.” This angel promised to “teach the sons of man to have faith in God, and to perform their duty faithfully to one another.” All three angels were sent to Earth to teach the world how to grow greater in grace.³⁸ It is likely that the women elected to these positions acted out a variation of the above allegory. These three ritual roles were always held by unmarried women. They were an early effort to integrate women into the ritual aspects of temperance lodge life, consistent with contemporary ideals of womanhood. In this way, they could avoid changing the roles men were holding, or give women access to the same positions. However, when women were admitted as full members and started to hold other positions of more authority in the lodges, choosing young women to portray Love, Purity, and Fidelity fell out of use as women moved

³⁸ *Blue Book for the Use of Subordinate Divisions of the Order of the Sons of Temperance* (Philadelphia: The National Division of North America, 1854), 14-15. Accessed at <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/100001060>, August 20, 2015.

from the ideal to the real, taking on more of the active work supporting the lodges.

While the position of women in terms of access to fraternal offices improved over time in the local lodges, this change was not reflected on the provincial or national levels. Even when women were elected to the positions of Grand Templar or Worthy Patriarch in local lodges, the higher levels of these fraternal organizations had offices that were almost exclusively staffed by men. The only exception was the Vice Grand Templar in the IOGT at the national and provincial levels, which, by the end of the nineteenth century, appears to have always been held by women. It is also notable that some of the women who made it to positions in the lodge executives at the national or provincial levels were married to men who also held executive positions.³⁹ The Superintendents of Juvenile Work at the national and provincial (and, indeed, at the local) levels were often women. While women could hold more power locally, that did not seem to have had an effect on the higher echelons of the order.

On the local level, women sometimes complained that they were being streamed into positions like Superintendent of Juvenile Work because of their sex, and argued that they did not see themselves as automatically fit to work with children simply because they were women. They faced pressure to continue, but some pushed back against this assumption, often using arguments

³⁹ See, for example, "Biography of Brother J.V. Jackson, GCT, and Sister Mrs. Jackson, GSJW, NB," *The International Good Templar* Vol. XXIII, (1910), 10.

that either individual preference or outside work made them unsuitable candidates. Sister Plant, of the Hope of the West lodge, was elected to be the superintendent of Juvenile Work, and, as such, to head the local Temple, the IOGT organization for children. She declined the position, but avoided saying that doing so was her personal inclination. Instead, she spoke of her decision in religious terms, writing to Fred Robins that

I do not believe that God wishes me to do that particular work for Him. I have tried to get enthusiastic over it, but as much as I love the temperance cause, I cannot feel that God wishes me to work for that cause in connection with the Lodge. And another thing I find is that if I take more upon me than I am able to do properly (as that would be) I have not the time nor strength to study the word of God as I should. Now I trust that you will not think that I am just trying to get out of this because I do not like it. God forbid, if I thought that was His work for me, I would give up any of my other engagements for that. But I have studied it out carefully and prayerfully and last friday [sic] I came to the conclusion that, that work must be for someone else besides me."⁴⁰

Using the language of religion allowed Sister Plant to decline her position gracefully, and, in this case, her personal inclinations and religious devotion told her the same thing.

Other IOGT women wrote that they had trouble maintaining the Juvenile Temples because of work. One letter to Fred Robins from Fort William wrote that while she was trying to get to the Temple meetings, they were too early for her, as she was "in service, and...[could] never get away much before eight." She

⁴⁰ Letter, Sister Plant to Fred Robins, January 19, 1913, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario,

reminded Fred that “when ones living depends on it they have to look to that first and most all the sister [sic] of the lodge is in the same position.”⁴¹ While lodges tried to have later meetings to accommodate both brothers and sisters who worked, the Temples for children needed to have earlier hours, which caused hardship for some elected to the Superintendent of Juvenile work positions. Being in domestic service took up many more hours of the day than most waged employment. That some women who were employed in this field still wanted to participate shows a larger class variety in temperance workers than might be expected. Another woman wrote to Robins that she was having difficulty keeping the Temple going as it was her family’s “second year in Canada [and] all my wage earners have been out of work all winter else I would trouble no one to supply needs for my work.”⁴² Balancing work and running juvenile temples was a recurrent theme in correspondence to the Provincial Superintendent of Juvenile Work.

By the twentieth century, some female members of the temperance lodges were not only volunteers within the lodges, they worked for wages. While lodge sisters likely always had housework or paid servant duties which may have interfered with their ability to attend the temperance lodge meetings, in the early twentieth century, more evidence is available that some temperance women

⁴¹ Letter, Sister M.A. Walmsley to Fred Robins, March 11, 1914, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario.

⁴² Letter from Mrs. Ingram to Fred May 14 1914, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario,

were workers outside their homes, and had little flexibility in their hours. As seen in the previous letters to Fred Robins from the woman who was unable to lead the Juvenile Temple for the IOGT in her city due to work commitments, some women were trying to combine paid work with associational commitments. Despite their emphasis on the home and family, the IOGT in particular tried to accommodate women who worked in their organization. While working women may have found it more difficult to attend meetings, and conflicts in timing caused both men and women to fall away from lodge membership, there is no obvious censure of women who worked outside the home. The family was the centre of temperance lodge rhetoric, but while there may have been informal disapproval, there is little trace of condemnation in temperance lodge records or in temperance literature of women working. By the start of the twentieth century, the respectability of women within the fraternal temperance orders does not seem to have been in question, whether they were employed outside the home or not. Despite ample evidence of women working outside being a major concern for social reformers in the early twentieth century, it does not seem to have preoccupied the temperance lodges.⁴³

For women who joined (just as for the men), membership was not the same as attendance, and while most lodge membership lists were well-kept, only a few records of who was present at the meetings exist. Those that have survived

⁴³ See, for example, Carolyn Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995,) 44-46.

show that actual attendance varied. Some lodge members came faithfully, missing very few meetings, and when they missed meetings, it tended to be in times of family sickness or other emergency. Others kept up membership, but did not show up for meetings regularly. In the London IOGT "Hope of the West" lodge, one of the founders, Fred Robins, and his younger son and two daughters attended virtually every meeting. His wife came fairly regularly, but not as often as her husband and three of her children. Robins' eldest son, however, was another case entirely. John Robins was technically a member in that his membership continued to be paid over long periods of time, likely by his parents. During this time, however, he was only occasionally in London. Part of the time that John was technically a member, he was out West, trying his hand at different schemes for making a living. John does not seem to have cared much for the temperance cause, and there is no mention of his membership being transferred to other lodges, something the fraternal lodges encouraged. (His father Fred, in contrast, had made an effort to find or found local lodges wherever he was during his early years as a commercial traveller in Europe.) While most of the family were dedicated attendees, they were absent during the weeks that led up to Fred Robins' older daughter's death. Not long after their loss, Fred and his family began regular attendance again, possibly looking for solace and companionship in their grief.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Attendance Roll, Minute Book, 1907-1913, Hope of the West lodge, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario, Box 4104.

Other regular attendees of the Hope of the West were similarly absent around important life events, such as marriages and births. To a greater degree than other temperance lodges, the Hope of the West was structured around welcoming families, adults and children alike. Fred Robins was the Superintendent of Juvenile Work for all of Ontario, and had an interest in making the IOGT appealing to children. Despite these efforts, however, the many changes that came with the arrival of a child made lodge participation more difficult. Mrs. George Noble was absent from the Hope of the West lodge for several months surrounding the birth of a baby, although her husband only missed a few meetings. Her recovery and home duties interfered with her participation in the lodge in ways that her husband did not experience. For other couples, the birth of a child seems to have marked (at least temporarily) the end of their active participation in the lodge.⁴⁵

Lodges made a point of sending congratulations to members on their marriages and on the arrival of children, as well as condolences in times of sorrow. Their attention to these life events have caused some to view them as merely “courting societies” where temperance was not so much the concern as was socializing between young men and young women with an eye to marriage.⁴⁶ While the temperance lodge experience was not so narrowly focused,

⁴⁵ Attendance Roll, Minute Book, 1907-1913, Hope of the West lodge, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario, Box 4104.

⁴⁶ Sharon Cook, 27.

it did have the potential to be a place for young couples to spend time together under respectable supervision. The membership varied greatly in age, from members in their 50s and 60s down to new members of 15 and 16 years old, but there were always large numbers of young people. One fond view of lodge life originally printed in the *Toronto Globe* declared that one of the reasons for young men to join the temperance lodges was socializing with “his heart’s real choice,” and having the opportunity to walk her home after the meeting was over “three miles away in the other direction from where you live “. ⁴⁷ The temperance lodges allowed a young woman to assess the suitability of a potential husband, and a young man to demonstrate his intentions to be a responsible, sober provider. Couples already or recently married also joined. Like joining a church, marriage may have been the impetus for young men to integrate themselves into community organizations. ⁴⁸ Lodges could be a part of the courting process and early married life, and signify to young women the desire of their sweethearts or new husbands to be respectable providers and future fathers.

⁴⁷ “Observations on Good Templary,” *The International Good Templar* (July 1888), 441.

⁴⁸ Anne S. Brown and David D. Hall, “Family Strategies and Religious Practice: Baptism and the Lord’s Supper in Early New England,” *Lived Religion in America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 60. See also Lynne Mark, *Revivals and Roller Rinks*, 32-33 and Hannah Lane, “Tribalism, Proselytism, and Pluralism: Protestants, Family, and Denominational Identity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century St. Stephen, New Brunswick,” *Households of Faith: Family, Gender and Community in Canada, 1760-1969*, Nancy Christie, ed. (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002), 117-123.

Lodge literature encouraged this practice, as it frequently contained warnings to young women about being certain they were marrying a temperate man. Horror stories of those who chose unwisely, or thought they could reform a moderate drinker, abounded, and were always presented with horrific results. In one story that was reprinted several times over the run of *The Camp Fire*, a woman rose in a meeting to address the girls there directly. She told them that she had “married the man I loved, and who professed to love me. He was a drunkard, and I knew it – knew it, but did not understand it.” She goes on to tell the sad tale of her life, in which her husband, in a drunken rage, killed all of his children but one, and one who remained fell prey to his father’s vice. The story ends with the woman telling the audience “Girls, it is you I wish to rescue from the fate that overtook me. Do not blast your life as I blasted mine: do not be drawn into the madness of marrying a drunkard,” warning them that if they think they can reform their sweethearts, a woman “[s]adly over-rates her strength.”⁴⁹ The effect of these stories was to urge young women to hedge their bets by choosing a man who had already taken the pledge. The connection was not directly drawn to lodge brothers as prospective husbands, but the general implication was that marriage was a potentially dangerous business for young women, and that those who had already proven themselves trustworthy when it came to alcohol were the safest bets.

⁴⁹ “Married To A Drunkard,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 3.

While lodges were sometimes the site of courting, their social activities were mostly of a less flirtatious nature. Within lodges, entertainment was provided by members, often in turns. Debates were held, lodge newspapers were created and read, and dramatic readings were given. Women participated in most, but not all, of these activities. They contributed to lodge newspapers, but some were apparently shy about reading their work in public, and asked lodge brothers to do that for them.⁵⁰ Women participated in the spelling bees, but they never participated in lodge debates. Although debate teams were frequently recorded in the minutes, they never included women. There were traditional female roles that lodge sisters were expected to fill, such as making and maintaining the regalia of office holders.⁵¹ Sewing remained distinctly women's work, and there was no challenge to this role from the men. Not surprisingly, this expectation also held true for cooking. When there were refreshments to be made for the lodge, either as part of a regular meeting, a special meeting in which the members of another lodge arrived to socialize, or a public event, making the food for attendees was the job of the sisters of the lodge. This pattern was not universally the case – in the twentieth century, many IOGT lodges instituted “Brothers Nights” and “Sisters Nights” when it was the job of either the brothers or the sisters to provide entertainment or refreshments. It is unclear

⁵⁰ December 14, 1868, Minute Book, Washington Lodge (No. 21), Independent Order of Good Templars fonds, Woodstock, Ontario, Oxford County Archives.

⁵¹ See, for example, Jan 9, 1908, Minute Book, Hope of the West IOGT Lodge, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario, Box 4104.

whether the brothers made the refreshments themselves, or provided ones made by their wives. Still, there appeared to be at least a superficial move to take that job off of the shoulders of the women of the lodges alone.⁵² However, for the most part, providing refreshments, particularly at the large public events, fell to the lodge sisters and the wives of members.

Lodge sisters also worked in organizing speaking events in small towns across Ontario, collected signatures for local option campaigns, and distributed pamphlets for political battles. As has been noted as a pattern in churches, women provided much of the free labour the lodges depended on, without receiving equal status or recognition in these organizations.⁵³ Although this had started to change on the local levels by the start of the twentieth century, all three of the major temperance lodges limited women's access to formal power within the lodge walls, while depending heavily on their informal contributions to support the cause. Despite this restriction, many women remained within the temperance lodges even after the advent of the WCTU, which offered women better access to formal power, and the ability to work with other women on a myriad of issues.

⁵² Program and Minute Book, 1907, Hope of the West IOGT Lodge, Robins fonds, Western Archives, University of Western Ontario, Box 4104.

⁵³ Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds., "Introduction," *The Changing Roles of Women Within the Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995,) 12.

The temperance lodges were willing to admit women as equal members when the vast majority of other fraternal organizations either excluded them or relegated them to auxiliaries who had little contact with the meeting time and space of the men. Somehow, temperance as a political issue allowed for the admission of women in ways that less political fraternal organizations would not copy. Temperance was always seen as an issue that had special relevance for women – it was their homes and financial support that was seen to be at stake when their husbands fell prey to drink. The argument was also made that the presence of women would attract more men to join as well, although this is an argument that finds no parallel in other fraternal organizations. However, for these men to open up their organizations to women on equal terms is remarkable. What exactly that was is still unclear, and the primary sources examined offer no strong evidence as to why.

The experiences of women in temperance lodges were rewarding enough to convince some women to join and to maintain memberships over long periods of time. However, it was not only for their work on the political cause that women were useful. While women populated the lodges, women also appeared in the temperance press in more symbolic form. These symbols both brought forward some women's issues, such as suffrage, while also portraying them as a certain kind of victim, used to rally the forces of temperance to their aid. This particular form of victimhood tended to obscure the actual experiences of both lodge sisters and of women who were coping with a drunken husband, and who

might have found abstract pity and grand political campaigns less than helpful.

As an abstract symbol, the female victim of male drink became the rhetorical focus of the temperance movement, and was used to illustrate incessantly and vividly the dangers that alcohol posed to society at large, and, particularly, to the home.

Chapter Eight

Women as Symbolic Victims of Drunken Masculinity

Woman as victim was a popular trope in temperance literature, articles, and poems.¹ In the American context, historians have written about temperance narratives and the idea that women could restore men to “manhood,” but the fiction published by the temperance lodges in Canada rarely takes that view.² Far more frequent than women appearing as reforming agents are the downtrodden, hopeless, powerless, female victims. While Carol Mattingly makes the point that in the U.S., WCTU temperance fiction in particular focused on women, she made no comparison with male temperance literature disseminated to groups like the temperance lodges. Since most temperance literature reached Canadian lodges through reprints in temperance newspapers, often without attribution, it is difficult to make a definitive statement on the matter, but the focus on women as victims of violence was by no means restricted to works written by women. The important distinction that seems to have been missed is that while women are sometimes shown to have the moral authority to reform men, in the vast majority

¹ Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 127.

² See, for example, Elaine Parsons, *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth Century United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), Scott C. Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere: Temperance, Gender, and Middle-class Ideology, 1800-1860* (Dekalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008) and Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women*, 149.

of temperance fiction, these women are not wives. Female temperance advocates are occasionally shown to have the ability to intervene, but rare indeed are the examples that show the actions of wives leading to the redemption of a drunken husband.³

This trope of the helpless wife was not necessarily reflective of lived experience. Elaine Parsons points out cases in which women took matters into their own hands in ways that are not echoed in temperance narratives. This emphasis on the absolute powerlessness of the wives of drunken men tends to obscure the tactics and coping techniques of women behind a long-suffering veil. In real life, women were not always so patient as they were portrayed. Women's activism resulted in the Women's Crusade of 1873-74, when concerned women invaded saloons, obstructed sales, prayed for customers, and, on occasion, physically destroyed alcohol and the places it was sold. Other tactics that women took on a less-organized scale to improve their own situations rarely enter into the historical record, although we can find some hint of them in Parsons' overall study, which looks at the civil damage laws in some states that allowed legal action against the person who had provided a drunkard with drink. Women pursued these cases, suing saloonkeepers for the money their husbands had spent, or for the injuries or death that had occurred while drunk.⁴ Unfortunately,

³ For female temperance advocates intervening see, for example, "Ask Mother's God To Help You," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. III, No. 9, March 1897) and "God's Argument," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. V, No. 5, November, 1898), 4.

⁴ Parsons, 92.

no one has done a comparable study on Canadian laws or women interacting with the justice system to prevent their husbands from drinking. Other methods of fighting back, or coping with the effects of drunkenness no doubt existed. From the point of view of most temperance narratives, women were there not to exert any power of their own, but to be illustrative of the ill deeds of the male actors. These motifs of danger and violence continued in substantially similar form through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Victimized women, their symbolic weight, their powerlessness and purity, all were potent symbols of the temperance movement, and rallied many people to the cause.⁵ Focusing on innocent female victims made the spread of temperate masculinity more urgent, showing who they were supposed to protect and illustrating the perceived dangers that awaited if self-restraint were overthrown by drink. This obscured the actions of women who were suffering from the effects of family members' drinking, and tended to ignore those thousands of women who were active in working for a solution.

The stories that appear in temperance fiction were substantially consistent throughout the nineteenth century.⁶ Most American studies of temperance

⁵ For ways in which women were used to illustrate the dangers of urban poverty, violence, and served as symbols for social injustice, see Dan Bivona and Roger B. Henkle, *The Imagination of Class, Masculinity and the Victorian Urban Poor* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2006), 66.

⁶ See Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women*, Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere*, and several of the essays, particularly Nicholas O. Warner, "Temperance, Morality and Medicine in the Fiction of Harriet Beecher Stowe," in *The Serpent in the Cup*:

literature break off in 1860, just before the Civil War, and a few pick up the issue after the war, but these generally focus on the American WCTU. There has been no overview of temperance literature over the entire period, but the stories remain remarkably consistent. These stories were so familiar that the popular press parodied and referred to these narrative forms without bothering to explain.⁷ One historian has identified what she sees as six aspects of the classic drunkard narrative:

First, the drinker, before his first drink, is a particularly promising young man. Second, the drinker falls largely or entirely because of external influences. Third, if the story blames the drinker for contributing to his own fall, his weakness is a desire either for excitement or to please his ill-chosen friends. Fourth, after he begins to drink, the desire to drink overcomes all of his other motivations. Fifth, he loses his control over his family, his economic life, and/or his own body. Sixth, if the drinker is redeemed, it is through a powerful external influence.⁸

This rise and fall of the drunken man can be seen in most of the fiction published in Canadian temperance newspapers at the end of the nineteenth century. This is not surprising, given that the Canadian temperance press tended to reprint stories from American publications, but these themes can also be seen as early as

Temperance in American Literature, David S. Reynolds and Debra J. Rosenthal, eds. (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997), 141, 3.

⁷ Elaine Parsons, *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth Century United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 4.

⁸ Parsons, 11. While Parsons talks about the lack of such a standard narrative for female drunkenness, she does not consider the ways in which the women in the narratives were portrayed and gendered.

1830-1850.⁹ The stories of danger and degradation due to alcohol remained remarkably similar over long periods of time, and, in some cases, the same story in slightly different garb can be seen entering into the printed record over decades. In addition to the narrative aspects above, these stories also put a heavy emphasis on female virtue and powerlessness, danger, and violence brought on by alcohol and abuse at the hands of a male family member. The stories may be about the fall of men, but much of their emotional punch comes from the effects of that fall on female victims.

By using these tropes, the lodges, along with the WCTU, formulated a strong but limited critique of spousal abuse. In so doing, they shone a light into dark areas of family power dynamics rarely examined in the nineteenth century. They criticized unfettered male power, but their view of the issue was weakened by a tendency to attribute domestic violence solely to the influence of alcohol and the belief that without this substance, men would no longer beat their wives, children would no longer go hungry, and poverty would be eradicated. If the brutal male power unleashed by alcohol was the darker side of masculinity, the broken-down and powerless victim was the result.¹⁰ Interestingly, in temperance fiction, this violence was almost exclusively unleashed on wives, while children were in more danger from neglect. While Linda Gordon believes that the

⁹ Jerome Nadelhaft, "Alcohol and Wife Abuse in Antebellum Male Temperance Literature," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 25:1 (1995), 15-44.

¹⁰ Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880-1960* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1988) 264.

association with drinking served to trivialize male violence as a “foible, not a crime against women,” the ways in which the temperance movement thought about drunken men, female victims, and violence suggests that they, at least, took this very seriously, if somewhat theoretically. While temperance literature can tell us little about the prevalence of domestic abuse and the various forms that this social problem took, it can tell us a great deal about how the members of the temperance movement conceptualized the issue, how their notions of gender influenced their construction of women as victims and men as potential abusers, and, most of all, these stories can provide some insight into the kinds of solutions that men and women in the temperance lodges came up with. What emerges is a powerful but limited critique of domestic violence.

While it undoubtedly occurred, domestic abuse was a little recognized facet of nineteenth-century life. For many, it was an issue that should stay behind closed doors, perhaps regrettable, but not to be scrutinized as part of a man’s private domain. A man had legal authority over his wife and children, as well as the disposal of family finances and assets. This ideology rested on a premise of benevolent paternalism, wielded by a responsible male actor who would treat his dependents kindly and fairly. Temperance men claimed a particular identification with this responsible masculinity, as we have seen, arguing that their abstention from drink was an outward sign of their inward virtue. However, the fact that not all men upheld this ideal was irrefutable, which created a problem reconciling the ideal of benevolent masculinity with the

realities of violence, poverty, and abuse. Some ended up attributing domestic violence to either an extrinsic substance (alcohol), or class position (working class.) This allowed a critique of domestic violence to be developed without needing to examine the underlying problems of masculine privilege and the economic dependence of women on husbands or fathers.

One thing that virtually all critiques of domestic violence in the nineteenth-century had in common was an overriding assumption that domestic violence was a working-class issue. British feminist Frances Cobbe, in her critique of the economic dependence of women on their husbands, wrote that domestic assault in upper and middle-class families “rarely extends to anything beyond an occasional blow or two of a not dangerous kind,” and focused on poor and working-class women as the real victims.¹¹ The temperance movement shared in this myopia, attributing “real” violence only to the degraded masculinity of drunken working-class men. While this view ignored domestic violence as a larger issue in society, failing to look beyond the working-class for incidence of domestic violence was a blind spot many shared. Even when it was seen as a class vice connected to the lower orders of society, it was heavily connected to alcohol. It is therefore not surprising that many Canadian historians have connected the emergence of a critique of domestic violence not to

¹¹ Francis Power Cobbe, “Wife-Torture in England” in *Criminal, Idiots, Women, and Minors*, ed. Susan Hamilton (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995), 153-159. Originally printed in 1878.134.

the nascent feminist movement but to temperance advocates.¹² While nineteenth century feminists did not ignore domestic violence, their main concerns were often directed elsewhere. Some of the most prominent feminists in the United States and England spoke out in support of women having the right to divorce in cases of cruelty or drunkenness. These two causes were virtually always paired, making it clear that there was a common belief in a causal connection between alcohol and assault.¹³

Due to this connection, it makes sense that temperance advocates were some of the first to identify domestic violence as a societal problem. Although some have argued that the issue was more prominent during “periods of active feminism,” one Canadian historian has written that there was no obvious correlation between feminism and attention to domestic abuse in Montreal in the time period she considered.¹⁴ However, most historians have written as though the temperance movement was synonymous with the WCTU. While the WCTU

¹² Lorna McLean, ““Deserving” Wives and “Drunken” Husbands: Wife Beating, Marital Conduct, and the Law in Ontario, 1850-1910,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* Vol. 35, No. 69 (2002), see also Judith Fingard, “The Prevention of Cruelty, Marriage Breakdown and the Rights of Wives in Nova Scotia, 1880-1900,” *Acadiensis* Vol. 22, No. 2 (Spring/Printemps 1993), 84, and Kathryn Harvey, “To Love, Honour and Obey: Wife-Battering in Working-Class Montreal, 1869-1879,” *Urban History Review* Vol. 19, No 2, (1990) 133-135.

¹³ Elizabeth Pleck, “Feminist Responses to “Crimes Against Women,” 1868-1896,” *Signs* Vol. 8, No. 3 (Spring, 1983), 451-470. See also Francis Power Cobbe, “Wife-Torture in England” in *Criminal, Idiots, Women, and Minors*, ed. Susan Hamilton (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 1995), 153-159. Originally printed in 1878.

¹⁴ Harvey, “To Love, Honour and Obey” 128-141.

was active in laying bare the abuses of unfettered masculine power, they were also continuing a decades-long critique of drunken domestic violence in which the lodges had pioneered. Notably, the most famous enactment of temperance legislation, the “Maine Law” in 1851, which prohibited alcohol in that state, also contained provisions for divorce, particularly in the case of domestic violence related to alcohol consumption. Such laws predated the emergence of the WCTU by more than 20 years. Under Maine Law, women should be allowed to divorce their husbands when it was “reasonable and proper, conducive to domestic harmony, and consistent with the peace and morality of society.”¹⁵ This provision to protect women from drunken violence was presumably repealed when the rest of the Maine Law was, in 1856. In Ontario, the situation was different. Enactment of prohibitory laws remained a local matter until World War I. There was no possibility of the inclusion of a divorce law, and no evidence that the temperance movement in Ontario was interested in such a thing.

Indeed, the courts in Ontario, and in Canada at large, were remarkable for their reluctance to help women out of abusive situations. Judith Fingard, in looking at the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty in Nova Scotia, found that the organization mostly offered counseling and legal aid to affected women, but that their efforts were often not rewarded by the legal system.¹⁶ Most historians who

¹⁵ Sandra VanBurkleo, *“Belonging to the World”: Women’s Rights and American Constitutional Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 71.

¹⁶ Judith Fingard, “The Prevention of Cruelty, Marriage Breakdown and the Rights of Wives in Nova Scotia, 1880-1900,” *Acadiensis* Vol. 22, No. 2

have looked at interactions between abused spouses and the legal system have found that judges were generally reticent to interfere in recognized male authority over his family and home, even if he abused his masculine privilege while there.¹⁷ Beyond the system for punishment, which often failed abused women, spousal abuse made little impact in the public sphere. Women were determined to use the system, as many studies have shown, to try to extricate themselves from difficult or life-threatening situations. However, unless the judge agreed with the wife's assessment that her life was actively in danger, it was not certain that she would receive the separation or support she was seeking.¹⁸

(Spring/Printemps 1993), 84-101. See also Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston, 1880-1960* (New York: Viking Press, 1988), 253, 292, 20.

¹⁷ See, for example, Lorna McLean, "'Deserving' Wives and 'Drunken' Husbands: Wife Beating, Marital Conduct, and the Law in Ontario, 1850-1910," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* Vol. 35, No. 69 (2002), Kathryn Harvey, "To Love, Honour and Obey: Wife-Battering in Working-Class Montreal, 1869-1879," *Urban History Review* Vol. 19, No. 2 (Oct 1990), James Snell, "Marital Cruelty: Women and the Nova Scotia Divorce Court, 1900-1939," *Acadiensis* Vol. 18, No. 1 (Autumn 1988), Constance Backhouse, "'Pure Patriarchy': Nineteenth-Century Canadian Marriage," *McGill Law Journal* 31 (1985-1986), and Kathryn Harvey, "Amazons and Victims: Resisting Wife-Abuse in Working-Class Montreal, 1869-1879," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* Vol. 2, No. 1, (1991).

¹⁸ Harvey, "Amazons or Victims", 138-140. See also Annalee E. Golz, "'If A Man's Wife Does Not Obey Him, What Can He Do?': Marital Breakdown and Wife Abuse in Late Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth-Century Ontario," *Law, Society, and the State: Essays in Modern Legal History*, Louis A. Knafla and Susan W.S. Binnie, eds. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). For an opposing view, that the legal system did support abused wives, see Lori Chamber, *Married Women and Property Law in Victorian Ontario* (Toronto: The Osgoode Society for Canadian Legal History, 1997), 36.

The vast majority of temperance fiction focused on the danger that drinking posed to women and children. Wives were portrayed as those who were most powerless over the drinking of their husbands.¹⁹ They could pray for aid, but that was the full extent of the power they could wield. As one historian summarized: “the temperance movement’s fixation on the details and accoutrements of wife murder became so graphic as to resemble the lurid accounts of crimes published in the penny press.”²⁰ Temperance accounts went into great and often disturbing detail, lingering over the abuse inflicted on women. Looking at the body of temperance literature as a whole, stories about men who drank and the results of that drinking took place along a continuum of male abuse of power. In the mildest form of degraded masculinity, a drunken husband, even if he was not abusive, was a bad provider, the cause of poverty and the breaker of his wife’s heart, often fatally. In one typical temperance story of marriage to a man who drank, an attractive young woman found only sorrow and death:

When she was a merry-hearted girl she fell in love with a handsome, brilliant young fellow, whose only failure was a fondness for liquor. He loved her deeply – better than anything else in the world, except drink...Two years after her marriage she died of a broken heart, whispering at the last to a dear friend that she “was not sorry to go, but would be thankful life was over if she

¹⁹ Scott C. Martin has noted that while wives, daughters and mothers are all frequently shown to be the victims of male violence, and thus, those most invested in the reformation of their male relatives, sisters appear relatively infrequently. Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere*, 41.

²⁰ Martin, 49.

were only sure her year-old baby would not be left to Harry's care.²¹

The story lays the blame for this woman's suffering at the feet of the drinking that had caused her husband to treat her with such callousness. Wives such as this were powerless over their own fate, betrayed by those who should protect them, and unable to do anything to ameliorate the suffering of their children.

The stress of being the wife or mother of a drunkard could be, in itself, too much for women to bear. In one purportedly true story, a young man was brought to a court in New York by his mother.

This son was a young man of thirty or so. Instead of helping his aged mother he spent what little he earned in drink. At last the poor woman determined to have him committed as a habitual drunkard, hoping that such a step would be for his good. She was called to the witness-stand to swear to the complaint, but the effect was too much for her, and she died with the words on her lips, 'It's breaking my heart.'²²

In stories such as this one, the women afflicted never become angry or more than reproachful, and they are unable to effect any change. The same story was retold six months later in the same newspaper, greatly embellished. Added in the later version was the detail that "Johnny" had tried to kill his mother twice. When it

²¹ "Marrying A Man To Reform Him," *The Camp Fire* (Vol 1, No. 11, May 1895), 3. Such stories of the pitiful nature of the victims that temperance literature used to press its points, are remarkably consistent throughout the nineteenth century, appearing as early as the 1830s, and continuing through until the dawn of the twentieth. See also Nadelhaft, "Alcohol and Wife Abuse in Antebellum Male Temperance Literature," *Canadian Review of American Studies* 25, No. 1 (1995), and Martin, *Devil of the Domestic Sphere*.

²² "It's Breaking My Heart," *The Camp Fire* (Vol 2, No. 2, August 1895), 1.

actually comes to signing the complaint, the mother balked, finally signed, but on the way to the witness box, she cried out (in different last words from the preceding story) "I can't swear agen [sic] him! I can't!...It's killin' me! Johnny, come here." At this point she collapsed and died.²³ Fiction like this was used repeatedly, always presented as true stories. However, they were frequently embellished to such a point that, even if there were originally a shred of truth to them, they are more moral lesson than journalism.

At the extreme end of the continuum of the effects of degraded masculinity lay the wife who was repeatedly the target of her husband's drunken violence, culminating in death. One particularly graphic poem used drunken brutality, innocent female fragility, and female dependence to create a vivid picture of male power degraded by alcohol to a dangerously inhuman level. Without the restraining masculine virtues of responsibility and restraint, drinking is seen to unleash the brute in men. The poem opens creating the scene of the aftermath of a brutal attack on a woman by her husband:

In a hospital ward a woman lay,
Painfully gasping her life away.
So bruised and beat you scarce could trace,
Womanhood's semblance in form or face,

Despite this, the poet was quick to assure the readers that, had she not been beaten severely, this woman was a paragon of virtuous womanhood, with her hair "like thread of gold" and "dainty" hands and feet. This battered and dying

²³ "A Broken Heart," *The Camp Fire* Vol. 2, No. 7, January 1896), 1.

woman continued to be devoted to her husband, openly forgiving and continuing to love the man who put her in that state. When someone tending to her in the hospital says that her attacker must have been a “coward,” and wonders “what bitter hate must have nerved the arm/That helpless creature like this could harm,” the dying wife is loyal to her husband to the last. The victim explains to her nurse or doctor that it was not his fault. With her dying breath, she says ““He loved me well-/My husband - 'twas drink - be sure you tell/When he comes to himself, that I forgive,/Poor fellow - for him I would like to live.” There is no breath of reproach or blame laid on him. All of it is put at the feet of the substance that was seen as the sole reason for the abuse. The poem ended with a plea to men to see in this woman their daughters, sisters, and wives.²⁴ Violence against women was repeatedly and exclusively put in a family context, both in terms of domestic abuse, and in appealing to the family feeling of temperance men. “The Drunkard’s Wife” was reprinted several times over the run of *The Camp Fire*. Notably, there are no temperance fiction stories of men attacking women who were strangers to them. The dangers the authors of these stories wanted to highlight was the hidden violence within the family, and they were less concerned about what drunken men might do to women who encountered them on the street.

²⁴ “The Drunkard’s Wife,” *The Camp Fire* Vol. 1, No. 4, October 1894), 3.

While most temperance fiction followed a standard plot that started with one drink, and led gradually down into poverty, cruelty, violence and murder, sometimes the fall was shown to occur even more quickly. In the most lurid of these stories, it is not infrequent that men murder their wives, but at times these tales become so melodramatic that it is not the end result of long-term drunkenness and abuse, but the result of a single glass. In one poem, a man named Harold was tempted by a friend, but drew back, saying he had abstained for twenty years, and his wife would be upset with him if he partook. He is, however, persuaded to take one drink, and then becomes drunk. When he gets home:

Little wife came forth to meet him, to her husband's side she sped.
When she gazed upon her husband, every thought of pleasure fled.
"Harold darling, are you angry? Wherefore have I gained your frown?
Are you ill, or are you weary? Come, and by my side, sit down."
Like as aspen leaf she trembled as they walked with halting pace,
All the venom of the drink fiend seemed to gather in his face,
For her gentleness enraged him, filled him with an evil glow;
And his answer to her pleading was a cruel, cowardly blow.
Gazing with a drink-fired passion at the victim at his feet,
Loving wife and tender mother, lying lifeless at his feet."²⁵

In this poem, drink transforms a loving and responsible husband into a demon, converting all his goodness to evil. Bitten by the snake of alcohol, the maddened victim lashes out at those nearest and dearest to him. Harold is then jailed for his crimes, for that one breaking of his pledge led to inexorable murder. Stories such

²⁵ "Harold's Fall, Or The Murderous Glass!" *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 4, No. 10, April 1898), 3.

as this warned that women could act perfectly, and have married wisely, but still, they were not safe. One lapse on the part of their husband, and their lives could be cut short. The message to women about the dangers they faced from men in their family was sometimes unsettlingly clear. In temperance fiction, women were not generally blamed for their husband's drinking, although there is a small subset of stories that involve a careless young woman tempting a previously temperate young man to drink one glass, and ruining that action ever after.²⁶ These aside, women mostly appear as blameless victims, whose pureness serves to underscore the brutality of their husbands and the tragedy of drinking.

A key feature of this type of literature is forgiveness. The women are always long-suffering, but that extended suffering does not change their feelings for their husbands. These idealized and saintly women were never bitter toward their abusers, but mourned the loss of their beloved husbands to drink. The underlying assumption is always that no man would abuse his wife if he were sober:

The liquor traffic changes the loving husband into a drunken devil, who, with blows and kicks and blood, repays a devoted wife and mother for all her labor and self-sacrifice in the endeavor to provide for her family the necessities of life to which the husband contributes nothing, because all his earnings go into the till of the rum-seller in payment for the poison which converts him into a demon.²⁷

²⁶ "Destroyed By His Wife," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. III, No. 10, April 1897), 1.

²⁷ "Why I Am A Prohibitionist," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 10, April 1897), 3.

Through casting women as victims, temperance literature denied women a sense of agency, but it also critiqued some of the worst potentials of male power – those situations when the man meant to be the protector became the abuser. This critique, limited as it was, clearly pointed out the economic vulnerability of women, dependent on their husbands not only for protection, but for most of their worldly possessions as well. As far as temperance fiction was concerned, women did not work outside the home. The Victorian ideal of separate spheres was central to how the worlds of women and men should be structured, and temperance fiction tended to tell stories about women who kept house even when their husbands had abandoned their responsibilities to support them. The financial responsibility men had towards their female dependents was one that the temperance movement took extremely seriously, although they did not extend their critique to the issue of gendered economic dependence in general. In one story, a woman had worked hard to keep her family going while her husband, a sailor, was away, surviving through her faith in God: “She hoped on in patience for her husband’s return, when his earnings would wipe off the debts which she had incurred for food and clothing, and the sad time of pinching would have passed away from him.” However, the man returned a drunkard, and this drove her to the brink:

The human brute who was her husband had returned upon the previous day, and had staggered drunk and penniless into his home. Such a termination to weary months of watching extinguished in a moment the feeble light of that overtasked brain. They bore her to the County Lunatic Asylum, and in three days she

had passed away to that home “where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest.”²⁸

The newspapers published by temperance lodges recognized the danger of complete economic dependence of women on men, and painted a stark picture of the potential for men to abuse their power, but the answer offered was not to create opportunities for women to support their families independent of their husbands, but rather to stand aside from the situation and deplore the plight of the wife of a drunkard.

Helping women who lacked the financial support of a man was a challenge that neither government nor charity organizations solved in the nineteenth century. If a wife had been deserted, the situation was somewhat more clear. However, in practice, women whose husbands were still alive and present could still struggle with his failure to provide support. However, interfering in such intact families proved difficult to justify in the face of prevailing sentiments that a man’s independence could not be infringed upon. Legislation focused on those families that had already been affected by desertion of the husband, who could be shown to have materially broken up the home. Starting in 1888, Ontario legislated support for deserted wives, using what Dorothy Chunn has pointed out as a distinctly paternalistic model. The assumption was that women needed the state to act on their behalf when their husbands were neglectful of their duties. Evangelical churches similarly

²⁸ “A True Tale,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol 2, No. 2, August 1895), 3.

regarded deserted wives as particularly deserving of their aid, and in need of external support. But even this support was generally minimal, and sometimes tinged with worry that by supporting deserted wives, they would encourage more husbands to desert their families.²⁹

The desertion of a husband made it clear that a wife could not rely on him to fulfill the masculine duties expected of him by society. But what of those women who still had the physical presence of their husband, but lacked adequate financial support? Unlike other organizations, the temperance movement extended its critique of male power to those men who drank their money away, and while they remained in the family, deprived it of food, shelter, and safety. While the state and most charities focused on the absence of men as a cause of women's poverty, the temperance movement put forward the argument that those who had husbands present but could not rely on them should be objects of pity no less than those whose husbands had left. While the temperance movement was pushing the envelope by pointing out the problems of women who were vulnerable to poverty due to the abandonment of masculine duty, rather than to desertion, their solutions were not radically different. Temperance lodge literature did not advise direct intervention or the breaking up of a family.

²⁹ Dorothy Chunn, *From Punishment To Doing Good: Family Courts and Socialized Justice in Ontario, 1880-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 47. See also Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 28-30 and Linda Gordon, *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 26.

Women were not to be helped out of abusive or poverty-laden circumstances. Rather, it was the men who must be changed. The answer that temperance lodge publications put forward was to restore what they saw as the natural order of things – a patriarchal family structure headed by a loving, responsible father.

By the end of the nineteenth century, most temperance activists had come to believe that moral suasion was too slow and too inconsistent to be used to force men take their proper places as benevolent patriarchs. Attention to the issue of domestic abuse was rechanneled into the temperance movement, urging lodge members to address it by working for prohibitory legislation. Victims of domestic abuse were used as part of temperance political agitation as powerful symbols of the deleterious effects of alcohol, but there were no plans put in place to help them directly, other than pursuing a prohibitory law. In one poem, the total cost was toted up in women's bodies:

It was only a woman slain
By the drunken, frenzied hand
Of one who had pledge to protect her
By love's divine command.
It was only an item of news
(Who cares for a woman slain)?
And the world goes on unheeding
Another's sorrow or pain

It was only a home destroyed,
And children outcast and lost.
Yet pause for a moment and think
What this sinful traffic cost.
Three thousand women are slain
Each year in this Christian land,
And the gallows claims its due

By justice's stern demand.³⁰

The temperance movement tended to be so heavily invested in the “natural” order of the family, and preserving masculine privileges and obligations, that the radical potential of their critique of domestic violence was severely limited. Men who did drink were seen as abrogating their masculine obligations, and defying the natural order of things. It was alcoholic substances, not structural issues of inequality and vulnerability, that made women unable to depend on men for protection. Instead of extending their critique to men’s power over women, and the need to protect women from abuse of that power, temperance rhetoric coming from the lodges based its arguments on the belief that men should protect women, and the removal of the pernicious substance would alone set the world to rights. The WCTU, Sharon Cook argued, started from the same premise, that men must “be reminded of their Christian duty to their dependents,” but then also wanted to help women “become more assertive in pointing out injustice in their own family units and in those dysfunctional families within their ken.”³¹ The lodges made a place for women to do so within their local lodges, but made less space for them to argue these issues on larger stages.

³⁰ “Only A Woman Slain,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 5, November 1896), 3.

³¹ Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*, 86.

Even the very few stories that gave women a role as the redeemer of their husbands rooted their power in wifely submission. In one story, the narrator, “Jim Russell,” relates that he was drunker than normal, and became abusive:

I guess I had gone home just as drunk lots of times, but I never was half so mean. I had hit my wife before and kicked her, but never hurt her much. She told me lots of truth when I came home full, but this time she said not a word and that made me madder than ever. I struck her a terrible blow on the cheek. She fell and didn’t get up. When my little boy Winnie came to plead for his mother, I kicked him halfway across the room.³²

What changed Jim’s behavior in this story was not so much his actions, but the response of his wife. She said nothing about it, made breakfast for him, and never reproached him about his abuse. This passive reaction drove him to sign the pledge, which does please her. The troubling message of this story remains: that women, in order to reform their husbands, should take the abuse quietly and with grace, in order to show them the error of their ways. Women who could not do so, or found it fruitless, are little considered. By fulfilling their roles as women, even when the men around them were abdicating their masculine responsibilities, long-suffering wives, it was supposed, would shame their husbands into returning to their own proper spheres.

There are a couple of stories, however, in which the opposite occurs. Women took more aggressive action and successfully convinced their husbands to stop drinking. In the examples of this type of story, however, the women do

³² “Signing the Pledge; Or, How Jim Russell Did It,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 8, February 1897), 4.

not address their husbands directly. Instead, it is their actions in venturing into what is considered masculine territory (the workplace or the bar) that shames their husbands into resuming their own proper masculinity, and making sure their wives do not have to enter such unfeminine locations again. In one story in which the wife did convince her husband to stop drinking, she had to take matters to rather extraordinary lengths. She started out by blaming herself for her husband's absence, saying that she had tried to make the home attractive to him, failed, and therefore: "condemned herself for her selfishness, saying, "I am sure he needs other recreation after a hard day's work, besides coming home to baby and me."³³ She then looked in the mirror and thought that she may be growing old, and that would explain her husband's absence. Taking the blame for her husband's drinking on herself and her appearance, she decided to draw his attention, dressed up, went down to the bar, and asked for a beer. By this bold action, she meant to show her husband that if it is good enough for him, it is good enough for her. Her husband is bewildered by what his wife had done, but takes her home, where she faints, having been overcome by so bold an action. Her collapse is not a mere passing faint: "so for weeks Tom Burton hardly ate or slept as he watched with deep anxiety beside the wife, whose precious life hung on a slender thread."³⁴ The author insinuates that her action can only be justified if seen as an extraordinary act taken in extremity. By going so far outside her

³³ "One Woman's Way," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 3, No. 3, September 1896), 3.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

normal sphere, she paid a physical price for the transgression. By doing so, she was successful in her aims, and her husband took the pledge. It is through her action and her frailty that her husband is redeemed. When women could redeem their husbands, they did so through submission, or extraordinary action to remind their husbands of their proper roles.

While the newspapers put out by temperance lodges did not reflect real-life experience, and never advocated anything other than prohibition to solve the problem, they played a part in publicizing domestic abuse as an issue that required state intervention – even if it were intervention in the form of the banning of alcohol. However, their critique of and focus on abuse of wives and children was also limited. As an organization led by men, they had no critique of patriarchy or male power in the abstract. They were a product of their time, and tended not to be radical in their solutions to the issues. The stories in the temperance newspapers put out by the lodges reflected, for the most part, dominant gender ideologies. The patriarchal duty of maintaining a home and wife could be abused, but not removed. Their solutions all relied on outside interference in personal habits, and the belief that alcohol was genuinely the root cause of abuse and poverty. This myopic view focused the attention of the temperance lodges away from power dynamics within the family, and assumed that the basic masculinity to which sober men would return was the benevolent, respectable masculinity to which temperance men aspired.

As we have seen, in temperance literature, women were often portrayed as the innocent victims of male violence. The symbolic victimized woman was worthy of sympathy and support because she refused to abandon her gendered role as wife and mother. The role of women in keeping the home together was acknowledged, in the absence of a husband assuming his “proper” role, but that tended to be the extent of their agency. By painting the wives of drunkards in the manner in which they did, temperance authors obscured the experiences of real women who were married to drunken husbands. Women who were not so saintly, not so domestic, and who perhaps drank themselves, would have found themselves excluded from these portraits. Temperance advocates used these images of women as patient victims because they were effective, not because they were representative. There was a powerful sentimental appeal in the portrayal of women who were destitute, injured, or sometimes dying, due to no fault of their own, but merely their misfortune to have married those who abdicated their masculine responsibilities. Such a heartwrenching appeal was part of the reason that men and women joined the temperance lodges and saw in the cause of temperance and prohibition one of the most compelling political issues of their day. Most of the members of these lodges do not ever seem to have contemplated radical changes in gender relations, but they were quick to criticize certain aspects in order to bolster their cause. The men of the lodges who published temperance literature were not immersed in the feminist movement,

and although they had a particular interest in the fate of women, they were rarely radical in their suggested solutions.

It is too simple, however, to merely say that temperance men adhered wholeheartedly to the gendered status quo. Although their critique of gender was not extensive or theoretical, they were part of the push for women's suffrage. Temperance lodges strongly supported women's suffrage, at least on paper. By the time that the WCTU was rooted in Canada in the late 1880s, the Ontario temperance lodges were firmly behind the principle of women's suffrage. Local option battles, and later, plebiscites on the provincial and Dominion levels had come to convince men and women in the Ontario temperance lodges that women's suffrage was instrumental in achieving their goals. Although the temperance lodges tried to make a particular place for men in the temperance movement, they also saw prohibition as an issue in which women had special interest. They were convinced, perhaps correctly, that women would vote overwhelmingly in favour of legislation restricting the manufacture and sale of alcohol. Jack Blocker, in *Give To The Winds Thy Fears*, relates that the Sons and Daughters of Temperance urged the fledgling American WCTU in the 1870s to set women's suffrage as one of its initial planks, advising the new organization that working for temperance as women without the vote would not be enough.³⁵ Initially, the American WCTU did not follow this advice,

³⁵ Jack Blocker, *"Give To The Winds Thy Fears": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), 70.

partly due to the anti-suffrage views of their first leader, Annie Wittenmyer. Once Frances Willard assumed the position that would be hers for decades, she quickly added women's suffrage as a core issue for the national organization.³⁶ By the late nineteenth century, the temperance lodges in Ontario were firmly behind the principle. The Dominion Alliance, which attempted to coordinate the activities of many different temperance organizations, including the lodges and the WCTU, passed a motion at their convention in 1894, "recognizing the power of the ballot in all questions of moral reform, and desiring to place on record its appreciation of the work of the temperance women of Canada for the annihilation of the liquor traffic, is of the opinion that properly-qualified women should no longer be denied the right of Parliamentary Franchise."³⁷

This belief was echoed many times in debates in both Sons and IOGT lodges, as well as in *The Camp Fire*, the official newspaper of the Ontario IOGT, and much print (and often poetry) was given over to the necessity of allowing women the franchise. Women being elected to municipal office in other countries gave rise to approving notes in the newspaper, even when these stories did not directly relate to temperance issues.³⁸ Although the desire of the temperance

³⁶ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance*, 46.

³⁷ "The Great Convention," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 1.

³⁸ The election of a woman as mayor in Pleasant Town, Kansas, was noted, as well as her efforts to enforce preexisting liquor laws, while the mere election of a woman to office in New Zealand was noted in a later issue. "Along The Lines," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 1, July 1894), 1, and "International News," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 9, March 1895), 1.

lodges for female suffrage was primarily motivated by the knowledge that, with the addition of women's votes, their cause would gain significantly, they were no less committed to promoting women's suffrage because their motives were somewhat instrumental. Their conception of the pure womanhood they fought to protect was not overtly in conflict with their support for these women to vote to protect their own homes from alcohol.

The historiography of the suffrage movement has tended to focus on two main streams of feminist thought that were used to bolster their cause – maternal feminism and equal rights feminism. The writings of the fraternal temperance lodges stand outside these streams of feminist thought, but they do draw on elements of both when talking about votes for women. Maternal feminism rooted its calls for the vote for women in their perceived superior moral sense and goodness, and called for women to take their role as the shapers of home and children into the outside world.³⁹ Equal rights feminism demanded the vote on the grounds of their equality to men, not their differences from them, but women

³⁹ Mothers were often perceived as having innate morality and having the ability to mold their children. The role of mothers in imparting religion and temperance were often intertwined. For authors on the symbolic power of mothers in nineteenth-century thought, see, for example, Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, *Canadian Methodist Women, 1766-1925: Marys, Marthas, Mothers in Israel* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2005), 69, Marguerite Van Die, *An Evangelical Mind: Nathanael Burwash and the Methodist Tradition in Canada, 1839-1918* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 20-25, Ruth Bloch, "American Feminine Ideals in Transition," *Feminist Studies* (4 June 1978), Ann Taves, "Mothers, Children, and the Legacy of Nineteenth-Century American Christianity," *Journal of Religion* Vol.67, No. 2, (1987), 211.

in the temperance movement tended not to use these arguments to publicly advance their agenda. In the American context, the debates have been summed up by Frances Willard biographer Ruth Bordin, who wrote that while other, more radical feminists worked on divorce laws or attacked the very idea of marriage, "Frances Willard advocated the vote only for the reason that the home could thereby be kept safe, strong, and inviolate."⁴⁰ Willard's arguments tended to be mirrored by those of the lodges, both in regards to the vote, and to the desire to keep homes intact. The WCTU in Canada was less quick to univocally promote women's suffrage. Local unions were divided, although some were eager to add this political issue to their temperance endeavours. As the Dominion WCTU got on board, their statements relied heavily on the "tender and vital interest in the human race which inheres in womanhood and maternity."⁴¹ By the dawn of the twentieth century, if not every WCTU group was eagerly promoting suffrage for women, the organization as a whole was behind it, using maternal claims to drive their arguments. If there were equal rights feminist arguments behind the drive for the vote, they did not show up in WCTU literature, which preferred to base their claims on women's special roles as mothers.

⁴⁰ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981), 60. See also Carol Lee Bacchi, *Liberation Deferred?: The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists, 1877-1918* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.)

⁴¹ Cook, 100-101.

The issue became more complicated when groups that were not feminist added their voices to feminist issues. For the temperance lodges, obtaining the vote for women was no small matter. However contentious the presence of women in the lodges may have been in the mid-nineteenth century, there is little evidence that women's suffrage was a particularly divisive issue in the lodges a few decades later. All the lodge records examined show support for women's suffrage by the 1880s, even though the local lodges may have added passive rather than active support. These men would not have regarded themselves as feminist, but their arguments for women's suffrage draw on many of the same strands of thought. *The Camp Fire* was strongly in favour of women's suffrage, a fact that may have been influenced by the editor, F.S. Spence. Spence's mother was the first superintendent of the Dominion WCTU Franchise Department and an active worker for the vote for women.⁴² As a result, his newspaper frequently publicized fights for women's suffrage, always in supportive terms. In an article reprinted from an American source, *The Camp Fire* endorsed the vote along maternal feminist lines. American minister Rev. F.D. Powers wrote:

Give woman the ballot! If woman's sphere is the home, if this be the centre and citadel of her power, she has the right to be heard and felt in its protection. Unloose her hands, and let her strike in the face this deadly foe to all that she holds sacred....They could and would revolutionize society, hurl to the pit the licensed iniquity which, like a terrible octopus, would gather into its slimy and horrid folds, not only their husbands and sons, but schools and

⁴² Ruth Spence, *Prohibition in Canada: A Memorial to Francis Stephens Spence* (Toronto: Ontario Branch of the Dominion Alliance, 1919), 69.

churches, and thus destroy the land we love. Let the mothers,
wives and daughters vote on the question.⁴³

Although this article spoke in distinctly American terms about Republics and Congressmen, *The Camp Fire* endorsed the author's sentiments. Arguments based on women's responsibilities in the home, and their particular moral virtue as wives and mothers were most frequently referred to as reasons for suffrage.

However, more radical sentiments occasionally appeared. One poem, reprinted in *The Camp Fire*, and initially from a periodical called *The Constitution*, was forceful in its depiction of women as politically and economically disenfranchised:

There are patient little women here below,
Never get but half the wages that men do;
Now the reason none can tell
For they do their work as well,
Unless it is that voters make it so

Don't you know, don't you know
Where all women ought to go,
To kill discrimination that is robbing of them so?
They should cast a mighty vote,
And thus strike a ringing note,
Equal pay for equal labor, don't you know.

There are women who pay taxes, we all know,
And men hang them when they dare transgress the law
By a jury all of men.
And a male judge to condemn:
Women bear each burden of the citizen.

Don't you know, don't you know
Where all honest men should go
When the penalties of government descend on women so?

⁴³ "Unloose Her Hands," *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 1, No. 9, March 1895), p.4

They should yield them every good
With which franchise is imbued,
And make them full and equal, don't you know.⁴⁴

It is wise not to read too much into one article in a temperance newspaper, where issues of filling space may have had as much to do with the choice of articles as deep connection to the content. However, the editor of *The Camp Fire* felt that this poem was within the range of acceptable thought on rights, and if it stood alone in its calls for “equal pay for equal work,” opposing views did not appear. Indeed, as we have seen, by the early twentieth century, some lodges were making efforts to accommodate working women in their organizations. The emphasis on domesticity in temperance literature makes it unlikely that temperance lodge members were advocating women going out of the home to work on a large scale, but they were not overtly hostile when they did so.

The Camp Fire frequently expressed the belief that not only should women have the vote, but that they might be relied upon to vote with more moral integrity than men. It was feared that male members of the lodges were not voting based on principle. The potential of women to right these conflicting interests was implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, stated. Drawing on a belief in the superior moral sense of women, temperance articles assured lodge members that enfranchised women could be relied on to vote for the issue that really mattered, and to ignore party politics. In one humorous temperance poem, using

⁴⁴ “Don’t You Know,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 2, August 1895), 3.

broad slang to denote the class and potentially the ethnic background of its subjects, the author not only puts forward the argument that women would vote according to their consciences, but also explicitly calls into question the masculinity of men who would not:

“Ef I was a man,” sez my wife to me,
“I think I should be a man,” sez she.
“Why, wot is the matter, Jane?” sez I,
“Matter enough,” was her reply.
“I wouldn’t go preachin’ Temperance
An’ votin’ for license, both ter wunce!
I wouldn’t stan’ up in church an’ pray
Fer the curse of drink to be took away:
Fer the Lord in marcy to look an’ bless
The needy wider an’ fatherless;
An’ then march up to the polis nex’ day
An’ vote jist eggsackly the other way!”⁴⁵

The poem goes on, and Jane convinces her husband, although he won’t admit it, that he had not lived up to his duty as a temperance man. In this way, the temperance press used female suffrage as a tool to emphasize why women needed the vote, while also attacking the integrity of men who talked one game and played another. Lodge literature was aghast at those men who did not have the integrity to vote one’s principles both publicly and privately.

The position of women, both real and symbolic, in the temperance lodges and in the literature they disseminated, was a complex one. It cannot be easily boiled down to a simple answer. In some ways, the lodges were remarkably progressive – welcoming women into the types of organizations that were

⁴⁵ “A Curtain Lecture,” *The Camp Fire* (Vol. 2, No. 6, December 1895), 3.

generally for men only, and strongly supporting women's suffrage. However, the welcome was not always genuine, and their place not always assured. Moreover, within the lodges, women were often relegated to the types of tasks and positions thought suitable for their gender. Rhetorically, the image of the abused wife of a drunkard tended to overshadow the participation of the temperance sisters. While temperance advocates brought the issue of domestic violence before people in almost unprecedented ways, it was hampered by their reliance on traditional paternal family structure to offer solutions that might be of use to real abused women. All in all, the attitude towards women in the temperance lodges was inconsistent, and defies easy characterization. In their refusal to fit into neat categories, the men and women of the temperance lodges show the complexity of lived experience, and the ways in which different strains of thought, some remarkably feminist, others remarkably chauvinist, were combined in everyday existence, without a clear delineation. Women in the temperance lodges had to negotiate the uncertain ground of every day experience, and in this, the temperance lodges provide insight into just how uneven and difficult that ground could be.

Conclusion

Prohibition and After

When the Sons of Temperance lodge was founded in Orono in 1850, few would likely have predicted that it would still be in existence fifty years later. Few temperance lodges had that kind of longevity. It was founded when the average amount of alcohol consumed per capita was at a record high, in a time and place in which drinking was part of leisure and work alike. Taverns were ubiquitous; socializing almost universally included alcohol, and work in the cities and in the country often incorporated drink as a part of the every day. Taverns, while they sometimes allowed women, were spaces that catered to men and to a particular idea of masculinity and masculine expression. The masculinity expressed and performed in these taverns was not, however, to the liking of all. The Sons of Temperance were the first of the three major temperance orders that offered an alternative masculinity to the men of Ontario. They shared values with the emerging middle class, but were far more open to including women in social and political realms, and advocated for government intervention into personal lives at a time when that was anathema to many lawmakers, and many average Ontarian men. Early Canadian society has been identified as primarily liberal in orientation, with a belief that the individual was

more important than society.¹ The temperance lodge members stand in contrast to this idea of a monolithic liberal order when they argued that the right of society, and specifically, the family, to be free from the effects of drinking was more important than the rights of individuals not to be interfered with. In Orono, men from the town and surrounding countryside joined the order for periods long or short, working for intervention into private lives for the greater social good.

Temperate masculinity was not easy to attain or consistent in its impact. The pressures of living in a society that embraced the use of alcohol as a normal part of everyday life prompted more than one slip. Even those who joined the temperance lodges looking for help in changing their habits, or struggling with a severe addiction, found that such a resolution was not as easy to keep as it had been to make. The pressure of others to imbibe a friendly drink was sometimes more than they could withstand. It was not an easy task to opt out of this aspect of male conviviality and solidarity, but many men in the nineteenth century did just that. For those who joined the temperance lodges, as we have seen, the act of taking the temperance pledge was the cornerstone of an oppositional masculinity that defined itself against drinking culture. It was an ideal of temperate masculinity that appealed to men who were farmers, who were skilled artisans, who were part of the emerging middle class, and even made space for those who

¹ Ian McKay, ed., *The Challenge of Modernity*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1992), xi-xii.

worked doing unskilled labour. In a province where alcohol was easily obtainable, in city and country alike, entering a temperance lodge was to make oneself an outsider, but one whose perceived moral superiority helped men aid each other in struggles to avoid alcohol. It was both community support, and a haven from the outside world. When the temperance lodges began, they represented a threat to Ontario culture, offering a distinctly different view of leisure, masculinity, and the role of government that some found threatening. Over the century, however, Ontario culture changed to meet them, and by the turn of the century, their core beliefs were mainstream.

The Orono lodge, for one, suffered from violent reaction from unknown members of their community early on in their history. In 1852, their division room was burned down, reported in a temperance newspaper as “the work of an incendiary.”² It is unlikely to be coincidental that that year is one of the few breaks in the Orono lodge records. Hostility became more genteel over the century that followed, but was rarely entirely absent. A later smear campaign in 1879 against the same Orono lodge centered on rumours being circulated that the “Old Brown Jug” being used in a temperance play was filled with substances less innocent than water.³ This accusation of hypocrisy struck at the centre of the

² *Canadian Son of Temperance and Literary Gem*, (Toronto, C.W., Vol. 2, No.1, Jan 5, 1852), 11.

³ October 29, 1879 in *Minute Book, 1877-1881*, Toronto, Ontario, Archives of Ontario, Sons of Temperance (Orono), MU2879, 2880, 3766.

temperate masculine ideal. Temperate masculinity was threatening enough to Upper Canadian society that it was worthy of attack and ridicule.

As Ontario society evolved during the nineteenth century, membership in one of the major temperance lodges offered a place for those who were uneasy with some aspects of the emerging liberal capitalist order. However, it is difficult to unequivocally call them progressive, radical, or conservative. In different ways, on different issues, it could be any of the three, although they believed that intervention for the public good was both acceptable and imperative. The men and women who joined the temperance lodges strove for the creation of a better world, but often could not take the imaginative leap beyond their own gender and class assumptions. They were innovative and challenged conventions while still retaining major blind spots. They could admit women as equals to their own organizations and fail to notice that the vast majority of the positions of power were still occupied by men. They could support women's suffrage while basing their rhetoric on the pure female victim who steadfastly remained within a patriarchal marriage structure that failed her. They could identify poverty as a problem, but still believe the sole solution was prohibition. They could criticize domestic violence to a far greater extent than most others were doing, and yet assume that prohibition would solve the problem entirely. The problem with drunken male violence was always located in drunkenness, and never in a patriarchal class system. Temperate masculinity

held out the promise of a benevolent maleness that every man could attain, without the seductive power of alcohol to interfere.

The temperance lodges attempted to change nineteenth-century Ontario culture. They envisioned a world in which men were more responsible and respectable, poverty was addressed, and women were beacons of purity with the power of the vote. They saw the need for government intervention in poverty and the lives of those in desperate situations, although they believed that bringing in prohibition would be all that was needed to nudge the world closer to the Kingdom of God on earth. It was a distinctly utopian vision, based in nineteenth-century evangelical Protestant post-millennialism. Their future Kingdom of Heaven, however, bore striking resemblance to prevailing gender and class divisions, only without any strife and conflict. This was not a society in which hierarchy would be erased. There was no promise of a land of equality, where the emerging economy would be radically altered to distribute wealth. It was one where people would know and be happy with their places, where employers would deal fairly with their employees, who, in return, would be happy with what they got. Despite this distinctly hierarchical view, the temperance lodges still managed to find common ground with skilled workers. They accomplished this feat through a shared rhetoric of respectable masculinity, a claim on moral authority, and an expectation that their adherence to an honourable manhood would be rewarded.

While temperance lodges had success for decades in attracting new members, over time, a noticeable decline started. The IOGT records available offer a very complete accounting of the numbers of members, year by year. It is impossible to say definitively whether the Sons or the Royal Templars followed similar trajectories, due to the lack of available membership lists at the provincial level. However, anecdotal evidence from local lodge papers suggests that the rise and fall of lodges at the local level was similar to the IOGT. From their start in 1853 to the turn of the decade in 1860, the number of Ontario Good Templars had skyrocketed to 20,399. They dipped below this level for much of the 1860s, but maintained numbers between thirteen to twenty-one thousand members. Their best year, in terms of membership reported to the Grand Lodge, was in 1870, when they peaked at 22,462 members in Ontario alone.⁴ From this point on, the IOGT began to decline gradually.⁵ The decline continued into the next century – by 1908, there were only 1445 active Good Templars in Ontario. They had gained a small amount of ground by the eve of the First World War, with 2300 members in 48 lodges. After this point, their numbers fell rapidly.⁶

⁴ Turnbull, 30-77. At the time of the 1871 census, the overall population of Ontario was over 1.6 million. 1871 Census (Canada), Library and Archives Canada. Accessed April 20, 2018. <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/census/1871/Pages/about-census.aspx>

⁵ "Ontario Grand Lodges Meet and Unite, *International Good Templar* (London, Ontario: no publisher noted, July 1888), 421.

⁶ *International Supreme Lodge, International Order of Good Templars. Proceedings of the 44th Session Held at Kristiania, Norway, July 27-August 3, 1914* (Glasgow: International Supreme Lodge Office, 160, Hill St.), 106

This decline can be attributed to a number of factors. The emergence of the WCTU undoubtedly siphoned a number of women out of the fraternal temperance lodges into the women-only organization, where they could hold higher ranks, and participate much more publicly in the temperance cause.⁷ The WCTU was a distinctly different sort of organization. It centered attention on women as active political reformers, but not all women were enticed away from the lodges in favour of same-sex political work. It is difficult to figure out directly the reasons why some women preferred to stay with the lodges rather than the WCTU, or whether they may have combined membership in two organizations, but fraternal temperance lodges were still a place for women. Some may have enjoyed the emphasis on entertainment, as well as political action that the lodges supplied. Others joined with husbands, brothers, fathers, or friends, drawing on familial and community connections when choosing how to spend their leisure time.

Temperance advocates in the aftermath of the First World War sometimes looked at different factors to explain the decline in lodge attendance. Some complained that the types of entertainment the lodges provided no longer attracted young people, saying that the “motor car, the radio, moving pictures...provide entertainment formerly given at Lodge meetings.”⁸ These new leisure activities, as well as the expansion of venues for courtship practices, and

⁷ Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*.

⁸ Peele, 7.

the alterations in family and marriage structure that have been identified as a factor in the decline in the 1930s of the major fraternal organizations in the United States may also have applied here.⁹ Decades of struggle, plebiscites, and broken promises from politicians may also have soured some members on the efficacy of the lodges in bringing about prohibition laws. However, while politically they may have failed, culturally, attitudes in Ontario about alcohol had changed. There had been a marked decline in alcohol consumption. Local option laws had been in effect in many rural areas and small towns for decades, and more than half of all Ontario municipalities had outlawed the sale of alcohol by 1914.¹⁰ Drinking patterns at work and at leisure had altered. Industrial capitalism demanded sober workers, and entertainment was available in new arenas that frowned upon overt consumption. Although total prohibition had not been enacted, temperance advocates had helped to reframe the way their society regarded drinking.¹¹ Despite the falling off of membership, by the dawn of the twentieth century, the temperance lodges were congratulating themselves on how many people had been members over the previous half-century, and expressed hope that even if people had fallen away, their experiences in temperance lodges would continue to influence their lives.¹²

⁹ Carnes, *Secret Ritual and Manhood*, 154-155.

¹⁰ *International Supreme Lodge, International Order of Good Templars. Proceedings of the Fourth Session held at Kristiania, Norway, July 27th to August 3rd, 1914.* (Glasgow: International Supreme Lodge Offices, 1914), 74.

¹¹ Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History*, 71.

¹² "Retaining Members," *The Camp Fire*, (Vol. 1, No.1, July 1894), 2.

While all of these societal factors contributed, the most focused cause of the collapse of the fraternal temperance lodges was the First World War itself. Over the course of the war, many lodges closed their doors. Members were distracted from the lodges by their war work, and the steady stream of young men signing up for overseas action took a heavy toll on lodge membership. The International Order of Good Templars had numerous lodges of long standing close during the First World War, and debated cancelling Grand Lodge meetings for the duration, arguing that they should save their efforts until after the war, when the returning soldiers could be attracted back to the cause.¹³

While the loss of young men to the military and other members to pressing war work played a role in the rapid decline of the temperance lodges, the other factor in the sudden collapse of many lodges during the First World War was an ironic one. They suddenly achieved everything for which they had been fighting. With the passing of the Ontario Temperance Act in 1916, prohibition became the law of the province. Temperance advocates writing after the war were quick to dismiss that the new laws were measures only taken to conserve materials that might be needed in the war effort, instead claiming that "prohibition was not a moral whim brought about by war conditions. It was rather a culmination of progressive legislation."¹⁴

¹³ A.H. Lyle, Grand Secretary, to Fred Robins, Grand Superintendent of Juvenile Work, 12 Feb, 1916, Robins Papers, Box 4105, University of Western Ontario Archives, London, Ontario.

¹⁴ Spence, 397.

Whatever the reason, though, when prohibition passed in 1916, those who had long campaigned for it believed that the ban on alcohol would continue indefinitely, marking an important step towards the improvement of Canadian society, and progress towards creating the Kingdom of God on earth. They were quick to celebrate their victory, even though it came during the dark days of the First World War. One memorialist, writing shortly after the war, exulted that

[a] comparatively brief period, scarcely exceeding the span of a man's lifetime, has seen revolutionary changes in the habits of people and in legislation, the promotion of the temperance idea from being scoffed at or ignored as the fanatical delusion of a handful of dreamers to a position where it is supported by the most modern findings of science and has become the established policy of nations.¹⁵

The general feeling amongst those who had fought for so long for their cause was that, the legislative victory won, it would continue to spread all over the world, ushering in a temperate era. Their own fight was seen by all but the most devout to be over, and membership dropped sharply. Directionless, and with most young men off at war, many lodges stagnated or closed their doors for good. By the time prohibition was repealed in Ontario in 1927, those who had drifted away from the movement lacked the drive to rejoin and start the fight anew, and many of the young men who had been overseas fighting came back with little sympathy for the cause of an earlier generation. The lodges withered and slowly closed.

¹⁵ Spence, 38.

By the early twentieth century, their single-minded emphasis on prohibition as the measure of success or failure prevented temperance brothers and sisters from recognizing how profoundly Ontario culture had changed and gradually come to accept many of the ideas of the temperance lodges. They may have been distracted by the excesses of the Roaring Twenties in urban centres, seeing those events as proof that society was not listening to them. Temperance advocates railed against the will of the government to enact measures they thought were sorely lacking, and saw the eventual repeal of prohibition as a failure of society to live up to their expectations. However, their ideas had become more mainstream than they ever seem to have fully recognized.

Drinking did not disappear, but it became more infrequent. Women became increasingly involved in political issues, leading up to the franchise, and in the wake of the war and the years that followed. State intervention into private life became more acceptable, but not in time to save Prohibition as a long-term solution. Answers to the problems of an industrial capitalist state buttressed by a liberal political order now included a willingness to have the state intervene in the lives of citizens in order to create conditions wherein a society more in line with middle-class and evangelical Protestant values could be nurtured. However much Ontario had changed to adopt temperance ideals, society had moved on without them. The temperance lodges failed to create a teetotaling Ontario. Prohibition was a political failure, and the temperance advocates found themselves cast as out of date and authoritarian, and many increasingly stuck to

older ideas instead of adapting to changing circumstances. Temperate masculinity became a thing of the past, as centering an identity on a refusal to consume alcohol seemed a relic of an earlier time.

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Curriculum Vitae

Name:	Megan Baxter
Post-secondary Education and Degrees:	Queen's University Kingston, Ontario, Canada 1996-2001 B.A. (Honours) Queen's University Kingston, Ontario, Canada 2005-2006 M.A. The University of Western Ontario London, Ontario, Canada 2007-2018 Ph.D.
Honours and Awards:	Graduate Student Teaching Award (nominated) 2010 Graduate Alumni Scholarship 2010 Lynne-Lionel Fellowship in Canadian Studies 2008 Queen's University Graduate Award 2005-2006 Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto Master's Award 2005-2006
Related Work Experience	Instructor The University of Western Ontario 2011 Teaching Assistant The University of Western Ontario 2007-2012 Research Assistant The University of Western Ontario 2011-2013 Teaching Assistant

Queen's University
2005-2006

Publications:

“‘Know God, Serve Others’: Religion in the Canadian Girls in Training in the Interwar Years.” *Historical Papers 2012: Proceedings of the Canadian Society of Church History*. University of Waterloo, Waterloo, 2013.

“‘Would You Sell Yourself For A Drink, Boy?’: Masculinity and Christianity in the Ontario Temperance Movement.” *Historical Papers 2011: Proceedings of the Canadian Society of Church History*. University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, 2012.

“Companions, Criminals, Soldiers, and Psychos: The Portrayal of Gender Identity in *Firefly*. *Some Fantastic*. Vol. 2, No. 4: 2006.

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**Conference
Presentations:**

“‘They Are Not Old Enough To Understand Rightly What They Are Doing’: Children in the International Order of Good Templars, 1900-1920.” Canadian Historical Association Annual Conference, Ottawa, Ontario, June 2015

“‘The Government Has Trifled With the Great Temperance Question’: Temperance Reform and the Clash with the State in the Dominion Prohibition Plebiscite, 1898.” Canadian Historical Association Annual Conference, Victoria, British Columbia, June 2013.

“‘Know God, Serve Others’: Religion in the Canadian Girls in Training in the Interwar Years.” Canadian Society of Church History Annual Conference, Waterloo, Ontario, May 2012.

“‘Would You Sell Yourself For A Drink, Boy?’: Masculinity and Christianity in the Ontario Temperance Movement.” Canadian Society of Church History Annual Conference, Fredericton, New Brunswick, May 2011.

“Companions, Criminals, Soldiers, and Psychos: Female Sexual Identity in *Firefly and Serenity*.” Joint Conference of the National Popular Culture and American Culture Associations, Atlanta, Georgia, April 2006.