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**The Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1875 - 1895
Labouring for a Temperate Society**

Marlene J. Willigar

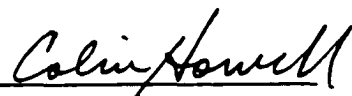
A Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Master of Arts (History)

Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia

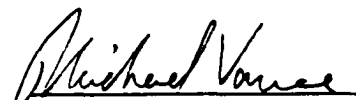
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23 April 2001

Examining Committee:


Dr. Colin Howell
Thesis Advisor


Dr. Leslie Paris


Dr. Michael Vance



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Canada

“Abstract”
Marlene Willigar
**“The Maritime Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1875-1895:
Labouring for a Temperate Society”**
April 30, 2001

Throughout the late-nineteenth century, the Maritime Woman’s Christian Temperance Union stood at the forefront of the region’s temperance activity aided by their innovative programs and effective political lobbying and educational methods. Their reform work with its social purity emphasis represented an expanded temperance ideology, which pushed their social mandate beyond the boundaries set by earlier temperance organizations. Together their contemporary methods and ideas enabled them to influence the middle-class and gender ideals of the period.

Working as a regional force, the Maritime WCTU was successful especially in the work of children’s character formation programs. They were able to gain the support and assistance of the state and religious authoritative bodies, the government and the church, to implement compulsory scientific temperance teaching in the public schools and gospel temperance teaching in many of the evangelical Sunday schools. Their juvenile work, with its contemporary pedagogical techniques and broad temperance message, extended the teaching of temperate life choices to Maritime children through leisure-time activities. The popular Maritime mothers’ meetings, with its strong eugenics’ emphasis, worked to equip mothers’ with proper knowledge and skills to help them build temperate families. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, it became apparent that their individual reform programs were part of a larger nationalistic social vision, the establishment of a temperate Canada. The Maritime WCTU fought for woman’s suffrage in the anticipation that it would allow them to further advance and expand their reform work.

Acknowledgements

The past three years of learning, researching, and writing that culminated in the completion of this thesis have been a journey in academic discovery. While there were moments of doubt and frustration, which are common to the experience of being stretched beyond one's comfort zone, the writing of the final two chapters brought the realization that the journey was well worth the effort. The time spent at Saint Mary's University has given me a new appreciation for our rich Maritime history. Indeed, the institution's graduate history program and its professors excel in their efforts to write and present quality Maritime Canadian history to their students.

I would like to thank Dr. Colin Howell, my thesis supervisor, for his patience and assistance over the past three years. His ability to challenge his students has sharpened my analytical skills and expanded my worldview. His vision of the Maritimes and its role within the larger Canadian context has inspired my thinking. I would also like to thank Dr. Michael Vance and Dr. Leslie Paris for the part they played in this thesis as members of the examination committee. Their insightful observations and valuable suggestions were appreciated.

Finally, I would like to thank my family for their support and encouragement throughout this part of my academic journey. Many days and nights were spent in front of the computer away from the bustle of family activities, and you hardly ever complained.

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Introduction

In the fall of 1894 at the height of prohibition agitation, Edith J. Archibald, president of the Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), penned and sent the following words to the Sons of Temperance convention in Nova Scotia,

What we most need is to nationalize our forces, to concentrate our efforts, and loyally to stand together shoulder to shoulder, from Cape Breton to British Columbia, a solid phalanx of Temperance men and women.¹

While Archibald advocated gender unity and equality among temperance workers, she acknowledged their distinctive perspectives and goals. She wrote, characteristic of her evangelical worldview, "your pass-words and rituals are elaborate... ours more simple... our one pass-word... Christ... Christ in the home; Christ in the church; Christ in society; Christ in political life; Christ for Canada, and Canada for Christ." The magnitude of the vision that Archibald endorsed warrants an inquiry into how this mission played out in the Maritime Provinces in the late-nineteenth century.

Without question, the WCTU not only stood at the forefront of the late-nineteenth-century temperance activity, but they also enriched and expanded the temperance mandate to its social limits through their persistent political activism and progressive educational strategies.² Within the Maritime Provinces, they played a fundamental role, though traditional one in respect to gender, in ensuring the transmission of temperance ideals to families. At the same time, these women were active in the unconventional pursuit of woman's suffrage. Their work in this area was

¹ "On Wednesday Night," *Forward*, November 15, 1894.

² Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Showers": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995). Cook's book provides an overview of the Dominion WCTU activities. For the policies,

unsurpassed by the other Canadian unions. It is likely that the Maritime WCTU's impact was strengthened by their regional presence, unique within the Canadian provincial framework of unions, which provided a united front from which they would plan and extend their initiatives.

The Maritime temperance movement, spanning over a hundred-year period from the 1820s into the 1920s, was the first mass movement of the region and its evolving temperance ideology offers insights into how class, gender, and religious perspectives intersected to influence Maritime society. The WCTU provides a unique lens through which to view how these three elements worked together to influence middle-class values and gender ideals within the region. While the Maritime WCTU women held a middle-class evangelical worldview similar to that of their peers in the national American organization, the distinctive aspects of Maritime society tempered its success into specific areas.³ The Maritime WCTU tailored the national organization's versatile "Do Everything" policy and used the WCTU's trademark method, illustrated in their popular slogan "agitate, educate, legislate," to pick up and weave together important but neglected areas of temperance reform work.

Their most successful reform initiatives centered primarily on the transmission of middle-class temperance values to Maritime children. As T.W. Acheson noted, by the mid-nineteenth century Saint John activists had stimulated a temperance culture in which a good number of children were "raised in temperance homes by temperance

structure, and organization of the American National WCTU see Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981).

³ Ruth Nicholson, "Maine-New Brunswick Relations 1837-1849," (M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1953). See pp. 88-104. Nicholson argued that "in religion... national sentiment did not keep the people of Maine and New Brunswick apart" (P.90). Furthermore, temperance development between the two paralleled the other. (P. 96).

parents, and who very likely would marry into temperance families.”⁴ According to J.K. Chapman, throughout the mid-nineteenth century the New Brunswick Sons of Temperance provided gender-specific youth programs where “every member of the family could belong” that further promoted a middle-class temperance culture among Maritime families.⁵ The late-nineteenth-century Maritime WCTU was successful in areas that built upon this existing foundation.

The WCTU’s work among women and families has been interpreted frequently as the outgrowth of middle-class conservatism that restricted the rising feminist impulse. Barbara Epstein described the American WCTU as “pro women” or “proto feminists,” whom were concerned with the place of women in “family and society,” but continued to “defended... a male-dominated family structure.”⁶ In the Maritime context, Michael J. Smith portrayed late-nineteenth-century Nova Scotian female reformers, in which he included the WCTU, as “maternal feminists.” Unable to rise above “their class backgrounds,” they “moved sideways... into the realm of philanthropic reform.”⁷ However, as Mariana Valverde pointed out, women in the social purity movement could acquire “a relatively powerful identity as rescuers, reformers, and even experts, while other women were reduced to being objects of philanthropic concern,”⁸ disputing the argument that the empowerment of women was restricted by male domination.

⁴ T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 146. See Chapter 7 – Temperance.

⁵ J.K. Chapman, “The Mid-Nineteenth-Century Temperance Movement in New Brunswick and Maine,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 35 (1954): 50.

⁶ Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth Century America*, (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1981), 132-133.

⁷ Michael J. Smith, “Female Reformers in Victorian Nova Scotia: Architects of a New Womanhood,” (M.A. Thesis, Saint Mary’s University, 1986), 16.

⁸ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1991), 29.

Among the Maritime WCTU, many women gained local attention, while a select few gained national and international recognition for their leadership abilities.⁹ Together, their united efforts not only fostered strong friendships and enriched a growing middle-class feminine culture, but also provided an important regional network through which the American WCTU ideology entered and was disseminated throughout the local unions.¹⁰ In the mid-nineteenth century, temperance literature, “the first widely circulating British North American literature to address itself consciously to a family audience,” spread its perspective to the new middle-class Maritime families. By the late-nineteenth century, the WCTU used both literature and public activism to spread the newer middle-class values and gender ideals.¹¹

In general, there has been a preoccupation within women’s history on the question of empowerment. The WCTU with its deep commitment to evangelicalism has been a useful subject to advance the debate on whether religion served to empower or to disempower women.¹² The principal research on the Maritime WCTU done by Joanne Veer focused on this foundational question. According to Veer, while the early impetus was the temperance cause, the Maritime WCTU became “the major vehicle for the women’s rights movement” in the region, but “primarily grounded...in...evangelical Protestantism...[it] pressed for reform, change, and expansion...within, rather than

⁹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895, 122. Frances Willard recognized the leadership of Edith J. Archibald.

¹⁰ Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: “Woman’s Sphere” in New England, 1780–1835* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1977).

¹¹ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 33.

¹² Ruth Compton Brouwer, “Transcending the “unacknowledged quarantine”: Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women’s History,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 27/3 (1992).

outside, the prescribed moral-religious sphere.”¹³ While evangelicalism kept these “maternal feminists” conservative, the women’s influence stimulated a profound “social consciousness” and the institutionalization of “social gospel” principles within the churches as well as the state.¹⁴

There is evidence in American temperance historiography that discounts any claim of progression from benevolence work, to temperance, to anti-slavery, to women’s rights. Unlike other women’s groups, temperance activists had more diverse backgrounds that suggest a common gender concern united these women.¹⁵ Also caution should be taken in equating the WCTU policies to a simple struggle for equal rights. The WCTU’s adamant stand against any gender double standard of sexual morality sprung out of a religious tradition that viewed “chastity as a duty for men and women alike.” It was “reinforced by an emphasis on the domestic virtues and the importance of family life.”¹⁶ Indeed, social purity work represented a legitimate concern for WCTU women because as prohibitionists they attributed all “social disorder” back to the liquor industry.¹⁷ Many late-nineteenth-century women, whose social and economic well-being was linked closely with men’s, believed the solution to the problems caused by intemperance was to control the behavior of men.”¹⁸

¹³ Joanne E. Veer, “Feminist Forebears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” (Ph. D. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1994), 2-3, 178.

¹⁴ Ibid., 3, 178.

¹⁵ Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), 19.

¹⁶ Olive Banks, *Faces of Feminism: A Study of Feminism as a Social Movement*, (Oxford: Martin Robertson, 1981), 63.

¹⁷ Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, 52.

¹⁸ Ibid., 19-20. Blocker discounted the claim of progression from benevolence work, to temperance, to anti-slavery to women’s rights because of the diverse backgrounds of temperance activists and their gender perspective that viewed intemperance as a threat to families.

It should be noted that much of the temperance ideology centered on the family before the WCTU popularized their “home protection” motto. Many middle-class and working-class men, who struggled to master or to endure the unstable market economy, identified temperance with “self-control” and participated in large numbers in the Sons of Temperance divisions.¹⁹ In 1854, on the occasion of the National Division Conference in Saint John, the public procession of the Sons of Temperance exhibited the usual characteristic displays of nationalism,²⁰ but unique to middle-class processions of the period, the participants included a woman, girls, boys, and men together in parade. The males and their temperance societies were envisioned as the protectors of the family with the young females portrayed as the moral uplifters and the woman played the mother as chief caregiver in the family.²¹ Indeed, the home protection idea extended beyond the evangelical Sons of Temperance. Catholic temperance medals were engraved with “figures of a man and woman, each with banners, and the words Liberty and Domestic comfort,” which suggests the centrality of the family was a major concern among temperance supporters.²²

During the mid-nineteenth century, temperance grew to symbolize a way of life. It was an integral part of the Victorian notion of “respectability” and a distinguishing trait of the new middle class in the minds of many Maritime people. While T.W. Acheson traced the notion of “respectability” backed to an evangelical worldview where

¹⁹ Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, 19-20.

²⁰ Bonnie Huskins, *Public Celebrations in Victorian Saint John and Halifax*, (Unpublished Ph. D., Dalhousie University, 1991).

²¹ “Temperance Demonstration,” *The Courier*, June 17, 1854. “Most interesting of the whole was the car in which sat a number of little girls, robed in white with garlands on their heads and bearing each a small banner with the name of one of the divisions, while enthroned above them all and wearing a diadem set the Queen of this court.”

²² *The Temperance Index*, Truro, May 22, 1891.

“status, position, or class” was replaced with “attitude and behaviour,”²³ for middle-class reformers “respectability” also became linked with the idea of “upward striving supported by a new model of family life.”²⁴ The Sons of Temperance and their Saint John procession exemplifies this development well. Considering the tremendous success of the temperance movement in the Maritimes, it is not surprising that middle-class women’s ideas of masculinity in Nova Scotia from 1840 to 1880 were characteristic of Anthony Rotundo’s “Christian gentlemen” type with the element of the “masculine achiever.”²⁵

In the late-nineteenth century, the Maritime WCTU provided the most visible example of the evolving family ideals. While they were committed to their role as mothers and upheld the centrality of the family, they were also active participants in Canadian society, working to not only protect their interests but promote their middle-class evangelical family perspective. As Wendy Mitchinson’s article on the political activities of the Canadian WCTU revealed, they used “the domestic ideal of woman and Christian duty,” often viewed as “restrictive concepts to extend their power in society.”²⁶ Yet, Maritime WCTU women worked in conjunction with like-minded men to advance the temperance culture. Together, they exhibited the early characteristics of what

²³ T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, 159. Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925*, 23. Valverde wrote, “they had a larger vision of how people ought to pass their time, how they ought to act, speak, think, and even feel.”

²⁴ Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, 45.

²⁵ Janet Guildford, “Creating the Ideal Man: Middle-Class Women’s Constructions of Masculinity in Nova Scotia, 1840-1880,” *Acadiensis*, 24/2 (1995): 7.

²⁶ Wendy Mitchinson, “The WCTU: For God, Home and Native Land: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism,” *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, Ed. Linda Kealey, (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1979), 166-167.

Valverde described aptly as “the new reconstituted family, with a partially-public mother and a partially domesticated father.”²⁷

When examined on the basis of its role as an accessory to the late-nineteenth-century prohibition campaign, the Maritime WCTU has been depicted as insignificant on the basis of its size and its lack of political power to contribute towards that immediate and coveted goal.²⁸ Ironically perhaps, the absence of voting privileges for women only increased their contribution to the temperance movement and its social impact. However, this is not to say that WCTU women retreated into a separate sphere of female work. They envisioned themselves as an integral part of the temperance movement, and they worked effectively within the political, social, and religious systems of their time.

The Bridgewater union described the fullness of the WCTU’s mandate in their local newspaper, the *Lunenburg Progress*, in 1890.

If we can’t save the inebriate by legislation, we will at least try to keep the rising generation from being drawn into the net. An army does not go forth to battle with only one kind of weapon, neither do temperance workers fight with the sword of the law only. They will have weapons to suit each case.²⁹

These “weapons” were described as two-fold in both strategy and mission - “Not only agitating for prohibition, but persuading men at the same time. They will educate the children to shun the enemy.”³⁰ There was no inconsistency in the WCTU’s position between their educational endeavors and political intervention to extend temperance

²⁷ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925*, 32.

²⁸ Claude M. Davis, “I’ll Drink to That: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces, 1890-1930,” (Ph. D. Thesis, McMaster University, 1991).

²⁹ *Lunenburg Progress*, February 26, 1890.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, February 26, 1890.

principles.³¹ The contention that there was a transition in Canadian WCTU methods in the late-nineteenth century where “persuasion and education dropped into the background and were replaced by the drive to obtain prohibition through legislation” is overstated.³²

The drive to secure a scientific temperance instruction (STI) law for the public schools was not only the first concentrated and most enduring battle for the Maritime WCTU, but it also became their most recognized accomplishment. In a public school system accustomed to evangelical interest and swayed by growing feminization,³³ the WCTU’s steady campaign for STI, although not unchallenged was in time adopted. Indeed, the close proximity of Mary Hunt, the National WCTU superintendent for scientific temperance instruction, in Maine and her timely visits strengthened their campaign. Their victory earned them the Canadian distinction of being “more successful... than elsewhere in establishing temperance textbooks in the schools.”³⁴

Widespread participation among Maritime women suggests that the STI campaign was recognized as acceptable public activity for women. Indeed, the campaign was consistent with the WCTU strategy and mission. As Jonathan Zimmerman pointed out “an STI law used legal suasion by adults to institutionalize

³¹ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism 1873-1933*, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 8. Parker identified the dual approach taken by American WCTU women in social purity – “Its two-pronged plan for achieving or enforcing cultural purity included fighting for legal censorship and creating what it deemed to be appropriate entertainment.”

³² Linda Kealey, Introduction to Wendy Mitchinson, “The WCTU: ‘For God, Home and Native Land’: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism,” *A Not Unreasonable Claim*, Ed. Linda Kealey, (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1979), 151.

³³ Janet Guildford, “Separate Spheres: The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880,” *Separate Spheres: Women’s Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*, Eds. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 119-144.

³⁴ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation*, 53.

moral suasion of the young.”³⁵ While STI was an important step in the education of young minds to the dangers of intemperance, its fuller significance is realized in the role it played as part of the larger scheme of character formation projects.

Besides agitating for scientific temperance instruction, the Maritime WCTU promoted systematic gospel temperance teaching in the evangelical Sunday Schools as well as in their own mission halls. This segment of their work that has been by in large absent from the WCTU historiography. Indeed, on the whole, unlike their American counterparts, Canadian religious historians have given scant attention to the social impact of the Sunday school movement. American historians Robert Lynn and Elliott Wright captured the cultural significance of the Sunday School when they described it as “American Protestantism’s training ground,” where children were given “some sense of how Protestants think, feel, act, and sing.”³⁶ The WCTU work expanded Maritime children’s perception that total abstinence was quintessential to the Protestant experience.

After this being said though, it should be noted that Maritime temperance sentiments were not confined narrowly to evangelical Protestantism. Contrary to the trend in other North American regions, in mid-nineteenth-century Saint John, temperance sentiments had spilled beyond its original evangelical boundaries and gained support among the working-class Irish Catholics.³⁷ The Maritime WCTU demonstrated no anti-Catholic attitudes and in some instances reached out to Catholics in an attempt to

³⁵ Jonathan Zimmerman, “The Queen of the Lobby: Mary Hunt, Scientific Temperance and the Dilemma of Democratic Education in America, 1879–1906,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 32 (1992): 6.

³⁶ Robert W. Lynn and Elliott Wright, *The Big Little School: Sunday Child of American Protestantism*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), x, 98.

³⁷ T.W. Acheson, *The Making of Saint John*, 138–157. See Chapter 7 Temperance According to Acheson, the evangelical worldview redefined the “notion of respectability – replacing status, position, or class with attitude and behaviour,” and as such conferred respectability also to temperate Irish Catholics. p 159.

extend temperance teaching among their children.³⁸ While prohibition support was not high among Irish Catholics, they shared in the region's temperance tradition.

Nevertheless, scientific temperance instruction and gospel temperance teaching forged a sound vanguard from which to present their popular temperance ideology, especially among Protestant children of the middle- and working-classes. This statement is not to suggest social control by the middle-class, shored up by the Protestant churches. As Valverde suggested regarding social purity activists, their motivation and actions represented "simultaneously a process of creating and reaffirming one's own class" rather than the imposition of values on another class.³⁹ Furthermore, if the Maritime WCTU's activity advanced the institutionalization of the social gospel as Veer argued, it suggests that the evangelical churches were themselves shaken and shaped by the changing social philosophy and action.⁴⁰ Indeed, when the churches lagged in practical social application of its teachings, the WCTU women circumvented the religious system and worked within their own mission halls and juvenile temperance groups.

Consistent with the nineteenth century middle-class perspective on legitimate leisure activities,⁴¹ the Maritime WCTU viewed juvenile temperance groups as a vital

³⁸ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, September 21, 1886, 80. The Sackville WCTU visited the local priest to gain his cooperation in juvenile temperance work.

³⁹ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925*, 29.

⁴⁰ Lois W. Banner, "Religious Benevolence as Social Control: A Critique of an Interpretation," *Journal of American History*, *Journal of American History*, LX/1 (June 1973). Banner brought up important arguments and points that sheds light on religious considerations often overlooked when the theory of social control is applied to accounts on religious benevolence. Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 6. According to Cook, "the manner in which liberal Protestants responded to the socio-economic, scientific, and historical challenges of the nineteenth century resulted in Christianity becoming less rather than more relevant."

⁴¹ Peter Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures: The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure," *Victorian Studies*, 21/1 (Autumn 1977): 7-28.

part of “the education of the young in temperance principles.”⁴² However, the Band of Hope format, the favorite of the British temperance movement with its strict religious-based program, which had been a traditional mainstay within Canadian children’s temperance societies, was changed gradually after 1886 to the new WCTU-created Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL) program.⁴³ The LTL program brought with it the National WCTU publications, such as the *Young Crusader* magazine and Anna Gordon’s *Marching Songs for Young Crusaders*, that carried the newer temperance ideology.

Both the LTL program and its publications were tools that united the young into the larger temperance movement and relayed the temperance torch forward.⁴⁴ While the children were introduced to temperance activism by presenting Gordon’s prohibition programme in mass public meetings, their popular temperance marching songs and modern methods of attracting members expanded the traditional middle-class notion of legitimate leisure as well as traditional gender notions.⁴⁵ Alison Parker suggested that the *Young Crusader* stories went far beyond “temperance politics” that enlarged young girls’ social awareness and pushed them further into public service. While the stories “looked backward to nineteenth-century modes of feminine action,” they in turn envisioned a “new world of state power and professionalization and to a prominent place for women within it.”⁴⁶

⁴² Sackville WCTU Minutes, January 31, 1886.

⁴³ Ibid., September 13, 1886. After annual Maritime WCTU convention, Sackville union recorded the format change.

⁴⁴ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism 1873-1933*, 161.

⁴⁵ Annual Maritime WCTU Convention Report, 1888, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁶ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873-1933*, 162, 194.

Although it did not cater exclusively to the middle-class, the LTL program was especially popular among their children and flourished prominently in communities where a strong educational tradition existed such as Sackville, Truro, and Halifax. Often the Band of Mercy program, which promoted animal kindness, a subject in vogue with middle-class evangelicals of the time, was included as part of the group.⁴⁷ Among the urban centers and industrial towns, kitchen gardens or industrial schools were the common method of transmitting temperance values to the working-class children. While transmitting temperance sentiments was the primary concern, the secondary focus shifted to practical instruction aimed towards improving their economic future.

Probably the most neglected research on the Maritime WCTU was its mothers' meetings, which were actually a form of social purity work.⁴⁸ As mentioned previously, the more recognized social purity work dealt with the promotion of one standard of morality for both sexes, which supports feminist claims. Indeed, in 1886, the White Cross movement, which was aimed at men and stressed "the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women," was introduced and spread throughout New Brunswick.⁴⁹ The White Shield, which was aimed at women and stressed the need "to be modest in language, behaviour and dress," followed in the 1888 annual convention in Halifax.⁵⁰ The motivation behind these social purity programs was the education of

⁴⁷ Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax*, (Porter's Lake, N.S.: Pottersfield Press, 1989).

⁴⁸ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism 1873-1933*, 10.

⁴⁹ Minutes of the Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1886, 10. "W.C.T.U.," *St. Croix Courier*, September 15, 1887. "Women Plead for Purity," *Halifax Morning Herald*, September 7, 1888.

⁵⁰ "Women Plead for Purity," *Halifax Morning Herald*, September 7, 1888.

young adults on proper morals to safeguard against impurity.⁵¹ The importance of parenthood was a major motivation behind the drive for social purity. The underlying goal of social purity was tied closely to work of the mothers' meetings. The Maritime WCTU used this traditional method to reach women with the social purity message and to encourage the transmission of these values early to their children. Social purity programs directed at young adults never gained wide support outside urban centers and the older temperance strongholds in New Brunswick.

The 1890s brought new scientific interest in health, heredity, environment and prenatal influence, which flooded into the Maritimes via American publications, such as *The Arena*. Prince Edward Island unions, enthusiastic users of *Arena* articles, popularized and promoted the mothers' meetings to the other provinces. As the importance of mothers' meetings was recognized, the Maritime WCTU work departments of social purity and health and heredity became synonymous with that of mothers' meetings.⁵² The mothers' meetings not only instructed mothers on prenatal subjects, but also attempted to teach them proper child-rearing skills. However, as it was with children's temperance societies, the working-class mothers' meetings included a practical aspect to help alleviate their economic hardships.

The mothers' meetings extended the influence of the Maritime WCTU into the nurseries where scientific temperance instruction, gospel temperance teaching, and children's temperance groups were unable to reach. *The Woman's Journal*, the official Dominion WCTU organ, quoted Dr. Bessie V. Cushman - "while temperance teaching in

⁵¹ Sydney Barrington Elliot, "Prenatal Influence," *The Arena*, No. LII (March, 1894): 417-426. Prenatal influence included "all influences, physical, mental, or moral, which, acting through the parents, affect an unborn child." p. 418.

the schools is very important, the best would be the education of mothers.”⁵³ Like STI, gospel temperance teaching, and children’s temperance groups that had cultural roots in the region, mothers’ meetings represented a familiar mode of transmitting family values among evangelicals.⁵⁴ Even though the Maritime WCTU used earlier nineteenth-century methods of transmitting temperance values, they were progressive not only in their efforts to advance the temperance culture, but in the new social purity ideology that flooded into the region.

At the same time that the Maritime WCTU engaged in their educational strategies to affect cultural changes, they fought heated political campaigns in an attempt to secure prohibition and an alcohol-free social environment. Beginning in 1884, the work of newly-organized Westmorland County Prohibitory Alliance made the county one of the more active prohibition centers within the region.⁵⁵ The local WCTU unions made significant contributions to the local-option Scott Act campaigns. The work energized the women and convinced them that woman’s suffrage was necessary if prohibition was to be achieved. In early 1888, these women organized and sent the first WCTU petitions on woman’s suffrage to the New Brunswick legislature.⁵⁶

After 1888, woman’s suffrage became one of the prominent topics of discussion at the Maritime WCTU annual conventions, which spread gradually to the local

⁵² Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU, 1895, 104-105. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 59.

⁵³ “Scientific Temperance in the Nursery,” *The Woman’s Journal*, October, 1892.

⁵⁴ “Mothers’ Meetings,” *The Woman’s Journal*, January, 1893. Mothers’ meetings were patterned after the early religious Maternal Associations held in Massachusetts beginning in 1830.

⁵⁵ “Prohibitory Alliance,” *Sackville Chignecto Post*, September 3, 1885. Situated in New Brunswick, Westmorland County included Moncton, Sackville, and Petitcodiac.

⁵⁶ WCTU petitions from Petitcodiac, Salisbury, Upper Salisbury, Dorchester, Weldford, Newcastle, Chatham, Baie Verte, and Port Elgin. RS24, 1888/pe file 3, #42-50. PANB.

unions.⁵⁷ In 1890, the department of franchise was organized with the central and southwestern Nova Scotia unions taking the initiative to promote the work.⁵⁸ When Edith J. Archibald became president of the Maritime WCTU the race for the enfranchisement of women heated up. In 1893, a petition to extend the vote to married and single women who possessed the necessary property qualifications was presented to the Nova Scotia legislature and was defeated narrowly.⁵⁹

The Maritime WCTU's commitment to woman's suffrage on the basis of both "common justice" and for "the protection of the home" brought criticism as it linked them in the public's mind with the women's right movement.⁶⁰ At the 1897 Nova Scotia WCTU convention, an exasperated Archibald suggested that while "women workers were being rebuked for so constantly talking woman's rights, we might for a change talk children's rights."⁶¹ In 1897, PEI WCTU concluded petitions were of "little use" and "resolved to educate both their men and women on the question of woman franchise."⁶² Obviously, among Maritime society, the pursuit of suffrage stretched the older gender image of women as mothers and educators. Despite discouragement and opposition, many WCTU women were committed to the cause, and suffrage petitions were presented regularly before Maritime legislatures until 1898.

⁵⁷ "Maritime W.C.T.U.," *St. Croix Courier*, September 6 and 12, 1889. *Annual Convention Minutes of the Maritime WCTU, 1890-1896.*

⁵⁸ *Minutes of the Annual Maritime WCTU Conventions, 1890-1896*

⁵⁹ "To Maritime White-Ribboners in General," *The Woman's Journal*, May 1893.

⁶⁰ "On Wednesday Night," *Forward*, November 15, 1894.

⁶¹ *Minutes of the First Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1897*, 10.

⁶² *Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1897*, 64.

Chapter 1

The Organizational Growth of the Maritime WCTU

It was with obvious satisfaction that the recording secretary wrote the following description of the proceedings at the 1889 Maritime WCTU convention. “The bright colors and sweet perfumes made the gathering very different from a convention of men, while the orderly discussions and the quiet dignity of the officers might be well imitated by the lords of creation.”¹ Between 1875 and 1895, the Maritime WCTU progressed from small local bodies steeped in traditional gospel temperance into a significant social organizational network equipped to receive and spread a modern temperance philosophy. While the women labored to complement the work of their male counterparts, their social reform organization reflected their own unique gender perspective, in both programs and methods, on how to transpose their middle-class evangelical social vision into the larger Maritime society.

This chapter examines the growth of the organizational structure and nature of the Maritime WCTU programs. Of course, while the organizational structure played an important part towards the effectiveness of the Maritime WCTU, it was only one element that increased its potential strength. The nature of the Maritime WCTU reflected in the development of its reform projects were important factors as well. The success of the organization hinged on its ability to maintain continuity with the earlier gospel temperance philosophy as it introduced the newer social temperance ideals of the late-nineteenth century.

The broad newspaper coverage of the Ohio Women’s Crusade of 1873 and 1874 had publicized the American women’s activities. With these memories relatively fresh

in their minds and amidst a receptive local climate created by the resurgence of religious temperance sentiments, the women of Moncton, Westmorland County, New Brunswick organized the first WCTU in the Maritime region on December 20, 1875.² The touring temperance lecturer, D. Banks McKenzie, urged not only the formation of the Moncton WCTU in 1875, but also the unions in Fredericton and Saint John in 1877.³ While the historical account of religious temperance revivals waits to be written on the Maritime region, a study on how the revivals spread westward through the pre-confederation lands of Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba has been completed.⁴

The WCTU found ready acceptance within the Maritime temperance movement because of its intricate links with the evangelical culture. In August 1874, the National WCTU was founded during the First National Sunday School Assembly at Chautauqua, New York, where many of the women participants organized in an attempt to continue the success of the by then waning Women's Crusades.⁵ The WCTU's close association with the Sunday school movement gave it respectability. Furthermore, its pre-organizational beginnings followed the revivalistic crusade pattern familiar to evangelicals. Caught in the pangs of organizational growth, the National WCTU continued to emphasize the traditional religious temperance ideology in the early years. Indeed, its first president, Annie Wittenmyer, was committed primarily to the principles

¹ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 83.

² Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *"Give to the winds thy fears": The Women's Temperance Crusade, 1873-1874*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985).

³ "W.C.T.U.," *Sackville Chignecto Post*, September 3, 1885. "The Women's Christian Temperance Union of Fredericton," *New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, January 9, 1878. Joanne Veer, "Feminist Forbears: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces 1875-1900," 6.

⁴ Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades before Confederation*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

⁵ Addie Chisholm, *Why and How: A Hand-Book for the use of the W.C.T. Unions in Canada*, (Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1884), 12.

of gospel temperance apparent in their first major project, a petition campaign to convince Congress to set up a committee to investigate the evils of drink.⁶

By the late 1870s in Moncton, the fervor of religious gospel temperance meetings worked to persuade both temperance women and temperance men to organize their own gender-specific groups. Renewed temperance agitation among the men followed soon after the women organized. The economic depression that plagued the decade served as a catalyst to renew interest and temperance participation among men of both the middle and working classes. Similar to the emergence of the Washingtonian movement in the 1840s, the reform club movement sprung forth in the 1870s in many communities including Moncton, Halifax, and Windsor.⁷ These reform clubs emphasized religious renewal, experience speeches, and male camaraderie and restoration of members who failed to maintain their abstinence pledge.⁸

In the 1870s, the evangelical community was open to new temperance societies and their clergy participated actively in their organization. In 1877, Methodist clergyman, D.D. Currie attended a Murphy temperance convention in Toronto in the interest of the reform movement.⁹ Within a year of its organization, the newly-formed Moncton Reform Club was touted by the Moncton WCTU as a success, bringing the “revived state of feeling” that precipitated “a falling off of patronage” at drinking

⁶ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 45-49.

⁷ Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, 70. Francis Murphy, the leader of the Murphy reform movement, had a working class background. Windsor WCTU Minutes, March 8, 1898, 29. *Constitution and Bye-Laws of the McKenzie Temperance Reform Club of Halifax, N.S.*, (Halifax: NS Printing Co, 1878). “Sunday Temperance Meeting,” *Moncton Daily Times*, August 24, 1877.

⁸ Jack S. Blocker, Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, 70. *Constitution and Bye-Laws of the McKenzie Temperance Reform Club of Halifax, NS*, (Halifax: NS Printing Co., 1878).

⁹ “Sunday Temperance Meeting,” *Moncton Daily Times*, August 24, 1877.

establishments.¹⁰ Temperance men and women complemented each other's work and represented a strong united religious temperance front within their local community.

Within the Maritimes, as early as the 1840s, there was an informal consensus among evangelicals to work collectively to bring forth their worldview into the larger social community.¹¹ During the twenty-year period between 1871 to 1891, New Brunswick experienced growing numbers of Protestant evangelicals as the traditional Church of England realized declining memberships.¹² Even though Moncton was one of only two communities that showed gains within the Church of England, in December 1873 dissension within its local church opened the door for the entrance of the newly-formed American Reformed Episcopal denomination, a group committed to "low church" or evangelical ideals. The impact of American evangelicalism on the New Brunswick Church of England was apparent with first the organization of the Moncton Reformed Episcopal Church and those in Saint John and Sussex by 1876.¹³

The Moncton Saint Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church, under the authority of Bishop George Cummins in Philadelphia, served as the organizing force behind the Moncton WCTU with the wife of Reverend J. Eastburn Brown acting as the first president.¹⁴ In the 1870s, Saint Paul's church was comprised not only of a large number of merchants and physicians, but also had a strong representation of Intercolonial railway workers and firemen. With the baptism of eighty-two children during the period

¹⁰ Moncton WCTU Second Annual Report, 1878, 6.

¹¹ T. W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*. See Chapter Six.

¹² *Statistics of the Various Religious Denominations in the Dominion of Canada*, (npl.: npubl, nd).

¹³ *Saint Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church Records, Moncton*.

¹⁴ Robert S. Wilson and Leon Theriault, *Moncton's Religious Heritage*, (Moncton: Moncton 100, 1990), 17-18. *Saint Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church Records, Moncton*. Brenda and Lloyd Parsons, *Moncton's Civic Treasure, The Free Meeting House*, (Sackville: Tribune Printing, 1997), 110-119. The Moncton church represented the first Canadian Reformed Episcopal Church. Religious ties between the Maritimes and the American states continued to be strong into the late-nineteenth century.

of 1873 to 1880, it was comprised of a large number of growing families with an interest in issues concerning home protection.¹⁵

The Reformed Episcopal women were only one part of the broad evangelical consensus of women that made up the Moncton WCTU.¹⁶ Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Church of England women joined the Reformed Episcopal women to form the executive committee of the WCTU. Of the five vice-presidents, three were wives of the local clergymen. The two treasurers, Mrs. H.T. Stevens and Miss Annie Taylor, were connected to influential middle-class families. Stevens was married to the publisher of the local newspaper, the *Moncton Daily Times*, while Taylor's father was a prominent merchant.¹⁷ Similar to the pattern found in the National WCTU, the majority of WCTU women were middle-class housewives.¹⁸

The Moncton women learned and used the WCTU-approved methods soon after they organized. In 1876, the executive members led the group of nearly one hundred women to petition the Town Council for the restriction of alcohol sales. They talked with the liquor dealers albeit with little success. However, it exemplified their commitment to political action as a recognized method of tackling intemperance within the adult population. Their political activism was complemented with an educational approach for reaching the young. Children's temperance teaching was deemed "a specialty...department of work." Adults were not neglected in educational teaching as the public temperance meetings served this purpose well. Apparent in the early public

¹⁵ *Saint Paul's Reformed Episcopal Church Records, Moncton.*

¹⁶ Phillip A. Buckner, "The 1870s: Political Integration," *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, Eds. E.R. Forbes and D.A. Muise, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 73. In the 1870s, Protestant churches joined together in an informal alliance to advance their causes. William Westfall, *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth Century Ontario*, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 1989).

¹⁷ Moncton WCTU First Annual Report, 1877.

lectures was the use of scientific arguments that showed how alcohol caused negative effects on the human body. The two benefits of the public meetings were to either convince the non-committed to their cause or to bolster the resolve of the supporters to continue the fight.¹⁹

While the Moncton WCTU, as a solitary local body, was limited, they encompassed the familiar methods that were used and developed throughout the 1880s and 1890s. Without the broad organizational structure and expanded social projects, the early unions relied heavily on the existing religious temperance framework, as they were unable to branch out effectively into the larger social domain. The incentive that sparked the growth of the WCTU was the anticipation of a political temperance bill. It was the passage of the Canada Temperance Act, known commonly as the Scott Act, on May 8, 1878 that served to unite Canadian temperance workers by giving them a uniform legislative means to achieve prohibition, even if it had to be attained one municipality or city at a time.²⁰

The campaign for the passage of the Scott Act was the motivating energy behind the founding of the Fredericton WCTU on September 20, 1877.²¹ The Fredericton WCTU recounted that “there arose a call for workers” and “women heard it as they were engaged in the quiet pursuits of home, and with self-sacrificing zeal, enlisted for the

¹⁸ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 1-10.

¹⁹ Moncton WCTU Second Annual Report, 1878, 4-5. In July 1877, Mrs. Goff of Philadelphia lectured on the “evil effects of alcohol on the human system.”

²⁰ Phillip A. Buckner, “The 1870s: Political Integration,” *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 72. Reginald G. Smart & Alan C. Ogborne, *Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada*, (Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1996), 42. Under the Scott Act, a petition by one-quarter of the electors required a vote on prohibition. A majority of voters in favor brought the prohibition of alcohol in effect.

²¹ Joanne Veer, “Feminist Forbears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” 6.

war.”²² In the following months, women in Saint John, Woodstock, and St. Stephen followed their example. When local Fredericton temperance forces mounted a Scott Act campaign, the first community in Canada to do so, the WCTU was called into action quickly, and they enlisted the aid of the president of the new Ontario WCTU, Letitia Youmans in August 1878.²³ While Youmans contributed to the upcoming Scott Act campaign through public speaking, her expertise on organizational growth sparked concrete action towards the establishment of a central provincial union to connect the scattered New Brunswick WCTU local bodies.

In October 1879, twenty delegates and visitors met in Fredericton and organized the provincial New Brunswick WCTU, which encompassed the five local unions of Moncton, St. Stephen, Saint John, Fredericton, and Woodstock.²⁴ While the second convention held in Saint John in 1880 drew fifty delegates, a sizable increase over the first convention, the provincial body progressed slowly hindered by continuing attitudes of localism.²⁵ The Moncton WCTU sent no delegates to either of the first two conventions. During the first two years, Saint John area women carried the most influence in the organization, holding more executive offices than the other unions. It

²² “The Women’s Christian Temperance Union of Fredericton,” *The New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, January 9, 1878.

²³ Phillip A. Buckner, “The 1870s: Political Integration,” *The Atlantic Provinces in Confederation*, 72. “Women’s Christian Temperance Union,” *The New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, January 23, 1878. Letitia Youmans, *Campaign Echoes: The Autobiography of Mrs. Letitia Youmans*, (Toronto: William Briggs, 1893), 220-226. “The Election,” *The New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, November 6, 1878. Addie Chisholm, *Why and How: A Hand-Book For the Use of the W.C.T. Unions in Canada*, 19. The provincial Ontario WCTU was organized during a convention on October 23 and 24, 1877. Joanne Veer, “Feminist Forbears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” 6. Saint John was organized on December 11, 1877. Woodstock on January 15, 1878, and St. Stephen on January 29, 1878.

²⁴ Addie Chisholm, *Why and How: A Hand-Book For the Use of the W.C.T. Unions in Canada*, 24.

“Women’s Convention,” *The New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, October 15, 1879

²⁵ “Local News... The N.B. W.C.T. Union,” *Saint John Globe*, October 6, 1880.

was not until 1882 that the Moncton WCTU joined the executive ranks.²⁶ The small number of local unions hampered not only their ability to expand into the more socially relevant work projects that the National WCTU were involved in at the time, but also to influence the larger Maritime culture.

The future expansion of the WCTU was secured in September 1883, when the WCTU of the Maritime Provinces²⁷ was formed through the organizational union of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island, which connected ten active local unions.²⁸ These ten unions represented the three Nova Scotia unions of Halifax, Annapolis, and Windsor and the seven New Brunswick unions of Moncton, Sackville, Fairville, St. George, St. Stephen, Fredericton, and Saint John/Portland.²⁹ While these early locations represented strong centers where traditional temperance activity had flourished, the WCTU organization expanded rapidly throughout the region, reaching a total membership of twelve hundred women in 1885.³⁰ By 1889, the number of unions reached twenty-nine in New Brunswick and twenty-three in Nova Scotia.³¹

Serious Maritime temperance women were not hesitant to join an organization where women alone strategized, participated, and combated the lively religious, social issue of the day. Religious women were introduced to volunteer women's

²⁶ See executive membership lists of the New Brunswick WCTU. The Portland women were included as part of the Saint John area women. "Women's Convention," *The New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, October 15, 1879. "Local News...The N.B.W.C.T. Union," *Saint John Globe*, October 6, 1880. "W.C.T.U.," *Moncton Daily Times*, October 5, 1882.

²⁷ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 45. In 1888, the name was changed from the WCTU of the Maritime Provinces to the Maritime WCTU.

²⁸ "W.C.T.U.," Sackville *Chignecto Post*, September 3, 1885. Addie Chisholm, *Why and How: A Handbook For the Use of the W.C.T. Unions in Canada*, 25. There is a discrepancy in the number of unions that united in 1883 under the Maritime WCTU. In 1891, the number quoted is sixteen unions with a membership of twelve hundred women. Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 54.

²⁹ "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *Saint John Globe*, September 3, 1884.

³⁰ "W.C.T.U.," Sackville *Chignecto Post*, September 3, 1885.

³¹ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 4.

organizational work early in the 1870s, when Maritime Baptist women united and organized independent Baptist Woman's Aid Societies. Their initial purpose was to provide financial aid to single women missionaries whom were denied assistance under the rules of the Foreign Mission Board.³² The WCTU women set no precedent for independent control of their organization, as the Baptist missionary groups preceded them. Furthermore, there was nothing alarming in the WCTU organization that focused on the predominantly middle-class temperance issue though from the woman's perspective.

Beyond the influence that religious activism played in the promotion of women's reform work, an increase in educational instruction had broadened women's interests outside the narrow confines of the home into the larger social realm. After the mid-nineteenth century, Maritime Baptists and Methodists who valued "a disciplined education as an antidote to idleness or frivolity in either women or men," led the way in women's education in Wolfville and Sackville.³³ Perhaps, the appearance of the first WCTU in Moncton should not be surprising since the concentration of young Westmorland County girls educated at the Mount Allison Academy was considerable.³⁴

In the 1880s, the growing international reputation of the WCTU legitimized the organization and afforded it the status and influence that gave women the reassurance that came with belonging to a strong reputable body. The growth of the National WCTU and the recognition it gained among temperance workers, both in the United States and Britain, as well as many other countries as the World's WCTU grew after

³² Mary Kinley Ingraham, *Historical Sketch: United Baptist Woman's Missionary Union, Maritime Provinces*, (Kentville: Kentville Publishing Co. Limited, nd), 12-17. Their action was not a simple feminist urge, rather their motive was the evangelization of Islamic women and children, the segment of the population, men were unable to reach. *W.B.M.U. Tidings*, February 1894.

1887, made it a respected woman's organization.³⁵ It provided an avenue through which middle-class women were able to gain influence in the public sphere through social-oriented work, an area that was seen as an admirable endeavor.

After 1885 the Dominion WCTU became increasingly recognized as the "mother" organization ready to provide assistance and direction to the provincial unions.³⁶ They provided the provincial and, in the case of the Maritimes, regional unions with a growing Canadian identity that quelled the more severe criticisms of the WCTU being unduly American in character and control. Frances Willard, the second president of the National WCTU, supported separate nationalistic WCTU identities, but promoted their common vision, which guaranteed a close relationship between the two bodies. Willard recalled how at the National Convention in Detroit, "we entwined the flags of England and the Republic." She described the cooperation between the Canadian and American WCTU women, as a "reciprocity treaty" that "awaits for no ratification of Parliament or Congress" that could "never be abrogated by any power that be."³⁷ Overall, the WCTU projected a powerful image of a common middle-class identity for North American women that unified them together in mutual reform work.

While the WCTU had little difficulty attracting women to the organization, there were practical problems to overcome before the new unions could flourish. The source of the problems stemmed both from the financial difficulties that plagued the organization as well as a lack of expertise to develop a diversified system of

³³ John Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis* 12/2 (Spring 1983): 8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

³⁵ "Local News...W.C.T.U.," *Saint John Globe*, September 9, 1887.

³⁶ Addie Chisholm, *Why and How: A Hand-Book For the Use of the W.C.T. Unions in Canada*, 26-27.

³⁷ "A Letter from Miss Willard," *The Woman's Journal*, February 1885.

administration to oversee and to equip the local unions for effective reform work.³⁸

Consequently many unions lapsed into inactivity, often though all that was needed to resuscitate them was a visit from a National WCTU official. An example was the case of the Amherst WCTU that was reorganized in 1888 under Mrs. J.H. Barney, National superintendent of jail, prison, and police work.³⁹

There were individualistic efforts to improve communications between the various unions in the three provinces and hence connect and educate the unions on reform work. From 1883 to 1886, Isabelle Cowie, a self-taught printer and Moncton businesswoman, published a WCTU newsletter, *The Telephone*, where she urged the unions to send reports of their activities for circulation.⁴⁰ The publication struggled to extend its readership throughout the Maritime Provinces, and its demise was sealed with the mounting influence of the Dominion WCTU. Their request that the Ontario-based *The Woman's Journal* be accepted as the official Canadian WCTU organ was approved by the Maritime WCTU in September 1886.⁴¹ The use of a regional paper to unite the Maritime Provinces was not realized, but *The Telephone* served for a period as an important tool that connected the new unions until the organizational structure developed in the region.⁴²

With the failure of the publication and the tardiness of the Maritime executive to rectify the deficiencies in administrative support, the local WCTU women in eastern New Brunswick took action themselves. In 1887, these women organized the Eastern New Brunswick Union, for the better coordination of work efforts among the nine local

³⁸ "Dominion Woman's Christian Temperance Union," *The Woman's Journal*, February 1885.

³⁹ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 64-65, 67.

⁴⁰ Addie Chisholm, *Why and How: A Hand-Book for the use of the W.C.T. Unions in Canada*, 39.

unions under its jurisdiction.⁴³ Their action appears to have prodded the Maritime WCTU to decentralize further with the organization of provincial geographical unions under appointed vice-presidents who were to visit the local unions under their jurisdiction two times a year.⁴⁴ In late 1889, the structural divisions were defined further along the provincial county lines under the oversight of county superintendents. These organizational improvements as well as the tireless work of the Maritime WCTU organizer, Jean Trenholm from Hantsport, with the occasional intervention of county superintendents and local union presidents, resulted in significant increases in the number of unions. The Maritime WCTU's growth in the early 1890s not only surpassed the steady increases of the preceding decade, but it outstripped that of any other Canadian provincial union during the 1890-1891 year.⁴⁵ In 1891, there were seventy-five local unions with a reported membership of fifteen hundred and sixty-seven.⁴⁶ By 1892, the WCTU reached into ninety-two Maritime communities with fourteen hundred and seventy-seven members registered to work as advocates of the cause.⁴⁷

The annual Maritime WCTU conventions gained greater prominence as the organization matured. They unified the delegates into a collective body and played an important role in creating a common identity for the late-nineteenth-century temperance

⁴¹ *The Telephone*, November 1884, 44. Cowie's Printing Company Records. Minutes of the Fourth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1886, 9.

⁴² Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, July 4, 1885, 49.

⁴³ The Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 44-45. The unions under the Eastern New Brunswick Union were Moncton, Salisbury, Sackville, Dorchester, Baie Verte, Shediac, Newcastle, Petitcodiac, and Welford.

⁴⁴ "Women Temperance Advocates," *Saint John Globe*, September 9, 1887. Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU, 1888, 39, 41-42. New Brunswick was divided into four divisions, PEI under one, and NS under five of which one covered Cape Breton.

⁴⁵ "White Ribboners," *Charlottetown Island Guardian*, September 26, 1890. Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, October 25, 1884, 36. Minutes of Fredericton, June 14 & 21, 1888, 6-7. Minutes of the Fourth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1886, 4. "Dominion Convention," *The Woman's Journal*, July 1891.

⁴⁶ "W.C.T.U.," *Saint John Globe*, September 19, 1891.

woman. The rituals, an important part of convention proceedings, not only contained symbols common to the earlier temperance societies, but also introduced contemporary elements that reflected their own perspective. In 1888, the international WCTU hymns were introduced prominently within the annual conventions. Singing, an important ritual among evangelical women, unified the women as each woman participated and restated the temperance mission collectively through the verses of the WCTU hymns. While some hymns, such as the "Home Protection Hymn," conveyed ideas of the mid-nineteenth-century domesticity where the heroic temperance men were symbolized as "the banner and the shield" of protection to "lift up" the "weeping" women, it also imparted the middle-class emphasis on the centrality of the family. The chorus of this hymn, "His truth shall stand till east and west shall join the chorus, for God and Home and Native Land," was evidence of the nationalistic sentiments of the period. Other hymns, such as the "Banner Hymn," disclosed a more contemporary perspective where no gender distinction was denoted, but rather the temperance worker was called "to work, and watch, and pray," and to "stand valiant, amid the mighty foes." Like the "Home Protection Hymn" it affirmed the importance of the family to the nation's stability.⁴⁸ The hymns reinforced the key points of the WCTU platform.

At the 1889 convention the introduction of the new Maritime WCTU banner became a visual rallying point for the women. Obvious from the banner was the influence of evangelicalism on the Maritime WCTU. Its motto "if God is for us, who can be against us," a biblical verse, joined the national motto, "for God and Home and Native Land." Similar to the Ontario organization, evangelicalism was entrenched

⁴⁷ "W.C.T.U.," *Saint John Globe*, September 22, 1892.

⁴⁸ Mrs. I.H. Cowie, "Hymns for Use in W.C.T.U. Meetings," (Moncton, N.B.: Mrs. I.H. Cowie, 1888).

deeply in the Maritime WCTU. Sharon Cook suggested that the National WCTU was more socially pragmatic than the Ontario organization.⁴⁹ Perhaps this reflected the popularity of revivalism in Canadian evangelicalism throughout the late-nineteenth century. Indeed, in the 1890s, visits of Canadian revivalists such as H.T. Crossley and John E. Hunter from Ontario benefited the Maritime WCTU who experienced swells in membership after their religious meetings.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the dual mottoes suggest the high degree of immersion of the middle-class culture into the religious mindset. The biblical verse also suggests that it served as a justification for their progressive social reform work. It also compelled the women to a deep commitment to the cause.

While the banner emblems were steeped in evangelical symbolism, they also followed the tradition of the earlier temperance flags, which connected the women to the former temperance heritage. On the Maritime WCTU banner, the initials W.C.T.U. on blue ribbon were entwined with white chrysanthemum, the emblematic flower that denoted loyalty. The background of white silk represented the purity of their motive. A golden cord encircled the various emblems and denoted the love that bound the women together. Above the emblems the temperance star of hope was positioned.⁵¹ While the pure white background, golden cord of love, and star held clearly religious connotations, they also repeated emblems found in the earlier male temperance banners. The early Sons of Temperance stressed the importance of “the triple cord of love, purity, and

⁴⁹ Sharon Anne Cook, *“Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930,”* .

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1898, 42. Phyllis D. Airhart, “Ordering a New Nation and Reordering Protestantism 1867-1914,” *The Canadian Protestant Experience 1760-1990*, Ed. George A. Rawlyk, (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1990), 117-119.

⁵¹ “Maritime W.C.T.U.,” *St. Croix Courier*, September 6, 1889. The Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 25-26.

fidelity.”⁵² Traditional temperance groups adopted the color blue to represent their cause, but also used white prominently as well as the star.⁵³ Even mid-nineteenth-century demonstrations of Sunday school children carried on the tradition with the girls wearing white dresses and blue sashes.⁵⁴ The WCTU women continued the time-honored customs familiar to all temperance supporters and practiced within temperance families.

While the WCTU embraced the basic principles of the former temperance work, they introduced a new social impulse into the movement. The annual Maritime WCTU conventions became crucial meeting places where women planned strategy, drew up resolutions, and made decisions on programs. These plans were carried back to the local unions through the convention delegates.⁵⁵ While the local unions chose those programs that were feasible within their area, most unions attempted to follow the lead of the central organization. County superintendents worked to advance the strategies and programs through education of the local women at county conventions and schools of methods. Program or department of work superintendents sent circulars to the local unions to promote further their specific work or to engage them in special campaigns.⁵⁶

After 1890 the expansion of the organizational structure not only grafted in new unions but also brought an infusion of fresh leadership from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. These two developments worked to reverse the monopolistic tendency

⁵² Journal of the Fourth Annual Session of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of the Province of New Brunswick, October 30, 1850, 88.

⁵³ “Banner Presentation!” *The Telegraph*, May 15, 1848. See the description of an early Sons of Temperance banner. Patriotism was evident as early as the mid-nineteenth century temperance movement.

⁵⁴ Bonnie Huskins, “Public Celebrations in Victorian Saint John and Halifax,” 151.

⁵⁵ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, September 13, 1886, 78.

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 85. After 1889, these superintendents were able to receive assistance from the corresponding Dominion superintendents.

of executive leadership being held among the women of the old temperance strongholds of Saint John, Fredericton and St. Stephen. This pattern was evident in the New Brunswick WTCU and in the early years of the Maritime WCTU. It affected the development of programs within the organization. During the 1880s, the Maritime WCTU was under the direction of two New Brunswick presidents, Harriot Todd of St. Stephen (1883-1887) followed by Julia Turnbull of Saint John (1887-1892). The interests of both Todd and Turnbull fell heavily in the field of social purity. During their presidencies, the organization reflected their emphasis in this area. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, Todd served as the superintendent for impurity in literature and art. In 1886, Turnbull established the white cross department, which was renamed gospel or social purity, and she served as the superintendent throughout the period that the Maritime WCTU operated as a regional union. Turnbull's duties as superintendent and president overlapped from 1887 until the fall of 1892. She was able to use her influence as president to promote social purity notions especially at the annual conventions. The 1890s brought a change of leadership with the new Nova Scotia president, Edith J. Archibald (1892-1895). Archibald led the organization into an intense level of political activism. While Archibald supported strongly social purity notions, she was a visionary that understood the significance of woman's suffrage to advancing their social reforms. The leadership of these three presidents' brought the contemporary streams of reform into the woman's temperance organization.

Paralleling the shift in the provincial balance of power within the executive positions were changes as well among the superintendents of the various departments of work. In both 1888 and 1889, ten of the fourteen department of work superintendents

were from New Brunswick.⁵⁷ By 1890 the influence of Nova Scotia women increased enough that they held eleven work departments to the seven in New Brunswick.⁵⁸ In 1894, there were twenty-eight departments of work with four superintendents from Prince Edward Island, eleven from Nova Scotia, and thirteen from New Brunswick.⁵⁹ The broadening of the leadership base not only eliminated the monopoly of power within the Maritime WCTU, but also accelerated the number and the diversity of WCTU programs. The WCTU women from three provinces possessed interests and strengths in different areas. Their contributions to the Maritime WCTU broadened its social reform vision.

In 1892, the Dominion WCTU recommended the Maritime union expand its work.⁶⁰ The dramatic numerical increase in departments suggests a positive indication of progress. At the 1886 and 1887 conventions, the Maritime WCTU selected nine departments of work - evangelistic, fairs, industrial schools, jail, juvenile work, parlor meetings, sailors and railway men, temperance literature, and white cross or gospel purity - to pursue. In 1888 the number of departments expanded to fourteen with the introduction of dress and hygiene, suppression of impure literature and art, narcotics, and press, and the division of the earlier sailors and railway men into their own separate departments. Coffee rooms were added to the industrial school department. By 1890, the number of departments rose to eighteen with the additions of franchise, hygiene and heredity, miners, lumbermen and raftsmen, unfermented wine, and YWCTU and kitchen gardens. While these departments were added others lapsed only to reappear in 1894.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 37. Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 3-4.

⁵⁸ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 4.

⁵⁹ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 4.

Under the expanding work, the WCTU at times struggled to find effective leadership for the different departments. To organize new work programs took educational study on the subject, effort to manage and promote the work, and strong leadership to engage other women in the work at the local level. Some departments were more difficult to implement. Sometimes it was hard to stir up the required interest among Maritime women.⁶¹ While 1894 marked a tremendous increase in departments, not all the existing departments accomplished even the minimal amount of work. One example of this was the department of fairs, where work was virtually non-existent.⁶² Other departments, such as sailors, miners, lumbermen and raftsmen, and railway men, consisted primarily of providing suitable literature and comfort bags to the men. These types of actions exerted little social effect on the men. These male-oriented departments, aimed at working-class men, were often viewed as evangelistic ventures where religious conversion goals overshadowed the social reform impulse.⁶³ However, they served to broaden the WCTU women's knowledge of the larger public male domain.⁶⁴

After 1888, there were notable additions to the organized work departments that were significant because they possessed the ability to advance middle-class temperance values into the larger culture. This is not to say that the work of the earlier 1880s was inconsequential. Indeed it was an important time when the WCTU women, compelled to develop the essential programs as they waited for the organizational structure to grow, laid the early foundations for their most successful work. These core programs centered

⁶⁰ "W.C.T.U.," *Saint John Globe*, September 22, 1892.

⁶¹ See Table 1, 177

⁶² Report of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 87.

⁶³ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 117-118. The superintendent of lumbermen and raftsmen stressed the importance of sending a "minister of the gospel" to the camps.

⁶⁴ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 104. According to Bordin, these departments achieved "at best indifferent success" in the United States.

on STI in the public schools, gospel temperance teaching, children's temperance groups, social purity, and political lobbying for prohibition. These efforts focused on the development of a broad temperance culture to ensure that Maritime children grew up with the proper temperance values. During the 1890s the core programs blossomed with the aid of the emerging social organizational machinery. Under the departments of work, these core programs came under the departmental headings of STI, Sabbath schools, juvenile work, mothers' meetings, and franchise. These departments represented a growing specialization within the core programs. They put into action the key values that the organization stood and fought for in the late-nineteenth century. The Maritime WCTU executives promoted heavily these departments during the annual conventions and at the district and county conventions. Furthermore, schools of methods taught the local WCTU women how to advance these work projects.⁶⁵

These critical programs introduced the temperance arguments in contemporary middle-class terms and often reflected the growing dependency on scientific evidence to support their views. The department of scientific temperance instruction, organized officially in 1889, targeted school-age children on the importance of temperance for healthy bodies. In 1850, at their annual convention the Sackville Sons of Temperance argued for promotion of temperance teaching in the New Brunswick educational institutes, though no action was taken.⁶⁶ While the notion of educational temperance instruction was not a new concept to the temperance movement, the Maritime WCTU through its social organization was able to reach the goal. They structured the program

⁶⁵ Ibid., 93, 121.

⁶⁶ Journal of the Fourth Annual Session of the Grand Division of the Sons of Temperance of the Province of New Brunswick, held in Saint John, New Brunswick, October 30, 1850. 94, 97, 107-108.

on a scientific foundation, which carried with it the expanding notion that temperance was “God’s [physiological] law for the body.”⁶⁷

The Maritime WCTU accomplished the work through an effective two-pronged strategy of education and political action. As early as 1881, the first concrete steps towards their program goal began with both successive petitions to the New Brunswick Board of Education and visits from Mary Hunt, the American superintendent and champion of scientific temperance instruction (STI). In the first half of the 1880s, their repeated requests for compulsory temperance instruction was accompanied with lobbying the teachers and school administrators.⁶⁸ When these early plans failed to succeed, the Maritime WCTU took more aggressive steps and petitioned the New Brunswick legislature directly in 1887.⁶⁹ However, it was the establishment of the department of STI that organized their collective regional efforts. Their persistent educational and political methods gave the Maritime WCTU the social and political clout necessary to achieve compulsory STI in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, along with a high level of voluntary cooperation in Prince Edward Island.

The department of STI urged the local WCTU women to take up the work faithfully in their own region. Active Nova Scotia unions, such as Lunenburg and Amherst, pursued compulsory STI in their local schools with success, but consistent systematic work was needed to extend broadly the temperance values into the Maritime culture.⁷⁰ In 1889, the Truro WCTU spearheaded the petition to the Council of Public

⁶⁷ “Scientific Temperance in the Nursery,” *The Woman’s Journal*, September 1892.

⁶⁸ “Provincial W.C.T. Union,” *St. Croix Courier*, October 13, 1881. “W.C.T.U.,” *Moncton Daily Times*, November 5, 1882.

⁶⁹ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 17.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, 1892. Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 77-78.

Instruction of Nova Scotia for the introduction of province-wide compulsory STI.⁷¹ In 1890, the Nova Scotia unions of Halifax, Dartmouth, and the north-end followed suit and lobbied the provincial secretary and superintendent of education.⁷² By 1891, the Nova Scotia unions followed the pattern set in New Brunswick and began the circulation of petitions in preparation of a campaign directed at their legislature.⁷³ The final campaign to the Nova Scotia legislature in 1892, under the suave Mary Hunt who lent her expertise and reputation to the effort resulted in the enactment of the first compulsory temperance education law in the British Empire. The same year Prince Edward Island passed their Temperance Education Law, though it was not as stringent as the Nova Scotia law.⁷⁴ The passage of the New Brunswick temperance law, similar to the Nova Scotia law, followed in 1893.⁷⁵ The WCTU succeeded in mounting enough influence to spread their temperance beliefs into the public school system across the Maritime region.

The Maritime WCTU's commitment to children included not only STI in the public education system. They envisioned a broad education strategy that reinforced the message through different mediums and from various authoritative sources. The early juvenile work, one of the steadiest WCTU departments, encompassed all children's work, both Sunday school and children's temperance societies. The organization's commitment to the temperance education of children was evident from its inception. In 1881, as a provincial body the New Brunswick WCTU resolved to take up "the work of

⁷¹ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 85.

⁷² Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

⁷³ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 84-85.

⁷⁴ "The first compulsory temperance education law enacted in the British Empire," *The Woman's Journal*, May 1892. Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 102.

⁷⁵ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 102.

forming children's societies."⁷⁶ In 1884, the early Maritime WCTU acknowledged further the need to "train the young for God" and to "inculcate temperance."⁷⁷ The broad departmental work was understandable considering both the organizational limitations of the Maritime WCTU and that of the evangelical churches. The evangelical churches, occupied with denominational planning, were slow to develop and to oversee its Sunday school programs, which hampered the WCTU efforts to find a satisfactory network to spread the gospel temperance teaching. Some local WCTU women organized and operated their own mission schools. The Fredericton WCTU established a "ragged school for children who do not attend any of the Sabbath Schools."⁷⁸ Other local unions focused their early attention on smaller ventures such as juvenile temperance societies.⁷⁹ While these local efforts were useful, the absence of a standard plan and regional focus limited their hegemonic influence.

By 1894, the juvenile department was separated into the specialized departments of Sabbath school and juvenile work, which encompassed the children's temperance societies. The expanding specialization was evidence of the growing expertise and reform impulse within the Maritime WCTU. The local mission works, whose mission halls were located strategically in the working class neighborhoods, were important because they focused primarily on working-class children.⁸⁰ Their social activity extended temperance teaching to the working-class culture. However, to reach large numbers of children the organization needed the cooperation and assistance of the

⁷⁶ "Local News... The N.B.W.C.T. Union," *St. Croix Courier*, October 6, 1881.

⁷⁷ "W.C.T. Union Convention," *Saint John Globe*, September 4, 1884.

⁷⁸ "Ragged School," *New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, November 13, 1878.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, March 21, 1883, 1. The tract, *Temperance and the children*, was read at their first meeting and plans were made for their children's temperance society.

⁸⁰ "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *New Brunswick Reporter and Fredericton Advertiser*, July 21, 1878. Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 74.

evangelical churches. Communications between the Maritime WCTU and the evangelical Sunday school conventions was established early. In 1886, the WCTU recording secretary reported their resolutions were submitted to the New Brunswick Sunday school convention for their endorsement.⁸¹ Their constant focus and campaigning on gospel temperance teaching succeeded in keeping the subject in the forefront of the evangelical churches' minds. The official support and organized cooperation for the Maritime WCTU's gospel temperance teaching was obtained from the Nova Scotia Sunday School Association in 1893.⁸² In New Brunswick, an official link of temperance work between the churches and the WCTU was not realized, but the two bodies interacted closely.⁸³

The entrenchment of gospel temperance teaching within the evangelical churches shifted the focus from the working-class children, who were found in the WCTU mission schools, increasing to the middle-class children that attended most prominently the evangelical Sunday schools.⁸⁴ Clearly, the temperance instruction they received through the gospel teaching and the accompanying triple-pledge cards, which promoted total abstinence from alcohol, tobacco, and profanity, reinforced the notion that temperance in all things was God's law for Canadian children. It reinforced the STI message that the children received in the public schools. While STI taught the physiological laws of temperance in a modern, intellectual manner, the gospel temperance teaching provided the spiritual perspective on temperance values.

⁸¹ *Minutes of the Fourth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1886*, 13, 86-87. *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895*, 45.

⁸² *Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894*, 38.

⁸³ *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895*, 44-45.

⁸⁴ Ann M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988). Denominational Sunday schools were filled increasing with middle-class children as the twentieth century approached.

Following their commitment to children, but with no institutional network to assist them, the Maritime WCTU were forced to chart their own course in juvenile work. Their juvenile programs expanded from religious temperance classes to recreational temperance gatherings. The successful WCTU groups introduced entertainment into the program to both attract larger numbers and to maintain steady attendance.⁸⁵ The strict religious curriculum and rigid teaching methods of the early Bands of Hope was replaced with the National WCTU juvenile program, Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL) which introduced new pedagogical methods and an expanded social temperance philosophy. Instead of resisting change, the LTL program kept step with the popular trends in the changing middle-class culture, which increased their ability to reach the children.⁸⁶

Beyond the American influence, Maritime originality entered the juvenile program with the contribution of Margaret Marshall Saunders, the Nova Scotia WCTU member who was one of the first Canadian animal rights activists.⁸⁷ The Bands of Mercy, societies that promoted acts of kindness to animals, became an additional component to some of the children's temperance societies. Together the Bands of Hope, Bands of Mercy, and LTL groups reached large numbers of working- and middle-class children and provided them with both legitimate recreation and an enlarged temperance culture in which to gain temperance values. However, these children were not mere

⁸⁵ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, January 31, 1886.

⁸⁶ Judith B. Erickson, "Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900," *Journal of Drug Education*, 18 (1988): 333-357.

⁸⁷ Carole Gerson and Julian A. Smith, "Ryan, Anne Gregg (Savigny)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume XIII, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 916.

receptacles of temperance nurturing. The WCTU women viewed them as workers, or social agents, within the temperance movement.⁸⁸

In the field of social purity Todd's and Turnbull's influence was evident in the number of related departments that were established and in active operation. In 1886, Turnbull introduced the white cross department, though social purity rescue work began much earlier. In 1877, the department was organized by the National WCTU to work with fallen women, and it found a place in the Maritime urban centers. In 1879 Saint John established "The Haven" that sheltered and worked to convert prostitutes. Later in 1893, the Halifax WCTU established "The Woman's Home." However, in the primarily rural Maritime landscape, there was little need for the social work connected with this specific white cross project.⁸⁹

In 1887, the Maritime WCTU expanded the narrow scope of the white cross to the broader gospel purity department. Patterned after the corresponding National WCTU of social purity, it promoted educational preventive measures to stem problems of immorality.⁹⁰ In the 1880s, social purity teachings were common at the local level in Saint John, Fredericton, St. Stephen, Woodstock and Moncton where both literature distribution and public talks spread the message.⁹¹ While WCTU women spoke to women audiences, the clergy were engaged for conversations with young men.⁹² Gratified with the clergy participation, in 1890 Turnbull wrote, "we feel that the work has taken deep root just where it belongs, among the churches." Work continued though

⁸⁸ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 72-73. Children performed special prohibition programs during local Scott Act campaigns to aid the cause.

⁸⁹ Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax*. . Joanne Veer, "Feminist Forbears: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces 1875-1900," 246.

⁹⁰ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 110.

⁹¹ "W.C.T.U.," *St. Croix Courier*, September 15, 1887.

⁹² Minutes of the Woodstock WCTU, March 7, 1889.

in educational settings, such as Mount Allison University, with the anticipation that the “young men” carry the message “into their distant homes throughout the Province.”⁹³ By 1893, social purity work thrived in areas of Nova Scotia with the endeavors of the Truro WCTU to establish “in a centre of learning a branch of White Cross work for boys of the High School.”⁹⁴

Even though the Maritime WCTU adopted the preventive nature of the social purity, they choose also to follow negative restrictive measures with the organization of the suppression of impure literature and art department under Todd’s direction in 1888. In 1885, the National WCTU had moved away from projects that followed the negative suppression approach.⁹⁵ While the Maritime WCTU changed the name of the department to purity in literature, art, and fashion the next year, the direction taken within the department remained somewhat ambiguous. Todd took the preventive approach as she brought the subject before Halifax clergy and requested they bring the matter before their churches. Of twenty-seven clergy contacted fourteen responded to her appeal.⁹⁶ Still there were examples of unions who watched vigilantly and fought local incidents of obscenity successfully. In 1893, some local New Brunswick superintendents discovered that railway conductors, brakemen, and engineers smuggled the Police Gazette across the border for sale to barbershops, tobacco shops and saloons.⁹⁷ Todd’s influence was seen primarily among the New Brunswick unions, though it appears that she was able to influence the Dominion WCTU who established

⁹³ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 53.

⁹⁴ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 79.

⁹⁵ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 110.

⁹⁶ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

⁹⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 81.

the department in 1890 and she served as its superintendent.⁹⁸ However, the restrictive nature of the work reduced its popularity among Maritime women.

Also introduced in 1888 and positioned under the social purity umbrella was the department of dress and hygiene. As it was with American women, the topic interested Maritime women even before the department was set up.⁹⁹ In 1887, the Maritime WCTU passed a resolution on dress that rejected “the present style of evening dress for women” on the basis of “health and morality.” They vowed to “endeavor to awaken a deeper interest in the study of hygienic laws and in the teachings of Gospel purity.”¹⁰⁰ As it was in the Ontario and Dominion WCTU, “modest-dress reform was closely associated... with health, safety, and class concerns.” Its work had the potential to define “the new middle-class woman in physical terms.” However, the department failed to expand into the mainstream work in the Maritimes or to sustain the popularity it received among the local Ontario unions.¹⁰¹ While Maritime work appeared earlier than the 1890 Dominion dress-reform resolution, the department was unable to develop alone because of the absence of strong feminist base. In 1894, it joined the new social purity department of hygiene and heredity.¹⁰²

The broad approval and participation that Maritime social purity superintendents sought among the local women was difficult to obtain. Julia Turnbull, superintendent of social purity, lamented in her report at the 1890 convention, “it seems impossible to

⁹⁸ Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 91. Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 6.

⁹⁹ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 109.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 23.

¹⁰¹ Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 94, 98. While Cook claimed popularity in local unions, she conceded that “it failed to attract large-scale support in the American or Canadian community.”

remove from the minds of some women the impression that this is not a work of impurity but of purity.”¹⁰³ In 1890, the introduction of mothers’ meetings marked the beginning of social purity work that Maritime women truly embraced. In urban centers, such as Halifax, meetings designed for both working- and middle-class women were conducted. Working mothers sewed while the leader transmitted important childcare knowledge through appropriate readings. Gatherings of “well-to-do mothers” differed in that they participated more actively where the early childcare subject was to be “well thought and talked over.”¹⁰⁴ In many local communities, the popularity of the mothers’ meetings was evident, as they attracted large numbers of non-members.¹⁰⁵ The practical advice and the contemporary scientific-based information on childcare presented in the form of friendly informal discussions had a wide appeal especially among the middle-class women. Through this popular medium the hereditary and environment arguments for temperance were spread in a convincing manner.

Organized in 1890, one year before that of the mothers’ meetings, the department of hygiene and heredity struggled in its first years of operation.¹⁰⁶ Its superintendent Dr. Maria L. Angwin focused on the traditional temperance approach of the elimination of alcohol in medicine, instead of promoting the new scientific arguments on the influence of alcohol on heredity. This approach left few viable work options for the local unions to proceed along. At the National level, the hygiene and heredity department studied eugenics, which focused on the importance of ancestry and heredity transmission.¹⁰⁷ The potential advantage of the linkage of the popular mothers’ meetings forum with the

¹⁰² In 1894, dress reform was added to the hygiene and heredity department. See Appendix 1.

¹⁰³ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 54.

¹⁰⁴ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

¹⁰⁵ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 110.

larger social purity teachings was recognized by the Maritime president, Edith J. Archibald, who suggested in 1894 that social purity be combined with mothers' meetings.¹⁰⁸ In 1890, the expansion of the social purity ideals was secured with the entrance of Prince Edward Island unions into the Maritime WCTU. These unions took particular interest in the social purity ideals and became the regional experts on the subject.¹⁰⁹ Hygiene and heredity as well as dress reform entered into the mothers' meetings, the gatherings tended to emphasis proper prenatal health and postnatal parenting skills as they related to the temperance way of family living.

While many departments emphasized the preventive social approach, other departments oversaw the political action side of WCTU work. In 1890, the department of petitions and legislation managed the circulation of crucial petitions that ranged from STI issues to prohibition. It was the official department that corresponded with the political and evangelical authorities. It was a critical department that managed the political resolutions, campaigns, and petitions undertaken by the Maritime WCTU executive and middle-level superintendents as well as those sent from the Dominion level. It oversaw the outgoing campaign materials and the incoming petitions, which represented the practical work of the local unions in the campaigns. The formal department of petitions and legislation helped to break down the pockets of localism and promoted the larger social perspective that lay at the core of the reform organization.¹¹⁰ The superintendent for this department was Mrs. T.B. Smith of Windsor, Nova Scotia who occupied the position throughout the 1890s. Smith was indicative of a common

¹⁰⁶ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 61.

¹⁰⁷ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 109.

¹⁰⁸ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 59.

trend within the Maritime WCTU that saw leadership on the political side of work originating from Nova Scotia.

In 1890, the department of franchise was organized to promote woman's suffrage in anticipation of a vote on national prohibition. The first superintendent of franchise, Mrs. Chittick of Hantsport, wrote "the enfranchisement of Canadian women means a greater advance in this reform movement than can possibly be secured by any other means." While woman's suffrage became urgent in the minds of Maritime women because of the perceived need for prohibition and social reform, the WCTU leaders believed firmly in the principle of "political equality."¹⁰⁹ Convention addresses on the enfranchisement of women were frequent with almost unanimous agreement from the delegates, who represented the top officials from the local unions.¹¹⁰ Still there was much work to be done to breakdown the obstacles to allow the work to advance. In 1891, Chittick confessed that there existed "ignorance, prejudice, indifference as well as intelligent inquiry," but they were open to further education on the subject. In the typical WCTU fashion, woman's suffrage campaigns followed the prescribed course of action. The franchise department set about to provide the education with the distribution of "nearly four thousand pages of literature and writing four newspaper articles."¹¹¹ The WCTU reached the general population through the traditional public meetings that preceded the annual conventions. These meetings, in which lectures on the subject were delivered, became at times the platform for the advancement of woman's suffrage.

¹⁰⁹ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, June 4, 1896. "Women and Alcohol," *Moncton Daily Times*, November 1, 1894. Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895.

¹¹⁰ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 80-81.

¹¹¹ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 74.

¹¹² Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 21, 26-27.

¹¹³ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 74-75.

While provincial members of parliament often attended these meetings, they lent their influence and granted the issue further legitimacy in the public minds.¹¹⁴

Throughout the early 1890s the struggle for prohibition carried with it the woman's suffrage fight. The influential WCTU women that served as superintendents and spoke publicly on the franchise for women were generally from Nova Scotia. Indeed, the most recognized leader was Edith J. Archibald, President of the Maritime WCTU (1893-1895), who later championed the Halifax feminist movement in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁵ The commitment to the work educated and advanced the issue across the rest of the Maritime region. It pushed the Maritime WCTU to the forefront of early woman's suffrage work ahead of the other Canadian WCTU bodies.

Over the twenty-year period from 1875 to 1895, the WCTU organizational network expanded across the Maritime Provinces to represent a significant social reform force within the region. Their growth from scattered local unions into the united regional Maritime force was important in that it increased their social influence. It also enriched the organization as each province contributed their specific strengths to the benefit of the whole. While the WCTU remained focused on their commitment to the temperance cause, their programs facilitated the flow of new temperance ideals into the region that carried strong social implications for the Maritime culture. Their social vision looked towards an enlarged temperance culture that all Canadians would adopt. Their educational work to women and children and their political activism was an important part of having their vision realized.

¹¹⁴ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 33.

¹¹⁵ E.R. Forbes, "Battles in Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movements," *Challenging the Regional Stereotypes: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes*, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 67-94.

Chapter 2

The Maritime WCTU's Victory: STI in the Public Schools

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the Maritime WCTU followed the trusted political and educational strategies employed by their national American organization and secured the implementation of a scientific temperance instruction program within Maritime public schools that far exceeded that found in any other provincial educational system in Canada. The Maritime WCTU's close ties with the National WCTU and their close adherence to the American style of lobbying made them a strong, social force in the region. Their political victories, strengthened with steady social actions to boost the benefits of STI, enabled the Maritime WCTU to capture an important niche among the vying forces that worked to exert influence on middle-class formation. Even before the enactment of the compulsory STI law in 1888, New Brunswick teachers discussed their role in temperance education. At the ninth annual teachers' convention of the Charlotte County Institute, New Brunswick, in October 1887, educator John Lawson spoke on the topic of temperance teaching within the common schools and suggested that there was "much to be done by church, school and temperance society" to improve society.¹ The Maritime WCTU agreed wholeheartedly with Lawson's key points.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the political and educational activities that the Maritime WCTU women pursued under the department of STI. It seeks to present the unique Maritime situation, which differed in important ways from the course of events and final outcome that unfolded in Ontario. Sharon Anne Cook's studies on the Ontario WCTU provide a valuable source from which to compare the variations in

¹ "The Teachers," *St. Croix Courier*, October 6, 1887.

the STI campaigns and regional differences that factored into the varying levels of success achieved by the two WCTU bodies.

Both Ruth Bordin's study of the National WCTU and Cook's of the Ontario WCTU, agreed that the WCTU represented, in Cook's words, "a legitimate pressure group."² Cook recognized that in Ontario "temperance education was added to the provincial curriculum in part because of the effective range of strategies utilized by all levels of the WCTU...and in part because the policy initiatives...were in step with those of the dominant culture of the day."³ Unlike Bordin, who emphasized the political victories of STI and the importance of their "perfected...lobbying skills," Cook credited the "real success...to the local WCTU women across the province, quietly educating children to favour temperance and personal responsibility for decades after the formal temperance curriculum had been abandoned."⁴ Cook pointed out that the WCTU's "hold on public policy was transitory" because of the opposition by the "province's teachers who were responsible for implementing the curriculum."⁵ Bordin acknowledged the shift away from legislated STI after 1907, but concluded that STI "was to continue as a major force in the first two decades of the twentieth" century.⁶

On the whole, the Maritime WCTU reflected a balance between both the political and educational actions and the cooperation and interaction between the executive and

² Sharon Anne Cook, "Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth: The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930," *Ontario History*, 86/3 (September 1994): 263. Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 135-139.

³ Sharon Anne Cook, "Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth: The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930," 249.

⁴ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 136. Sharon Anne Cook, "Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth: The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930," 265.

⁵ Sharon Anne Cook, "Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth: The Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930," 265.

⁶ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 138.

local women. The result of their significant STI campaign and the hearty cooperation between the WCTU was as Joanne Veer concluded, and rightly so, that the late-nineteenth century Maritime WCTU “secured both the legislation and the professional and grassroots support that led to reasonably successful teaching effort.”⁷ While Cook recognized the dominant culture supported temperance values, she failed to uncover sympathy among Ontario teachers that was evident among both the Maritime administrators and educators who supported a strong moralistic teaching among the children.

Robert Berard pointed out “the promotion of morality” was “regarded as a function of the school throughout the history of education in Nova Scotia,” which intensified by the end of the nineteenth century. Berard wrote that the social gospel “assisted educators in shifting emphasis away from an absolute, essentially personal, moral standard to one which was largely social and relativistic,” where the school in time became an institution used “to create a common morality and a common nationality.”⁸ Irregardless to the questions of secularization that this provokes, Berard’s work showed clearly that in the late-nineteenth century Nova Scotia administrators promoted zealously the centrality of morality in the education of children to their teachers. The Nova Scotia moral standard was reflected in the other two Maritime Provinces. Beginning in June 1887, the publication of the *Educational Review*, the official Maritime educational organ, fostered both close relationships between the three provinces and the advocacy of a regional standard that worked to promote the WCTU’s STI goals.

⁷ Joanne Veer, “Feminist Forbears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” 72.

The central theme found among Nova Scotia public school reform advocates was the promise that “universal free public schooling would provide moral training for the young and produce a generation of hard-working, law-abiding citizens.” This moralistic goal, along with the central notion of “separate spheres ideology” where women were perceived as natural nurturers, encouraged female recruitment to the educational field. By the end of the 1870s, two-thirds of Nova Scotia teachers were women with similar percentages in New Brunswick.⁹ Interesting enough, women were positioned at the low end of the occupation, which confined them to work more predominantly within the earlier educational levels. Consistent with the lingering notion of separate spheres, the WCTU women believed that the female teachers cooperated more readily with their STI goals. Perhaps there were concrete reasons that reinforced the WCTU women’s beliefs. At the various educational institutes of the late 1880s and early 1890s, topics slated for discussion for the lower to middle grades focused heavily on the moral training of children.¹⁰ This suggests that the most effective STI teaching was likely to occur among the predominantly female teachers in the early grades of the children’s education. While the Maritime WCTU’s persistent fight to have compulsory STI included in the early educational years presumed it was necessary to bring the working-class children who often completed only the lower grades under temperance teaching, it was likely important to the transmission of temperance values to the middle-class children as well.

The work for STI followed the familiar WCTU strategy pattern of political agitation and education. As Jonathan Zimmerman pointed out the “STI law used legal

⁸ Robert Nicholas Berard, “Moral Education in Nova Scotia, 1880-1920,” *Acadiensis*, 14/1 (1984): 49-50.

⁹ Janet Guildford, “The Feminization of Public School Teaching in Nova Scotia, 1838-1880,” *Separate Spheres: Women’s Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*, Eds. Janet Guildford & Suzanne Morton, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 121, 122.

suasion by adults to institutionalize moral suasion of the young.”¹¹ In 1880, the New Brunswick WCTU began the Maritime pursuit of STI with a petition to the Board of Education that requested that temperance textbooks be prescribed for use in the schools.¹² Theodore H. Rand, the superintendent of education, approved the Richardson temperance lesson book for school use. The New Brunswick WCTU met little resistance in the early years with Rand at the helm. An influential Maritime Baptist intellectual, he was instrumental in the development of the educational system in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. The dominant intellectual streams that swept the WCTU influenced Rand as well who “embraced rather than rejected the secular and scientific developments of the late 19th century” and was “receptive to the message of the Social Gospel.” However, by September 1883 Rand assumed the chair of principles and practice of education at Acadia. Without Rand’s assistance, the New Brunswick WCTU continued along the political path to increase the quality of STI teaching and enlarge its scope of influence.¹³

While the early New Brunswick WCTU petition demonstrated their political activism, its vague demands illustrated the work at its earliest beginnings. In 1881, Mary Hunt, superintendent of STI for the National WCTU, attended the New Brunswick WCTU convention and convinced them to submit a second petition that requested

¹⁰ “Teachers in Convention,” *Educational Review*, August 1887, 49. “Section D, Advanced Schools,” *ER*, December 1888, 130. “The Interprovincial Convention,” *ER*, January 1889.

¹¹ Jonathan Zimmerman, “The Queen of the Lobby: Mary Hunt, Scientific Temperance and the Dilemma of Democratic Education in America, 1879–1906,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 32 (1992): 6.

¹² “Provincial W.C.T. Union,” *St. Croix Courier*, October 13, 1881.

¹³ Margaret Conrad, “Rand, Theodore Harding,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XII, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 879–883. Rand served as Nova Scotia’s superintendent of education from 1864 to 1870 and New Brunswick’s from 1871 to 1886. He served twice as president of the Baptist Convention of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island in 1875 and 1881.

compulsory temperance instruction.¹⁴ Beginning in 1882, Hunt supervised the first concerted attempts for mandatory STI in the United States and was rewarded with early successes in Vermont, Michigan, and New Hampshire in 1883.¹⁵ Hunt returned to New Brunswick in the fall of 1882 to publicize both the National and the Maritime WCTU's political agenda for STI in an attempt to promote its cause throughout the province.¹⁶ Hunt's lecture tour marked the beginning of the intensifying campaign for STI.

The organization of the Maritime WCTU in 1883 extended the potential of the STI campaign into Nova Scotia. However, New Brunswick unions continued to dominate the work as the Nova Scotia unions, still in their infancy, failed to emerge into the work until later in 1887. At the second annual Maritime WCTU convention in 1884, a further resolution on the teaching of temperance in public schools was approved with a committee appointed to wait on local government.¹⁷ When a further resolution sent in 1886 received no response, the Maritime WCTU, frustrated with their lack of success with local political bodies, decided to expand the work and petition the New Brunswick legislature.¹⁸

The decision to petition the New Brunswick legislature brought the local unions into deeper political activism with the convention's instructions that they secure signatures and present their petitions through their local representatives. At the 1887 annual convention, the Maritime WCTU defined further their STI campaign with the approval of the hygienic study to show "the physiological evils and dangers... from the use of alcoholic beverages." The convention issued a petition, which was sent to the

¹⁴ "Provincial W.C.T. Union," *St. Croix Courier*, October 13, 1881.

¹⁵ Ruth Bordin, *Women and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 135.

¹⁶ "W.C.T.U.," *Moncton Daily Times*, October 5, 1882.

¹⁷ "W.C.T. Union Convention," *Saint John Globe*, September 5, 1884.

chief superintendents of the Maritime schools and to the Board of School Trustees in the populous Maritime communities with the request for compulsory STI in the schools under their jurisdiction. The local unions received copies of the resolution to present to their own local school board chairman.¹⁹ Even before this resolution, certain local unions were both busy and successful with local STI agitation. Within a few months of their organization in May 1887, the Dartmouth WCTU boasted that their STI agitation brought its teaching into their public schools.²⁰ Indeed, both the executive and local levels of the Maritime WCTU were involved heavily in political agitation for improved STI teaching.

Their 1887 STI resolution also exemplified the changing philosophy and social impulse that the WCTU brought to the temperance movement. The resolution stated that it was proved by “scientific investigation that alcoholic intemperance is a prolific cause of disease and crime, and that one of its most powerful antidotes is education.”²¹ Consistent with the older temperance view, alcohol was depicted as the sole cause of social ills, but the WCTU added like no other temperance body the newer scientific temperance beliefs. Often, the established male temperance bodies dismissed the WCTU’s scientific emphasis and missed the potential cultural hegemony STI promoted. In 1889, the Most Worthy Patriarch of the National Sons of Temperance, Reverend R. Alder Temple of Halifax spoke of scientific temperance instruction in the public schools as having its place, but it still being just “purely hygienic.” He urged the Order to bring

¹⁸ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., 23.

²⁰ Ibid., 26.

²¹ Ibid., 23.

“a practical, effective and permanent scheme for their education and training in temperance and prohibition,” though there is no evidence of any action taken.²²

The resolution displayed as well not only the WCTU’s understanding of the role of education in moralistic character building, but the government’s larger responsibility to ensure that the schools complied with this mandate. The resolution stated it was the “acknowledged duty of the government to provide for such education of the people as is necessary to good citizenship.”²³ The Maritime WCTU returned to the premise set by the early Nova Scotia school reform advocates of the role of education in the larger nation building scheme.

Both the convention executives and the local WCTU unions worked tirelessly in their own unique capacity to bring in STI after the 1887 convention. Besides the convention petition, Mary C. MacFarland, vice-president of the Maritime WCTU, addressed the June 1888 Interprovincial Conference of Teachers to urge their assistance in their preventive work to “throw a shield around all children and youth” through the teaching of STI and social purity to their students. In MacFarland’s words, the goal was to protect “those wonderful bodies and minds given us by our Great Creator, that they shall not fall unwarned into the fearful destruction that has overtaken so many in the past and in the present.”²⁴ While the underlying motivation was the social gospel, educators responded positively to her plea. At this same conference, Cornell University educator, J.G. Schurman, spoke on the importance of distinguishing between religious and secular teaching in the free education system, but acknowledged that religion “stands in the

²² Annual Address of the Most Worthy Patriarch Rev. R. Alder Temple before the National Division of the Sons of Temperance, June 26, 1889, Saratoga Springs, NY, 12.

²³ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 23.

²⁴ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 79.

closest relation to morality.” Schurman encouraged “moral training” as “essential to the preservation of civilization, and large numbers of children are reached in school who are not affected by the church and on whom the home has little power for good.”²⁵ While the WCTU and the educators began from distinct and separate points, their goals appeared at times to converge.

The Maritime WCTU won a victory at the Interprovincial Teachers’ Conference with the commitment of New Brunswick educators to compulsory STI, although there were no provisions to include STI questions on the teachers’ examinations. The general secretary John March, described by the Saint John WCTU as their “ever staunch friend,”²⁶ notified the Maritime WCTU of the Board of Education’s decision to prescribe “Alcohol and its effects on the human system” as one of the subjects of instruction in all their public schools.²⁷ March’s letter to the WCTU promised the teachers’ cooperation “to inculcate the principles of temperance and virtue, and by example and precept to lend their aid in raising up a generation of sober and pure hearted people.”²⁸ In December 1888, the chief superintendent of education, William Crockett, announced the order and prescribed *Palmer’s Temperance Teaching of Science* as the textbook of choice, which was not the WCTU’s text preference.²⁹ Required Canadian revisions to the American textbook delayed the availability of the book until February 1889.³⁰ Although frustrated by the delays, the local WCTU women worked at the local level to

²⁵ “The Interprovincial Educational Convention,” *ER*, August 1888, 49.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 78. *Journal of Education*, Vol. 1, June 10, 1886. John March, a Baptist who served as the superintendent of Saint John schools, was the husband of the WCTU member that served as the second New Brunswick WCTU president in 1881 and as superintendent of jails and almshouses in 1888.

²⁷ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 45.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

²⁹ *ER*, December 1888, 121.

³⁰ *ER*, February 1889, 161.

ensure compliance to the new temperance law. Often this meant direct intervention with local officials and teachers to solicit their cooperation.

Similar to the action taken in other unions, the Fredericton WCTU organized a school committee to visit their public schools in the interest of STI.³¹ The Portland WCTU distributed leaflets to the local teachers that expressed the STI views held by Frances Willard, president of the National WCTU. The Woodstock WCTU's STI committee sent their request to the teachers gathered at the annual meeting of the district Teachers' Institute for their cooperation in teaching the dangers of alcohol and tobacco use to their students. Through a motion, the educational gathering pledged their support to the cause. As it was in Portland, the Woodstock union later sent the teachers fifty catechisms entitled "Alcohol and Tobacco" in January 1889.³² The WCTU's increased pressure on the public school teachers met with little open resistance. Indeed, the Fredericton union reported "a marked change was manifest in the manner of their reception; while a few had always given encouragement, many had treated the subject and visitors lightly."³³

By 1889 the STI campaign preoccupied the Nova Scotia unions as the WCTU women worked to duplicate the success in New Brunswick. They embarked upon a series of petitions for provincial STI as well as a number of local initiatives to procure the more limited success of STI within local communities. The local Truro WCTU, positioned with the Nova Scotia Normal School in their community, assumed leadership of two campaigns that petitioned the Council of Public Instruction for provincial

³¹ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 69.

³² Ibid., 60-61. Minutes of the Woodstock WCTU, January 17, 1889.

³³ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 69.

compulsory STI.³⁴ The Dartmouth, Halifax, and North-end unions also met with the provincial secretary and superintendent of education to plead the provincial case of STI.³⁵

While the early provincial STI drive was unsuccessful, the local initiatives received favor among the school trustees and supervisors. Clearly, there was local civic support for STI. Under his district, A.H. MacKay, the supervisor of the Halifax schools, recommended temperance teaching to all grade levels – *Dulany's I and II Books* for primary grades, *Steele's Hygienic Body* for the eighth grade and Richardson's text and Martin's *Human Body* for the high schools.³⁶ The Amherst WCTU's petition convinced their local Board of trustees to put the WCTU-approved text, *The Pathfinder Series* into the community schools.³⁷ Beyond official approval, there were also teachers in a number of schools that were committed to temperance values and taught STI without any prompting. The teacher at Little Bras d'Or, Miss T.A. Martell, organized a Loyal Legion in her school and introduced her students to the triple pledge and Miss Cox from Canso was a regular user of Dr. Richardson's temperance book.³⁸ Even though compulsory provincial STI was the ultimate goal because it had the ability to extend the WCTU temperance values effectively across the region through consistent and uniform STI teaching, the local work was still significant. It stirred up general awareness of STI and the support of the local trustees added legitimacy to the WCTU work.

³⁴ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 85. As in New Brunswick, the various Nova Scotia WCTU unions circulated local petitions in favor of compulsory STI. Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 118.

³⁵ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890, 19.

³⁶ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

³⁷ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 77-78.

³⁸ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 93. Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 118.

However, by August 1889, the Maritime WCTU executive worked to broaden their influence through the public support of the Baptist Convention of the Maritime Provinces. The WCTU resolution to the Baptist body asked them to use their influence not only to advance compulsory STI to all the Maritime schools, but also to endorse *The Pathfinder Series* as the Maritime temperance text. The Baptists responded positively and called on their ministers and church members to influence “teachers, trustees and school authorities” to embrace compulsory STI.³⁹ In New Brunswick, the WCTU sought and received the recommendations and endorsements of both Sir Leonard Tilley, the chairman of the New Brunswick Board of Education and William Crockett, Chief Superintendent, for *The Pathfinders Series*.⁴⁰ The Maritime WCTU through its effective lobbying pulled together effectively religious, political, and educational allies to further their STI agenda.

While Nova Scotia unions worked to have compulsory STI enacted, the New Brunswick unions labored to strengthen their STI teaching with the inclusion of grades primary to three, which was not part of the 1888 educational order, and the replacement of the Palmer textbook for *The Pathfinder Physiological Series*.⁴¹ Throughout the 1880s, provincial and state WCTU bodies struggled to find the most effective temperance source that met their expectations. Indeed, in 1891, there were twenty-five published textbooks that met WCTU standards.⁴² As early as 1887, *The Pathfinder Series* was the Maritime favorite with its three-part graded texts suited to primary, intermediate, and high school grade levels. The texts on “anatomy, physiology, and hygiene with special

³⁹ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 122.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 121.

⁴¹ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 45.

⁴² Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 137.

reference to the influence of alcoholic drinks and narcotics” followed the popular trend found in the Maritime educational system, which after 1888 pursued increasing the study of science.⁴³

The scientific temperance textbooks were not always able to meet the professional standards of all teachers. While certain textbooks were criticized for what one unidentified complainant argued was “the conversion of a text-book on physiology into a temperance tract,” he acknowledged that intemperance was a “disgusting vice” and that “the temperance question” was “one of the most important with which [their] age [had] to deal.” The writer conceded that “some consideration of it in the public schools [was] a legitimate proceeding.”⁴⁴ *The Pathfinder Series* met the satisfaction of other educators such as the Salisbury school principal who requested copies from the WCTU to replace the unsatisfactory Palmer book. The principal praised the book on the basis of how well the school’s grade five students learned from it. Indeed, there were three advantages with *The Pathfinder Series*. The quality of the books quelled serious opposition to STI, they promised to promote more effective teaching, and they provided an expanded temperance message with the inclusion of teachings on the dangers of tobacco – a topic scarcely touched on in the Palmer book.⁴⁵ The Maritime WCTU executive and the local unions worked diligently to promote the *Pathfinder* books through advertisements in the *Educational Review*, free book distributions at the various county teachers’ institutes, and talks at the science summer schools.⁴⁶

⁴³ In 1886, the *Journal of Education* for New Brunswick was preoccupied with issues of discipline. From 1888 onward the *Educational Review* focused increasing on expanding the study of science.

⁴⁴ “Teaching Gone Mad,” *ER*, March 1888, 198–199.

⁴⁵ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 77.

⁴⁶ “The Pathfinder Series,” *ER*, November 1889, 104. Minutes of the Eighth Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 79, 80.

By 1892, the steady political work of the Maritime WCTU regional body and the local unions carried the women to the decisive battle with the Nova Scotia legislature under the able supervision of the National WCTU STI superintendent Mary Hunt. While Hunt's arrival at the end of the New Brunswick legislative sitting left no time to mount an effective lobby in that province, she was able to organize a campaign in Nova Scotia. In early April, Hunt's address to the legislature generated much excitement with the "galleries and floors of the assembly room....well-filled."⁴⁷ The proposed Nova Scotia STI bill, though "badly mutilated" in the Committee on Education after its first and second reading, passed by a vote of seventeen to eleven with all "desired features...restored" on April 12, 1892. The victory was seen as the collective effort of Hunt, the work of local WCTUs, and the support of "friendly" members of parliament and the Halifax school superintendent A.H. McKay.⁴⁸

The Nova Scotia STI act met the highest standards that the WCTU aimed for with hygienic instruction on both alcohol and tobacco in all the grades. The approved temperance books for the early and intermediate grades were the *Health Readers No. 1 and 2*, which represented the Canadian version of the American *The Pathfinder Series*, while the high school levels used *Hamilton's Human Body*.⁴⁹ School officers and inspectors supervised the strict enforcement of the STI act to ensure the compliance of both the trustees and teachers with the possibility of legal penalties and loss of public money to the schools that failed to comply.⁵⁰ The school inspectors' reports to the Education office every month evaluated each school's work progress in hygiene and

⁴⁷ "The House of Assembly," *Halifax Herald*, April 2, 1892.

⁴⁸ "The first compulsory temperance education law enacted in the British Empire," *The Woman's Journal*, May 1892.

⁴⁹ Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, March 27, 1893.

temperance reading as well as the other academic studies.⁵¹ In 1894, the Maritime WCTU expressed approval for the excellent manner in which the school inspectors performed their duties.⁵² Furthermore, the act guaranteed that teachers were prepared adequately for the teaching of STI. It required teachers to file a certificate that verified their compliance with the provisions of the act before they received any provincial or county grant. After January 1, 1893, no teaching license was to be granted to any person who had not passed an examination on physiology and hygiene with special references to alcohol and narcotics.⁵³ The new STI law provided a significant and effective means through which to transmit temperance values to Nova Scotia children.

The momentum created by the STI victory in Nova Scotia campaign flowed over into the other two Maritime Provinces. The Prince Edward Island legislature enacted its first Temperance Education law. While the law was optional rather than compulsory STI, it was significant because this legislature refused the WCTU's earlier requests.⁵⁴ The Nova Scotia law motivated New Brunswick to revise its earlier STI law. By the end of 1893, the New Brunswick educational system followed the Nova Scotia example with provisions for the strict enforcement of the STI education law and the introduction of the *Health Readers*.⁵⁵ Under WCTU agitation, the Maritime region adopted constant STI teaching with a standard curriculum text for the early and intermediate grades with the exception of Prince Edward Island. However, the Prince Edward Island WCTU women

⁵⁰ "The Compulsory Temperance Education Law of Nova Scotia," *The Woman's Journal*, May 1892. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 111.

⁵¹ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 111.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 53.

⁵³ "Provincial Parliament," *Halifax Herald*, April 9, 1892.

⁵⁴ "The Compulsory Temperance Education Law of Nova Scotia," *The Woman's Journal*, May 1892. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 53.

⁵⁵ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 40-41, 106.

worked to bring their schools under the same standard. They supplied the *Health Readers* to the local schools that taught STI.⁵⁶

One point of concern for the Maritime WCTU was the title choice for the *Health Reader*. They feared the term “reader” was “misleading” and implied a less thorough study of the course. The Canadian publisher reassured them the textbook series were presented in the most effective manner possible to ensure maximum results and there was no other lower level course material that guaranteed such a “thorough study.” The format insured “direct communication between the Committee and pupil” that compelled the teachers to follow the material closely and allowed no opportunity for them to evade principles or truth, which they did not agree with. The text insured “a triple check on the pupils’ knowledge of his lesson as he must read it, he must spell it and be prepared to answer the review questions, so that however large a class is he can hardly hope to escape detection, if not posted.” While the transmission of temperance values to children was the primary target of the ‘readers,’ the complementary goal was to extend the values beyond them and into their families. The publisher reiterated how the format insured the ‘readers’ were “read by at least two persons in the homes of the children, plus the school child, as no matter how careless the parent or guardian is, some one must aid the child in pronunciation and must hear his spellings.”⁵⁷ Indeed, the Maritime WCTU’s accomplishment in having this text prescribed in both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was significant in the extension of the temperance culture in the late-nineteenth century.

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 106-107.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 106-107.

The political agitation of the 1880s and early 1890s accomplished its goals by the end of 1893. However, for the Maritime WCTU, though it was a good beginning the work was not complete. Concerning the compulsory STI laws, Mrs. R.H. Phillips, the Maritime WCTU superintendent of STI, commented, "Another milestone is passed on the road to the millennium, another victory scored in the cause for the children. However, in one sense, the work has just commenced, for the enforcement of the law must be carefully looked after."⁵⁸ Part of the enforcement work translated into surveys of the local schools to ensure the teachers' compliance to the new law. This work originated in an effort to overcome the possible weak links found within the STI law. For all the built-in benefits of the *Health Readers*, grades one to three received only oral lessons based on material from the 'readers.' Students received the No. 1 reader only in grade four, which they completed by the end of grade six, while No. 2 was used in grades seven and eight.⁵⁹ For the early grades, the safeguards for proper compliance were absent and the WCTU women stepped in to pressure any teachers who might be tempted to overlook their responsibility.

Of course, there were situations beyond the WCTU's control that hampered the ability of STI to reach all Maritime children. In the 1880s as anticipation of the legal STI law mounted, preparation work began to address the problem of inconsistencies in school attendance. While provisions for free education were adopted in 1864 in Nova Scotia and 1871 in New Brunswick, compulsory attendance was much slower to be realized. As early as 1883, Sackville WCTU expressed its willingness to cooperate with

⁵⁸ Ibid., 102.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 111.

the Moncton union in any action that would provoke a compulsory School Act.⁶⁰ In 1883, there was a legal provision by which local Nova Scotia school boards were able to enact compulsory school attendance.⁶¹ Even in 1892, some small communities resisted compulsory attendance such as in Lunenburg where the local WCTU struggled to have it enacted.⁶² At the 1887 convention, the Maritime WCTU resolved to petition the Maritime legislatures to provide compulsory school attendance on the grounds that good education was a right from which many children were being deprived,

either in part by irregular attendance, their careless and ignorant parents allowing them to roam the streets and alleys of our cities...or altogether by their parents, under the plea of poverty, placing them at work, at a very tender age, in our mills or factories or helping them at home.⁶³

Inconsistent school attendance concerned teachers and school officers as well. In the fall of 1889, the New Brunswick teachers voted unanimously to send a report that noted their concerns to the legislature.⁶⁴ However, changes were slow to come in the region. In 1895, Nova Scotia passed the Town's Compulsory Attendance Act that provided stiffer attendance requirements for those communities that chose to enact the law, but province-wide compulsory school attendance was not passed until 1915.⁶⁵ The WCTU could do little politically to overcome this obstacle.

The Maritime WCTU women never narrowed their perspective to finding mere political solutions, but they worked simultaneously on the social, educational level to improve the effectiveness of STI. The Fredericton WCTU, one of the more active local unions, began their social interactions with prospective teachers in 1884 with their first

⁶⁰ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, October 27, 1883.

⁶¹ Robert McIntosh, "The Boys in Nova Scotian Coal Mines: 1873-1923," *Acadiensis* 16/1 (1987): 47.

⁶² Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, November 14, 1892. Compulsory school attendance was not popular with ratepayers and while it was adopted twice with small majorities it was never carried out.

⁶³ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 23.

⁶⁴ *ER*, September, 1889, 54.

entertainment for the Normal students. These socials continued thereafter on a regular basis each semester. Indeed, by 1891, nine hundred and thirty-two men and women were persuaded to pledge themselves to total abstinence at these socials.⁶⁶ They promoted not only total abstinence, but also social purity.⁶⁷ In the teaching profession where character building occupied a central position the values held by the teacher were perceived to be of the utmost importance. The social efforts of the WCTU to influence the good morals in the teachers were reinforced by the authority of the Nova Scotia Superintendent of Education, Dr. David Allison, who cancelled the licenses of teachers caught in immoral behavior. One male teacher was discharged after being caught selling liquor illegally, another for drunkenness and giving alcohol to students, and a third teacher lost his teaching position for seducing a young female student.⁶⁸ These social entertainments as all other work with teachers was aimed primarily at convincing them to accept the WCTU's temperance values that would ensure the transmission of STI to the school children.

While socials were beneficial in communities where the Normal schools and universities were located, other unions organized different events to involve the teachers. The Prince Edward Island unions attempted to have teachers participate in public interest meetings on issues of public schooling concerns.⁶⁹ Summerside WCTU invited parents and trustees to meetings, which dealt with issues such as "School Hygiene:

⁶⁵ Robert McIntosh, "The Boys in Nova Scotian Coal Mines: 1873-1923," 47.

⁶⁶ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 120. After 1887, their social entertainments included university faculty and students. Clearly, their social vision was expansive and extended outward beyond their immediate goal of influencing teachers to teach STI. They provided opportunities to spread their views and values to both the influential educators as well as their students, the prospective social movers of the future. Presumably, the total number pledged would have included both normal and university students.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 69.

⁶⁸ Robert Nicholas Berard, "Moral Education in Nova Scotia, 1880-1920," 56.

Ventilation,” “Effects of Tobacco on School Work,” “Physical Exercise in the Schools,” and “Why Should I Teach Physiology?” In the words of one Prince Edward Island WCTU member, the “experience” of engaging them in active work often “changes their disinterest.”⁷⁰ Indeed, these types of social events not only tied teachers into the WCTU agenda, but also spread the temperance message into the larger community.

In some communities, the relationship between the teachers and local union was joined through WCTU membership. In 1890, the visit of Frances Willard attracted new members, which included a number of teachers. The Windsor Union gained five teachers to its membership.⁷¹ Not surprising, by 1897 they claimed that “no more earnest body of teachers can be found than our own and if the children now under their care grow up to be users of tobacco and intoxicants, they will not be sinners through ignorance.”⁷² By 1899 while only some of Nova Scotia’s local unions still had designated STI superintendents, of those unions who did they were nearly all public school teachers.⁷³ The WCTU had struck a responsive chord among a number of progressive-minded Maritime women, which included teachers.

Another WCTU venture that brought the teachers and women together were the regular STI essay contests that the local unions sponsored. The Fredericton WCTU conducted contests among students from grades seven through high school. A social gathering was organized where the winners presented their papers. These contests not only motivated the students to learn their STI lessons, but also used them as propagators of the temperance message. The unions chose the essay topics, which were sometimes

⁶⁹ *Summerside Island Farmer*, April 22, 1897.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 65.

⁷¹ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 77.

⁷² “The Windsor Union...,” *The Woman’s Journal*, April 1899.

of a moralistic nature and called for papers on the topic of the “physical, mental and moral effects of intoxicating drink on the individual” or “The Autobiography of the Tyrant Alcohol.” At other times the subject was more specific and involved more scientific reasoning such as “The Effects of the Voyage of Alcohol from Lip to Brain.”⁷⁴ To motivate the young students to participate, sizable money prizes were offered for the best papers.⁷⁵ Essay winners also gained public recognition for their efforts. According to the Fredericton WCTU, these essay contests “drew the interest and cooperation of teachers, pupils and parents.”⁷⁶

In Prince Edward Island where the WCTU failed to gain compulsory STI, the local WCTUs were forced to depend more heavily on the social educational projects. In Summerside, the union described STI as “well rooted...through the instrumentality of the W.C.T.U., who have given prizes from time to time to the different schools for the best examination papers on the subject.”⁷⁷ As Sharon Cook pointed out concerning the local Ontario WCTUs, the women made important contributions towards the success of STI through “sponsoring contests, exercising their influence on individual teachers, and nurturing a climate of respect for temperance within their immediate communities.”⁷⁸ Indeed, Maritime WCTU women’s social educational activities were no different and they produced similar results in their region.

⁷³ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1899, 77.

⁷⁴ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 57. “W.C.T.U.,” *Saint John Globe*, September 9, 1887.

⁷⁵ “W.C.T.U.,” *Saint John Globe*, September 9, 1887. The Saint John WCTU gave prizes of \$10, \$5, and \$2.50 for the best essays.

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 57.

⁷⁷ “Prince Edward Island,” *The Woman’s Journal*, April, 1899.

⁷⁸ Sharon Anne Cook, “Earnest Christian Women, Bent on Saving Our Canadian Youth: The Ontario Woman’s Christian Temperance Union and Scientific Temperance Instruction, 1881-1930,” 265.

There was a significant difference between the success in the Ontario WCTU and the Maritime WCTU STI campaigns. Cook attributed the local social educational work as the “real success” in the campaign for scientific temperance instruction, and suggested that the local women were disinterested in political solutions to achieve STI in the public schools. The Maritime WCTU women at both the regional executive and local levels realized fully the weight that legislated STI carried, and they were engaged actively in political agitation to this end. However, they realized that political solutions had their limitations and that the social educational promotion of STI to develop greater cultural acceptance was also a necessary component. Indeed, political and educational actions worked side by side in the Maritimes to bring in the most successful STI in Canada.

The Maritime WCTU’s complaints of lack of cooperation arose primarily against the parents. The Sackville WCTU struggled with “some parents” who refused “to supply their children with Health Readers.”⁷⁹ In 1896, the provincial Nova Scotia WCTU expressed frustration with parents who failed to insist that male teachers “be temperate and not addicted to the tobacco.” The same year, they reported on how their union and the provincial school inspectors were “in sympathy with and assist[ed] each other.” They boasted that their inspectors required the same examination in temperance as in other subjects. The conditions in New Brunswick were similar to those in Nova Scotia with the STI law being “well enforced by school authorities.”⁸⁰ Hindrances to STI lay with individuals within the larger society, not the Maritime bodies of power.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 56.

⁸⁰ Minutes of the Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 65.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Maritime WCTU women were pleased with the STI laws and the educational system that cooperated with their goals. The WCTU was able to tap into the prevailing temperance sentiments that existed among the general population and to gain both the support of the authoritative Maritime religious bodies and the assistance of sympathetic political friends for their STI work. In 1892, the Baptist Committee on Temperance, jubilant with the passage of the Nova Scotia compulsory STI law described the larger goal of STI as “laying the foundation intelligently and solidly, for a sober temperate generation in the years to come.”⁸¹ Indeed, at the end of the century, the WCTU women anticipated that their work with Maritime children would produce this result.

⁸¹ *The Baptist Yearbook*, (Halifax, NS: Holloway Bros, 1892), 26.

Chapter 3

Gospel Temperance Teaching in Maritime Sunday Schools

As the STI campaign progressed throughout the 1880s and 1890s, the Maritime WCTU worked simultaneously to institute consistent gospel temperance teaching in the various evangelical Sunday schools. In some cases, they moved ambitiously to organize their own mission halls to reach the working-class children, but it was the cooperation they received from the interdenominational Sunday schools associations that enabled them to reach the largest number of Maritime children. In 1894, the Chatham WCTU reported the story of small girl who because of sickness missed the oral temperance lessons in the public school. One of the questions on her grading examination was “Tell how Alcohol Affects the Mouth.” The account described triumphantly how that even after she missed the “scientific perspective,” she had learned “the moral perspective through the quarterly temperance Sunday school lessons.” She answered the examination question with “people who drink alcohol see strange women and think they are in the bottom of the sea - Proverbs 33: 33-34.”¹ Gospel temperance teaching provided a strong complementary source of teaching that reinforced the STI in the public schools.

In the late-nineteenth century, the authoritative position of religion was accepted as a legitimate power in shaping societal values. In October 1887, New Brunswick public school educator, John Lawson’s description of the educative roles of the church, temperance society, and the public schools highlights the strong, cooperative forces at work in shaping middle-class temperance values. In Lawson’s words,

¹ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 110.

The church and the temperance society have specially for their field of action the moral and spiritual effects of the use of alcohol, and their gospel is particularly to the emotional part of our nature. The complement of this, the appeal to the intellectual and the reason, would seem to be most emphatically the province of our public schools.²

The Maritime WCTU took seriously their particular role as part of these influential forces. Furthermore, they saw it as their duty to remind the existing authoritative bodies of their responsibilities. The Maritime WCTU women worked vigorously to use the available authoritative bodies, both secular and sacred, to assist them in channeling their temperance values to Maritime children throughout the late-nineteenth century.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine primarily the political and educational activities that the Maritime WCTU engaged in to promote the department of Sunday school work. It will address an area of work that is largely absent from the traditional WCTU historiography. The one exception in the research is the recent work of Sharon Cook who acknowledged the important evangelical influences within the Ontario WCTU.³ The chapter also provides the opportunity to view the WCTU women within the religious evangelical environment that occupied a significant place of their everyday world.⁴ Furthermore, it acknowledges the important role that evangelicalism played within shaping the larger late-nineteenth-century society.⁵ It also gives some preliminary research on the Maritime Sunday school movement, a subject that has been overlooked in Maritime historical accounts.

² "The Teachers," *St. Croix Courier*, October 6, 1887.

³ Sharon Anne 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).

⁴ Ruth Compton Brouwer, "Transcending the 'unacknowledged quarantine': Putting Religion into English-Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 27/3 (1992).

⁵ Michael Gauvreau, "Beyond the Half-way House: Evangelicalism and the Shaping of English Canadian Culture," *Acadiensis*, 20/2 (1991).

While the Maritime WCTU waged an aggressive, public campaign for STI, their pursuit of systematic gospel temperance in the region's evangelical Sunday schools followed a gentler but nevertheless persistent course. Even though the Maritime Sunday school movement lacked the ability to enforce gospel temperance teaching among the individual schools as was possible in the public school system, there existed popular support for the temperance cause among evangelicals to follow the religious executives' recommendations. Even before the organization of the WCTU, the Maritime Sunday school workers grappled with a satisfactory method to deal with "the terrible curse... [that]... still prevails to an alarming extent among the youth of our land." In 1872, the Sabbath School Convention minutes resolved to "set apart a time for discussing the best means of introducing temperance societies among our Sunday school children."⁶ Clearly, though the early Sunday schools lacked the social mandate that motivated the WCTU women, and they looked primarily to voluntary, religious structures to address the problem.

Historically, the alliance between temperance and the Sunday school was widespread both in Britain and the United States in this period. In Britain, the temperance cause and the Sunday school were "firmly allied" by the end of the century.⁷ In the United States, the connections between temperance, the Sunday school, and women were well established by the 1880s. Beginning in the 1860s, a group of Methodist women started to teach temperance systemically in Sunday school. In 1873, at the first national Sunday school teachers' summer school at Chautauqua, Jennie Fowler Willing, the corresponding secretary for the Woman's Foreign Missionary

⁶ Minutes of the Second Sabbath School Convention, 1872, 10.

Society of the Methodist church, convinced the leadership to allow her to organize women teachers and hold Sunday school temperance training sessions. The call for a national woman's temperance convention sprung up out of these meetings. The subsequent November 1874 convention with Willing presiding, organized the National Woman's Temperance Union.⁸

On September 7, 1871, the organization of the Sabbath School Teachers' Convention of the Maritime Provinces in Saint John, New Brunswick marked the first step towards a formal organizational structure to promote "increased efficiency" and the "advance[ment] of the Sabbath School cause" throughout the region.⁹ These early conventions represented an interdenominational cooperative venture of evangelical churches and consisted of the clergy, the superintendents, and the delegates of the local Sabbath Schools.¹⁰ In 1872, at the second annual convention held in New Glasgow, Nova Scotia, the gathering approved and recommended for use in the Maritime Sunday schools the uniform lessons published by the American International Sunday School Union.¹¹ The implementation of standardized religious teaching was a significant step towards expanding the cultural influence of the Sunday school.

Throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, these uniform lessons gave English-speaking evangelical Protestantism "a common language." Every Sunday the same Scriptures were read and taught in most Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Methodist Sunday schools. The uniformity surmounted the difficulties of losing

⁷ Thomas Walter Laqueur, *Religion and respectability: Sunday Schools and working class culture, 1780-1850*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 250.

⁸ Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 124-125.

⁹ Rev. W.A. Ross, *Fifty Years of Progress in Organized Sunday School Work in the Maritime Provinces*. (npl.: npubl., nd). Minutes of the Second Sabbath School Convention, 1872.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Second Sabbath School Convention, 1872.

influence with children that moved from one locale to another.¹² Furthermore, the “family religious paper” worked to maximize the results of the lessons with the appropriate “exposition, illustration and question” to invoke interaction between the children and the parents on the weekly lesson.¹³ Indeed, the influence of the Sunday school reached beyond the immediate child and into his or her family.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the primary place where children’s religious experiences took place expanded beyond the confines of the family and the church beginning in the 1820s to include increasingly the Sunday school by 1880.¹⁴ Not only did the religious importance of the Sunday school grow, but also its social importance as it both “conveyed to children a specific set of cultural expectations by defining what it meant to be an evangelical Protestant” and “sustained a Christian culture among working-class children.”¹⁵ In 1877, at the Sabbath School Convention of the Central Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, J.W. Barss’ interpretation of the expanding social role of the Sunday school was one of positive reasoning. According to Barss, while “parental obligation... was not transferable” and the Sunday school in fact performed the duty which “many parents neglected,” instead of “lessening parental responsibility they were only making it more deeply felt.”¹⁶ Perhaps, Barss’ argument was meant to ease nagging qualms among workers over the religious changes taking place within evangelicalism.

¹¹ Ibid., 20-21.

¹² Robert W. Lynn and Elliott Wright, *The Big Little School: Sunday Child of American Protestantism*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 66.

¹³ Minutes of the Second Sabbath School Convention, 1872, 20.

¹⁴ Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*, 160.

¹⁵ Ibid., 164, 160.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Sabbath School Convention of the Central Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, 1878, 2.

While the primary aim of the Maritime Sunday schools was the “conversion of the scholars,” the transmission of middle-class values was unavoidable.¹⁷ Beginning in the 1860s and 1870s, the earlier commitment to conversion through revivalistic methods was challenged increasing with the idea of Christian nurture.¹⁸ The evangelical consensus was that childhood was a crucial time of preparation for adult responsibilities, both in the area of religious conversion and worldly economic wellbeing. As Anne Boylan wrote, “through their beliefs and their concern with teaching children self-discipline and orderly habits, Sunday school workers constructed an image of childhood very much in keeping with the ideals of their age.”¹⁹

Allan Greer argued that the morality taught in the nineteenth century pre-union Ontario Sunday schools sprung from Sabbatarianism. Hence, it was “specifically Christian morality and their emphasis on certain rigorous rules of behaviour that emphasize self-control and regularity was thoroughly evangelical.”²⁰ While Greer’s point is valid in the narrow context of the Sunday schools, it is less convincing when one sees that same morality present in WCTU programs such as industrial schools and kitchen gardens.

In the 1870s, Maritime Sunday school workers recognized both the religious and economic benefits of their teaching. These teachers believed that parents recognized the advantage of Sunday school attendance to develop sound character - a “reputation [that] leads to sound employment.”²¹ The inclusion of gospel temperance teaching was a

¹⁷ Minutes of the Second Sabbath School Convention, 1872, 9.

¹⁸ Joseph F. Kett, “Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth Century America,” *The Family in History: Interdisciplinary Essays*, eds. Theodore K. Rabb and Robert I. Rotberg, (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) 95-110.

¹⁹ Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*, 131, 146.

²⁰ Allan Greer, “The Sunday Schools of Upper Canada,” *Ontario History*, 67 (1975): 179.

²¹ Minutes of the Second Sabbath School Convention, 1872, 22.

natural step considering it possessed according to their philosophy the potential to promote good morals.²² Indeed, the social role of the Sunday school was a topic of discussion among Maritime religious workers. In 1879, Annapolis County workers discussed whether “the design of Sunday school work” was “moral or spiritual in its aims.”²³ The religious concept of “Christian nurture” sanctioned the notion of early character formation, and at times blurred the lines between morality and spirituality, which evidently caused uneasiness among some evangelical workers. In fact, while many evangelicals continued to stress immediate conversion over the gradual process found within the notion of “Christian nurture,” most followed the middle ground where both methods were accepted as valid.²⁴

Similar to the trend found in the growth of the free public schooling system, the Nova Scotia Sunday school network developed earlier than those in New Brunswick. Nova Scotia’s Annapolis County Sunday School Union was first organized on July 17, 1874.²⁵ Even in New Brunswick’s urbanized regions, the county conventions developed later. In late 1878, the first York County Sunday School Convention was held in Saint John. At this time, an appeal went out for provincial Sunday school workers to organize in every county.²⁶ In early 1879, there were plans to meet in Moncton to organize a association for Westmorland County. The organizational structure was slower to develop in the rural areas. The establishment of the Albert County Sunday School

²² Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades in Pre-Confederation Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1994). Indeed, the growth of the early temperance movement itself sprung from a combination of both religious and economic factors.

²³ Minutes of the Annapolis County Sunday School Convention, 1879, 33.

²⁴ Minutes of the Sabbath School Convention of the Central Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, 1878, 3. Pres J.W. Barss urged teachers to “strive to produce conversion.”

²⁵ Minutes of the Annapolis County Sunday School Convention, 1874, 5.

²⁶ *Moncton Daily Times*, December 2, 1878.

Association came only in 1887.²⁷ Nonetheless, in 1884 the provision for the further development was set in motion with the establishment of provincial associations. The New Brunswick Sunday School Association was organized in Saint John on October 30, 1884.²⁸ The interdenominational associations represented executive bodies that gave the professional religious oversight and assistance necessary to support the growing organizational structure. In the 1880s, with their provincial Sunday school structures in its infancy, the Maritime WCTU was unable to use the network effectively as they had within the public educational system.

Until the late 1880s, the strongest units within the Maritime WCTU in teaching temperance to children were its local New Brunswick unions. While the province lacked a strong Sunday school network, these local unions pursued their own Sabbath schools to meet both the religious and the social needs of the working-class children and advance their temperance philosophy. It appears from the existing records that the WCTU-sponsored Sunday school were limited though successful ventures located in the New Brunswick communities of Fredericton, Moncton, and Newcastle. While there were schools in the Nova Scotia towns of Amherst and Bridgewater, little is known about their operation.²⁹

The opening of the Fredericton “ragged” school in 1878, the first local Maritime WCTU initiative of this type, was a natural progression into social work for the early WCTU women. The Fredericton school challenged neither the prominent idea of femininity nor the work of the local denominational Sunday schools. The notion of

²⁷ “Local,” *Saint John Globe*, September 2, 1887.

²⁸ Rev. W.A. Ross, *Fifty Years of Progress in Organized Sunday School Work in the Maritime Provinces*.

²⁹ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 60-61. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 87.

domesticity, which suggested the nurturing and emotional characteristics of women were natural gender attributes, fit well within children's religious teaching where conversion, understood as an emotional event, was of primary importance.³⁰ Women moved easily to cultivate "a loving relation" between themselves as the Sunday school teacher with their students and the students' families, a desirable qualification suggested by Baptist clergyman, Reverend S.B. Kempton.³¹ Furthermore, "the neglected children of the city" that the Fredericton women worked with were not attendants of the established Sabbath schools. With no opposition, the Fredericton "ragged" school stepped forward to provide the working-class children with both Sabbath religious instruction and temperance principles. In keeping with their middle-class evangelical perspective and the contemporary ideas of Christian nurture, they worked to "awaken the noble and higher impulses of their [students'] natures."³²

The Fredericton WCTU school secured firmly gospel temperance teaching within the Sunday school experience. They reinforced their temperance teaching among the children through innovative ways. At their first Christmas-time social, "each child was... presented with a nicely framed certificate and pledge - a certificate of membership of the Sunday school and a pledge against rum, tobacco, and swearing."³³ These certificates accomplished a number of different but important tasks. They not only gave the children a sense of belonging within a supportive social unit, but also placed temperance values as part of the evangelical cultural identity. They served also as

³⁰ Minutes of the Annapolis Sunday School Convention, 1878, 28. The Annapolis County Sunday School Convention recommended "music, separate classrooms, lady-teachers, and variety and simplicity of language" as the "best method of leading infants to Christ."

³¹ Minutes of the Sabbath School Convention of the Central Baptist Association of Nova Scotia, 1877, 3.

³² "Women's Christian Temperance Union," *New Brunswick Reporter*, July 21, 1878. "Ragged School," *New Brunswick Reporter*, November 13, 1878

³³ "God Bless the Ladies," *New Brunswick Reporter*, January 1, 1879.

tangible and long-lasting reminders to the children of their promises to conduct moral lives. Furthermore, they were awards of recognition and approval from the teachers to students who had made the correct life choices. To the families, these certificates were educational tools through which to present the WCTU's values and to encourage the parents to follow their children's decisions.

The invitation of the students' parents to special events, such as the 1878 Christmas-time social, also enlarged the WCTU's sphere of influence. Indeed, the Fredericton WCTU took full advantage of the opportunity to influence the group on the pressing temperance activities of their day. They engaged the local law-enforcement authority, Sheriff Temple, to address the children on temperance and talk to the adults on the positive election results on the Permissive Bill that broadened the scope of prohibition throughout York County.³⁴ These social events gave the WCTU the opportunity to influence the working-class parents who would have otherwise been unreachable.

In the early 1890s, the Glad Tidings mission hall on Vulcan Street in Moncton provided continuous religious and moral instruction to both children and adults.³⁵ The hall was an early experiment in the social gospel with night schools on two evenings, gospel temperance meetings on another evening, and two different social evenings, one for the adults and another for the children.³⁶ Sunday afternoons were devoted to children's Sunday school classes under the direction of the WCTU superintendent Mrs.

³⁴ "The Election," *New Brunswick Reporter*, January 1, 1879. The election results in York County on the Permissive Bill were 1229 in favor and 214 against. "God Bless the Ladies," *New Brunswick Reporter*, January 1, 1879.

³⁵ "Women and Alcohol," *Moncton Daily Times*, November 1, 1894.

³⁶ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 33. "The Vulcan Street Mission," *Moncton Daily Times*, December 22, 1894. The Vulcan Street mission was aided in a large part through the help of the local churches.

John Nugent.³⁷ The center was a bustle of activity, learning, and recreation to all ages of the working class.

Similar to the situation in Fredericton years earlier, the WCTU women used their influence as religious Sunday school teachers to advance the temperance cause. For example, in 1894 they substituted one Sunday school teaching session with a public meeting that celebrated the life of Neal Dow, Maine's temperance hero who had served as a guidepost for developments within the New Brunswick temperance movement. The meeting presented music, responsive scriptural readings, recitations, and short addresses by a number of the teachers.³⁸ It served not only to connect the children into the larger temperance movement by making them a part of the event, but it legitimized the temperance cause through the presentation of its history, longevity, and progress. Furthermore, the children saw their teachers play the important role of temperance activists.

In 1888, the Newcastle WCTU reported the start up of their own Sabbath school "in a part of the town where it will be beneficial," and it remained active into the 1890s.³⁹ While these works in Newcastle, Moncton, and Fredericton were important to the local communities in which they were located, their impact provincially and regionally was minimal. The WCTU women's role within the established denominational Sunday schools was necessary to advance gospel temperance teaching significantly. Their active participation among these Sunday schools worked to publicize their goals, to validate their course of social action, and to overcome the obstacles to effective, systematic teaching.

³⁷ "W.C.T.U. 19th Anniversary," *Moncton Daily Times*, February 27, 1894.

³⁸ "City and Provincial News... Vulcan Street Sunday School," *Moncton Daily Times*, March 20, 1894.

While there is no record on the number of Maritime WCTU women who taught Sunday school, it was likely a good number if they followed the American pattern even in a minimal way. At the International Sunday School Convention of 1890, Frances Willard characterized the WCTU as “not an outside force, but part and parcel of yourselves.” Willard noted that of four hundred and sixty-six delegates to the 1889 National WCTU convention “less than half a dozen” were not Sunday school workers. In 1889, the newly-formed Maritime YWCTU groups for young unmarried women provided a new influx of workers who were encouraged to promote Sunday school teaching.⁴⁰ Beyond their numerical strength, the Maritime WCTU women’s involvement in highly visible roles within Sunday school events not only reflected their familiarity in the religious setting, but also their inside position to influence the religious authorities.

Sometimes the WCTU women served in supportive roles at Sunday school conventions. In 1890, at a noteworthy Sunday School convention in Bridgewater, where William Reynolds, an American religious educator from Illinois, spoke the choir that accompanied the gathering were “nearly all members of WCTU or YWCTU.”⁴¹ At other times the women launched out in more authoritative work such as the example of the St. Stephen WCTU who played a prominent role organizing interdenominational Sunday school temperance services. In June 1890, they convinced the reluctant Episcopal schools to participate by holding the meeting in the local rink instead of the traditional church setting. The event began with the element of celebration in the form of a parade,

³⁹ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 74.

⁴⁰ Minutes of the Woodstock WCTU, June 20, 1889.

⁴¹ “The World’s Prohibition Petition at a Sunday School Convention,” *The Woman’s Journal*, November, 1890.

which was appealing especially to the children who possessed a “love of spectacle and excitement.”⁴²

Five long columns of Sunday school teachers and pupils marched to the rink, and filed into their places in an orderly manner. Each school had its banner, and when the cornets sounded, and the 750 voices joined in that grand hymn, “the Church’s one Foundation is Jesus Christ our Lord,” we felt as if heaven had begun below. Five hundred spectators were present, many of them young men, who would never think of going to an ordinary temperance meeting, and all went away well pleased.⁴³

The event presented an impressive and united religious expression of support not only for gospel temperance, but also for the WCTU women to the local community. Indeed, the mass of young children served as the new recruits working within the temperance movement making their presence realized through their marching, singing, and displays.

The WCTU took advantage of their local conventions to bring the Sunday school children under their influence and remind both the churches and the parents of their responsibilities for the moral instruction of the young. At the WCTU District of Western Nova Scotia Convention in Lunenburg, a WCTU member addressed a combined Sunday school gathering of six hundred children.⁴⁴ In 1891, at the Dominion WCTU convention held in Saint John, the children of the various Sunday schools were assembled to listen to talks from Miss Wright, an unidentified WCTU member, and Anna Gordon, the World WCTU superintendent of juvenile work. The procession of children made their way “through the aisles of the church to a marching piece on the organ,” which made the event a memorable experience for the children. While Wright gave an illustrative talk to the children on “Flag Signals,” the message was directed to both the children and the adults. The talk compared “little children to ships just starting

⁴² Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution*, 156-157.

⁴³ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 113.

out on life's voyage." It conveyed the conviction that the favorable development and future of these "little ships" depended on having "signal flags" with the inscriptions of "all's well" or "safely anchored."⁴⁵ For the WCTU, the instilling of temperance values helped to produce these "signal flags" or indicators that predicted a positive transition from childhood to adulthood.

While the individual efforts of the local WCTU groups were by no means insignificant, the organization realized that an expanded endeavor was also necessary. As early as 1884, the Maritime WCTU discussed seeking the assistance of the Sunday school to introduce the temperance pledge among the children.⁴⁶ However, it was not until 1889 that the first concerted efforts to promote systematic gospel temperance teaching began with a circular letter sent to the local unions requesting that they take up Sunday school work. The early approach was the introduction of gospel temperance teaching through Bands of Hope that were formed and connected to the Sunday schools. The Halifax WCTU worked to have "every Sunday school a pledged society" within their locale through these children's groups."⁴⁷ Likewise, the Saint John WCTU was satisfied initially with their local Sunday schools who provided accompanying Band of Hope groups.⁴⁸ However, in 1890, Saint John exemplified the emerging social trend within the organization that was to provide increased attention to systematic gospel temperance teaching through special work departments of Sunday school and narcotics.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Minutes of the WCTU Convention of the District of West Nova Scotia, June 11, 1894.

⁴⁵ "Supplement," *The Woman's Journal*, July 1891.

⁴⁶ "W.C.T. Union Convention," *Saint John Globe*, September 4, 1884.

⁴⁷ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 97.

⁴⁹ "Supplement – New Brunswick," *The Woman's Journal*, March 1890.

One of the problems that the increasingly specialized work sought to eliminate was the negligence of Sunday school teachers to deliver continuous teaching to reinforce temperance values. While the Saint John West WCTU reported that the majority of students were “already pledged,” they lamented the need in their Sunday school department for “someone with knowledge and zeal sufficient to arouse our Sunday school teachers and pastors to a realization of their duties and privileges in this work.”⁵⁰ Some Sunday school leaders shared the same concern as the Maritime WCTU. They struggled in the early 1880s to convince their workers to focus proper attention on teaching temperance values to the children. Indeed, the Annapolis County Sunday School convention of 1882 resolved to introduce the triple temperance pledge into their district Sunday schools.⁵¹ Nevertheless, in 1891 the earlier recommendation had produced limited results with only eleven of forty schools adopting the pledge. The leadership tackled the problem again with a recommendation to the Nova Scotia Sunday School Association to prepare triple pledge cards and to encourage monthly recognition of them. Clearly, the loose Sunday school organizational structure weakened their ability to enforce their recommendations and they sought the assistance of a central body to legitimize and advance their goal.⁵²

In the early 1880s, the Maritime WCTU executive hesitated to lobby the provincial Sunday school conventions and associations for systematic gospel temperance teaching. It was likely difficult for the WCTU women to challenge and pressure a developing religious institution in which they were involved closely. The general method of WCTU agitation stretched the traditional notions of domesticity that persisted

⁵⁰ *Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention*. 1894, 89.

⁵¹ *Minutes of the Annapolis County Sunday School Convention*, 1882, 37.

in the religious sphere. Furthermore, it was difficult to make demands within an evangelical institution that endorsed officially the goals of the temperance movement. Also their active local work in the mission schools and the established denominational Sunday schools allowed them to see gospel temperance teaching as progressing even though it was at a slow pace. Within the Maritime WCTU organization, the work was grouped under the department of juvenile work, which hampered the active pursuit of systematic gospel teaching until the late 1880s and early 1890s. Indeed, prior to this time the weak Sunday school organizational structure was ill equipped to handle the WCTU's recommendations and requests. There were a number of difficulties that hampered the gospel temperance teaching campaign in the 1880s.

In 1887, Emma Atkinson, superintendent of juvenile work, expressed her favor for gospel temperance teaching in the Sunday schools.⁵³ Atkinson's endorsement brought increased activities within the local WCTU groups who set out to visit area Sunday schools in an effort to persuade them to introduce the temperance pledge. They achieved moderate success in this approach with local unions from Kentville, Sackville, Pugwash, and Canning reporting limited cooperation among a number of the schools.⁵⁴ It was likely no coincidence that the canvassing of the schools began at the same time that the International Sunday School Committee incorporated temperance into its regular series.⁵⁵ Uniform temperance lessons in the most widely used Sunday school material in the Maritime Provinces provided a starting point from which the WCTU women could begin to work towards standardized teaching.

⁵² Ibid., 1891.

⁵³ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 17.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 24. Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 65, 71. Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 102-103.

In 1890, the American Sunday school publishers granted Frances Willard's request for "specific temperance lessons at least four times a year," which suggested a further step towards standardization.⁵⁶ Indeed, the same year, the St. Stephen WCTU worked and obtained the approval of the Charlotte County Sunday School Convention to teach a temperance lesson at the beginning of each quarter.⁵⁷ By 1894, the use of quarterly lessons spread with Campbellton Sunday schools using them.⁵⁸ The same year, the Saint John WCTU reported that the Methodist churches provided the most consistent teaching where "not only the quarterly lesson is observed but review Sunday is devoted entirely to the subject. On these days instructive chalk-talks and addresses are given: Special singing and recitations, etc., by the children are indulged in."⁵⁹ The Methodist schools appeared to embrace standardized temperance teaching more prominently than the other denominational schools. The trend continued in Nova Scotia where for example the Windsor Methodist school was the only Sunday school that observed the quarterly temperance Sundays.⁶⁰ As the WCTU women investigated the level of teaching among the local schools, they became more active in the promotion of gospel temperance teaching.

In the late 1880s, the evangelical churches awakened to the importance of the Sunday school. One reason for the increased interest was that the Sunday school had become an important source of recruitment for church membership.⁶¹ In 1887, the New Brunswick Eastern Baptist Association concluded that Sunday school work was "one of

⁵⁵ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 55.

⁵⁶ Robert W. Lynn and Elliott Wright, *The Big Little School: Sunday Child of American Protestantism*, 68-69.

⁵⁷ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 112.

⁵⁸ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 87.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 89.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 85.

the most important parts of our associational work” and resolved to give it more prominence.⁶² As the Sunday school’s significance to the church grew, the call for its consolidation under its control arose. In 1889 the Prince Edward Island Baptist Association called for “a closer connection between the church and the Sabbath schools.”⁶³ The New Brunswick West Baptist Association called the churches “to realize their responsibility... to Sabbath schools,” and warned them that many of the schools were not under “the direct control of the churches.” They recommended tighter regulations where the choice of Sunday school teachers and officers were submitted to the church for its approval.⁶⁴ Accompanying calls for consolidation reflected the growing professionalism within the Sunday school movement.⁶⁵ Reverend W.C. Goucher at the St. Stephen Sunday School Convention urged the adoption of a “more modern idea of Sunday school” in which it was not perceived as “a nursery for children,” but a work that met “the needs of mature minds.”⁶⁶ The Nova Scotia West Baptist Association expressed similar concerns and recommendations.⁶⁷ As the Sunday school’s value increased, more effort was invested into its organizational structure. It provided an expanded and a better-equipped network for the Maritime WCTU to tap into and to influence towards more systematic gospel temperance teaching.

Within evangelicalism, there were growing denominational sentiments that also influenced the Sunday school movement during the 1890s. By 1894, the Maritime Baptist leadership began to criticize the International Sunday School Series for its “hop-

⁶¹ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1892, 98.

⁶² *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, (Halifax, NS: S. Selden, 1887), 219.

⁶³ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, (Halifax, NS: S. Selden, 1889).

⁶⁴ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1889, 150.

⁶⁵ Robert W. Lynn and Elliott Wright, *The Big Little School: Sunday Child of American Protestantism*, 83.

⁶⁶ “Sunday School Workers in Council,” *St. Croix Courier*, October 10, 1889.

⁶⁷ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1889, 101.

skip-and jump method” and deficiencies within its grading system. While they recommended its substitution for material published by the American Baptist Publication Society, the majority of local schools ignored their advice.⁶⁸ Beginning in the mid-1890s, the Maritime Methodists promoted their denominational catechism as well, though as the Baptists had discovered their recommendations were slow to be accepted during the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ By in large, the International Sunday School lessons, with its quarterly temperance lessons, remained intact within the Maritime evangelical Sunday schools. They continued to offer a semblance of standardization for gospel temperance teaching.

The Maritime WCTU’s success with the region’s STI campaigns in 1892 boosted their reputation and status among the evangelical bodies. In June 1892, at the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Methodist conference, the temperance committee expressed its support of STI and *The Pathfinder Series*. They praised the WCTU’s work above the other temperance societies, noting their “conspicuous...activity in every department of temperance work, but pre-eminently for work among the young.”⁷⁰ While the Maritime Baptists failed to recognize the specific WCTU contribution, they described legislated STI as “a great step in advance.”⁷¹ The STI victory not only promoted increased interest and resolve within the evangelical leadership to expand gospel temperance teaching, but also energized the Maritime WCTU to take bolder steps within the department of Sunday school work.

⁶⁸ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, (Halifax, NS: Wm. MacNab, 1894), 103. *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, (Halifax, NS: Wm. MacNab, 1895), 93.

⁶⁹ Journal of the NB and PEI Methodist Conference of the Sunday School Board for 1882-1902, 1894, 1895, and 1902. Journal of the NB and PEI Conference for the Methodist Church 1891-1902, 1895, 253.

⁷⁰ Journal of NB and PEI Conference for the Methodist Church 1891-1902, June 29, 1892, 112.

⁷¹ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1892, 26.

In 1893, the Nova Scotia Sunday School Association recommended the organization of temperance societies in all schools.⁷² They endorsed the name of the temperance movement in the Sunday school to be the “White Ribbon Army.” The organizational format of the White Ribbon Army (WRA) was adopted and recommended for all schools not under the form prescribed for Presbyterian schools.⁷³ The WRA brought the Maritime WCTU and the Sunday schools into closer communication.⁷⁴ On occasion, Maritime WCTU spoke at the Sunday schools and on one such visit to a Halifax Sunday school the following description of the scene depicted how their influence had permeated the school. The WCTU member recalled how at “a gathering of this army I saw the bonny bit of white ribbon which stands for so much, displayed on the coats and dresses of one hundred and fifty boys and girls in a Halifax Sunday School.”⁷⁵ Clearly, both the name and the use of the white ribbon identified the Sunday school children with the Maritime WCTU. The popular use of the WCTU’s unique symbol was evidence of the mark they were making on the Maritime temperance movement.

The openness within the Sunday school leadership gave the Maritime WCTU the ability to forge forward with their social vision of a future temperate generation. At the 1894 Maritime WCTU convention, the superintendent of Sunday school worked to dispel the common argument given by the non-supporters of gospel temperance teaching that STI in the public schools and gospel temperance teaching four times a year in Sunday school was enough. The superintendent responded to this with an emphatic,

⁷² Minutes of the Annapolis Sunday School Convention, 1893.

⁷³ Minutes of the Second Annual Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, 1897, 35.

⁷⁴ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 38.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 55.

“No! Teach them to be temperance workers as well as temperance scholars.” She endorsed the introduction of Bands of Hope and Bands of Mercy to further advance gospel temperance teaching.⁷⁶ Clearly, this stretched the temperance mandate beyond the prevention of alcohol and drug use and revealed how effectively social religious institutions could be used to transmit other desirable middle-class values.

Dr. F. Woodbury and the Nova Scotia Sunday School Association maintained close contact with the Maritime WCTU. In 1894, he acknowledged the assistance of the local WCTU superintendents in organizing temperance work in their area schools. Deeming the work “very successful” for its “pioneering” year, he noted that there were “about two thousand members of Sunday schools wearing the white ribbon, who have taken the pledge this year. About forty schools organized with a total membership of thirty-five hundred besides the Presbyterian Schools using their own certificates.”⁷⁷ In 1895, Woodbury reported the organization of the WRA in ten new schools and the addition of eight hundred pledges made throughout the year.⁷⁸ The number of WRA groups within the Sunday schools continued to grow throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. In 1897, an estimated thirty-three percent of the Sunday school members were pledged through the WRA.⁷⁹ The friendly cooperation between the Maritime WCTU and the Nova Scotia Sunday School Association was evident in 1897 with the association’s unanimous adoption of the WCTU’s memorial on temperance resolutions submitted by the Sunday school department of the World’s WCTU.⁸⁰ In

⁷⁶ Ibid., 55.

⁷⁷ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 86-87.

⁷⁸ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 45.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1897, 74.

⁸⁰ Minutes of the Second Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1897, 35.

1899, harmonious dialogue between Woodbury and the WCTU continued with his presence at the Dominion WCTU convention in Halifax.⁸¹

While the number of Sunday schools with WRA groups in 1894 was not impressive considering that there were three hundred and two Baptist Sunday schools alone, the promotion of the WRA heightened awareness and nurtured a favorable climate for the further growth of the temperance culture within the Sunday schools.⁸² Indeed, in 1894 the temperance committee for the Nova Scotia Eastern Baptist Association expressed its regret for the lack of attention to temperance matters. Furthermore, the WRA increased the visibility of the Maritime WCTU. The Nova Scotia Western Baptist Association sent their commendations on the work of the WCTU after the establishment of the WRA.⁸³ The Nova Scotia Central Baptist Association brought in Mrs. J.W. Brown, a WCTU representative to speak on temperance at its 1894 conference. Typical of the WCTU's ability to capitalize on any opportunity, Brown likened "the misery of the heathen mother" to "some mothers under the despot intemperance."⁸⁴ Indeed, the use of this comparison suggested an attempt to elevate temperance to the same zealous level that missions had acquired among the Baptists and to garner deeper support for the cause.

In 1895, the WCTU sent representatives to numerous New Brunswick county conventions as well as the provincial Sunday school convention in an attempt to invoke a stronger commitment to gospel temperance teaching.⁸⁵ The New Brunswick Sunday School Association declined to follow the course set by their Nova Scotia counterparts,

⁸¹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1899, 42. Dr. Woodbury served as the Nova Scotia representative of the International Sunday School Association.

⁸² *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1894, 199.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 128, 116.

preferring to “adopt no definite plan of work.” Nevertheless, they recommended the WCTU’s plan of work for the Sunday schools and promised their field secretary’s commitment to recommend temperance at the various places he visited. Furthermore, they made provisions for the WCTU to address their provincial and county conventions.⁸⁶ Indeed, in 1896 the field secretary, Methodist minister, Reverend A. Lucas, requested a WCTU speaker for the provincial convention.⁸⁷ The working relationship between Lucas and the WCTU developed into what the women described as one of “great harmony.” By 1897, the WCTU stated their satisfaction with the manner in which he adopted their “methods in the Sunday schools.”⁸⁸

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Maritime WCTU’s local and regional work succeeded in keeping attention focused on the importance of gospel temperance teaching. Their local work enabled the WCTU women to make important contributions to the temperance culture within their communities. These local efforts were especially significant while the Sunday school network was in its infancy. However, the executive WCTU initiatives were indispensable after the Sunday school’s organizational structure advanced and its importance within evangelicalism was realized. The harmonious relationship between the Maritime WCTU and the centralized provincial associations guaranteed that the women’s goals were presented as consistently and authoritatively as possible before the religious Sunday school leaders. For the Maritime WCTU women, a lack of support for gospel temperance teaching among evangelicals was unthinkable. As

⁸⁴ Ibid., 142.

⁸⁵ *Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention*, 1895, 113.

⁸⁶ *Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention*, 1895, 44-45.

⁸⁷ *Minutes of the First Annual NB WCTU Convention*, 1896, 9.

⁸⁸ *Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention*, 1897, 96.

one unidentified member spoke, "if the day schools are taking such an interest in temperance teaching the Sunday School should certainly not be behind in the work."⁸⁹

⁸⁹ "Women and Alcohol," *Moncton Daily Times*, November 1, 1894.

Chapter 4

Juvenile Temperance Work

Children's temperance societies played a significant role in extending the Maritime temperance culture among the young beginning in the 1850s.¹ Throughout the 1880s and early 1890s, the Maritime WCTU emphasized the importance of the groups and invested much energy into their children's programs. The Maritime WCTU valued the groups because they were beneficial not only to teach the children to resist "vice," but also to enable them to become "real helpers in carrying on the good work."² The WCTU followed the familiar course and spread traditional temperance values, but their innovative programs displayed the emerging contemporary middle-class perspective on leisure and gender. While the Maritime WCTU children's temperance groups played a part in the larger temperance activity of the period, their usefulness by the end of the century was in jeopardy. Nevertheless, during the early 1890s, they were a highly visible and popular part of the Maritime WCTU's work. The incorporation of middle-class temperance ideals into children's leisure time served as a further source of temperance teaching that reinforced STI and gospel temperance teaching.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the local and executive work of the Maritime WCTU women in their work with children's temperance groups. Unlike the STI work and gospel temperance teaching in the Sunday schools, where the Maritime WCTU required the cooperation of secular and sacred authorities, the children's temperance groups represented an area where the women could work unrestrained. Their choice of programs and the methods they implemented within their juvenile work

¹ T.W. Acheson, *Saint John: The Making of a Colonial Urban Community*, 146. See Chapter 7 – Temperance.

provides insights into their attitudes towards childhood, temperance, class, and gender. It offers a unique look at the middle-class evangelical Maritime women at work in the social field.

There is an unfortunate void in the historiography on Canadian children's temperance groups. While recent WCTU research, such as the work of Sharon Cook, has addressed the matter, the writings lack a comprehensive treatment of the topic. Nevertheless, Cook's work on the Ontario WCTU reveals both similarities and differences between the children's groups of the two regions. First both the Maritime and Ontario children's groups reached their apex in the early 1890s. While the proliferation in clubs that sprung up throughout the decade and competed for children's leisure time was a factor, it is a simplistic explanation for the decline in the WCTU juvenile work. Secondly, the strong evangelical tenor found within the Ontario Bands of Hope was evident in the Maritime groups.³ This is not surprising as standard published rituals were in common use and they were based upon a strong biblical foundation.⁴

The numerous differences between the two groups' approach to juvenile work rather than the few similarities provoke the most interest. The common program choice of the Ontario WCTU was the Band of Hope program. They exemplified the British pattern where the program originated and was highly successful. Though the Ontario work reached middle-class children of both genders, in Britain it fell primarily among working-class boys.⁵ In the Maritime region, the Bands of Hope were more often

² Moncton WCTU Annual Report, 1878.

³ Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Showers": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 192, 174-175.

⁴ *Band of Hope ritual with responsive readings and temperance songs*, (Moncton, N.B.: Mrs. I.H. Cowie, 1884).

⁵ Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Showers": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 179.

connected with Sunday school gospel temperance teaching particularly throughout the 1890s. For a social organization like the Maritime WCTU, the Band of Hope program was problematic to the task of expanding the temperance culture into a larger society where the lines between secular and sacred realms became delineated increasing as the late-nineteenth century progressed. Furthermore, the traditional program failed to represent the expanded social temperance perspective that the WCTU embraced and to tackle the concerns that the women wanted to address.

The Band of Hope program, organized in 1847, followed the earlier methods of children's temperance teaching. While the program worked with the mid-nineteenth-century children whose exposure to formal entertainment was minimal, by the end of the century the novelty of the program was diminished. In the 1880s, while most WCTU-sponsored children's groups were named Bands of Hope, they incorporated increasingly the American program and techniques as the decade progressed. In 1886, the National WCTU's reorganization of their juvenile work was completed with the establishment of the new Loyal Temperance Legion program. The same year the Maritime WCTU annual convention introduced the new program, which was picked up by a number of the local unions. In New Brunswick, the Sackville WCTU was the first union to adopt the program and order the teaching material in September 1886.⁶ By 1887, Anna Gordon's manual of operations was published for the new American Loyal Temperance Legion program and became available to the Maritime unions.⁷

While Cook emphasized the importance of YWCTU leadership to the success of the local Bands of Hope, in the Maritime region, the YWCTU never gained wide

⁶ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, September 13, 1886.

popularity.⁸ Evangelical-based groups such as the Christian Endeavor movement and the Daughters of the King organization competed for the support of the young women in the region.⁹ In 1893, there were eighty local WCTU bodies and only seven YWCTU groups. For this same year, the Maritime organization reported twenty-five Bands of Hope and seven Loyal Temperance Legions.¹⁰ While the local unions engaged the YWCTU in children's groups, successful juvenile work was not dependent on them. It is unfortunate that absent from the Ontario account was the work of the WCTU industrial schools and the Loyal Temperance Legions, though Cook noted that the latter replaced the Bands of Hope by 1910.¹¹ Within the Maritime context, the industrial schools were popular among the WCTU women and working-class girls.

The priority of juvenile work in the first Maritime local union at Moncton in 1877 was the path chosen by many local unions. Indeed, Frances Willard stressed its importance in her first presidential address in 1879 when she declared,

If the Woman's National Christian Temperance Union should do nothing else during the next ten years but train the child, and shall do that thoroughly and well, we would secure a sufficient amount of moral

⁷ Judith B. Erickson, "Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900," *Journal of Drug Education*, 18/4 (1988): 339.

⁸ Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Showers": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 178. Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 150-151. The National WCTU found it difficult to attract young women to the organization after 1890 even to the areas where innovative work was being done. Bordin suggested that this was because they were attracted to the suffrage movement.

⁹ "Christian Endeavor," *Moncton Daily Times*, September 6, 1894. By 1894, there were three hundred and thirty-three Christian Endeavor groups in Nova Scotia, ninety-six in New Brunswick, and fifty-five in Prince Edward Island.

¹⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 47.

¹¹ Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Showers": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 174-194. Considering that Cook's emphasis rested on the evangelical influences within the Ontario WCTU it is understandable that there was no delving into the more social-oriented children's work. She viewed the increase of social meetings within the YWCTU as a move away from their evangelical roots. Her definition of "evangelicalism" appears not to include those that held to the social gospel perspective.

power and intelligent public sentiment in the Temperance question to enact and sustain prohibitory legislation throughout the country.¹²

In March 1883, the Sackville WCTU's commitment to the cause was evident at their first organizational meeting where they took time to lay the plans for their Band of Hope. By late October, they branched out with plans for another group in Middle Sackville. In the fall of 1884, they distributed temperance literature throughout the surrounding communities in preparation for an expansion of the work. Their timing coincided with a Scott Act campaign for an upcoming election in the area. The work was not only useful to heighten public awareness for the temperance cause, but it also resulted in the organization of Bands of Hope at Midgic, Fairfield, Port Elgin, and Bay Verte.¹³ Indeed, the Sackville WCTU was an excellent example of the ideal union where not only vigorous juvenile work took place, but the leaders worked ambitiously to spread their expertise and influence to other communities.

By 1887, there were sixteen reported Bands of Hope with a membership of one thousand and eight children.¹⁴ However, the local unions were not isolated groups who followed their own strict organizational agenda. While the WCTU empowered women to strategize and to work independently within their own organization, they saw themselves as an integral part of the larger temperance movement. Especially among rural communities where other active temperance organizations existed or where the WCTU groups were young, they were more likely to cooperate with the other temperance organizations in juvenile temperance teaching. In Woodstock, the joint

¹² Judith B. Erickson, "Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900," 350.

¹³ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, March 21, 1883, October 27, 1883, August 16, 1884, September 13, 1884, and October 25, 1884.

effort of the WCTU and the Independent Order of Good Templars oversaw a juvenile lodge, although the WCTU supervised a Band of Hope for the younger children.¹⁵ In Nova Scotia, many local WCTU groups, such as those in Lunenburg, Windsor, Kentville, and Pictou, worked jointly with the Sons of Temperance in the local Bands of Hope. Clearly though, the women were not intimidated to launch out on their own. In Bridgewater, the WCTU reorganized and supervised a Band of Hope that was disbanded earlier by the local Sons of Temperance.¹⁶

Throughout the late-nineteenth century, juvenile temperance teaching appeared in newer social forms other than the religious Band of Hope program. In some cases, it was the combination of two programs such as the group in Salisbury where a Band of Hope and sewing school was joined.¹⁷ Popular in many of the growing industrial towns and cities were industrial schools. In 1884, the Portland WCTU was the first local Maritime union to plan an industrial school.¹⁸ Within a year, both Portland and Moncton were involved busily in the work.¹⁹ Indeed, the Portland school continued to be popular while their Band of Hope program was discontinued in 1890.²⁰ In the 1890s, industrial schools were also in operation in Amherst, Parrsboro, Pictou, New Glasgow, Stellarton, Yarmouth, Summerside, and Charlottetown. The common practice followed in these groups was the teaching of sewing to working-class girls from the ages of six to sixteen. The children were charged a nominal fee to cover the cost of the fabric, but on

¹⁴ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 17. Statistical information collected by the WCTU was often incomplete as many local unions neglected to report their work. Membership totals were also higher than the actual weekly attendance.

¹⁵ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 62.

¹⁶ *Lunenburg Progress*, October 16, 1889. Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 98.

¹⁷ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 24.

¹⁸ "W.C.T. Union Convention," *Saint John Globe*, September 4, 1884.

¹⁹ "The Field," *The Woman's Journal*, February 1885.

the completion of the project the garment was theirs to take home. While the girls were taught practical skills that increased their future employment prospects as well as their housekeeping abilities, the imparting of temperance values was the primary motivation of the schools. In Moncton, the girls were taught short STI lessons from the *Health Readers No. 1 and 2*. The Charlottetown women gave their girls temperance literature to take home each week.²¹ The industrial schools fulfilled their larger purpose to spread temperance values.

While the industrial schools were practical educational programs that taught not only manual skills unavailable in the existing educational system but also temperance values, the Bands of Hope served no purpose other than gospel temperance teaching. The major difficulty that the WCTU women faced with the Band of Hope program was maintaining the interest of the children. In January 1886, the Sackville WCTU introduced entertainments, in which the children participated, prior to the regular meetings in an effort to boost lagging interest.²² The same month, *The Woman's Journal* promoted the Loyal Temperance Legion (LTL) program and its potential to engage the interest of the older children.²³ When the 1886 Maritime WCTU convention introduced the LTL, the Sackville WCTU adopted the new program and ordered lesson quarterlies and copies of Anna Gordon's *Marching Songs for Young Crusaders*. The standard temperance program was able to provide general temperance teaching, but the new

²⁰ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 97.

²¹ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 59, 61. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 123-124.

²² Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, January 31, 1886.

²³ "Loyal Legions," *The Woman's Journal*, January 1886.

WCTU program offered new techniques and contemporary temperance-related social teaching of importance to the women.²⁴

At the 1887 convention, the Maritime superintendent of juvenile work, Emma Atkinson, recommended changing the name of their temperance groups from the Band of Hope to the Loyal Temperance Legion to establish uniformity among the Maritime Provinces.²⁵ Again in 1888, Atkinson called for further changes to bring standardization to the juvenile program where the same badge, methods, and teaching manual were in use.²⁶ By 1889, juvenile work in Westmorland County, the southeastern part of New Brunswick, was significant with two Bands of Hope in Port Elgin, three Loyal Temperance Legions supervised by the Sackville WCTU, one group in Upper Sackville, Baie Verte, Moncton, and Petitcodiac.²⁷ The Methodists' learning center of Mount Allison University had impressed a strong educational tradition on the larger culture and created a favorable climate for children's groups to flourish. It also produced educated women receptive to the modern educational techniques and competent to conduct the juvenile programs.²⁸ The benefit of the juvenile work in Westmorland County was extended throughout the region through the various superintendents of juvenile work in the 1880s who came from the county. They visited and instructed the various local unions on the work.²⁹

²⁴ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, September 13 and September 21, 1886. Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 61.

²⁵ Minutes of the Fifth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1887, 17.

²⁶ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 29-30.

²⁷ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 91-92.

²⁸ John G. Reid, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis*, 12 (Spring 1983): 3-33. Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, March 21, 1883 and October 10, 1885.

²⁹ For the years of 1886, 1887, 1888, and 1891 Emma Atkinson of Moncton served as the superintendent of juvenile work. In 1889, the superintendent was Mrs. Reid of Baie Verte. In 1895, the superintendent was Mrs. Prescott of Baie Verte. Minutes of the Annual Maritime WCTU Conventions, 1886-1891, 1894-1895. Minutes of the Woodstock WCTU, September 26, 1889.

Clearly, the executive Maritime WCTU preferred the use of the new American program, which advanced their unique perspective and concerns. The Loyal Temperance Legion program maintained continuity by borrowing positive elements from the former children's temperance groups. In the words of Judith Erickson, "from the Cold Water Army, they had taken the banners, music and marching: from the juvenile temperance orders the constitution, rituals and weekly meeting plan, and from the Band of Hope, a 'platoon system' for maintaining order."³⁰ By 1890, the Sackville, Midgic, and Fairfield LTL groups were familiar with the new American program. They taught the children by means of "manuals with temperance lessons, anatomical charts, music, ripples of song and marching songs."³¹ The anatomical charts displayed the growing emphasis on scientific temperance teaching. It exemplified the importance of the scientific foundation that the WCTU depended increasing on to validate their arguments.

The singing and marching was part of the earlier gospel temperance tradition, and they served a twofold purpose. The role of singing as a teaching method had been learned in the early Sunday school movement, and the WCTU utilized it fully within the juvenile work. As Harriot Todd, leader of the St. Stephen Band of Hope, wrote, "you could sing temperance into the hearts of children before you could reason with them."³² The marching was a popular means through which to commit the songs to memorization and also to maintain the interest of the children. The message imparted through the singing and marching focused on social action and taught the children how to become

³⁰ Judith B. Erickson, "Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900, 340. In the platoon system, the older children helped with the younger ones.

³¹ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 99.

³² "Maritime W.C.T.U.," *St. Croix Courier*, September 6, 1889.

temperance activists. The last two verses of the “March of the Loyal Legion” described not only the conflict, but envisioned the children as a significant part in the battle plan.

We march, we march with pray’r and song,
On the field you’re sure to find us;
In a fight for right and a war with wrong
We’ll cast all fear behind us,
We’ll cast all fear behind us.

A “Loyal Legion” may we stand,
Mid the storm of earth’s temptation;
In a fight for right and a war with wrong
We may help to save the Nation,
May help to save the Nation.³³

The song depicted the traditional evangelical perspective that envisioned disturbing situations or events as a conflict between good and evil. Marching was a tangible expression of the readying for battle in the symbolic war against intemperance. While this song described the ultimate victory in patriotic terms “to save the Nation,” other songs such as “Little Crusaders” emphasized the first and necessary goal to equip personally the children for the intense struggle that each one would have to engage in when they passed from childhood into adulthood.³⁴ The sequence of events began with the imparting of temperance values to children and then the ultimate victory could be realized at the national level.³⁵ Indeed, the Loyal Legion’s motto, “The children are a field,” recognized the important preparation work that needed to be done among the children.

³³ Anna Gordon, “March of the Loyal Legion,” *Marching Songs for Young Crusaders*, (Chicago: Woman’s Temperance Publishing Association, 1885), np.

³⁴ Anna Gordon, “Little Crusaders,” *Marching Songs for Young Crusaders*, np. One line in the song “Little Crusades” went “O, the children march away, in the dawning of their day, to the battle field that lies just beyond their trustful eyes.”

³⁵ “Loyal Legions,” *The Woman’s Journal*, January 1886.

While the WCTU women viewed the personal teaching of children as a crucial endeavor, the children's participation in certain public events was a useful means to educate and to sway public opinion on the merits of prohibition. Marches were general events that raised public awareness to the temperance cause. In 1890, on the occasion of moving to new meeting quarters, the Halifax LTL captured public attention with an enthusiastic parade through the city streets. Their banner marked with "a boy, cross and flag" led the procession of the children and teachers who "marched about one hundred strong up Sackville Street, along Albermarle Street, to the Inglis school-rooms." To the delight of the unidentified WCTU reporter, "people ran to their windows, rum-sellers to their shop doors" to observe the spectacle.³⁶ The public march served not only to raise public awareness, but also provided an enjoyable and exciting outing for the children. Following the same pattern of informal social activities that increased public awareness was an outing that St. Stephen children participated in. Their Band of Hope's sleigh ride displayed "suggestive banners" and the children sang "lusty temperance songs, their favorite being, Prohibition is our motto."³⁷ Indeed, the increase in legitimate leisure activities such as the sleigh ride provided new methods of reaching the public in the 1890s.

The Halifax march and the St. Stephen sleigh ride were general and informal events that pleased the children and served to reach the larger population. However, the WCTU women also engaged in planned and purposeful events where children's participation was used for a specific goal such as the securing of public support during Scott Act campaigns. In 1888, the Petitcodiac Band of Hope presented an entertainment

³⁶ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

³⁷ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 113-114.

on the eve of such an election. Anna Gordon's prohibition programme was used to persuade the eligible adult voters to support the local-option law. The Petitediac WCTU wrote, "no one could listen unmoved to the little ones earnestly and touchingly doing their share of the work of the campaign."³⁸ During the same Scott Act campaign, the Baie Verte Band of Hope, under the leadership of Mrs. Prescott the Maritime superintendent of juvenile work, gave their own prohibition programme performance.³⁹ In these types of public concerts, the children played the role of temperance activists. Indeed, the entertainment was a carefully-prepared script aimed at invoking temperance support from the audience. It is not surprising that the children's prohibition programme was popular in Westmorland County, a region that supported intense political agitation for prohibition through the Prohibitory Alliance, a cooperative organization of temperance forces established in 1884.⁴⁰

While children took their place as temperance activists, the WCTU women viewed the transmission of temperance values to children as a serious undertaking of the foremost importance. The innovative methods used in some of the groups provoked criticism by those who held rigid opinions on legitimate leisure activities. However, the frontline children's workers reflected flexibility in their approaches and incorporated elements of entertainment and fun into the regular children's meetings. The Halifax WCTU used tickets to advertise their meetings, which were highly popular among the children who loved to "collect and trade."⁴¹ It boosted their attendance in a six-month period from twenty or thirty children to one hundred and twenty. Beyond the tickets, the

³⁸ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 72-73.

³⁹ Ibid., 1888, 68.

⁴⁰ "Prohibitory Alliance," *Sackville Chignecto Post*, September 3, 1885.

⁴¹ Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*, 156.

Halifax LTL provided food treats, picture books, and cards which they defended as “important factors” in the work.

While the Halifax workers justified their practices, which some viewed as bribes, with the old argument that stressed the value of the material carried back into the children’s home, they also argued on the basis of the children’s future wellbeing.⁴² Judith Erickson suggested that for the WCTU women “secular activities were rarely seen as legitimate and enjoyable ends in themselves [rather] they were viewed as techniques to build attendance and hold attention so that the greater purpose of ‘thorough training’ might be served.”⁴³ Especially apparent among the WCTU women was the growing middle-class perspective on childhood that embraced a growing sentimentalization of children, a notion that reached its peak in the 1870s and 1880s. Children were viewed increasingly as “defenseless” and “innocent victims.”⁴⁴ The Halifax women considered their practices “legitimate,” in their words, because they were being used to “counteract the dazzling, bewildering bribes that are offered by the adversary to tempt our boys and girls.”⁴⁵ As it was in the American Sunday schools, where the reward-ticket system thrived forty years after it was first denounced in teachers’ literature, so it went with the WCTU juvenile work.⁴⁶ The workers weathered the

⁴² Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

⁴³ Judith Erickson, “Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900, 337.

⁴⁴ Hugh Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 163. See Chapter Six “Waifs and Strays.”

⁴⁵ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

⁴⁶ Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790-1880*, 156.

criticism, and continued to incorporate fun and enjoyment into the teaching in an effort to reach the children.⁴⁷

Recreational value was an important part of the successful temperance groups in the late-nineteenth century. By 1894, the Baie Verte LTL, a flourishing group where nearly all the village children were members, implemented the most controversial component of the LTL program - drills for boys and girls.⁴⁸ The Loyal Temperance Legion's drill manual, written by Anna Gordon, aimed to use the drills in a constructive manner to manage the impulses passed down through ancestral heredity and thereby promote good citizenship. According to *The Woman's Journal*, the military drill used the "boy's instinct for soldiering" and made "him a good soldier for God and Home and Native Land." Likewise the girls were trained in "Broom Drill" and "Fan Drill," which used gender-specific items that mirrored the earlier nineteenth-century ideals of femininity.⁴⁹ These drills for girls were acceptable in the eyes of the WCTU women, who supported the view that "a good mother" was "an activist who was involved in social housekeeping on a local and national level."⁵⁰

Often the drills for girls are seen as a forward move or at least as an example of "equal opportunity," as Judith Erickson tagged them. Indeed, the drills enabled Maritime girls to participate in activities that had excluded them previously. Beyond the drills other girls' activities were significant, such as those provided in the St. Stephen LTL where girls' lessons in physical culture, temperance, and health were given in place

⁴⁷ Peter Bailey, "A Mingled Mass of Perfectly Legitimate Pleasures": The Victorian Middle Class and the Problem of Leisure," *Victorian Studies*, 21/1 (1977): 7, 23. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, leisure activities became "an established component in middle-class life-styles and expectations."

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 88.

⁴⁹ "The Loyal Legion Drill Manual," *The Woman's Journal*, December 1886.

⁵⁰ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism 1873-1933*, 65.

of drills.⁵¹ Both drills and physical culture signaled the newer trends in thinking about the female body and exercise. However, affixing a feminist interpretation to the advances is problematic. The social purity movement with its emphasis on genetic psychology made strong inroads into the Maritime WCTU. In 1890 Mrs. M. Burpee the superintendent of narcotics recommended juvenile work for its ability to promote “well-trained mind[s]”... “so when these boys and girls are grown, may we not hope for help from them in our fight, and will not each succeeding generation be one of greater strength and purity, physically, mentally, and morally.”⁵² Genetic psychology worked to legitimize expanded female activities.

By 1892 or 1893, the National WCTU completed its revisions on the program and structure of the Loyal Temperance Legion. The final result carried the recognizable traits of a “modern youth organization.” Developmental psychology was evident with the implementation of contemporary pedagogical elements into the program. Three Legion levels named Junior, Senior, and Graduate were introduced along with graded diploma courses.⁵³ The Maritime WCTU leadership worked to bring the local groups into line with the developments in the National juvenile program. In June 1893, at the District of Western Nova Scotia Convention meeting in Bear River, the Loyal Legion work was addressed and the diploma awarded for best work was introduced.⁵⁴ In January 1894, the Westmorland County district convention meeting in Port Elgin recommended their juvenile groups adopt the ritual, diploma and seal course for the

⁵¹ “New Brunswick,” *The Woman’s Journal*, February 1891.

⁵² Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 75.

⁵³ Judith Erickson, “Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900,” 341.

⁵⁴ Minutes of the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, June 15, 1893.

graduation of the LTL.⁵⁵ The Maritime executive worked to promote the new developments in the LTL program and educate the local women on the most effective juvenile work available.

By 1889, the largest Maritime LTL, situated in Truro with four hundred members, implemented an effective teaching program where the contemporary educational methods of graded classes were in use. The Truro LTL was "divided into classes, or ranks... under the direction of rank leaders, young ladies who volunteered for the work."⁵⁶ It would appear that like the situation in Sackville, the Normal School at Truro affected the emphasis and quality of juvenile work. During the early 1890s, other large juvenile groups struggled to reach a similar level of teaching. In 1889, the St. Stephen Band of Hope incorporated "blackboard work," but practical teaching problems were unavoidable in a group that by 1891 averaged one hundred and fifty children ranging in ages from four to fourteen. The band moved towards systematic teaching by involving the older children as assistants. To reward the older children for their assistance, the Boys' Brigade was organized for boys aged thirteen to sixteen and the girls were organized into a Loyal Temperance Legion.⁵⁷

The invaluable complement to the LTL program was the American WCTU juvenile paper, the *Young Crusader*, which began publication in 1887. By 1890, the legions at both Sackville and Truro were regular subscribers to the *Young Crusader*. While the paper promoted children's activism in the temperance movement, it served to heighten commitment to the newer trends in temperance philosophy, which had grown

⁵⁵ "W.C.T. Union," *Moncton Daily Times*, January 29, 1894.

⁵⁶ "Maritime W.C.T.U.," *St. Croix Courier*, September 12, 1889.

⁵⁷ "Maritime W.C.T.U.," *St. Croix Courier*, September 6, 1889. "New Brunswick," *The Woman's Journal*, February 1891.

from the single issue of abstinence from alcohol to include tobacco and proper morals.⁵⁸

In 1890, the Maritime juvenile groups such as those in Moncton, Petitcodiac, Campbellton, St. Stephen, and Canso provided regular teaching and literature on the dangers of tobacco. In 1890, the passage of a New Brunswick law that prohibited the sale of cigars to boys under the age of sixteen boosted their commitment to fight tobacco use among children.⁵⁹ The strong social activism found within *Crusader* articles helped to push the boundaries of the traditional temperance perspective.⁶⁰

Throughout the late 1880s and early 1890s the promotion of the American LTL program persisted under the superintendents of juvenile work. Especially in the early 1890s, the visits of prominent American WCTU leaders to the Maritime region kept the Loyal Legions in the forefront of the minds of juvenile workers. In 1890, after attending the Dominion WCTU convention in Montreal, Frances Willard and Anna Gordon toured the Maritimes. During this visit, Willard and Gordon received recognition from the New Brunswick Methodist Conference where they shared the platform with the leading Maritime Methodist clergymen. Willard's presence injected new vigor and vitality into the Maritime WCTU.⁶¹ In June 1891, the Dominion WCTU convention held at Saint John worked to sustain the renewed activity with another visit from Gordon who served as the World WCTU superintendent of juvenile work.⁶² The annual reports revealed that there were efforts by the local unions to conform their juvenile work to the LTL

⁵⁸ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 99, 101.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 70-73, 75.

⁶⁰ Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform, and Pro-Censorship Activism 1873-1933*, 162.

⁶¹ Journal of the New Brunswick and PEI Conference of the Methodist Church, June 18, 1890. Advertisement, *Charlottetown Daily Patriot*, May 28, 1890. "WCTU Convention," *Charlottetown Daily Patriot*, May 30, 1890. "Our Lady Visitors," *Charlottetown Daily Patriot*, June 2, 1890. Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 77. "Supplement - New Brunswick," *The Woman's Journal*, June 1890.

program. In contrast to the 1887 reports where a mere sixteen Bands of Hope existed, the 1891 numbers showed both a significant increase in work and substantial uniformity in name with one Band of Hope and twenty-three Loyal Temperance Legions. There were seven legions in Nova Scotia, fourteen in New Brunswick, and two in Prince Edward Island with a total membership of seventeen hundred and sixty-five children.⁶³

These advances were short lived and the semblance of uniformity disappeared as the decade progressed. In 1894, pivotal changes were visible in the WCTU juvenile work. The annual convention reports revealed a marked decrease in juvenile membership from the 1891 numbers to those in 1894 where only eleven hundred and fifty-three members were reported.⁶⁴ Furthermore, new Maritime interests filtered into the juvenile work. At the 1894 convention, there were recommendations that Bands of Mercy, a group for the prevention of cruelty to animals, be organized and joined with the juvenile program. As early as 1887, the city of Saint John was home for a successful Band of Mercy, which aimed to educate children on the importance of kindness to animals. Their group promoted itself actively in the *Educational Journal* and received the publication's approval. However, the Saint John club appeared to have no connection with the local WCTU groups.⁶⁵

It appeared that what sparked the interest among WCTU women and brought a change in the direction of the Maritime juvenile work was the publication and the success of Margaret Marshall Saunders' book *Beautiful Joe*. Saunders' successful

⁶² "Supplement," *The Woman's Journal*, July 1891.

⁶³ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 57-67. The Nova Scotia groups were found in Yarmouth, Halifax, Truro, Lockport, Canso, Parrsboro, and Cow Bay. In New Brunswick groups were located in Milltown, Newcastle, Richibucto, Benton, Campbellton, Saint John North, St. Stephen, Sackville, Middle Sackville, Port Elgin, Baie Verte, Midgie, Fairville, and Moncton. A few unions reported general juvenile work but no specific name was noted.

⁶⁴ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 76.

submission of a fictionalized autobiography of an abused dog to a literary contest sponsored by the American Humane and Education Society who were looking for a sequel to *Black Beauty*, resulted in the publication of *Beautiful Joe* in 1893.⁶⁶ Saunders, “the best known of Canada’s early animal rights novelists” and daughter of the prominent Nova Scotia Baptist minister, E.M. Saunders, was a WCTU member.⁶⁷ There was hope that she would supervise the combined Bands of Hope and Bands of Mercy groups, though Saunders never assumed the superintendent position.⁶⁸ The WCTU’s new interest in animal kindness brought the organization of SPCA groups to the forefront of the women’s minds. In November 1894, the Moncton SPCA was organized under an executive committee that consisted of three men whose wives were local WCTU members.⁶⁹ However, on the whole the kindness clubs, which failed to gain the leadership of Saunders, assumed a minor place within the larger children’s program.

In 1887, the National WCTU organized the department of peace and arbitration. While the work was embraced slowly, by 1890s there was a growing interest in pacifism.⁷⁰ The Band of Mercy program was seen as a good alternative for the LTL program with its strong elements of militarism.⁷¹ Among the Canadian unions, the

⁶⁵ “S.P.C.A. – The Bands of Mercy,” *ER*, December, 1887, 136.

⁶⁶ <http://www.beautifuljoe.org/english/main.htm>. The biography of Margaret Saunders was compiled by Dr. Gwen Davies, Head of English at Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

⁶⁷ “Saunders, Margaret Marshall,” *The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Ed. W. Stewart Wallace, (Toronto: MacMillan: 1963), 670. Carole Gerson and Julian A. Smith, “Ryan, Anne Gregg (Savigny),” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 917. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 27.

⁶⁸ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 38.

⁶⁹ “SPCA,” *Moncton Daily Times*, November 10, 1894. “Teaching Temperance,” *Moncton Daily Times*, March 28, 1895. The SPCA executive committee members were J.E. Masters, H. Atkinson, S.C. Wilbur. Active WCTU women organizers in the SPCA were Mrs. H. Atkinson and Mrs. S.C. Wilbur. Mrs. J.M. Ross, a Royal Templar member, was another organizer.

⁷⁰ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 109-110.

⁷¹ Judith Erickson, “Making King Alcohol Tremble: The Juvenile Work of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1874-1900, 342.

Maritime region appeared to be the earliest promoter of the Band of Mercy program.⁷² By 1895, the Dominion superintendent of peace and arbitration promoted the Band of Mercy program as a good replacement for the popular boys' brigade groups.⁷³ The underlying motivation reflected social purity concerns where boys were taught to be "domesticated males," rather than either pure pacifism or animal rights activism.⁷⁴ There was some interest in peace in certain Maritime areas, especially in Nova Scotia. By 1895 or 1896, the Pictou Band of Hope gave blackboard lessons on peace along with their temperance teaching.⁷⁵ In 1896, the Nova Scotia WCTU promoted the peace-friendly organization, the Knights of the Round Table, in which fire drills for boys and girls replaced military drills.⁷⁶ However, in 1893 the Maritime WCTU's motivation for the Band of Mercy promotion appeared to be a regional WCTU interest based on animal rights activism that was piqued by the reputation of Margaret Marshall Saunders. At the Dominion WCTU level, while interest was expressed in the program there was no venture to organize a department of Band of Mercy.⁷⁷

Interest in the LTL program persisted throughout the 1890s, but the goal of standardization was never attained as the newer program interests fragmented any notion of solidarity in the juvenile work.⁷⁸ In 1895, at the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, the suggested program for the local juvenile work remained the

⁷² Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow: " The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 177. Cook's first mention of an Ontario Band of Mercy was a group in Spencerville in 1895.

⁷³ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895, 96.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 96. The Dominion superintendent of peace and arbitration "encouraged physical culture for both sexes rather than military drill for boys alone." Their goal was to encourage non-gender specific activities and toys that promoted the ideals of the domesticated male.

⁷⁵ Minutes of the First Annual NS WCTU Convention 1896, 62.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1896, 57.

⁷⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 40.

Loyal Temperance Legion. There were two concerns regarding juvenile work within the district that the WCTU hoped to overcome. Firstly juvenile temperance work was not flourishing in the region. In 1889, the unions at Windsor, Dartmouth, Hantsport, and Annapolis came to the attention of the superintendent for the absence of juvenile work, which was unusual in the organization.⁷⁹ Six years later still no juvenile work was reported for these unions. Secondly, the tendency within the early Nova Scotia local unions to join in cooperative ventures with other temperance organizations persisted. Perhaps this was a factor in the lack of WCTU work. Indeed, in 1895, the Lunenburg WCTU helped the Sons of Temperance organize a Band of Hope.⁸⁰ In 1898, the pattern continued with the Windsor WCTU and their plans to promote work among local boys. The idea of a Band of Hope was rejected in favor of a coordinated effort, not with the Sons of Temperance, but with first the clergy and the Sunday schools and then later with the local police authorities.⁸¹ Clearly, in certain communities juvenile work that encompassed the WCTU-specific mandate was absent.

Within the WCTU departmental work, the campaigns for STI and gospel temperance teaching had consumed much of the active WCTU members' energy as revealed in the annual convention minutes. However, once the victories were achieved, less effort and time were required to maintain the work. Juvenile work involved a heavy commitment from competent and committed teachers over a prolonged period of time. According to Maritime WCTU reports, there was a difficulty acquiring these women

⁷⁸ Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow:" The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 177. Standardization was unattainable within the Ontario WCTU.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Seventh Annual WCTU Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 88-93.

⁸⁰ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 68-69. Minutes of the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, August 15, 1895.

⁸¹ Minutes of the Windsor WCTU, July 5, 1898 – August 2, 1898.

teachers.⁸² Furthermore, the STI and gospel temperance teaching victories were reached prior to the dissolution of the Maritime WCTU in September 1895. In 1891, the Maritime WCTU executive began a persistent, annual effort to dissolve the regional organizational structure in favor of three separate provincial unions.⁸³ At the 1895 convention in Yarmouth, the delegates were forced to accept the dissolution of the regional union when the experienced executive members' either boycotted the gathering or refused the position of presidency. Among many local unions, the reaction was swift and discouragement swept through the organization.⁸⁴ In the transitional period from regional to provincial unions, it was difficult motivate the local WCTU women.

In 1896, the New Brunswick WCTU president Emma Scott acknowledged "the feeling of uncertainty and doubt caused by the dissolution of the Maritime Union" and their fears that there was little that they could accomplish on their own. Scott recommended that they manage to carry on work in at least three or four departments.⁸⁵ There is little doubt that the situation impacted juvenile work negatively. In 1893, Westmorland County was the "banner county" of the Maritime region, but in 1896 only the Loyal Legion at Upper Sackville remained.⁸⁶ In 1896, the Nova Scotia WCTU had no superintendent of juvenile work and they reported only eight Bands of Hope. In New Brunswick, the situation was similar with a mere six groups reported along with one Boys' Club.⁸⁷

⁸² Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1897, 96.

⁸³ "W.C.T. Union Convention," *Saint John Globe*, September 21, 1891. Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 57-67. In 1891, the Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island unions, the newer and weaker unions, were least likely to approve of the dissolution.

⁸⁴ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 15-18.

⁸⁵ Minutes of the First Annual NB WCTU Convention, 1896, 22.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁸⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 96.

In the minds of some WCTU women, the STI and gospel temperance teaching victories compensated for the declining juvenile work.⁸⁸ In 1896, the executive WCTU members remained committed to WCTU juvenile work and rejected the rationalization.⁸⁹ However, by 1899 they appeared to be resigned to the trend with the New Brunswick WCTU deeming the Band of Hope work as unnecessary because temperance was taught effectively in the public schools.⁹⁰ In 1897, the Nova Scotia Western Baptist Association boasted that Bands of Hope were connected in each of their Sunday schools and that the constant pledging of their students was practiced.⁹¹ In 1898, Prince Edward Island's report of only one Band of Hope noted that the Sunday schools provided temperance teaching.⁹² By the end of the nineteenth century, the three provincial WCTU bodies had come to accept their STI and gospel temperance teaching victories as sufficient for the task of transmitting temperance values to Maritime school-aged children. Furthermore, there was always the hope among the local women that the Canadian federal government would intervene and legislate prohibition to create a temperate environment for children to grow up in.⁹³

While the WCTU juvenile work was not evenly distributed throughout the Maritime region, their efforts continued the traditional temperance approach to provide a strong temperance cultural environment where children could learn temperance values in a supportive social setting. Clearly though, the temperance vision of the social-conscious WCTU was an expanded version from the earlier temperance movement that had focused primarily on the total abstinence from alcohol. The WCTU juvenile work

⁸⁸ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 76.

⁸⁹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU, 1896, 96.

⁹⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU, 1899, 104.

⁹¹ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, (Halifax, NS: Wm. McNab, 1897), 122.

provided a leisure-time activity where Maritime children received not only temperance teaching, but also the most contemporary evangelical middle-class perspective on social concerns and proper moral values. The WCTU used innovative techniques not only to reach, but also to teach the children. They taught temperate lifestyles to the children. Juvenile work provided a valuable non-institutionalized source that reinforced STI and gospel temperance teaching.

⁹² Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU, 1898, 74.

⁹³ Reginald Smart and Alan C. Ogborne, *Northern Spirits: A Social History of Alcohol in Canada*, 41-46.

Chapter 5

Mothers' Meetings: Building Temperate Families

In the 1890s, the Maritime mothers' meetings became an important means through which women received the contemporary middle-class temperance ideals and subsequently passed them on to their children. The WCTU understood the mother to be the primary and crucial source of character training during the child's early years. Frances Willard wrote that "a precipice lies beyond the sheltering fortress of their home, but a safe, sure path leads around it. It is then, first of all, the mother's duty to warn them of the one, and judiciously point them to the other."¹ However, the women were seen also as an integral part of the larger social structure that worked together to ensure a stable community. According to Willard, "the arrest of thought must be secured by mother, minister, and teacher."² In the early 1890s, the mothers' meetings contained a strong component of social purity ideals that worked to emphasize the attributes that a good mother should possess. As the decade progressed, the mothers' meetings focused increasingly on the proper middle-class family structure as it related to proper pre- and post-natal childcare.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the evolution of the WCTU mothers' meetings during the 1880s and the 1890s. The format that the mothers' meetings followed gives insights on how the WCTU women perceived the working-class women. The content of the information disseminated in the mothers' meetings gives some indications on how middle-class women perceived their role as mothers and wives in the late-nineteenth century. The heavy dependency on the American publications such as

¹ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 55.

² Ibid., 54.

The Arena reveals the influence that the American social purity attitudes had on the Maritime region. *The Arena* provides a useful source for uncovering the new ideals that the WCTU women introduced into the region.

It is within the context of the mothers' meetings that the accuracy of Marianna Valverde's suggestion that "in some respects, temperance and social purity acted as a single movement" is realized fully.³ The Maritime mothers' meetings challenge the notion that WCTU women were not interested in social purity ideals.⁴ The meetings provide insights into the extent to which the WCTU women were involved in the social purity movement and how these ideas were spread throughout the region. Sharon Cook suggested that while "in the United States, meetings of the White Cross and White Shield societies were held....the more common practice in Canada was to use...[its] literature at WCTU, YWCTU, or youth temperance meetings."⁵ The situation in the Maritime region differed in that in the 1880s it followed the American pattern with the establishment of societies especially in New Brunswick. Even in the 1890s, interest in the subject persisted. In 1890, Mount Allison students responded to the social purity plea with the organization of a White Cross society for the male students and a White Shield society for the female students with seventy-one members connected with the YWCTU.⁶ Even in 1896 the Sackville WCTU organized a White Cross society.⁷

While the White Cross-White Shield program was an educational approach that emphasized the proper moral character and sexual behavior of young men and women,

³ Marianna Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, 17.

⁴ David Pivar, *The Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900*, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), 85.

⁵ Sharon Anne Cook, "Through sunshine and shadow:" *The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 94.

⁶ Minutes of the Eighth Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 53-54.

there was a tendency in the early social purity projects to provide practical rescue work. Often this aspect of the work was directed towards the working class such as the case was with the Saint John WCTU who labored to rescue women from impurity through “The Haven,” a program aimed at rehabilitating prostitutes. Connected with “The Haven” was a maternity hospital that served as a shelter for unwed mothers.⁸ In 1893, the Saint John WCTU expanded its social vision and founded the “Little Girls Home.” The mission of the home was “to save girls before they fall, to receive such as are not eligible to the Orphan Asylums because of their shadowed birth - and who are worse than orphans, through the neglect of their unnatural parents.”⁹ The “Little Girls’ Home” continued the rescue approach that the WCTU used with the working class, though it extended it from adults to children. The home represented a dual approach where rescue work was combined with a preventive element. The aim of the home was to provide positive character formation training for the children. Indeed, the WCTU relied increasingly on the preventive and educational approach of the character formation programs as the century drew to a close.

The WCTU women trusted in the influence of positive environmental forces to invoke good character formation in the children. In 1894, Julia Turnbull, the superintendent of gospel purity and mothers’ meetings, reported, “here the little girls are guarded against evil companions, instructed in housewifely ways, and taught to earn an honest livelihood when attaining to womanhood.”¹⁰ The “Little Girls’ Home” served also a larger social need that being an adoption center, which placed the girls in proper

⁷ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, March 20, 1896.

⁸ Joanne Veer, “Feminist Forbears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” 249-250.

⁹ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 85.

family units whenever possible.¹¹ Both the girls living in the home and those adopted out were provided with the ideals of a “middle-class” upbringing.

The practical rescue work educated the WCTU social purity workers, and they used their skills of political lobbying to agitate for legislative laws that would protect vulnerable women and children. Ruth Bordin noted that the legislative social purity work of the National WCTU was “more successful” than the rescue work. Indeed, one reason for this was that rescue work incurred heavy financial obligations that many local unions were unable to shoulder.¹² Joanne Veer noted that in the Maritime unions there was a definite shift in priorities in late 1890s where legislative solutions were pursued more aggressively. In 1899, Dr. Annie Isabel Hamilton drafted a proposed bill for the Maintenance of Illegitimate Children that was passed eventually into law in 1900. The same year, Dr. Jane Heartz requested the investigation of laws pertaining to the protection of women and children. The strong social reform impulse within the WCTU translated into action against social and gender vulnerability found in all the classes.¹³ Sharon Cook noted, “by lobbying as strenuously as it did for legislative changes associated with family life, the WCTU ensured that it would help to define the moral standards underlying middle-class behaviour, especially as these related to the shoring up of the family unit.”¹⁴ Indeed, the WCTU envisioned their middle-class perspective as the proper model for all classes of the Canadian population.

¹⁰ Ibid., 85.

¹¹ Minutes of the Saint John WCTU, February 9, 1900.

¹² Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 110.

¹³ Joanne Veer, “Feminist Forbears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” 253-256.

¹⁴ Sharon Anne Cook, “Through Sunshine and Shadow:” *The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 92.

Beyond the legislative initiatives, the WCTU provided crucial and expansive educational teaching to young mothers that augmented the political work. As Cook noted, “by the 1890s the Canadian WCTU had all but abandoned the ‘new abolitionism’ in its emphasis on moral and health education.”¹⁵ Indeed, in the 1890s the Maritime mothers’ meeting served as the means through which social purity ideas were filtered through educative initiatives to young women and their children. In 1895, the Dominion superintendent of purity reported that in the Maritime unions “gospel, purity and mothers’ meetings” were linked. In 1891, in the absence of a White Shield society the Saint John WCTU presented social purity teaching in its mothers’ meetings.¹⁶ The Dominion superintendent observed that in the Maritime region mothers’ meetings occupied “the first place in the minds of workers.”¹⁷ The preoccupation of the WCTU with mothers’ meetings suggests that the social purity teachings were at work redefining the middle-class notions of family.

In the urban centers, the early mothers’ meetings focused on the working class and provided practical economic and social benefits to the women. In the Charlottetown mothers’ meetings, the women were provided with yarn for knitting. They received “an order for groceries” in payment for their work.¹⁸ However, more often the meetings functioned as sewing groups, where the mothers purchased the garments they worked on for a nominal fee. During the course of the gathering, the group leader read to the women useful information for their benefit. Monthly social teas allowed for close interaction and the development of bonds between the WCTU leaders and the women.

¹⁵ Ibid., 99.

¹⁶ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 70.

¹⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895, 106.

¹⁸ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 108.

Through the social interaction, the Halifax WCTU became aware of the difficulties that working women experienced in obtaining proper childcare, which led them into discussions on a daycare center.¹⁹ While the proposed Halifax daycare represented a new social plan of action not seen among the earlier temperance workers, the financial funds and workers needed to implement the program were beyond the reach of most local unions. While the mothers' meetings educated the WCTU to the everyday struggles of the working-class mothers, their solutions continued primarily to follow the course set by the traditional temperance movement where a passive benevolence approach was taken. Even the socials followed the established format where the working-class women were provided with legitimate middle-class entertainment.

Other early mothers' meetings followed the traditional temperance approach with its emphasis on religious activities. In 1891, the Charlottetown WCTU described how the "tired mothers" spent their hour meetings in "praise and prayer" at their mothers' meetings.²⁰ Even as late as 1894, the Saint John WCTU held meetings every Sunday afternoon, the only day that working women had time off, that consisted of "a short Gospel service and talk with the women."²¹ The working-class mothers' meetings reflected the WCTU's assumption that the women needed religious uplifting. However, the WCTU women's genuine interest in these women's children was likely a factor that overcame any resentment the mothers might have experienced. The Saint John mother's meetings followed the practice of "special prayer" for "every child whose birthday

¹⁹ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890. Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 70.

²⁰ "Prince Edward Island," *The Woman's Journal*, February 1891.

²¹ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 85.

occurs in the month.”²² Together with the economic and social aspects of these mothers’ meetings, the religious emphasis represented the old temperance mentality. Indeed, it served also to promote their middle-class values and encourage the working-class mothers to follow their example.

The early 1890s brought with it mothers’ meetings for the middle-class women. The Halifax WCTU reported its decision not only to maintain the regular mothers’ meetings for their “poorer friends,” but also to follow the trend set by their “sister societies.” These new style of mothers’ meetings would focus on “well-to-do mothers where the early care of the little ones may be well thought and talked over.”²³ The Saint John WCTU followed the same direction with its weekly meetings with the working class and monthly mothers’ meetings for the middle-class mothers.²⁴ In 1890, the WCTU’s expansion into Prince Edward Island introduced a fresh flow of women who showed strong interest in the mothers’ meetings. The Charlottetown WCTU were involved in mothers’ meetings within the first year of organization.²⁵ By 1891, the mothers’ meetings sprung up among the work of local rural unions such as those in the communities of Pugwash, Woodstock, St. Stephen, and Sackville.²⁶ The popularity of the educational mothers’ meetings enabled the WCTU women to reach and influence increasing numbers of Maritime women.

As the Maritime WCTU expanded its work, new departments such as that of the health and heredity accelerated the flow of related social purity notions. In 1895, the

²² Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 44.

²³ Minutes of the Halifax WCTU, 1890.

²⁴ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 44. Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 84-85. In the 1893-1894 year, Saint John conducted twelve mothers’ meetings for the middle- and upper-class women. The working-class mothers’ meetings given in the Little Girls’ Home numbered thirty-two. Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895, 107.

²⁵ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 108.

Dominion superintendent of purity noted these departments “seemed connected with the work of purity and mother’s meetings.”²⁷ As early as 1881, keen interest in health matters and the influence of heredity on alcoholism was apparent at the National WCTU level. In 1883 the National departments of hygiene and heredity were established. Within the department of heredity, the study of eugenics made a significant impact.²⁸ By 1891, the Quebec WCTU superintendent, Maria G. Craig, was involved actively with the spread of information on heredity.²⁹

In 1890, the Maritime WCTU established a formal department of hygiene and heredity with Dr. Maria Angwin, a Halifax doctor as its superintendent. Unlike Craig, Angwin’s early leadership directed the early work primary along the traditional temperance lines, with her efforts focused on the elimination of alcohol in medicine.³⁰ Two years after the department was organized, she continued to struggled to establish the work. In June 1892, she sent a circular along with a leaflet, “Heredity and Hygiene,” written by Frances Willard to the local unions. The leaflet described the relationship between heredity and hygiene and temperance. The Lunenburg WCTU minutes noted the receipt of the leaflet, and early the next year, they devoted time to study the subject at their regular meeting.³¹ While Angwin’s efforts brought few written responses, it produced positive results in some unions.³²

It took a new Maritime superintendent, Mrs. W.A. Brennen from Summerside, Prince Edward Island in late 1894, to not only plant firmly but to expand the vision and

²⁶ Ibid., 102, 110. Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 58 and 64.

²⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895, 104-105.

²⁸ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 108-109.

²⁹ “Health and Heredity,” *The Woman’s Journal*, July 1891.

³⁰ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 29.

³¹ Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, June 27, 1892 and February 6, 1893.

³² Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1893, 61.

scope of the health and heredity department.³³ While the newer departments progressed at a slow pace in Nova Scotia, in Prince Edward Island the WCTU women concentrated much of their energies into these works. The Prince Edward Island women were seen as leaders, not only in the health and heredity work, but also in the mothers' meetings and their influence was evident around the Maritime region. In 1894, the WCTU District Convention of Eastern New Brunswick presented lectures on mothers' meetings that were written by Brennan.³⁴ The year after the dissolution of the Maritime WCTU, the new provincial unions continued to look to the Prince Edward Island women for assistance until their own new leaders could be trained. In 1896, the Sackville union pursued work in mothers' meetings after receiving training at a Prince Edward Island convention held by the Charlottetown WCTU.³⁵ The same year, the new Nova Scotia WCTU used a lecture written by Mrs. Coleman of Prince Edward Island on mothers' meetings at their first provincial convention.³⁶

The Prince Edward Island unions circulated health and heredity information taken from various publications such as *Health Culture*, *Good Health* and *The New Crusade* that focused on contemporary health trends.³⁷ *The Arena* provided a monthly supply of articles, which covered thoroughly the subjects of heredity, parental culture, and dress reform. Brennan, with prior experience with the Prince Edward Island mothers' meetings, was well prepared for heading the health and heredity department work. Often her work in this department spilled into the mothers' meetings. She was an active superintendent who gave lectures on topics such as "Exercise, Sleep and Rest,"

³³ In 1894, the Maritime WCTU followed the lead of the Dominion WCTU and changed the name of the department from hygiene and heredity to that of health and heredity.

³⁴ "Women and Alcohol," *Moncton Daily Times*, November 1, 1894.

³⁵ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, June 4, 1896.

“Food – Its Choice, Care, and Preparation,” and “Pre-natal culture.”³⁸ Her work showed how closely the mothers’ meetings and the health and heredity departments were related, when the social purity aspect of the work was emphasized, rather than the traditional temperance approach. Under Brennan, health and heredity focused on the importance of the proper health habits for the mother prior to and continuing through her pregnancy. According to Sydney Barrington Elliot in his article “Prenatal Influence,” “the developing embryo can be moulded into any state of mind and body, but of first importance is the physique.” During pregnancy, proper exercise and nutrition by the mother was believed to give the child a “strong constitution.”³⁹ Brennan’s work focused attention on the responsibilities and actions of the women to their unborn children.

The general aim of the mothers’ meetings was to provide an early temperance foundation for pre-school children that would be reinforced as they progressed through the STI program in the public schools. In October 1892, *The Woman’s Journal* published an article entitled “Scientific Temperance in the Nursery,” which explained the traditional temperance understanding of the work. Dr. Bessie V. Cushman emphasized the evangelical perspective that “temperance [was] God’s law for the body.” She encouraged mothers to “teach by precept and example that physiological law is God’s law, and transgression is sin.” The middle-class preoccupation with moral appearance was evident as well. Cushman presented the social objective that the child should be taught “that a fine house is desirable; and too that people are judged somewhat by the houses in which they live, and by the way they keep their houses.” She suggested

³⁶ Minutes of the First Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1896, 20.

³⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1897, 54.

³⁸ *Summerside Island Farmer*, December 19, 1895, December 17, 1896, and March 19, 1896.

³⁹ Sydney Barrington Elliot, “Prenatal Influence,” *The Arena*, October 1894, 669-670.

the method to accomplish this goal be through teaching children what was involved in physical culture.⁴⁰ Cushman's interpretation and strategy was similar to the approach of Christian nurture practiced within evangelical circles. The value of early character formation was advocated for its potential to prevent future alcohol use among the children.

During the 1880s, the social purity message was promoted zealously by the president Julia Turnbull and its ideals became familiar among a number of Maritime unions. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, social purity notions were recognized increasing as the preferred method to arrest the spread of alcohol use. Proper prenatal care was the responsible preventive action that mothers could take to influence their children's future lifestyles. In her 1889 presidential address, Julia Turnbull remarked on the carelessness and ignorance of most people "to the laws of health." She stated, "mothers and housekeepers should understand more thoroughly the 'laws of life,' and there would not be the pampered appetites that now exist and that pave the way for strong drink."⁴¹ Eugenics, with its seemingly scientific foundation, provided a convincing explanation for temperance supporters who struggled to understand why such high numbers of "rescued drinkers" relapsed. The WCTU stance was to point back at the "seemingly pure and innocent childhood" and relate how "the good or evil of ancestral forces [were] marked in its manifestation from early babyhood."⁴²

As early as 1884, the eugenics argument was evident in the Maritime WCTU paper, *The Telephone*. In an article entitled "Withered Leaves," Sister Ruth retold the account of a wealthy mother who gave her baby son an occasional "little sip of wine."

⁴⁰ "Scientific Temperance in the Nursery," *The Woman's Journal*, October 1892.

⁴¹ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 110-111.

She chided the “poor foolish parents, [who] had not learned to ‘think’ on these things, they did not believe in ‘inherited tastes,’ nor that such a drop could harm the child; could create a thirst for more.”⁴³ The theory of eugenics provided the WCTU with a reasonable intellectual argument that they could use to push their temperance message and perhaps gain support among the upper class. The study of eugenics was not aimed at the working-class women whose educational foundation was meager.⁴⁴ However, it became a popular subject that interested the growing numbers of educated middle-class women.

As *The Telephone* article showed, the implications of heredity went beyond the transmission of physical attributes. Social reformers argued that heredity transmitted not only physical attributes but also the “mental characteristics and moral traits” of the parents to the child. As B.O. Flower, editor of *The Arena*, cautioned “the unborn received[d] the destiny-stamping and life-moulding impress of heredity and prenatal influences, reinforced by the lasting impressions which come through early environment.”⁴⁵ Social purity supporters viewed intemperance as a “degrading” influence that increased the likelihood that negative traits would surface. The American physician, A.M. Holmes, suggested that “to balance some inward evil with some purer influence acting from without will enable our environment to correct our heredity.”⁴⁶ Helen H. Gardener agreed that environment, the “conditions under which we develop,” with its ability to “curb or direct our natural tendencies” had a “great and modifying role

⁴² “Health and Heredity,” *The Woman’s Journal*, July 1891.

⁴³ “Withered Leaves,” *The Telephone*, December 1884.

⁴⁴ Helen H. Gardener, “Heredity: Is Acquired Character or Condition Transmittable?” *The Arena*, May 1894, 769-770.

⁴⁵ B.O. Flower, “The Right of the Child Considered in the Light of Heredity and Pre-natal Influence,” *The Arena*, July 1895, 243 and 248-250.

⁴⁶ A.M. Holmes, “Heredity and Environment,” *The Arena*, April 1894, 576 and 579.

to play.”⁴⁷ Parents and public school teachers were seen as the logical source to spark children to attain the “higher life,” rather than to submit to any undesirable hereditary traits.⁴⁸

Mothers carried the heaviest burden of responsibility because of their dual influences on both the prenatal and postnatal care of their children. Prior to conception and during the pregnancy women were encouraged to cultivate nurturing feelings to give confidence to their children. Emotions such as anger, passion, and discontentment were to be kept in check so as not to pass on these undesirable traits. The women were to apply themselves to learning to influence positively the intellectual development of their children.⁴⁹ The department of health and heredity tended to promote these prenatal aspects of motherhood. In Prince Edward Island, these health and heredity teachings were transmitted through the popular mothers’ meetings.

Of course, the mother’s role to provide a good environment throughout the postnatal period was seen to be as significant as the prenatal role. It was under the mothers’ meetings that the postnatal training of childcare fell. With this mandate, the Maritime meetings promoted the work under the general description of women’s influence in the home.⁵⁰ Mothers’ meetings urged women to cultivate desirable character tendencies among their developing children. Of primary concern was a sense of compassion or empathy among the young children that would in time produce adults committed to social justice.⁵¹ Discussions on “sympathy” were reported among the

⁴⁷ Helen H. Gardener, “Environment: Can Heredity be Modified?,” *The Arena*, July 1894, 147-148.

⁴⁸ B.O. Flower, “Early Environment in Home Life,” *The Arena*, September 1894, 485.

⁴⁹ Sydney Barrington Elliot, “Prenatal Influence,” *The Arena*, October 1894, 670-674.

⁵⁰ *Summerside Island Farmer*, February 6, 1896. Minutes of the Windsor WCTU, August 30, 1898, 104.

⁵¹ B.O. Flower, “Early Environment in Home Life,” *The Arena*, September 1894, 489.

Windsor mothers' meetings in 1898.⁵² At other mothers' meetings Maritime women discussed the topic of "Books and Reading." Readings about historical personalities who manifested heroic and virtuous character traits and made important contributions to society were recommended for teaching the young. The writer, B.O. Flower, suggested speaking on early figures such as Socrates, Epictetus, Jesus, and on the more recent individuals such as Victor Hugo and Florence Nightingdale.⁵³ The aim was to develop lofty goals in the children that would produce in their adulthood a greater commitment to the ideals of "virtue, justice and truth," which would advance the social good. Another popular subject among the WCTU women included concerns on contemporary health issues particularly the need of ventilation and fresh air.⁵⁴ The postnatal training was an important avenue through which middle-class values were passed on to the children.

In the 1890s, the zeal of the Prince Edward Island women with their American publications helped to broaden the mothers' meetings beyond the simple temperance objective and method suggested by Cushman. The expanding temperance philosophy carried with it implications that influenced middle-class notions of femininity. The central thrust of the meetings revolved around the education of the women regarding their responsibilities as mothers. Since their position as childbearers was seen as one of the primary defining markers of womanhood, the necessity of a pure lifestyle to ensure the well-being of their future children became an urgent and legitimate message. The growing emphasis on the new social purity teachings and the study of eugenics increased the pressure on the individual women to be vigilant in their efforts to have healthy

⁵² Minutes of the Windsor WCTU, May 17, 1898, 71.

⁵³ B.O. Flower, "Early Environment in Home Life," *The Arena*, September 1894, 488-489.

children with the predisposition for success.⁵⁵ Furthermore, it carried social weight and was seen as a serious responsibility by many in a period when citizenship and nationalism were important issues. In the words of Lady Henry Somerset, head of the English Union,

the dawning of socialistic and therefore truly Christian principles...has brought ... the renewed consciousness that every man and woman lives not an individualistic life but one that makes for the upbuilding or the destruction of the race itself...the realization of this truth has brought us to understand that the study of child life in all its aspects is vital to the welfare of the world.⁵⁶

The role of motherhood was scrutinized increasing under this overwhelming mandate.

While the WCTU's mothers' meetings spread in one sense merely a modernized version of domesticity, it also gave the women an elevated status both within the home and in the larger social sphere. At the 1888 annual convention, Julia Turnbull spoke on social purity and urged the delegates to realize their special position in society. In the words of Turnbull, "it is woman's hands that must help to uplift the 'equal standard' and to uphold the pure white banner of gospel purity."⁵⁷ The WCTU commitment to social purity enabled women to take an active role in reshaping the standards of what constituted the ideal middle-class family. The mothers' meetings provided the teaching model through which Maritime women received the middle-class conception of the proper late-nineteenth-century family.⁵⁸ The women taught the children the proper values and gender relations within the family unit.

In the 1890s, the influence of the social purity teachings extended to the children. Clearly, the hope was that the education of children on morality would arrest the spread

⁵⁴ *Summerside Island Farmer*, April 2 and November 19, 1896.

⁵⁵ Sydney Barrington Elliot, "Prenatal Influence," *The Arena*, March 1894, August, 1894, and October 1894.

⁵⁶ Lady Henry Somerset, "The Welcome Child," *The Arena*, March 1895, 42.

of impurity. The Carleton mothers' meetings discussed the subject "Purity in Thought, Word and Deed Amongst Our Children."⁵⁹ While the basis of the social purity standard of "equal purity" for both men and women sprung from evangelicalism, they used contemporary medical health findings to support their views. The Lunenburg WCTU reported in the *Lunenburg Progress* that "the absolute demand of religion and physiology for purity, in word, thought, and deed; and to maintain the law of purity as equally binding upon men and women."⁶⁰ In 1896, the Prince Edward Island reports on purity noted that "women on all sides are being aroused, through the influence of mothers' meetings, to the importance of the subject, and to their individual responsibility for the low standard of morals."⁶¹ There were prenatal responsibilities that women were urged to follow to promote purity. As B.O. Flower pointed out too little attention was given to "the hereditary influence of abnormal appetites and passions."⁶² In the article "Prenatal Influence" Sydney Barrington Elliot wrote that women "must avoid transmitting to her child abnormal sexual instinct." Mothers could safeguard their children by keeping their "thoughts pure" and "imaginings controlled." However, beyond the protection of their own child, the cumulative actions of the mothers would work together to eliminate impurity for the benefit of the whole of society.⁶³

The Prince Edward Island mothers' meetings devoted time to educate mothers on the responsibilities that fathers should assume within the family unit. In 1895, Mrs. Ellis, a WCTU lecturer from New York, lectured on "Matrimony" and appealed to the

⁵⁷ "Women Plead for Purity," *Halifax Morning Herald*, September 7, 1888.

⁵⁸ The Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 43-44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1895, 43.

⁶⁰ *Lunenburg Progress*, February 25, 1891.

⁶¹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 59.

⁶² B.O. Flower, "The Right of the Child Considered in the Light of Heredity and Pre-natal Influence," *The Arena*, July 1895, 250.

mothers “to teach one standard of morality for men and women.”⁶⁴ In 1896, in an effort to spread new ideas on the subject, the Charlottetown WCTU advertised a mothers’ meeting, which they titled “One Fathers’ Meeting.”⁶⁵ Indeed, the fathers’ cooperation was necessary to ensure purity in their offspring. Elliot cautioned the father to “avoid arousing [the pregnant mother’s] passion” and to “curb his own, that he may not impart sensuality to his child.”⁶⁶ At the 1896 Dominion WCTU convention, purity superintendent Mrs. M.A. Cunningham suggested that “until the marriage relationship changes, there is small chance for the boys and girls to be born ever to become better than their ancestors.” She recommended Dr. Alice B Stockham’s book *Karez* for its theories on marriage. Stockham promoted a marriage relationship where the “love and communion” between the husband and wife resulted in “the mastery of the physical and complete control of the fecundating power.”⁶⁷ While the mothers’ meetings spread new ideas on the marriage relationship, the primary incentive for any proposed changes centered on their united commitment to their children.

Clearly, the mothers’ postnatal work to impart purity to their children was a primary official objective of the mothers’ meetings. The Dominion WCTU recommended that they emphasize “the sacred duty of safe-guarding childhood’s innocence by knowledge, and of giving the little ones a conception of the purity and beauty of God’s plan for the perpetuation.” The aim was to instill in the children that “marriage [was] a sacred relation.”⁶⁸ Attention was given to sex education for children and advice to mothers on how to broach the subject to their children. The Summerside

⁶³ Sydney Barrington Elliot, “Prenatal Influence,” *The Arena*, October 1894, 671.

⁶⁴ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 44.

⁶⁵ *Summerside Island Farmer*, April 30, 1896.

⁶⁶ Sydney Barrington Elliot, “Prenatal Influence,” *The Arena*, October 1894, 676.

WCTU conducted meetings on the topic of “How shall we teach the Physiology of Sex to the Young.”⁶⁹ The book *A Child's Confidence Rewarded* written by Dr. Sperry was recommended for older children to read.⁷⁰ The mothers' meetings labored to break down the barriers that prohibited discussion on sexual matters. When the talks proceeded from the perspective of the protection of children, the reservations that women experienced in such discussions were easier to surmount.

By the mid-1890s, the teachings of the department of gospel or social purity and the newer department of health and heredity were well established. Their works were interrelated and represented aspects of the evolving social purity movement. They spread and legitimized the new social purity ideas in the region through the popular mothers' meetings. Still, these departments were structured to maintain their own distinct objectives. In the Maritimes, the departmental lines were not followed for various reasons that ranged from inexperience among the new superintendents and local WCTU women to not enough workers to maintain separate departmental work. The Dominion WCTU was anxious for each department to develop a viable work that focused on its specific aim. There was a particular concern that the objective of the mothers' meetings might be compromised. By 1895, it would appear that character formation through postnatal instruction was the favored approach recommended by the Dominion WCTU. The Dominion superintendent cautioned that the mothers' meetings were “more intimately related to the family life of our nation than that of Purity and as a

⁶⁷ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 63-64.

⁶⁸ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1897, 101.

⁶⁹ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 43-44.

⁷⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 59.

natural sequence, mother's meetings must take a prominent place in practical efforts connected with it."⁷¹

As the decade progressed, the Maritime mothers' meetings reflected a growing educational emphasis that worked to prepare mothers for an expanded role as childcare experts. Lady Somerset's advice exemplified the overwhelming qualifications that mothers were expected to possess. Somerset wrote,

The games, the rhymes, the songs, the associations, of the nursery, should all have a decided color, should all help to bend the young mind in the right direction, and the impressions made at a time when they leave ineffaceable traces should be drawn with the deliberate intention that they shall thus potently affect the character.⁷²

The format followed by the Summerside mothers' meetings to educate the women was that of a discussion group. Each woman was asked to voice her opinion on "such subjects as obedience, truthfulness, punishments as training, knowledge the preserver of purity, and how shall the children be kept off the streets in the evenings."⁷³

Misconceptions were corrected through talks on the proper methods of child training.

The meetings introduced the new theories on parenting such as that of rewarding children to produce good behavior, while they worked to discourage older notions such as that of corporal discipline.⁷⁴ The Summerside WCTU devoted three meetings on the topic of the new method of discipline to ensure the women were convinced that "whipping children" was unacceptable. They used the teachings of contemporary American educators such as Elizabeth Harrison's book *Child Culture*.⁷⁵ The question of discipline was debated in other locations such as Carleton, New Brunswick, where the

⁷¹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1895, 104-105.

⁷² Lady Henry Somerset, "The Welcome Child," *The Arena*, 46.

⁷³ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 83.

⁷⁴ *Summerside Island Farmer*, November 7, 1895.

topic of punishments was discussed. Discipline was an important issue considering the value placed on self-control in the formation of character.⁷⁶ While the character formation of the children was the primary goal, the mothers' were being shaped as well as they guided their children.

Often the professional help of public school teachers was sought to educate the mothers on practical methods of instruction. The Lunenburg WCTU brought in the local kindergarten teacher to speak on the "best methods of teaching children," who "show[ed] that by kindness they were largely led."⁷⁷ As Ruth Bordin suggested some mothers' meetings could be described as "forerunners of the Parent-Teacher Association" that "brought mothers together to exchange ideas, influence the schools, and learn about child development."⁷⁸ In Summerside the mothers' meetings listened to talks on matters such as "Cramming versus Education in the Primary Grades," which affected their children's educational development.⁷⁹ The interests of mothers' meetings expanded beyond early childhood concerns as the social reform impulse matured.

In 1896, Prince Edward Island unions reported that the mothers' meetings were the prominent work effort only behind that of scientific temperance teaching.⁸⁰ As the century drew to a close, the local Prince Edward Island unions continued to combine the health and heredity work and mothers' meetings, although Charlottetown, Kensington, and Summerside maintained separate departmental work.⁸¹ At the conventions, health and heredity superintendent Brennan continued to deliver lectures that related to the

⁷⁵ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 83.

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 43-44.

⁷⁷ Minutes of the Second Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1897, 26-27.

⁷⁸ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 111.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the Thirteenth Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895.

⁸⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 42-45.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 1896, 68.

mothers' meetings. One address entitled "How Women can help Stop the Drink Curse" recommended the use of the books *Transmission* and *Parents' Guide*.⁸² The strong social purity emphasis in the Prince Edward Island mothers' meetings remained intact in the 1890s.⁸³

The dissolution of the Maritime WCTU in favor of provincial unions interrupted the progress of the social purity emphasis in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia who had depended on the Prince Edward Island leadership in the work. Still, the New Brunswick health and heredity department, supervised by Dr. Anna L. Brown, worked to provide social purity talks on heredity.⁸⁴ By 1899 the New Brunswick mothers' meetings superintendent, Katherine Hartley was busy with the preparation of papers for readings and addresses for the provincial mothers' meetings. However, among some unions, such as the one in Newcastle, the focus on reaching the working-class mothers made their meetings less popular.⁸⁵

In 1896, the new provincial Nova Scotia WCTU struggled to regroup and reorganize after the breakup of the Maritime organization. There was an initial absence of a superintendent for health and heredity in the new provincial union. By 1899, Dr. Annie Hamilton was the new superintendent and her medical background influenced her interests in the same direction as the earlier Nova Scotia superintendent, Dr. Maria Angwin towards "non-alcoholics in medicine."⁸⁶ However, in 1897 the new superintendent of mothers' meetings, Mrs. S.E. Hameon, assumed a strong emphasis on

⁸² Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1897, 54.

⁸³ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 59.

⁸⁴ Minutes of the First Annual NB WCTU Convention, 1896, 16.

⁸⁵ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 12 and 1899, 83. Hartley served as the social purity superintendent during the 1896-1897 year.

⁸⁶ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1896, 67. Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1899, 79-80.

heredity similar to that taken by the Prince Edward Island unions. Hameon promoted educational meetings that emphasized mothers' responsibility to see that "their children" were "well-born" and "not handicapped with a heritage of evil, not forgetting that there are pre-natal as well as post natal influences which go to make up character."⁸⁷

At the 1897 provincial convention, the importance of the mothers' meetings to the Nova Scotia WCTU was evident. Three influential leaders Mary Chesley, Edith Archibald, and Miss J. Smith promoted the work. They not only "pleaded for more work for children," but also for "more practical mothers' meetings."⁸⁸ These women - Chesley, the Nova Scotia WCTU president, Smith, the superintendent of social purity, and Archibald, who in 1899 would assume the position of the Dominion superintendent for Christian citizenship - illustrate the obvious maturing of the WCTU social vision and impulse.⁸⁹ The social possibilities that abound within the mothers' meetings work were promoted in *The Woman's Journal*. Regarding the social benefits of the mothers' meetings, an article on mothers' meetings suggested, "if we try to make our homes pure and good, they will have a corresponding effect upon our children: the child's life will influence others, and thus the work [will] spread and influence each generation."⁹⁰ As the twentieth century approached, the Maritime unions' work had advanced, and they began to realize the larger Canadian social vision.

By 1899, the Dartmouth mothers' meetings named the banner union for its commendable work exemplified the integration of the WCTU women's religious, class, and economic attitudes. The Dartmouth meetings reported the focus of their six

⁸⁷ Minutes of the Second Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1897, 26-27.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 1897, 10.

⁸⁹ Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention 1899, 6.

⁹⁰ "Mothers' Meetings," *The Woman's Journal*, January 1893.

meetings that attracted up to one hundred and fifty women. The title of the topics discussed were “Dorcas and her work,” “Play the business of the child and How I would keep Christmas if I were Poor?,” “Child Study,” “Eat Ye That which is Good,” “Sunlight and Soap,” and “Temperance in all things.” These six meetings give an indication of the cherished middle-class values imparted within the mother’s meetings. The first meeting centered on women’s proper religious foundation and their social attitudes. The “Dorcas example” suggested the desirability and worthiness of religious benevolence as a desirable characteristic for the women to strive for. The second meeting revealed the traditional middle-class approach to the working-class woes, which was to educate them on how to manage their economic situation. The middle-class attitudes of contemporary childhood development occupied a prominent place within the meetings as well as the growing interest in body and health issues. The “Sunlight and Soap” talk given by Edith Archibald emphasized the “necessity of moral sunshine and cleanliness in the home” and is evidence of the continuing influence of social purity ideas.⁹¹ Perhaps the last meeting on “Temperance in all things” was a fitting conclusion for the end of the nineteenth century. It indicated the extent to which the early temperance sentiments had broadened beyond the narrow confines of alcohol to exemplify a way of life. The temperance family was a product of the refining of evangelical, middle-class attitudes throughout the last half of the nineteenth century.

The importance of children and family life teaching continued in the smaller Nova Scotia unions such as Windsor and Lunenburg who introduced subjects such as “children training,” “hygiene and heredity,” and “Woman’s influence in the home” into

⁹¹ Minutes of the Second Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1897, 11, 26-27. “Dartmouth,” *The Woman’s Journal*, April 1899.

their regular meetings.”⁹² In 1899, Edith Archibald was an active lecturer at local mothers’ meetings not only delivering her “Sunlight and Soap” talk, but also one on the subject of “Mother and Child.”⁹³ The same year, Mabel Conklin, the Dominion superintendent of purity work toured the Maritime region. In Nova Scotia she gave lectures in Halifax, Truro, and Lunenburg. As was often the case with social purity work, Conklin lectured at the Lunenburg mothers’ meeting on the subject of moral purity.⁹⁴ Interest and teaching on family matters was maintained both in the specialized mothers’ meetings and the regular WCTU meetings.

The popular mothers’ meetings played a significant role in extending the middle-class model of the temperate family in the Maritime region. Their educational pursuit on the roles of both mothers and fathers enabled the WCTU to participate in meaningful dialogue on the changing gender roles. The emphasis on childcare encouraged women to reevaluate their responsibilities and the transmission of their values to children became of utmost importance to them. The large number of non-WCTU women that attended the mothers’ meetings increased the WCTU’s influence and impact on the larger culture. Furthermore, the mothers’ meetings linked Maritime women to the contemporary ideas of the late-nineteenth century. Their work to build strong moral families linked them to the larger nationalistic vision that appeared in both the temperance and social purity movements.

⁹² Minutes of the Windsor WCTU, June 21, June 28, and August 30, 1898. Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, March 28, 1898.

⁹³ Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, April 18, 1899. Minutes of the Second Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1897, 26-27.

⁹⁴ Minutes of the Lunenburg WCTU, July 18, 1899.

Chapter 6

Prohibition and Woman's Suffrage Campaigns

During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the primary thrust of the Maritime temperance societies was their political activities, both in fighting local-option Scott Act campaigns and agitating for national prohibition. The Maritime WCTU viewed themselves as significant partners within the temperance alliance, and they fought beside their male counterparts in political campaigns to sustain the local-option law. After the 1888 Scott Act campaign in Westmorland County, the Moncton WCTU described the victory as the result of the united effort of both the men and the women, which represented their mutual interest in the family. The Moncton WCTU wrote, "the women of the county were drawn nearer to each other in the struggle for the home against the saloon, and the result of the election was the voice of the motherhood as well as the fatherhood of Westmorland."¹ In the 1890s as anticipation of a national plebiscite on prohibition intensified, the Maritime WCTU pursued a campaign for woman's suffrage. They envisioned that their political vote was an essential contribution that would ensure not only the passage of a prohibition law, but other important social reforms.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the political activities of the Maritime WCTU. There were two distinct yet intricately linked political focuses evident within the nineteenth-century WCTU. The 1880s were dominated by the Scott Act campaigns that were necessary to meet the endless repeal challenges to the law. The political campaigning of the local WCTU groups in Westmorland County, New Brunswick in

¹ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 76.

both 1884 and 1888 will be looked at. These WCTU women launched the first petition for woman's suffrage after the 1888 Scott Act campaign. This event was a significant link that joined the earlier political work with the intense agitation for woman's suffrage that was evident in the 1890s. Later the same year, the appeal to the Maritime WCTU from John T. Bulmer and the Prohibition Party sparked the women's interest further. The chapter looks at the connections between the prohibition agitation and the pursuit of woman's suffrage.

Sharon Cook downplayed the political interests of the Ontario WCTU and emphasized the different fronts on which they fought intemperance. She suggested that the political issues were popular primarily among the Dominion WCTU leaders, while the Ontario provincial WCTU and the local unions relied increasingly on social and educational methods.² Cook's findings are a stark contrast to the Maritime situation that suggests the women were involved in a lively participation on all three fronts. Perhaps Cook's findings reflected heavily the twentieth-century developments in the Ontario WCTU.

Much attention has been given to emphasizing the feminist nature of the Maritime WCTU. E.R. Forbes objected to what he described as Carol Bacchi's interpretation of the temperance movement, which described it as "monolithic and pronounced non-feminist in nature." In the 1890s, the total membership of the traditional Nova Scotia temperance societies numbered about fifteen thousand with one-third of this total being women. Forbes suggested that the fifteen hundred Nova Scotia women who joined the WCTU, an exclusively woman's organization, did so because

² Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow:" The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 41, 56.

“they were conscious of personal and group needs which were not met by traditional societies.”³ However, the reasons why the women choose to invest their time and efforts in the Maritime WCTU are difficult to ascertain without further research and comparative studies on the memberships of the various other temperance organizations that competed for women’s involvement.

In his article on the Halifax feminist movement, Forbes labeled the WCTU as the “most effective [group] in promoting explicit feminism.” He suggested that “its official goal, the suppression of alcoholic beverages, provided a rationale for making women more conscious of their social and political disabilities, for developing skills in political agitation and for demanding female suffrage.”⁴ While Forbes identified the clear feminist ideals that rippled through the Maritime WCTU organization, the fact remains that these temperance women envisioned themselves first as agents for the greater social good. Their effective promotion of temperance values to children and the labor they invested in building strong temperate families suggests that the primary commitment of these women was social restoration based on their middle-class worldview.

Joanne Veer’s study on the nineteenth-century Maritime WCTU built further upon the case of the organization’s feminist impulse. She described the women as maternal feminists who protested “against an idealistic conception of womanhood that excluded them from participated in the public half of life,” while they used the qualities it attributed to women to expand their activities. According to Veer’s rationale, the

³ E.R. Forbes, “The Ideas of Carol Bacchi and the Suffragists of Halifax: A Review Essay on Liberation Deferred? The Ideas of the English-Canadian Suffragists: 1877-1918 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983,” *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes*, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 93-94.

⁴ E.R. Forbes, “Battles in Another War: Edith Archibald and the Halifax Feminist Movement,” *Challenging the Regional Stereotype: Essays on the 20th Century Maritimes*, (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1989), 70.

Maritime WCTU was grounded in religion, which kept its reform activities within the “moral-religious sphere.” In the early twentieth century, “the primacy of religious awareness in their lives would be diminished with the increasing secularization” and “greater experience, eliminated the millenarian optimism” held by the earlier women and gave way to explicit feminism.⁵ The emphasis on empowerment tends to minimize the earlier role of women within society and does not improve our understanding of these women and the forces that shaped them and tempered their actions.

As Kim Klein’s look at the subject of women’s voting in early colonial New Brunswick confirmed that while there was not a “petticoat polity” in the region, the women were still participants in the region’s political culture. As she pointed out, “in late 19th-century debates, several New Brunswick assemblymen justified their support for women’s suffrage by noting that women had occasionally voted before the 1843 regulation [that specified the gender of eligible voters] came into force.” Klein uncovered an occasion in 1827 where women voted in the Kings County election.⁶ Throughout the nineteenth century, women were interested and knowledgeable on political activities even though they could not vote.

Gail Campbell’s study on mid-nineteenth-century women petitioners in New Brunswick illustrated how “women, like men were involved in creating the political culture of their society.” The study gave convincing evidence of the political tradition under which women participated and became accustomed to as part of the temperance agitation. Urban women were involved in isolated and unorganized patterns of

⁵ Joanne E. Veer, “Feminist Forbears: The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union in Canada’s Maritime Provinces 1875-1900,” 178, 182.

⁶ Kim Klein, “A ‘Petticoat Polity’? Women Voters in New Brunswick Before Confederation,” *Acadensis*, Vol. XXVI/1, (Autumn 1996): 71, 75.

petitioning in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1847 the first women's temperance petition came from the Saint John Ladies Total Abstinence Society. Soon afterwards, the Daughters of Temperance in Woodstock petitioned against the granting of tavern licences in 1850, followed the next year with the "Ladies of Woodstock" petition that called for prohibiting the sale of "spiritous liquours." In 1852, the Fredericton women followed the example of the Woodstock Daughters of Temperance. While urban women were accustomed to working within their own social temperance organizations, rural women participated in the political process by signing local community-initiated petitions that sought to block the issuance of tavern licences. The large-scale participation of women in temperance petitioning was stimulated after repeal efforts to have the 1853 New Brunswick prohibitory law were launched. As Campbell noted while men's political actions brought in the law, the women applied political pressure to keep the law in place.⁷ Within the temperance movement, political action was a customary and effective approach to promoting their values into the Maritime culture.

Campbell's study revealed significant findings on women's political inclinations and influence. Women made their own decisions on the temperance question and were willing to act on their inclinations. Almost half of the married women petitioners signed alone without the support of their husbands. Furthermore, the mothers' influence was strong with their children. The sons were twice as likely to follow their mothers' example in signing the petition than to follow their fathers in signing repeal petitions. The daughters' propensity to sign along with their mothers was even higher than that of the sons. Campbell wrote that the commitment of women petitioners "demonstrates that

⁷ Gail G. Campbell, "Disfranchised but not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-19th Century," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XVII/3, (Spring 1989): 23, 36-38.

women had followed the political progress of the temperance legislation and were prepared to take a public political stand on an issue they believed to be important.”⁸ Furthermore, the mothers wielded considerable influence within the family unit.

Claude Mark Davis described the period from 1878 with the agitation for the Canada Temperance (Scott) Act until 1898, when it became clear to prohibition supporters that the federal prohibitory act would not be enacted, as the second dry campaign of the temperance movement.⁹ Set within the timetable of the temperance movement, the Maritime WCTU emerged and flourished during the second dry campaign that was marked with high levels of political activity. The early Maritime unions worked alongside their male counterparts to convince the Canadian federal government to pass the Scott Act. In early 1878, the Moncton WCTU worked to prepare a petition for the House of Parliament requesting the enactment of the Dominion Temperance Alliance Bill.¹⁰ The passage of the Scott Act intensified political action among the unions as the women fought to bring in local-option laws to prohibit the sale of alcohol.

The entire decade of the 1880s was occupied with Scott Act campaigns and elections. Soon after the first Canadian Scott Act election took place in Fredericton, other Maritime communities and counties busied themselves and followed suit. In 1878, other successful elections were run in York County, New Brunswick, and Prince County, Prince Edward Island, with substantial victories. The next year Charlottetown and Westmorland County, New Brunswick waged Scott Act campaigns and won.

⁸ Ibid., 53.

⁹ Claude M. Davis, “I’ll Drink to that: the rise and fall of Prohibition in the Maritime Provinces, 1890–1930,” 1991, 6–7.

¹⁰ *Moncton Daily Times*, March 5, 1878.

However, regular challenges meant that the decade was spent in an endless series of political maneuvering to keep the law in place. The Fredericton Scott Act was challenged in 1882 and 1885, in 1884 in York County and in 1884 and 1888 in Westmorland County. In Prince Edward Island, efforts to repeal the Prince County local-option law occurred in 1884 and in Charlottetown in both 1884 and 1887. Indeed, troubling for temperance activists was the trend to garner less support in each subsequent election. Exceptions to this pattern were in Prince County, Prince Edward Island and Westmorland County, New Brunswick where an increase in support was realized. However, the increase in Westmorland County failed to include the French Acadian population.¹¹ The frequency of the campaigns accompanied often with a decline in popular support and the inability to capture the French vote heightened the urgency of a national prohibition law.

The 1884 effort to repeal the Scott Act in Westmorland County served to galvanize the various local temperance societies to work and to strategize together under a centralized organizational body known as the Westmorland Country Prohibition Alliance. In 1885, the president of the Alliance was Humphrey Pickard, the principal at the Methodist center of learning Mount Allison University. The Alliance's executive board met bi-monthly to take care of pending business. Annual conventions drew delegates from the various societies together to review their work and to plan for the next year. Mass meetings educated the public on the Alliance's activities and the

¹¹ *Moncton Daily Times*, January 14, 1888. "No Repeal in Westmorland," *Moncton Daily Times*, February 17, 1888.

political developments that affected the temperance cause. They heightened awareness and support for the Scott Act elections.¹²

While the Sackville WCTU records do not include explicit references to their involvement with the Alliance, there were strong indications of coordinated work, which linked them not only to the male organizations but also to other local WCTU bodies. In 1883, the Sackville WCTU sought the help of the Moncton WCTU in distributing temperance tracts in the Scott Act campaign. The Sackville Sons of Temperance provided financial support for the thirty-five hundred temperance tracts, which the WCTU distributed throughout the campaign. The women conducted a personal canvass and attempted to see each voter personally and leave a tract.¹³ The Sackville WCTU placed considerable significance on the political process as seen in the 1884 Maritime convention when it was noted that their annual report focused primarily on their participation in the Scott Act campaign.¹⁴

The February 1888 Scott Act election in Westmorland County produced intensified work among the local WCTU bodies. The organization of the Eastern New Brunswick WCTU was important to the coordination of the local unions' campaign work. It exemplified the extent to which the political activity united the women. This large area union provided several thousands French leaflets in an attempt to gain support among the Acadian population, which prior to this time had not received much attention. The individual unions contributed to the bulk of temperance literature as well. The Moncton WCTU purchased and distributed five thousand leaflets and instructions on

¹² "Prohibitory Alliance," *Sackville Chignecto Post*, September 3, 1885.

¹³ Minutes of the Sackville WCTU, August 11, October 27, 1883, and July 19, August 2, 1894.

¹⁴ "W.C.T. Union Convention," *Saint John Globe*, September 4, 1884.

how to vote properly.¹⁵ The women played a primary role in canvassing the communities, giving out temperance literature, and relating on a personal level with the local citizens on their temperance concerns.

The WCTU women were visible at the public campaign meetings throughout the county. The Alliance organized meetings throughout the rural districts to garner stronger support for prohibition and to engage volunteer workers for the practical campaign work. Prominent French temperance supporters addressed meetings in the Acadian villages of Memramcook Corner and Pre den Haut. Members of the evangelical Protestant clergy addressed the local English communities. While the evangelical churches had supported temperance since the 1850s, the active political involvement of the evangelical clergy was accepted widely in the late-nineteenth century. In the 1887 Maritime Baptist convention, Reverend I. E. Bill, impressed upon the delegates the duty of the ministers to address the political issues and to provide guidance to their congregations.¹⁶ The WCTU women joined these influential men in the various public meetings. While the women played a complementary role such providing music in most of the meetings, their choice of WCTU songs enabled the women to promote prohibition from their perspective.¹⁷

There were exceptions to this pattern as exemplified by the Petitcodiac WCTU women. These women conducted the public meeting at Graves Settlement. While a layman presided, women gave the scriptural reading and prayer, the four addresses, and the two recitations. A WCTU woman also conducted the closing ritual, which represented the crucial point of the meeting. In the closing an invitation to the audience

¹⁵ Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 72, 75.

¹⁶ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1887, 10.

was extended, and they were invited to signify the side of the issue they were on. All the earlier elements of the program were meant to prepare the audience for their final decision. Clearly, the meetings resonated with religious symbolism and the closing was reminiscent of conversion appeals found in revival meetings. The prominent participation of women in this meeting was significant. While women took public roles in earlier gospel temperance meetings, this meeting represented a political rally of which women were not accustomed to leading.¹⁸ Not only in what is interpreted sometimes as supportive roles such as the singing and the canvassing, but also in public leadership roles such as the campaign meeting in Graves Settlement, the 1888 campaign gave the WCTU women unique opportunities to be viewed as participants in the public political field.

Instead of deterring women from the organization, the political activities of the WCTU women increased interest in the organization and the temperance cause. In Salisbury, the meeting of the Westmorland County Prohibitory Alliance brought an awareness to the temperance work open to women and subsequently the WCTU memberships increased.¹⁹ Indeed, the Eastern New Brunswick WCTU was anxious to engage the women of Westmorland County into the political campaign. They published an appeal entitled "Women to the Rescue" in the *Moncton Daily Times* that asked women to join with them to fight for "the protection of [their] homes." The article expressed political arguments on the importance of the issue and requested their

¹⁷ "The Scott Act Campaign, *Moncton Daily Times*," February 1 and 2, 1888.

¹⁸ "The Scott Act Campaign," *Moncton Daily Times*, February 9, 1888.

¹⁹ "The Scott Act Campaign," *Moncton Daily Times*, January 21, 1888.

assistance in canvassing the local communities.²⁰ The WCTU women executed clear and visible political actions in numerous ways throughout the campaign.

The Westmorland County WCTU's activities influenced not only non-members, but also WCTU members both inside and outside the county. Some unions supported the effort in significant though in less obvious ways. The WCTU members of Saint John, Portland, Carleton, and Fairville devoted themselves to prayer on election day in Westmorland County.²¹ Within the county, the WCTU women were active in their practical campaign work. The Sackville WCTU described the high level of support their members gave to the campaign and explained the reason for their heavy participation. "A common peril, a common cause and a common joy brought us very near each other....we did not lack the workers."²² At the annual fall convention, the Maritime delegates listened to the exuberant reports from the Westmorland County unions. The Moncton WCTU recounted the extent to which the campaign piqued their political thinking. They wrote,

The campaign was an educator, for to meet argument with argument and to answer inquiries and objections we had to fit ourselves to intelligently discuss our side of the question. One step opened the way for another until at last we found ourselves on the public platform and still later at the polls on election day.²³

These WCTU women gave the delegates a tangible example of the contemporary middle-class woman, which included a clear politicized side.

As mentioned previously, the Moncton WCTU described the campaign as a representation of the "voice of motherhood" and "fatherhood." This suggests that the

²⁰ "Women to the Rescue," *Moncton Daily Times*, January 21, 1888.

²¹ "The Scott Act Campaign," *Moncton Daily Times*, February 3, 1888.

²² Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 72.

²³ *Ibid.*, 76.

central concern behind their political activity was the buttressing of the family unit. As Marianna Valverde mentioned as the underlying current that flowed through the social purity movement was the evolvement of “the new reconstituted family, with a partially-public mother and a partially domesticated father.”²⁴ The Maritime WCTU emphasized as well the significant place that children occupied within the middle-class family. Indeed, as noted in chapter four, the Sackville women linked the canvass for the Scott Act in the outlying villages with the organization of new juvenile work. The WCTU juvenile teachers in the county contributed to the Scott campaign through their local Bands of Hope, which all presented performances of Anna Gordon’s Prohibition programme.²⁵ Prohibition sentiments among women were linked intricately to their protection of the middle-class family values.

While the political Scott Act campaign plans and events predominated the temperance news in the local newspaper, the decision of Eastern New Brunswick WCTU women to petition for woman’s suffrage at their convention in January, 1888, drew little attention.²⁶ After the Scott Act election in mid-February, these WCTU women sent nine petitions, two from the towns of Newcastle and Chatham in Northumberland County and five from the villages of Welford, Dorchester, Upper Salisbury, Salisbury, Petitcodiac, Baie Verte, and Port Elgin in Westmorland County, to the New Brunswick legislature.²⁷ Accepted by the legislature on March 14, 1888 these petitions, which carried one thousand and fifty-three signatures, requested that suffrage

²⁴ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925*, 32.

²⁵ “Local Hurry-graphs,” *Moncton Daily Times*, February 14, 1888.

²⁶ “Christian Temperance Women in Council,” *Moncton Daily Times*, January 13, 1888. Only mention of the woman’s suffrage petition.

²⁷ Petitions 42-50 tabled in the NB Legislature in 1888. See RS24 1888/pe file 3 #42-50 PANB.

be given to women, whether married or single.²⁸ While the petitioners' request was declined, it represented the first steps of the WCTU to obtain the franchise for women. It was the beginning of a mounting campaign that many WCTU women engaged themselves in enthusiastically.

The question of woman's suffrage was not a new idea to the WCTU women. However, the traditional temperance perspective was to focus singularly on achieving prohibition. Total abstinence was viewed as the solution to alleviate the array of social ills they saw in their culture.²⁹ While many WCTU women anticipated political reform, which included the extension of the franchise to women, their first commitment was to be loyal temperance supporters and to its primary goal of prohibition. The tradition set throughout the temperance movement was to present a united front with the men providing political leadership and initiatives and the women supporting those measures. In 1886, the editor of *The Woman's Journal* expressed her disappointment on the lack of commitment by the Canadian prime minister, Conservative John A. Macdonald and the Liberal opposition leader Edward Blake. Blake refused to promise a vote for prohibition "at any definite time." MacDonald skirted the prohibition question completely, but voiced his personal approval for woman's suffrage though he noted the Conservative Party was not supportive of the matter. The editor wrote, "if Sir John had spoken out on the Prohibition question, which more than any other is to day agitating the hearts of the best people of our Dominion, as fearlessly as he did on the woman suffrage question, the

²⁸ Minute of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1888, 76.

²⁹ Jack S. Blocker Jr., *American Temperance Movements: Cycles of Reform*, 52.

course of temperance people would be comparatively clear.”³⁰ Clearly, while suffrage was an important issue, the prohibition cause was the most pressing of the two.

Still the non-commitment of the traditional political leaders to the question of prohibition led to an increasing determination among temperance supporters. It also opened the way for their consideration of Canada’s Prohibition Third Party. Its platform pledged not only “prompt and absolute prohibition” and “honest and vigorous enforcement,” but also “the extension of the franchise to women.”³¹ In the 1887 federal election, John T. Bulmer of Halifax ran unsuccessfully as a candidate in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia for the party. In 1888, Bulmer focused his energies on publishing a weekly magazine, the *Canadian Voice*, which spread as its main platform plank compulsory prohibition though he supported other reforms such as woman’s suffrage and equal pay for men and women.³² In early September 1888, he spoke at the sixth annual Maritime WCTU convention that met in Halifax. The activities of the women in the Westmorland County Scott Act campaign had not gone unnoticed. Their heightened political stance and the petitions for woman’s suffrage placed them as potential allies for the Prohibition Party. Indeed, Bulmer was quick to remind the Maritime WCTU delegates of their American counterparts endorsement of the Prohibition Party in the United States. Bulmer’s courting of the Maritime WCTU on the heels of the first franchise petitions broadened the new level of politicization within the Maritime union.

By 1888 though, the Maritime WCTU had the earlier example of the National WCTU’s political involvement to influence the decisions they made regarding their

³⁰ “Woman Suffrage and Prohibition,” *The Woman’s Journal*, December 1886.

³¹ *Canada’s New Party*, Platform for the Prohibition Third Party. (Np: npubl., 188?).

³² Philip Girard, “Bulmer, John Thomas,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. XIII, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 133.

course of political action. At the 1881 convention, the National WCTU endorsed officially the enfranchisement of women. This was followed under Willard's prompting with an unofficial alliance with the Prohibition Party, which resulted in the union's endorsement of the party in 1884. This partisan commitment caused a major conflict within the organization, which ended in 1889 with the withdrawal from the union of the faction opposing the affiliation.³³ There was a reservation among the Maritime WCTU to follow the course set by the National WCTU. Julia Turnbull, the Maritime WCTU president, was committed to steering them away from any semblance of a political body. As a delegate at the 1889 National convention, she had experienced first hand the split within the organization. In her presidential address to the 1889 Maritime convention she said, "the lesson for me at that Convention was to *keep out of politics*. Let there never be any grounds for the charge that the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is a political body – not in our organization."³⁴

Nevertheless, the increased political activity of the year was reflected at the 1888 convention, when the WCTU issued its first official political resolution. The resolution focused narrowly on the question of prohibition. The convention recognized that "that all previous temperance legislation has proved ineffectual through ponderous machinery and technicalities of the law." They wrote, "[we] believe that the time has come to ask at the hands of our law makers prohibition, pure and simple." However, the second portion of their resolution reflected their cautious approach that sought to reaffirm their position among the traditional temperance movement. They resolved their "sympathy with all sister societies" and their readiness "to co-operate with them in any wise and

³³ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 118-131.

³⁴ Minutes of the Seventh Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1889, 109.

proper way that will most speedily bring about the emancipation of our beloved Dominion.”³⁵ The Maritime WCTU resolution followed the early temperance direction with the promotion of prohibition and emphasized their proper and traditional place among the other temperance women.

However, among the heated political agitation of the period, it was difficult to restrain the political energy within the Maritime WCTU. There were factors that raised the political temperature in the Maritime region to the prohibition question. There was strong evangelical support for a political solution. At their 1888 conventions, both the Maritime Baptists and the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Methodists recommended its members vote only for those candidates who would vote and work for prohibition.³⁶ In 1889, the Prince Edward Island Baptist Association, described as “bristling with prohibition sentiment,” resolved to use “all legitimate means to forward the prohibition movement.”³⁷ With the evangelical churches supporting prohibition, it was easier for the WCTU women to pronounce their own more political statements.

The Maritime WCTU received increasing approval from the Methodist conferences, which likely boosted their confidence. At the 1888 New Brunswick Methodist conference Humprey Pickard’s temperance report acknowledged the WCTU’s contribution to the political activities. Pickard wrote, “we extend to our Sisters of the WCTU...our heartiest sympathy and high appreciation of their valuable assistance.”³⁸ In 1889, the Methodist Temperance Committee urged “active cooperation

³⁵ “Women Plead for Purity,” *Halifax Morning Herald*, September 7, 1888. “The W.C.T.U.,” *Halifax Morning Herald*, September 8, 1888. Minutes of the Sixth Annual Maritime WCTU, 1888, 39.

³⁶ *The Baptist Yearbook of the Maritime Provinces*, 1888, 36. Journal of the NB and PEI Conference of the Methodist Church, July 4, 1888.

³⁷ *The Baptist Yearbook for the Maritime Provinces*, 1889.

³⁸ “Temperance Report,” Journal of the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island Conference of the Methodist Church, July 4, 1888.

with our sisters of the WCTU and other organizations, in promoting a sentiment so strong that none of the wiles and fallacies of party politicians or self-seeking men shall be able to turn the electors from the course reached.”³⁹ The WCTU had become a recognizable force within the politically-heated Maritime temperance movement.

As the 1890s approached, the political climate heated up. While the Prohibition Party had few candidates in the region, which made their potential impact negligible, by November 1889, prohibitionists met in Moncton to organize a Maritime Provincial Prohibition Party, which increased further speculation and options to temperance supporters. Prior to the convention, only two counties in Nova Scotia, Cumberland and Colchester, had prohibition candidates.⁴⁰ During the years 1887 to 1892, Turnbull’s leadership encouraged a cautious political action by the organization. While the Maritime WCTU avoided adopting any partisan position, there was the growing enthusiasm for woman’s suffrage that she was unable to restrain.

Clearly, Turnbull believed in the principle of the franchise for women. At the 1890 convention, she defended suffrage against the “ridicule” it often received as part of “woman’s rights.” In her presidential address, Turnbull told the delegates, “to my mind it seems that men and women should stand side by side in all moral reform; stand just as the Creator placed them at the beginning, to work together for mutual help and comfort.” However, Turnbull never rejected the social norms that dictated the proper gender qualities assigned to women.⁴¹ She never led the members towards agitation for the right to vote. The 1889 convention report in the *Saint Croix Courier* suggested the “prevailing opinion seemed to be” that because suffrage was inevitable, the best

³⁹ Ibid., June 24, 1889.

⁴⁰ “Prohibitionists,” *Lunenburg Progress*, November 20, 1889.

approach was not “trying to hasten its coming, [but] rather strive to learn what it involves and to be ready.” Whether this “opinion” was Turnbull’s is impossible to verify from the report, but as president her views likely influenced it. Indeed, this was the direction that the 1889 convention took with addresses to educate the women on the subject. Both Mrs. T.B. Smith of Windsor and Miss Brown of Chatham read papers in favor of woman’s suffrage.⁴²

In June 1890, the Dominion WCTU identified the Maritime WCTU as being “particularly successful in franchise work.”⁴³ The Maritime WCTU spread the franchise message in different ways. Jean Trenholme, the WCTU organizer, presented the subject as she established new unions throughout the region.⁴⁴ The Maritime union circulated the pamphlet, “Should Women Touch Politics,” to the local unions.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the 1890 convention addresses were predominately suffrage papers as they had been at the previous convention. While Marie Chittick of Hantsport and Mrs. Christie of Amherst read papers on the franchise, Edith Archibald delivered a paper entitled “A Bird’s-eye View of the Situation” that placed the cry for suffrage into the temperance context. Archibald delivered a nationalistic address that described Canada’s “natural advantages” or potential, explained the current political and social situation, and emphasized how legalized alcohol threatened the “nation’s future prosperity.”⁴⁶ These papers brought a flurry of discussion that led to a convention vote on woman’s suffrage. The vote, with few exceptions, favored suffrage, and subsequently the department of franchise was established with Marie Chittick as its first superintendent.

⁴¹ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU, 1890, 43.

⁴² “Maritime WCTU,” *St. Croix Courier*, September 6 and 12, 1889.

⁴³ “W.C.T.U.,” *St. Croix Courier*, June 5, 1890.

⁴⁴ “Supplement: New Brunswick,” *The Woman’s Journal*, June 1890.

The WCTU organizational structure with its broad base of local unions gave it the ability to spread effectively the suffrage cause.⁴⁷ Chittick adopted the typical WCTU approach in that she worked to educate the local union members through circulars and at the same time involved the women in political action. The Maritime work in suffrage was paralleled by efforts at the Dominion level.⁴⁸ In 1890, the Dominion union sent a resolution to the federal Parliament that stated their support for a plebiscite on prohibition on alcohol and opium and the franchise for women.⁴⁹ The next year, they sent a second petition for the enfranchisement of women. The Maritime WCTU was involved in the Dominion effort and gathered signatures for the petition. At the 1891 Maritime convention, Chittick reported that the work of the Prince Edward Island unions far exceeded that of either New Brunswick or Nova Scotia unions. However, she noted especially strong support existed also in Annapolis County, Nova Scotia, and in the New Brunswick community of Port Elgin. There were other unions who circulated the petition only among their own members. Urging full participation in the work, Chittick wrote "the enfranchisement of Canadian women means a greater advance in this reform movement than can possibly be secured by any other means."⁵⁰ Chittick's words reveal the rapid growth of the social vision of the WCTU beyond the narrow confines of the traditional temperance movement.

Beginning in 1892, the campaigns for woman's suffrage began in earnest. In the fall convention, Edith Archibald became the new Maritime WCTU president and continued in the position until 1895 when the organization was dissolved in favor of the

⁴⁵ "The Maritime Union," *The Woman's Journal*, April 1890.

⁴⁶ Minutes of the Eighth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1890, 26-27, 32.

⁴⁷ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 120.

⁴⁸ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 74.

provincial unions. In the early spring, the Nova Scotia member of the legislature from Hants County, T.B. Smith introduced a bill for enfranchisement of women at local elections, which lost by a vote of fifteen to nineteen.⁵¹ In early November plans began on the first major campaign for woman's suffrage through a Maritime WCTU petition to the Nova Scotia legislature. The petition requested the franchise for both married and single women with the proper property qualifications.⁵² While Chittick began the work on the campaign, her illness opened the door for Edith Archibald to take over the work. Archibald prepared well for the campaign by polling members of both houses to their position on the question of woman's suffrage. She sent fifty-four inquiries and received thirty-four replies. Of these replies, five gave a definite negative answer and five gave a doubtful answer. The five negative replies were "all from government leaders," who Archibald described as "the most uncompromising opposition."⁵³

While there was opposition, the women received unexpected help from another legislature member. The Maritime WCTU's petition for suffrage coincided with an independent effort being prepared by Albert M. Hemeon, who represented Queens County. The two parties coordinated their efforts with the WCTU completing the petitions hurriedly for their presentation to the legislature. Archibald was at the legislature to watch the proceedings, along with a number of other women who listened to the five-hour debate. *The Woman's Journal* recounted the unseemly behavior of the

⁴⁹ "Dominion Convention," *The Woman's Journal*, June 1890.

⁵⁰ Minutes of the Ninth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1891, 75-76.

⁵¹ Minutes of the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, April 6, 1892. T.B. Smith's wife was the superintendent of parliamentary usage and petitions.

⁵² Catherine L. Cleverdon, *The Woman Suffrage Movement in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950). See Chapter 6. Cleverdon identified six attempts to enact bills for provincial woman's suffrage between 1891 and 1897. However, it was the 1893 and 1897 bills that requested suffrage on the same basis as men.

⁵³ "To Maritime White-Ribboners in General," *The Woman's Journal*, May 1893.

premier who promised to “use every effort to prevent the Bill becoming law” and Attorney-General J.W. Longley’s object lesson of “how a woman would hustle and elbow her way to the polling booth.” The bill passed second reading but the Committee of the Whole defeated the bill amidst WCTU charges of inappropriate maneuvering to stop its passage.⁵⁴

The unsuccessful campaign appeared to solidify Archibald’s resolve on the matter and she wrote, “more and more each day do I believe that the woman’s touch, the woman’s gentle but firm hand, her clearer intuition and her deep religious feeling are needed in the management of public affairs.”⁵⁵ Still, the heightened agitation for woman’s suffrage made some WCTU members as well as other temperance workers uneasy. A circular on woman’s franchise and prohibition written by Mary Chesley, a Lunenburg WCTU member, was declined in an attempt to avoid discord. The executive WCTU wrote, “in view of the various opinions of the WCTU workers in the provinces and the circumstances in which they are placed the Executive feel that they cannot at this time endorse the very able circular of Mrs. Chesley of Nova Scotia.”⁵⁶ The situation among the temperance workers in Queens County sheds light on the problem. The county temperance workers were active in a plebiscite campaign, but they asked the WCTU women to “take a back seat” because they were “too unpopular in the County to influence....the public in the right direction on such an important occasion.”⁵⁷ While WCTU women seen suffrage as necessary tool to further advance their social vision, the other temperance societies were affixed firmly on eliminating alcohol consumption

⁵⁴ Ibid., May 1893.

⁵⁵ “To Maritime White-Ribboners in General,” *The Woman’s Journal*, May 1893.

⁵⁶ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 13.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 130.

through prohibition. Any linkage of woman's suffrage and prohibition jeopardized the possibility of the latter goal in the minds of the traditional temperance workers.

The woman's suffrage was a controversial issue because it challenged the traditional gender roles of the period. The Maritime WCTU's suffrage campaign brought forth the argument of the natural rights of women. The 1891 Dominion petition used "the natural-rights argument as justification for the woman's ballot" that argued on the basis of political right. The petition stated "that the test of sex in citizenship is a gross injustice to half the people, and a direct violation of the principles of representation by population."⁵⁸ At the 1894 annual convention, Archibald gave a rousing speech that presented the same argument. Using the historical American argument, she stated, "sex should be no bar to citizenship and that taxation without representation is an injustice which should be abolished, we will not cease to agitate for the extension of full parliamentary suffrage to all properly qualified women."⁵⁹ On June 11, 1894, the WCTU delegates at the District of Western Nova Scotia convention argued for woman's suffrage on the basis of natural-rights from a social purity perspective. They passed a resolution that stated,

Whereas the riper intelligence of the day can no longer consider women as naturally inferior to man and whereas marriage and all the home relations must not permit the wife and mother of the future to be thought in any sense inferior to the husband and father, therefore, be it resolved that it is an imperative necessity for the peace of the home, the general good of society and the proper development of the individual that woman's natural rights shall be fully recognized.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ "Dominion Franchise Department," *The Woman's Journal*, March 1891.

⁵⁹ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 41.

⁶⁰ Minutes of the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, June 11, 1894.

By 1894, the National, Dominion, and Maritime WCTU were convinced that woman's suffrage was justifiable on the basis of the "natural-rights argument."⁶¹ At least in the Maritime context, natural-rights were argued from the political as well as the social purity perspective.

Throughout the remainder of the 1890s the campaign for woman's suffrage continued officially as a separate WCTU work, rather than linked to the prohibition campaigns. While petitions were sent regularly to the legislatures, the emphasis on education became an important aspect of the work.⁶² Part of this process involved both an educative and public relations focus that legitimized the suffrage work both to hesitant WCTU women and to the larger Maritime culture. At the 1894 annual convention in Fredericton, the WCTU held their public meeting in the city hall instead of the usual church setting. The reason for the choice of the location is unknown. Perhaps they realized the evangelical churches would object to the meeting, which was a campaign for woman's suffrage. Holding the meeting at the church suggested the denomination endorsed the cause. Regardless to the reason, the location at the city hall was symbolic of their aspirations and sent a clear political statement. The meeting emphasized the franchise work of the Maritime union. Mrs. J.R. Elliot of Lawrencetown, Nova Scotia, the new superintendent of franchise, read a paper on woman's suffrage. On the platform sat two members of the New Brunswick legislature, Pitts and Henry R. Emmerson, to lend credibility to the suffrage cause. Emmerson's address spoke out in favor of equal suffrage on the basis of equal representation.⁶³

⁶¹ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873-1900*, 120.

⁶² Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 23.

⁶³ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 33.

Not only the Maritime convention, but also the district conventions such as that in Westmorland County, was enlivened with the suffrage topic. Mrs. John Nugent from the Moncton WCTU opened the October 1894 convention with an address that remarked on the “increasing recognition of woman’s place and power.”⁶⁴ While Mary Chesley’s circular on franchise and prohibition was refused by the executive, her paper on “How best to conduct the suffrage campaign” was accepted and read at the meeting by Miss Moore of the Petitediac WCTU.” Ironically, the report from the Moncton WCTU, which mentioned the limitations of the Scott Act, noted that “the only way to accomplish total prohibition was enfranchisement of women.”⁶⁵ Clearly, while the Maritime executive refused to endorse any connection between the two, there was a general conviction among the women that their vote was the necessary key to achieving prohibition.

At the county convention’s public meeting, Edith Archibald spoke on why the WCTU sought the ballot for women. As it was at the annual convention, there were friendly male supporters on the platform to give respectability to the cause. Reverend J. Eastburn Brown, husband of the first Maritime union president at Moncton, gave his personal support for woman’s suffrage. Brown’s argued that “it was only a sense of justice that they should have the ballot.” Along with the clergyman, John T. Hawke, the publisher of the local newspaper, spoke strongly in support of the franchise for women and against the “discrimination on basis of sex.” Completing the group of influential men was A.E. Killam, a long-time friend of the WCTU who had presented the first New

⁶⁴ “District W.C.T. Union,” *Moncton Daily Times*, October 31, 1894.

⁶⁵ “Women and Alcohol,” *Moncton Daily Times*, November 1, 1894.

Brunswick petition for woman's suffrage to the legislature.⁶⁶ These meetings were significant in that they presented both men and women as equal in the public forum. Furthermore, these men were representative of the influences of power in late-nineteenth-century society – church, government, and the middle-class.

Archibald was an energetic and competent president who maintained close connections with the local unions. Besides her attendance at district conventions, Archibald wrote monthly letters to the local unions, which included her thoughts on suffrage.⁶⁷ While she tried to secure support from all the unions, some resisted the idea as was the example of the New Glasgow WCTU. In the 1894-1895 petition campaign, these WCTU women neglected to circulate the suffrage petitions.⁶⁸ Beyond her monthly letters, Archibald made visits to the local unions on the condition that her topic of discussion would be woman's suffrage. The New Glasgow WCTU declined graciously the opportunity to have her visit them.⁶⁹ While the New Glasgow WCTU shied away from the matter, the neighboring Pictou WCTU, the first union to take up the department of franchise work early in 1890, was active in the work.⁷⁰ Clearly, through letters and visits, Archibald used every means possible to advance the cause.

Beyond the suffrage campaign, Archibald was involved in the major prohibition conventions in 1894. When the Canadian federal government's Royal Commission on prohibition failed to produce the results that the temperance workers anticipated, the prohibitionists sought other means to advance their cause. Archibald campaigned

⁶⁶ "Public Meeting," *Moncton Daily Times*, November 1, 1894.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the New Glasgow WCTU, December 14, 1894 and April 9, 1895.

⁶⁸ Ibid., October 23, 1894, and February 26, 1895.

⁶⁹ Minutes of the New Glasgow WCTU, February 26, 1895 and March 12, 1895.

⁷⁰ Joanne E. Veer, "Feminist Forebears: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in Canada's Maritime Provinces 1875-1900," 205.

strongly for a united national temperance force. Featured in a symposium on the subject, Archibald wrote in *The Woman's Journal*,

... nationally, we need, not to stop praying for the drunkard; but to stop drunkard making. Let us have a plebiscite on this question, and if that fails, it will but prepare the way for an organic union of Canadian temperance workers from sea to sea. Then we shall carry Prohibition.⁷¹

Her commitment to the temperance movement had not diminished, even though she invested tremendous energy into the woman's suffrage campaign. In the fall of 1894, after a busy year of campaigning for suffrage Archibald wrote to the Sons of Temperance convention,

What we most need is to nationalize our forces, to concentrate our efforts, and loyally to stand together shoulder to shoulder, from Cape Breton to British Columbia, a solid phalanx of Temperance men and women.⁷²

Even though Archibald remained true to the prohibitionist vision, she became increasingly disenchanted with the role that temperance women played in the movement. In February 1894, Archibald was a delegate at the Halifax prohibition convention where plans were being laid for a plebiscite on prohibition. While she served on the executive committee at the convention, the traditional work of distributing the temperance literature was assigned entirely to the women once again.⁷³ Later that year at the WCTU convention, Archibald expressed her frustration to the delegates. Without the women's vote the plebiscite was not the "voice of the people." She lamented, "what of the efforts, the prayers, the tears, the weary mile travelled by our heroic women during these different plebiscite campaigns....making, as they did, unheard of efforts to protect their homes and their children from the destroyer, and yet denied the ballot." While

⁷¹ "Symposium on Prohibition," *The Woman's Journal*, October 1892.

⁷² "On Wednesday Night," *Forward*, November 15, 1894.

⁷³ Minutes of the Twelfth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1894, 49.

Archibald complained on the political question of disenfranchisement, her use of the romanticized description of the WCTU women suggests that she was disappointed with her male counterparts' lack of support though she never voiced it publicly. Still, there were small victories such as Archibald's participation at the national prohibition convention held in Montreal in July 1894. She was the first woman ever to serve on the committee for political action.⁷⁴

In 1895, Archibald continued her educational focus on woman's suffrage at the district and county conventions, and Mary Chesley concentrated on gaining support among the religious and temperance bodies. At the District of Western Nova Scotia Convention, Chesley discussed how to conduct a campaign among these groups to gain their endorsement of woman's suffrage. The convention planned to send a delegate to the Baptist Convention at Berwick in the interest of suffrage.⁷⁵ There was more success among the Methodist, where Chesley's husband commanded influence. His lobby at the General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada was unsuccessful, but in 1896 the Methodist Conference of Nova Scotia became the first ecclesiastical body in the province to endorse woman's suffrage.⁷⁶ Some local unions such as the Pictou WCTU carried on active suffrage campaigns, sending Archibald's suffrage letters to the clergy and other influential men.⁷⁷

The Maritime WCTU mounted an aggressive suffrage campaign throughout Archibald's presidency. However, the campaign fervor dissipated slowly as the disruption to the organization began to be realized in 1896. Archibald refused the

⁷⁴ Ibid., 51.

⁷⁵ Minutes of the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, August 15, 1895. Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 22, 34, 63-64.

position of president of the Nova Scotia WCTU and made an unsuccessful attempt at a paper in the interest of the suffrage work, which she planned to entitle "Equal Suffrage."⁷⁶ With Mary Chesley as the new president of the Nova Scotia WCTU, the strong endorsement of woman's suffrage continued.⁷⁷ Nevertheless by 1898 fatigue signs were evident in all three provinces. The women were discouraged over their inability to convince the political bodies to grant the franchise to women. The Prince Edward Island unions agreed that "petitions [were] of little use" and they "resolved to educate both their men and women on the question of woman franchise."⁷⁸ The Nova Scotia unions were discouraged after their 1897 suffrage petition to the Nova Scotia legislature was defeated. The well-organized campaign had each county solicit the local member of the legislature for support. In some counties nearly every village sent petitions with the names of prominent party workers attached. Still, the bill was defeated soundly with only six votes in favor and twenty-six against it.⁸¹

Beyond the resistance to woman's suffrage in the Maritime legislatures, the decreasing popular support for prohibition and the federal government refusal to enact the bill worked against the cause. In the 1898 federal plebiscite only 44 percent of eligible voters cast ballots and of this number a mere 51.3 percent were in favor of prohibition.⁸² The Windsor WCTU labeled the letters and resolutions the organization

⁷⁶ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 15. Minutes of the First Annual New Brunswick WCTU Convention, 1896, 22.

⁷⁷ Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Maritime WCTU Convention, 1895, 63.

⁷⁸ Minutes of the District of Western Nova Scotia WCTU Convention, August 15, 1895.

⁷⁹ Minutes of the First Annual NS WCTU Convention, 1896, 70.

⁸⁰ Minutes of the Annual Dominion Convention, 1897, 64.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 64.

⁸² Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow:" The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930*, 116.

sent on the matter as “merely a study in language.”⁸³ When the coveted goal of prohibition was thought to be in reach, it fueled the campaign for woman’s suffrage. At the end of the century, political agitation among prohibitionists subsided for a time. As a temperance organization, the continuation of the intense WCTU campaigns for the franchise without prohibition agitation was problematic.

In 1899 the Dominion WCTU reports on the Maritime region noted a “very noticeable...change of opinion in women in favor of woman’s suffrage.” Their explanation for the change was both education on subject and women’s increased interest in the “public welfare.”⁸⁴ Throughout the late-nineteenth century, the Maritime WCTU’s strong suffrage campaigns challenged the notion that political activity was outside women’s sphere. While they believed in the principle of equality, their motivation for suffrage began with their desire to protect their middle-class family values and to extend their larger social reform vision throughout Canada.

⁸³ *Minutes of the Windsor WCTU, April 1898, 55-56.*

⁸⁴ *Minutes of the Annual Dominion WCTU Convention, 1899, 94.*

Conclusion

The notion of conservatism sometimes attached to the Woman's Christian Temperance Union is not descriptive of the Maritime organization during the late-nineteenth century. Their commitment to temperance placed them within the traditional Maritime movement, but their reformist vision and social activism made them stand out among the large body of temperance workers. Even though their numbers were small in comparison to that of women involved in the other temperance organizations, they were able to cast an indelible mark on the temperance movement through their innovative programs. Their influence rippled out and touched the contemporary Maritime society as they strove through education and legislation to advance the temperance culture. Their reform work, which included strong social purity ideals, promoted strong temperate lifestyles that influenced middle class and gender ideals of the period.

Its first twenty years of operation saw the rise of a few scattered local unions into an effective social organization that reached into numerous Maritime cities, towns, and villages. The organizational structure with its three-tier administration of executive, supervisory, and local leaders enabled the women to organize, strategize, and implement their programs. The annual conventions, district and county conventions, and local meetings permitted the effective lines of cooperation to develop between the three levels that mobilized the women into an effective body of workers. Furthermore, its regional framework not only enabled the women to mount collective campaigns that increased their hegemonic influence, but also opened the door for exceptional leadership to arise, which expanded the scope and enriched the quality of their temperance work. While not all the WCTU-sponsored programs thrived, their willingness to attempt a wide array of

departments of work speaks both of their reformist nature and their openness to new ideas. It was their increased specialization within some aspects of reform work that enabled them to develop effective campaigns. These campaigns enabled them to transmit their key temperance values into the mainstream culture.

The WCTU programs reflected not only their evangelical middle-class values, but also their own unique gender perspective. Often the children-based programs found within the WCTU have led to the interpretation that the organization was maternal in nature and thus conservative. However, considering the late-nineteenth century perspective, which viewed the family unit as the elementary building block of society, the Maritime WCTU's emphasis on children was progressive. If the family unit represented a microcosm of the larger society, programs that strove to improve the individual member were beneficial to the whole of society. The WCTU programs reached into significant areas of the children's world to advance their middle-class temperance values.

It was their ability to muster and co-ordinate support from influential sources of power that guaranteed the satisfactory progress of their educational temperance efforts. Indeed, this was the case with their most significant achievement of scientific temperance teaching in the public school systems, where support from educators, church, and government clinched its success. The STI campaign itself translated into the practical application of the WCTU slogan "agitate, educate, legislate." The STI material, which emphasized the physiological consequences of alcohol consumption, provided Maritime children with the intellectual argument against the use of alcohol.

While legislative solutions for adult reforms were difficult to obtain, there was little opposition to using legislative measures to provide moral suasion to children.

The WCTU women's reputable position within the evangelical community and their connections within the traditional temperance movement legitimised their work among the clergy and the churches, whose association with the temperance movement was close. The WCTU women were able to influence the Sunday school leaders at a crucial time within the Maritime movement when the value of the Sunday school was being realised and the administrative structure to oversee its growth and development was being put in place. Their campaigning for gospel temperance teaching was as persistent among the religious powers of the day as they had been with the political leaders. The recognition and promotion of gospel temperance teaching they gained provided many Maritime children with the spiritual and moral argument for total abstinence. Children received the same message from both their public school teachers and Sunday school teachers regarding the use of alcohol.

The Maritime WCTU women struggled to carry on their juvenile temperance teaching that required the consistent investment of time and energy. Standardisation of the work was hindered by the late development of the LTL program at the National level. Diversity of interests among the provincial bodies fragmented any unity within the juvenile teaching. Still, the women's juvenile teaching provided temperance teaching during the children's leisure time. Their juvenile groups incorporated modern pedagogical techniques of instruction, included popular elements of entertainment and fun, and broadened the temperance message beyond alcohol abstinence to offer

Maritime children a contemporary youth group that emphasised social responsibility and taught temperate life choices.

The Maritime organization served as an important network through which social purity notions flooded into the region. These ideals, conveyed to women through the informal mothers' meetings, stressed the importance of temperate lifestyles for the benefit of the family. Intellectual discussions on the role of eugenics and environment on children emphasized the responsibilities of mothers and fathers to maintain temperate lives in the interest of both the prenatal and postnatal care of their children. Studies on proper child training reinforced strong character formation to ensure the continuation of the temperate lifestyle among the children as they reached adulthood. The mothers' meetings engaged everyday women to use their private influence to advance the temperate culture through their individual families. The teachings in the mothers' meetings presented Maritime women with an image of the new middle-class temperate family.

The Maritime WCTU joined with the other temperance societies to fight for legislated prohibition to ensure that the benefits of temperance prevailed throughout the nation. Indicative of the women's evangelical worldview it was the vision of a temperate nation that captured the imagination of many WCTU women. Indeed, much of the other WCTU work represented limited experiments and expressions of this social nationalistic vision, which was only beginning to be realised at the end of the nineteenth century. In light of this lofty aspiration and considering the social and political experience the WCTU women acquired through their successful work as well as the passionate leadership of Edith Archibald, the Maritime WCTU's drive for woman's

suffrage was understandable. There was a deep conviction that the women's votes would guarantee the passage of prohibition. Clearly, though the WCTU women also believed in the principle of equality and believed they were justified to request the vote on the basis of natural rights' argument. They continued the suffrage campaign, though it isolated them from many within the traditional temperance movement, but the refusal of the Canadian federal government to act on the results of the prohibition plebiscite doused the suffrage zeal in the end.

Still, as the twentieth century approached, the Maritime WCTU could be proud of their tireless work and notable successes that made a significant impact on the temperance culture in the region. Their work expanded the vision of the traditional temperance movement from the narrow confines of alcohol consumption to that of the temperate way of life. Their influence was significant because their reforms introduced the basic temperance values in cultural forms that the Maritime public would accept. Their work and its emphasis on children and the family enabled the Maritime WCTU to be an important influence on the formation of middle-class values in the late-nineteenth century.

Maritime Woman's Christian Temperance Union
Departments of Work – Table 1

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	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1894	1895
Evangelistic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	Ω
Jail	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐		Ω
Fairs	☐	☐	☐	☐		☐	☐	☐
Industrial schools	☐	☐	≈	≈		☐	☐	h
Coffee Rooms			≈	≈		☐	☐	h
Juvenile Work	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Parlor Meetings	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sailors	≈	≈	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Railway men	≈	≈	☐	☐		☐	☐	
Temperance Literature	☐	☐	☐	☐			☐	
White Cross	☐							
Gospel Purity		☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	≈	≈
Mothers' Meetings						☐	≈	≈
Dress and Hygiene			☐					
Suppression of Impure Literature			☐					
Purity in Literature and Art				☐				
Purity in Literature, Art, and Fashion					☐	☐	☐	
Hygiene and Heredity					☐	☐	h	Ω
Dress Reform							h	Ω
Press			☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
STI				☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Flowers					☐	☐	☐	☐
Franchise					☐	☐	☐	☐
Narcotics			☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lumbermen and Raftsmen					☐	☐	☐	☐
Miners					☐	☐		
Petition and Legislation					☐	☐	☐	☐
Unfermented Wine					☐	☐	☐	
YWCTU					≈	≈	☐	☐
Kitchen Work					≈	≈	☐	☐
Parliamentary Usage						☐	☐	
Peace and Arbitration							☐	☐
Sabbath School							☐	☐
Schools of Methods							☐	☐
School Savings Bank							☐	☐
Worlds WCTU Mission							☐	ℳ
Dominion & World WCTU Mission								ℳ

The use of the various symbols ≈, h, Ω, Ω, and ℳ identify the departments of work that were linked together for the year's work.

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